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Growing Pains:
(Un)mapping Geographies of Citizenship, Labour and Migration in Dubai

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Abstract

This paper explores contemporary globalization, which has led to significant shifts in transnational migration trends and national citizenship regimes. While on the one hand, neoliberal economic globalization has placed emphasis on 'opening up' borders for the 'free' flow of trade, on the other hand, migration and labour have become increasingly important sites for regulating citizenship-based entitlements and shaping notions of national belonging. Set against these tendencies, this paper asks how the proliferation of temporary and visa-based work permit programs impacts the stratification of workers, based on national origin?

In specific, I explore the construction of Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE) as a modern, cosmopolitan city premised on rapid industrial capitalist development under the networks and logics of globalization. The methodology of (un) mapping exposes the logics of empire building, seen through the stratified subject positions of (Emirati) nationals, ex-pat professionals and labour migrants. I ask how various categories of subjects understand and know themselves through the organization of space, as well as their encounters with different subjects. Through an intradisciplinary approach, spanning diverse and overlapping areas of study in Political Science, including International Political Economy (IPE), Women and Politics and Area Studies on the Gulf, I ask the relevance of this case study and develop new theoretical tools in understanding national subject formation as well as shifts in migration, labour and citizenship policy transnationally.

Introduction

Located at the crossroads of Asia, Europe and Africa, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) [1] has rapidly become a leading global economic center in the 21st century. Dubai and Abu Dhabi, the two leading city-states of the UAE, are often described as the epitome of global cosmopolitanism, uncritically described as combining 'traditions of the East' with 'comforts of the West'. Representing the global cities of our time is based on contradictory and often conflicting experiential accounts. In a nation built entirely on temporary migrant labour with a migrant-majority population, the UAE is a dynamic and complex web of social relations. These unique dynamics provide important insights into larger debates on globalization, migration, labour and citizenship.

Popular discourse presents Dubai and Abu Dhabi to investors, developers, corporations and tourists as 'multicultural' and 'modern' cities. The international acclaim of Dubai in particular cannot be overrepresented, if only for sheer number of a projected 12 million visitors in 2010 (Woods, 7). At the same time that the UAE continues to be recognized for its remarkable development and achievements, those who build and maintain the global city face a rigid ethnic division of labour that impacts entitlements and protections by the state. While the UAE government has taken important steps to address some of the concerns of workers, there still remain significant obstacles to addressing hierarchies based on race, class, gender and primarily by, nationality and labour sector employment that is supported by not only Emirati nationals and the UAE state, but also by 'ex-pat professionals', from both the global North and global South.

Although rapid industrial capitalist development in the UAE is relatively recent, taking shape in the 1970s, a historical genealogy accompanies the spatial composition of the UAE. Amidst considerable diversity in lived experience, there are remarkable similarities in the conceptualization of the UAE. There are two major issues which can be introduced here to illustrate some of these characterizations: firstly, the existence of a rigid occupational hierarchy that is easily narrated by any visitor to the UAE; and secondly, the representations of Dubai as caught in-between two worlds; 'tradition' and 'modernity', 'East' and 'West' and 'First' and 'Third' worlds.

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[1] The United Arab Emirates is a federation of the seven city-states: Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, Ajman, Umm al-Qaiwain and Fujairah

Addressing the first issue, we can consider the following quotation taken from a prominent scholar on the UAE,

> *Despite the proximity of Asian labour to all aspects of Emirati life, a general appeasement, a sense of normality and consent overwhelms the place. You drive through the streets of a city in the UAE, at any time of day, you observe dark skinned (mostly Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, and sometimes Filipino and Indonesian) workers in their orange, blue, or universally coloured uniforms, planting flowers on side walks or watering trees, or even dusting, cleaning, or newly paving the streets. In the crowded fish and vegetable markets, salesmen are either longtime immigrants from India or Pakistan, or lower caste Yemenis. Other poor Indians and 'new arrivals' work as porters and fish-cleaners. Similarly, in malls and old markets, salesmen are Indians, Iranians, Filipino, Moroccan, and other immigrants. The image of an ethnic division of labour repeats itself in all aspects of life and social interaction in the UAE. Yet life continues very peacefully (Sabban 2005, 18).*
> *"… a general appeasement, a sense of normality and consent overwhelms the*

place…life continues very peacefully" (Sabban, 18). These observations highlight the ethnic occupational segregation and social hierarchies visible in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This simple description is an insight into the contradictions of the 'hyper' modern 'global city' of Dubai, and the underclass migrant work force that sustains the economy. The sense of 'normality' and 'peace' is evidence of the formal strategies that have been employed by the state to control, regulate and maintain these divisions between 'nationals', 'ex-pat professionals' and 'migrant labourers'[2]. As such, social hierarchies control and dominate the majority of people living and working in the UAE, but also provide a source of national mythology to ensure that hierarchies of entitlement and privilege benefit 'nationals' and exclude 'others'. The inequality between groups based on gender, ethnicity, citizenship and

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[2] The category of 'national', 'citizen' or 'Emirati' will be used generally to refer to the "state" in this discussion. When I use these individuals to discuss the "state" I am recognizing the differences amongst this group, especially in relation to the hyper-privileged group of ruling families that comprise the monarchies and political control. However, in this sense, I will conflate "citizens" in general to highlight the structural privileges that are created to distinguish those who are considered "indigenous" and those who are not. The category of 'migrant labourer' is to refer to the majority of migrants who are labeled 'unskilled' or 'low-skilled'. While there are large discrepancies between "migrant" or foreign labourers, I will focus on those holding citizenship from Indian, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, as well as those from "lesser Arab states" including Palestine, Egypt and Jordan for example. The terms "ex-patriots or ex-pats" can refer to a diverse range of individuals and groups including what I call "professional ex-pats" who migrant from both "first" and "third" world nations.

4

occupation becomes seemingly 'natural' in order to provide legitimacy and 'exception' for

social exclusion and normalizes subsequent violence. Simply put, the main question is how?

In regards to the second issue of how Dubai is represented through prominent

tourist guides for the United Arab Emirates (UAE), we can consider the following

quotations:

> At first glance, Dubai seems like a city that's easy to pigeonhole. From the outside the world's fastest growing metropolis, famous for its shopping malls, year-round sunshine and ambituous construction projects, appear at through it is losing a very public battle of style versus substance. Dig a little deeper, however, and you'll discover that Dubai is a complex mix of ancient traditions and 21-st century multiculturalism and innovation (McAuley, 7).

> Traveling or living in the UAE can be a challenge. It is likely to involve moving beyond your cultural comfort zone but, having made the effort to bridge the divide, you will find people whose embrace of modernity is exhilarating and whose effort to combine the ancient and the modern is fascinating example of globalization" (Walsh, 9).

> In the 1970's, what is now a sprawling orgy of malls and hotels was little more than sandy outpost, and even by the mid-1990's Dubai boasted few landmarks and even fewer tourists. But with the confidence that comes with youth, Dubai has burned itself on to the world's consciousness. Through a mixture of ambition, audacity and a swathe of mega-projects, the city has transformed itself into one of the most dynamic centres on the planet: a cultural and economic hub linking East and West (Time Out Dubai, 6)

Whether from tourists materials, corporate marketing reports, or the ruling elite in

the UAE, the message is clear: the space that constitutes Dubai is caught in-between two

worlds; 'tradition' and 'modernity' and 'East' and 'West'. Interestingly, whereas the

metropolitan cities of the West are tied to legacies of colonialism, global cities in the non-

Western context also participate in, and benefit from ongoing hierarchies through the

international division of labour.

Both of these examples provide introductory insights into the material and symbolic

practices and representations of the UAE. The intrigue of the global city of Dubai, in

particular, is located, not only in the abundant and unprecedented wealth and subsequent architectural and admirable development which comprise this *place*, but in the people who inhabit this land, both those who control it, those who support it and those who build it and make its existence possible, in general, those who inhabit the *space*. The people who build this 'place' continue to inhabit spaces that lie outside the realm of entitlement. Visiting Dubai is a testament to the types of inequality that sustain global capitalism, not only under contemporary forms of globalization but through historical legacies of colonialism. Thus, if we understand globalization as leading to the creation and maintenance of global cities such as those in the UAE, it is necessary to explore the historical legacies (genealogies), which accompany geographies of migration for labour. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the first major example raised here to provide some introductory insights into the processes of subject formation in relation to issues of nation-building and migration in Dubai.

In previous work in this area I focused on a sociological study of various social outlooks on the issues of migrant labour in relation to ex-pat professional and nationals. This study was based on data collected through a literature review of scholarly data on the region as well as documents provided by notable international organizations such as Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International (AI) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), and interviews from fieldwork conducted in the UAE. From this data I was able to explore the social outlooks of scholars, activists, female domestic workers and their employers on the relationships of inequality, which sustain, what I argued was 'the seemingly 'natural' occupational segregation of various categories of migrant workers'. This work introduced the idea of 'hierarchies of entitlement', which I argued, refers to 'the

invisible yet formal mechanisms through which seemingly 'informal' social hierarchies are formed and used to legitimize various forms of social exclusion against migrant workers in the United Arab Emirates'. Concepts such as the 'international racial division of reproductive labour' and the 'asianization' of the oil-rich Gulf were used to understand the experiences of South Asian female migration. Through policy and citizenship status I concluded that the Gulf region provides a unique example of the manifestations of hierarchies of citizenship through notions of national and global belonging which are affected by multiple forms of oppression including, race, gender, class, ethnicity, religion, occupation, citizenship and overall systems of inequality in both labour receiving and sending nations. However, as a result of the almost exclusive focus on labour relations and international regulation, this work largely excluded a necessary analysis of the role of nation building in the maintenance of this system.

This paper expands earlier insights by exploring a more focused discussion on the ways in which the *nation-state* comes to conceptualize and 'know' itself through the bodies of 'migrant labourers'. In order to explore this there are two major areas of investigation: firstly, how are these 'bodies' conceptualized and disciplined in particular ways; and secondly, how do these projects work to create the national identity of citizens. This will explore both the material and symbolic practices and discourses, focusing on two major issues: the construction of "migrant as threat" and the subsequent 'exaltation' of citizens. This conceptualization provides important insight into the processes through which different subjectivities are created and maintained.

Context

> While each of these nations confronted these changes (development) at different decades, nonetheless, as these countries approach the end of the twentieth century they share many similarities in the development of their socio-economic and

political structures, so much so that they together constitute a societal type particular to this oil-rich region (Khalaf & Alkobasi 1999, p. 272).

In addition to the social composition, drastic 'modernization' and economic growth is believed to have led to the achievement of all material aspects of life on an unprecedented scale, while "socio-cultural and political organization remain relatively traditional and conservative" (Khalaf & Alkobasi, 1999, p.272). These relatively small societies within the oil-rich Gulf stand distinctively in political, social and economic terms and are characterized as a unique societal paradigm different from "developed capitalist industrial societies or those of the developing Third World" (Khalaf & Alkobasi, 1999, p.272).

Rosemarie Said Zahlan (1989) discusses two major themes that characterize the experiences of the Gulf: firstly, the history and influences of the past which influenced a rush to modernization; secondly, the role of international forces and interests on the people and society. In addition, most authors of the history of the Gulf have discussed the ways in which older social structures based on family differences and delineations have been adapted to the modern structures of contemporary Gulf States. Some important events include: the British withdrawal in 1971 after one and a half centuries in the region; the oil embargo which followed the Arab-Israeli war 1973 and the subsequent rise in oil prices; the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the war between Iran and Iraq; and the 1990 invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent establishment of US military forces in the region (Zahlan, 1989, p.17). Overall, after WWI, oil concessions provided new possibilities for income relief and political power for the rulers. Once major oil revenues started to pour in, the government became increasing complex with a growing bureaucratic structure that distanced the ruler from citizens.

International organizations such as Amnesty International (AI), Human Rights Watch (HRW) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) provide the most contemporary data on violence, abuse and social exclusion as experienced by various migrant workers. The main sending countries as identified by Nasra M. Shah (2004) to the Gulf include in numerical order of migrant workers; India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia. In effect what we see is formal strategies of regulating particular bodies for particular work, in plain terms, non-nationals are fine so long as they do the work that nationals will not perform. The major issues which affect 'low skilled' migrant workers are: the lucrative nature of visas and eager markets for buyers; reluctance to take up particular jobs by nationals that have come to be seen as 'foreigners work'; preference for nationals in public sector jobs; impossibility for employers to fire national workers; and "the inherent contradiction between limiting the number of expatriate workers on the one hand and the development of a thriving private sector that relies extremely heavily on the import of such workers to survive and flourish" (Shah, 2004, p.12).

Logics of Nation Building

The logics that underpin the project of nation building in the UAE and in specific, Dubai, are rooted in various processes of social differentiation. These processes organize and structure claims and entitlements to 'belonging', as well as spatial and material legitimacy within the space that constitutes the 'nation'. The outcomes of these processes are that particular bodies, which are ascribed status, stand outside the conceptualization of the nation – as 'exceptions'. While most citizens in this context are not politically active, they are offered entitlements based on social and economic participation, which are

unattainable by non-citizens. However, this 'exceptional' status needs to be conceptualized as intrinsically linked to the organization and legitimization of violence and exclusion against 'migrants'. Thus, the economy of violence that sustains the project of nation building is based on the creation of hierarchies of entitlement. In order to explore how these hierarchies are created, legitimized and reproduced it is useful to turn to the work of Sunera Thobani (2007) in *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada.* While Thobani's work is not the only body of work that discusses these processes of state and nation building, she provides a useful framework to introduce this discussion.

Exalted Subjects is based on the 'settler societies-cum-liberal democracies' like Canada, in relation to categories such as 'Indians' and 'immigrants'. However, the theoretical framework presents important questions for analyzing the 'exaltation' of citizens in relation to 'others' in the context of the UAE. 'Exaltation' is used here to explore insights, not only into these particular characteristics of untouchability, but also the ways that this impacts the regulation and disciplinary mechanisms that control all 'others'. Through the discussion it is clear that the category of 'migrant' is highly differentiated and complex, but operates through structures of colonial legacies and imperialistic violence(s) that mark particular bodies as 'outside' the realm of legitimacy, and therefore of not needing or deserving protection from the state.

The guiding questions are the following; firstly, how are citizens conceptualized and by this, we also mean, how are 'migrants' conceptualized? Secondly, what are the processes through which the nation is conceptualized as vulnerable? Here the processes of differentiation between and amongst "others', not only those as perpetrated by the state apparatus and official political-economic discourses but also those that are internalized

and sustained by various 'privileged' categories of –'ex-pats' will be discussed. Finally, what

are the techniques that maintain this hierarchical organization and allow these particular

histories and subjectivities to be reproduced?

'Citizens'

> In other words, exaltation has been key to the constitution of the national subject as
> a particular kind of human being, a member of a particular kind of community, and
> hence, ontologically and existentially distinct from the strangers to this community"
> (Thobani, 2007, p.5).
> The process through which the national-citizen subject is constituted is relational

and dialectic. The identity of 'Emirati' citizens can only be understood in so far that it is

explored in relation to the status and positioning of various 'migrant' categories within the

social stratification of hierarchical entitlements. While nationality plays the most obvious

and explicit role in determining the place of these 'others' (migrant labourers), it must also

be said that this process is highly gendered and based on racialized and class based colonial

structures that are tied to the 'international division of labour'. To begin I will draw a

theoretical framework that help to elucidate these nuances.

It is helpful here to begin with Franz Fanon's discussion of colonial violence as

always relational, as he states, "not only must the black man be black; he must be black in

relation to the white man" (Fanon qtd in Thobani, 2007, p.10). These processes lead to the

creation of a preferred group of bodies that are created in their encounter with the 'other'.

This idea is further by the work of Sara Ahmed in her discussion of strangers and identities.

She states,

> Identity itself is constituted in the 'more than one; of the encounters: The
> designation of an 'I' or 'we' requires an encounter with others. These others cannot
> be simply relegated to the outside: given that the subject comes into existence as an
> entitle only through encounters with others, then the subject's existence cannot be
> separated from the others who are encountered (Ahmed, 2000, p.7).

In specific to the Gulf region, Ang Nga Longva, a scholar who has written extensively on migration and Kuwaiti society, reaffirms the fact that the status of Kuwaiti women is understood within the 'ethnic composition' of the population as well as through the relationships between nationals and expatriates. Though Longva does not articulate their socio-economic position in particular, she seems to be assuming that the majority of these migrants form the basis of lower economic and class positions that are racialized in relation to the privileged ethnic minority of Kuwaiti citizens. Furthermore, she explains how feelings of superiority and the inequalities in status and treatment between nationals and expatriates extend into almost all realms of social life, whereby for example, citizens will seldom be expected to stand in line behind an expatriate. These ideas are further reinforced by the dress code of 'dishdasha' for men and 'abaya' for women. These national costumes are an immediate "symbol of social power and privilege" (Longva, 448). While there are differences in the ideas attached to men and women's clothing, Longva confirms that the general understanding is rooted in the 'politics of ethnic stratification' (Longva, 1997, p.448).

These ideas of relational identity formation are supported by the fact that the Gulf represents one of the largest recipients of migrant labour. Many scholars on the region contend that migration has always been an integral part of traditional Arabia. In the late 1990's, the GCC countries had a total population of 27.7 million, of which 10.6 millions were temporary migrant workers and their families (of these 10.6 million workers, 7.4 million workers were women) (Shah, 2004, p.183). In some Gulf societies, like Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE, foreign workers have become the majority of the population. As a specific case study, the UAE is believed to have one of the largest construction booms in the

world employing over 700,000 male workers, and subsequently, 600,000 women in various sectors including domestic work. (HRW, November 2007). The UAE provides an extreme case, where foreigners constitute 95% of the workforce. Of the estimated 4.32 million people in the UAE, 85% are non-nationals (HRW, November 2006).

This statistical data suggests that Emirati identity is inextricably linked to the relationships between nationals and various categories of 'migrant workers'. The identity of nationals is tied to the fact that the UAE is entirely dependent on a foreign labour force at all levels of development. In order to understand the role of the state, Kuwaiti sociologist Muhammad Rumaihi discusses the ways in which the modern systems of government are imbedded with socio-political contradictions. He points out that the modern infrastructure of the state has dramatically expanded and changed since the advent of oil revenues, while the power of the ruling families remains largely intact, "...the motive force of the society is not production but the distribution of revenue by the state; actual production of oil is carried out entirely by foreigners, the local populations playing a virtually insignificant role in the productive process" (Dresch and Piscatori, 2005, p.86). Ramaihi analyzes these trends by concluding that the oil industry has not been integrated into the political fabric of the Gulf, which means that there is no middle class of 'nationals' who work in the production of oil. Thus the role of the state functions through the allocation of funds, rather than the generation of revenue. This necessarily has implications for the ways in which the state recruits migrant workers at every level of development and especially for this paper, the post-oil development of contemporary Dubai.

Reviews from numerous scholars who have written about early migratory patterns of workers generally associate the large influx to two major factors: the quadrupling of the

price of oil in 1973-74 and the doubling of these prices in 1978-79 (Zahlan, 1984, p.985). This growth also plays an important role in the growing numbers of migrants in fields such as domestic service, child care, cooks and chauffeurs, which all reflect the dramatically shifting lifestyle of increased oil wealth. Generally it can be said that the state, and to a lesser degree, individual citizens, have a strong sense of identity that they wish to preserve. These shifting lifestyles play a role in the ways that citizen identities are constructed. 'Culture' is considered to be a huge issue that is undergoing dramatic change. This is largely considered as an issue that is due to the influx of migrant workers who do not share the same moral and cultural values that citizen's are believed to embody. A famous quote by Sheikh Zayed, largely understand as the founding force of what is now the UAE, states, 'He who does not know and appreciate his past will never fully understand where he stands today. Only by learning about his history can a person begin to face the challenges of modern life while preparing for what lies ahead in the future'. The constant mention and negotiation between modernity and tradition is a feature of daily life. The contrast between 'traditional' dress, attitudes, language and the modern infrastructure, activities and changes are obvious facts, but the relationship between citizens and migrants are less openly discussed in the public. As a result of these insecurities, there are huge development projects aimed at protecting things such as: their heritage, culture, sense of national identity, language, national dress, the integrity of their family life, the orientation for youth, and the education system, all to protect 'Indigenous' culture.

Insecure 'nationhood'

In exploring how the nation is conceptualized as particularly vulnerable it is necessary to explore how it is considered under 'threat'. The examples above, based on

population, constitute one of the major ways that national identity is constructed, through the threats posed by particular migrants because of the minority position of nationals. This fear of being outnumbered is regulated by increased restrictions of the social and economic impact that migrants may have on the culture of Emirati nationals. In this sense, it is important to note that this xenophobic threat is not related to the culture of hyper-capitalist consumerism that controls many aspects of social life, but rather on the impact of 'lower' class South Asian migrants who are seen as the largest numerical force in the region. These insecurities are then seen as embodied in the category of 'migrant-labourer' and filtered through various forms of structural racial, class, and gender based violence. Following this, the influx of professional migrants from more developed nations or representing the elites from Third world nations are not considered threatening in the same regard. There is no question that this differentiation is based on racist, colonial legacies that have affected the class position of these various 'professional' ex-pats. The histories which affect the ways that various groups of bodies enter the space is important in understanding how these hierarchies are maintained by all levels of participants.

As Longva confirms in her study, the motivation to uphold this system is highly based on the idea of the 'natives self-perception as a minority under siege' (Longva, 1997, p.453). This idea has consequences not only for institutionalizing 'hierarchies of entitlement' against migrant workers, but also for silencing internal conflicts such as the status of women's political participation, as seen in the Kuwaiti example. As in the UAE, the construction of this argument follows what Longva has said, "...a challenge would be interpreted as a betrayal of cherished Kuwaiti traditions and an embracing of alien values,

which were all the more unattractive since they were identified with the marginal and powerless expatriates" (Longva, 1997, p.453)

The embodied characteristics of 'migrant-Others' are implicated in a logic that reinforces a model, as Razack (2002) highlights, which is the epistemological underpinning of imperialism whereby the colonial subject is broken down into 'knowable' characteristics. Thus the 'migrant -Other' is knowable through a process of dehumanization that erases the individual histories and social relations that have brought them into this space in a particular way.

Going back to the numbers, it is clear that the volume of migrants affects the feelings of nationals in strong ways. In the Gulf formal citizenship applies to a small minority of the population, and different labour sectors are endowed with 'privatized' notions of entitlement. Thus, citizenship status represents intense benefits and legal status incomparable to that of any foreigner. Furthering this other scholars have highlights the ways in which nationals are encouraged to separate themselves from foreigners, through material benefits such as: state sponsored education, medical treatment, home ownership, utilities at a fraction of the cost and marriage incentives (Dresch and Piscatori, 2005, p.87). These ideologies are seen to have serious implications for the majority-migrant work force, and have led to the creation and perpetuation of discourse that suggest migrants are a threat to national security, stability and the family. Overall, the state is constantly working to find ways of limiting the impact of migrants on national culture and traditions.

In order to justify the blatant inequalities, which comprise the hierarchies of entitlement in the UAE, the national discourse, which is internalized by citizens and 'ex-pats', is based on the charitable nature of the Emirati economy. Since the underlying forces

of this system are based on the capitalist development of Dubai as a 'global city', much of

the legitimatization of these inequalities is done by different social groups, including

professional 'ex-pats' who justify the mistreatment and structural inequalities by alluding

to the fact that 'migrants' are never lied to about what they will encounter, they are not

tricked like 'trafficking' victims, and as such the blame is on the backwards 'Third World'

governments who cannot spare their citizens the need to migrant to sustain their

livelihoods. This discussion leads us to a consideration of what is missing, or rather, what is

being masked in these discourses surrounding the relationship between 'us' and 'them'.

> Despite the end of formal colonial dependence, the legacy of imperialism has combined with
> modern conditions of indebtedness to generate large pools of Third World migrant labour
> (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2005, p.46).

The most obvious 'missing' link in this discussion is how the state creates national

mythologies around 'development' without connecting them to a larger history of colonial

violence. Saskia Sassen's (2002) work on economic restructuring in both 'developed' and

'developing' nations helps to explore the migration and movement of workers through the

'counter-circuits of globalization'. The formal infrastructure of globalization works

simultaneously to produce an underclass of workers on which the economies of 'global

cities' are built (Sassen, 2002). Thus, sending governments play an important role in

maintaining these transfers of workers and many scholars highlight that 'Third World'

governments are increasingly dependent on remittances as a poverty reduction strategy.

The 1980s and 90s Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) by the World Bank (WB) and

International Monetary Fund (IMF) have altered the direction and possibilities of post-

colonial independence for many developing economies. As well, they intensified the

dependency on women's unpaid labour to compensate for a loss in the level and quality of

social service provisions, which significantly impact women's abilities to provide the basic

necessities of food, health and sustainability for millions of households. In the exaltation of national subjects, these histories are largely ignored and as such the empire is seen as outside of historically unequal relationships.

Techniques

What are the impacts of these ideologies on the working lives of migrants in Dubai? And furthermore, how are these issues of identity creation in relation to the exalted citizens, related to the nation-building project? This section explores some of the various techniques through which this violence and discipline is maintained.

As Thobani highlights, these various categories of human beings are seen as possessing different qualities of humanity that have an impact on the type of claims and entitlements they have, and subsequently, "which call for different modalities of their management" (Thobani, 2007, p.6). In addition, Longva (1997) highlights that in the case of Kuwait, "wealth, leisure, and power now stood in stark contrast with expatriate poverty, dependence, and labour. The dichotomy between Kuwaiti leisure and non-Kuwaiti labour became a central theme around which both components of the emirate's population, but in particular the Kuwaitis, spun their ethnic stereotypes and build their social identities (Longva, 1997, p.450).

To explore the various ways in which these types of violence are materialized, we can look to Franz Fanon's (1963) various spheres of violence as discussed in *Wretched of the Earth.* The multiple strategies through which, in the colonial context, violence permeated every aspects of social, economic and political life include the psychological, structural, spatial and physical spheres of violence imposed upon the colonized. In addition he explores how these are imposed on the colonized, but also how they become

internalized and used against each other. Spheres of violence do not exist separately but configure into and intersect with each other.

Spatial Organization

The segregation of 'labour' workers into worker camps, or apartments on the outskirts of town or in neighbouring Emirates, means that the people who sustain the economy are being kept away from the 'image of Dubai'. This apartheid-like system means workers are forced to live in accommodations provided by their employers. In the UAE these have formed 'migrant ghettos' that are the frequent concern of international human rights organizations. There are daily newspaper publications in the region about the unsanitary and detrimental conditions of living arrangements that migrants are forced to accept. In terms of domestic work, women are forced to live with employers as a conditionality of their contractual based employment. Furthermore, all workers in these 'lower' categories are the frequent victims of employer abuses and often, indentured labour.

Temporarlity and Un-/necessary Labour

In regard to the policies of contractual employment, workers are kept 'in line' by being continually reminded of their inability to settle, bring their families or gain recognition for their work in Dubai. Furthermore, workers are often reminded of the large pools of workers waiting for these jobs 'back home'. Migrants are disciplined through their temporality, non-belonging and precariousness of their status and visas, all of which, combined, although differentiated by gender, produce insecurities amongst migrants, which limit their ability to produce organized resistance.

Policy

Since the experiences of exclusion are relational, some of the policies, which govern and enforce these inequalities, include government controls on entrepreneurial ownership, property ownership and public strategies to promote the shift from public to private participation of nationals. Scholars writing about the region have often used concepts such as 'asianization' and 'arabization' to describe the influx of foreign workers from certain ethnic groups. As an example, the concept of 'emiratization' is increasingly used in public discourses in the UAE to promote the integration of nationals in the private sector economy.

Historically one major policy example is based on employment contracts that are used to discipline and regulate the movement of bodies. The "Kafala" system, or sponsorship system in most GCC countries limits the ability of workers to change employers, even in the case of abuse. 'Sponsorship Laws' tie workers to specific employers and as such, their mobility is restricted and protection is minimal. To complicate matters, recruitment agencies are interested in protecting the 'purchases' of employers and rarely offer any support to workers. While the government has undertaken some strategies to implement increased protections for workers, such as minimum wage, regulations of hours, and benefits, the major failure is the non-existence of regulatory mechanism to enforce these new labour rights. Overall, where you go is over-determined by where you are from in almost all aspects of social, economic and political life in the UAE.

Dehumanization

The use of 'migrant labourers' as a general category not only delineates the structurally enforced lesser status of these groups of people, but also to the strategies of

dehumanization that work at creating a group of homogenize, apolitical and ahistorical bodies for economic production. The structure is created so that each person experiences an erasure of their social life, their bodies are constituted as without a past and with no future, these subjects are then rewritten into the production relations of the economy through their labour. For example, the income requirements for family sponsorship and visas provide one important way of controlling social relationships.

Another tool that underpins the logics of nation building is based on the ways that state policy and societal outlooks create differentiation in the social status of various groups living and working within the UAE. As reflected in Thobani's (2007) discussion is the way that different groups of non-exalted peoples are organized. For example, the various social classes the comprise Dubai mean that there are some ways in which certain bodies are more included than others. This opens up a space to discuss the various techniques that allows different groups of legitimize their positions vis-à-vis 'Others'.

These differentiations as highlighted earlier lead to the hierarchies of entitlement that determine the level of access that various groups have to legal protection, the economy, social and cultural participation. Apart of the formal differentiation which takes place at the state and global level, is the various ways that groups amongst themselves legitimate the lesser status of 'migrant labourers'. Overall the ideologies of lesser status are based on interactions between various categories, all of which create exclusions for these workers as somehow naturally suited to accept the conditions under which no other category of worker would be expected to live.

Interesting to note are the contrasts between these strategies of exclusion and the perspectives by middle class ex-pats who inhabit a less temporal space and are given a

21

more entitled and privileged status than those who are confined to instability and vulnerability, and to the overseers, the local, the 'indigenous' peoples of the UAE, both of which maintain these structures of inequality. What is important to note, is that although the structures which maintain this unequal access to power are found in the hands of the royal families of the UAE, those who participate in more privileged, middle class positions also participate in legitimizing and benefiting from the inequalities upon which the system is built.

It is important to emphasize the structures of colonialism that are applied to determine the entrance of various nationalities of workers. The entrance of migrant workers is based on an overwhelmingly low status that is created through the racialization of 'Third World' labour as lesser than, that of 'White', 'Western' nations. Furthermore, citizenship in the context of the Gulf countries exacerbates these xenophobic ideologies and effectively serves to institutionalize hierarchies of entitlements, protections and access. As, Rachel Silvey (2004, 2006) a feminist scholar on Indonesian migrant domestic workers to Saudi Arabia writes that, "The lack of state capacity to protect these women is not a coincidence. Rather, it is reflective of class-, nationalist- and gender-specific norms about tolerable crimes and acceptable victims" (Silvey, 2006, p.249). These ideologies work to continuously remind (domestic) workers of their outside and foreign status by being pushed outside of the families' social fabric (Sabban, 2006, p.26).

It is in this way that the UAE is able to create 'exceptions' in the 'exclusion' of 'low-wage' migrants. Furthermore, through the combination of national mythologies of cultural anxiety and popular discourses about their home countries 'backwardness', these workers are given separate social, political, economic and legal regulations that are justified through

national discourses of exalted citizens. In this way, the subcontracting of responsibility means that the state is able to utilize and exploit the labour of this underclass of workers by shifting the responsibility onto sending governments, foreign companies and individuals operating in the UAE, without recognizing structural and systemic systems of oppression operating at the global, national and community level.

Legitimized Violence(s)

Differential treatments lead to questions about how privileged people living in the UAE come to believe in the legitimization of exclusion from state protection for racialized migrant workers. These processes lead to the dehumanization of subjects, which eventually means that civil and political rights are taken away by those "large numbers who (now) stand outside the law" (Razack, 2002, p.162). These processes highlight the various ways that certain knowledge(s) are produced in relation to the marginalization of 'others' and become seen embodied in workers. In addition, it is necessary to highlight the ways that categories outside of 'citizens' and 'migrants' operate to uphold these systems of exploitation.

In Neha Vora's (2008) work on middle class Indian migrant to Dubai, she explores the way that this group of workers legitimizes their position in Dubai through neoliberalism and capitalism consumption. While this group of workers also attests to experiences of discrimination, their racial consciousness is used to distinguish themselves from 'other' Indians. They saw this as apart of their middle class, neoliberal opportunity. From this, as Vora states, and as my earlier study concluded, "...they were therefore able to deny their own participation in the boundary making practices that uphold a racialized and class social hierarchies in the UAE" (Vora, 2008, p.389). Furthermore, as some scholars

have been to allude, the societal makeup of the UAE is based on apolitical consumerism,

whereby consumerism comes to represent a possibility for informal citizenship (Escobar

2006, Vora 2008).

Further Considerations

> For me, post-colonialism is about rethinking how colonialism operated in different
> times in ways that permeate all aspects of social life, in the colonized and colonizing
> nations. It is hence about the complexity of the relationship between past and
> present. Between the histories of European colonization and contemporary forms of
> globalization" (Ahmed, 11).

This discussion has emphasized both material and ideological forms of subject

creation, both how identities are imposed, but also how 'bodies' experience violence

through 'marked otherness'. In locating epistemologies, it is important to investigate how

the embodiment of racial, gendered, class and citizenship based 'otherness' comes to be

understood, how are identities created and deployed by the state, and the affects of this

exclusion on individual experiences of 'migrant-labourers'.

Dubai provides an important space to explore colonial legacies and ongoing forms of

imperialism under globalization. When you enter the space your experience is already for

the most part governed by your citizenship, which operates in a system that is inherently

based on colonial divisions between 'Europe' or the 'West' and the 'other'. The questions

left to explore are based on how to locate the particular structures of exclusion in the UAE

to histories of colonial and imperial exploitation that have left the vast majority of the globe

dependent on precarious work through migration. Furthermore, outlining this larger

history allows for an exploration of the processes of contemporary globalization in the Gulf

and the role of exalted subjects from the 'West' who also participate in and benefit from

this system of oppression. Exploring the relations between 'citizens', 'ex-pats' and 'migrant-

labourers' highlights the role of nationality (citizenship)-based regulation of racialized and gendered bodies.

From this work it is necessary to explore a deeper historical analysis of the conditions and motivations which made possible these national mythologies of the state. Thus, I ask, if, at the point of entering the space, your experience is almost already over-determined, then what are the histories which were imbedded in these discursive practices? The outstanding questions are based on how to locate the particular structures of exclusion in the UAE as they relate to histories of colonial and imperial exploitation that have left the vast majority of the globe dependent on precarious work through migration. Furthermore, in outlining this larger history, I ask, how does the 'West' participate in these ongoing forms of imperialism in the context of emergent global cities? How does race operate in a context with subjects (Emirati citizens) who are simultaneously inside and outside white-capitalist-bourgeois hegemony?

My ongoing research in this area explores the historic relations between 'First' and 'Third' world nations through the 'international division of labour', and the intersection of these hierarchies within the unique 'national' context of the global city of Dubai. To understand how the position of Dubai as a global city impacts the lives of a migrant-majority workforce, I turn to map a geography of migration and simultaneously 'un-map' or uncover a genealogical analysis of the historic legacies and inequalities that manifest within the international division of labour. Thus, I am interested in both a larger history that gives rise to, and continues to maintain, the international division of labour, and also, to understand the particular social, political, economic and cultural dynamics of the global city thesis in the UAE.

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