

Labor Migration to the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: The Case of low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers in the UAE

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Abstract: This research investigates the labor market and migration to the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries (GCC) countries, while focusing on the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Emiratization policy and the Kafala system. It reveals key challenges, which unskilled and low-skilled migrants from Asia, Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa face in the UAE and the steps taken by the UAE government to overcome the challenges.

The research uses oral interview and content analysis. The population consists of 300 unskilled and low-skilled migrants from different nationalities who work in different sectors in the UAE and reside there. The interview questions consisted of six open-end questions.

Keywords: Emiratization policy; Gulf Cooperation Council Countries (GCC); Kafala system; Labor migration; low-skilled migrant workers, United Arab Emirates (UAE); unskilled migrant workers.

I. INTRODUCTION

According to Albayrakoglu(2010) , the oil wealth was present in the Gulf countries since 1950 and peaked after the oil boom in 1973. To maintain sustainable growth, the Gulf Cooperation Council countries adopted economic diversification programs and made decisions to invest in several sectors such as infrastructure, health care and tourism.

Due to the small population size together with a lack of interest in the development of necessary skills for locals to occupy private sector jobs, a strong need was created for the import of foreign labor as mentioned by Bahgat(1999); Winckler (1997); Naithani and Jha (2010).

In accordance with Jr. & Youha(2013), heavily relying on foreign labor to maintain high living standards and economic growth, the UAE as one of the world's most distinguished oil-rich nations in the Gulf Cooperation Council region succeeded in becoming a popular attraction destination of labor migrants seeking employment opportunities and higher living standards.

This research discusses the labor market in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and the challenges faced by migrant workers. It monitored the case of the United Arab Emirates. It revealed the challenges faced by the low-skilled and unskilled migrants, the impact of the Emiratization policy and the Kafala system on the migrant workers and the steps taken by the UAE government to overcome challenges. The research addresses the following objectives:

- RO1: To study the effect of the Emiratization policy on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates.
- RO2: To explore the effect of the Kafala system on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates.

The study will tend to answer the following research questions:

- What are the challenges faced by low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates?
- What is the impact of the Emiratization policy on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates?

- What is the impact of the Kafala system on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates?

The research uses oral interview and content analysis. The population consists of 300 unskilled and low-skilled migrants from different nationalities who work in different sectors in the UAE and reside there.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will discuss the literature related to migration, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), labor market in the GCC Countries & migration and the migrants' challenges in the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries (GCC)

Migration

Migration has played a major role over the years in shaping labor dynamics worldwide that have been essential for the global economy and the development of several modern states.¹

According to Katerina (2017), international migration is defined by the IOM Glossary as the “movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country”.

As mentioned by Bhugra & Bhui (2001), migration is defined as a movement from one country to another in order to settle in another. They mentioned that migrants could move individually or as a group such as people who move individually for economic reasons and may be joined later by their families.

According to Bogue.D.J(1959), migration has major socio- economic and cultural effects in both the country of origin and the country of destination.

Migration includes the movement of people such as economic migrants and can be defined as the crossing of a boundary for a certain period. Its forms can be distinguished according to the legal status or the motives of those concerned. The categorization of international migrants is as follows:

- Temporary labor migrants are those migrating only for a limited period seeking employment opportunities.
- Irregular migrants are those who seek employment opportunities and enter a country without the obtainment of required permits.
- Business and highly skilled migrants are those who have qualifications such as managers and executives.
- Forced migrants are those who are forced to move as a result of external factors.
- Family reunification migrants are the ones who have family ties with the ones who are already present in an immigration country.
- Return migrants are those who return to their countries after spending a period of time in another country.²

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was established in 1981 in Abu Dhabi. It consists of six oil-rich Arabic nations (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) sharing a similar culture, religion and economic interests. The objectives of this Council were to promote cooperation, economic, scientific, environmental and cultural relations and to facilitate military cooperation between the member states. The Gulf Cooperation Council aims at achieving future goals between its members that include diversifying the economies, tighter military cooperation and establishing a single regional currency as explained by Sawe (2017).

¹The phenomenon of migration: Its significance or meaning in human societies throughout history. (2012, March 16). Retrieved August 23, 2019, from <https://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/opinions-and-positions/speeches/2012/test/>

²Migrant/Migration. (n.d.). Retrieved August 23, 2019, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/>.

On 1 January 2008, a common market was established and was fully integrated in January 2015 aiming at facilitating the movement of services and goods. The market allowed full equality among the GCC citizens in relation to work, real estate ownership, access to education and other social services. Common economic projects were also launched to facilitate and promote integration.³

Labor Market in the GCC Countries and Migration

Over the past two decades, migration to the GCC countries has intensified and grown. Table 1 below shows the increase in the total stocks of global migrants to the GCC countries between 1990 and 2017.

Table 1: Global Migrant Stocks and Share in the Population of GCC States, 1990–2017

Country	1990		2000		2010		2015		2017	
	Migrants stock	As % of pop	Migrants stock	As % of pop	Migrants stock	As % of pop	Migrants stock	As % of pop	Migrants stock	As % of pop
Bahrain	173,212	34.9	239,000	36.0	657,856	53.0	704,137	51.1	723,000	48.4
Kuwait	1,074,391	51.2	1,128,000	55.0	1,871,537	62.4	2,866,136	73.6	3,123,000	75.5
Oman	304,000	16.8	624,000	27.5	816,221	26.8	1,844,978	41.1	2,073,000	44.7
Qatar	309,753	65.0	360,000	60.7	1,456,413	81.8	1,687,640	75.5	1,721,000	65.2
S. Arabia	4,998,445	30.6	5,263,000	25.3	8,429,956	30.7	10,185,945	32.3	12,185,000	37.0
UAE	1,306,574	70.2	2,447,000	77.6	7,316,611	88.5	8,095,126	88.4	8,313,000	88.4
Total/Ave	8,166,375	44.8	10,061,000	47.0	20,548,594	57.2	25,383,962	60.3	28,138,000	59.9

Source: Atong, K., Mayah, E., & Odigie, A. (2018). *AFRICA LABOUR MIGRATION TO THE GCC STATES: THE CASE OF GHANA, KENYA, NIGERIA AND UGANDA*. African Regional Organisation of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC-AFRICA).

As mentioned by Atong, Mayah, & Odigie(2018), migrants are dominant in the total population and workforce of the GCC countries. Migrants made up an average of 60% of the total population in 2015 and in 2017. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have been the most prominent destinations over the last two to three decades in the GCC states and in the whole region. According to Valenta & Jakobsen(2017), the largest sources of migration flows to the GCC states and Gulf region are from Asia, Africa and bordering Arab countries.

According to Sassanpour et al. (1997), the labor markets in the GCC countries are divided between both public and private sectors and nationals and non-nationals. These markets depend on two types of migrant workers: low-to mid-skilled workers in construction and low-tech services fields and mid-to high-skilled workers in services that add high values. The labor market features of the GCC countries are distinguished and include the significant proportion of expatriate workers and the segmentation of the labor markets. Migrant workers were only from Arab countries, but later over the past twenty years, the immigration pattern has changed and large numbers of Asian and African workers came to the region to work. Better educated nationals are attracted to the government sector rather than the private sector, due to the generous benefits, higher wages and better employment conditions such as job security, early retirement with pension and shorter working hours. Therefore, the private sector depends heavily on the expatriate labor.

³Gulf Cooperation Council. (n.d.). Retrieved August 24, 2019, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_Cooperation_Council.

As mentioned by the paper of the International Monetary Fund (IMF 2017), the private sector employment is dominated by foreigners, while the public sector employment is dominated by nationals. The labor markets of the GCC countries current setting is a result of several factors such as:

- The economic policies in the GCC countries are open and liberal. These countries have become major exporters of capital & natural resources and major importers of labor and merchandise goods .
- The economies of the GCC countries are dominated by the oil and gas sectors.

-High oil prices in the 1970s and the early 1980s led to a rapid economic growth. The GCC countries had ambitious investment programs and the rapid development of industries & infrastructure in the GCC countries required the development of service industries and domestic household services. The intensive development of oil & gas sectors and capital required the support from service industries, which created a new demand for labor .

-Due to the limited resource base in the GCC countries and the economic growth, the need for importing labor occurred. This led to an inflow of foreign labor.

- To achieve economic development, the GCC countries rely completely on foreign workforce as mentioned by Kapiszewski(2006). Highly depending on large expatriate labor force reflects the small size of the domestic workforce and the limited supply of adequate skills as by Fasano & Iqbal(2003).

In accordance with Buttorff et al. (2018), since the GCC countries depend heavily on migrant labor especially in the private sector, the majority of the population is expatriates. The labor force consists of 20.3% citizens and 79.7% non-nationals. This imbalance is highest in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, where the workforce consists of almost 95% of non-nationals. The GCC countries do not offer a legal basis for naturalization and therefore, the foreign laborers would not be considered immigrants but temporary migrants.

Migration and the Migrants' Challenges in the GCC Countries

All migrants, particularly low-skilled and unskilled-workers face similar problems and challenges in the GCC countries.

What all these migrants have in common is their dependence on the Kafala system. This system regulates the working conditions of migrant domestic workers and those who work in the construction and service industry. In the Kafala system, the foreign worker who is working in the low-wage sector is legally bound to the person who sponsors his stay and arranges his visa and residency permits. When this person terminates the worker's employment contract, his legal status is cancelled as by Bachmann(2018).

Based on Costa & Martin(2018), since migrant workers are tied by visas and contracts to one employer and one job, they become vulnerable. When these workers lose their jobs, they lose their financial investment including the recruitment fees they paid before to labor recruiters to enable them to access temporary jobs in destination countries. They are left indebted and become more vulnerable to workplace abuses. Several migrants working in low-wage jobs are deprived of the right to family unity, as they can't bring their family members to join them in the destination countries. The temporary status of these workers prevents them to remain in the destination country and it is difficult for them to access legal representation or services. As a result, these migrant workers often face abuses, fraud, discrimination and debt bondage.⁴

The operation of private agencies; labor market mediators in the recruitment of workers across national borders, is often connected to abuse. Workers are obliged to pay excessive and sometimes extortionate recruitment fees where they acquire high levels of debt. These recruitment agencies also misinform and deceive these workers regarding the pay, conditions and offered work nature. As a result, as soon as these migrant workers arrive to their destination, they face several problems when dealing with unscrupulous intermediaries. As commented by the Director-General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM)(2014), the crippling recruitment fees make these workers vulnerable to trafficking and abuse.

According to Atong, Mayah, & Odigie(2018), migrants who move to the GCC countries also face the challenge of lack of pre-departure orientation, which makes them unaware of their rights and responsibilities. Other challenges include the delay in payment of their wages, harsh working conditions, excessive working hours, contract alteration upon arrival and even physical and verbal abuses. Migrant workers are made to work for long hours. According to the International Migration Report(2017), African migrant women working as domestic workers in the GCC countries work for 115 hours per week, while African migrant men work in the construction sector for 70 hours, which is higher than the standard working hours of 40 hours per week.

III. BODY OF ARTICLE

Research Hypotheses

H1: There is a significant negative impact of the policy of Emiratization on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates.

H2: There is a significant negative impact of the Kafala system on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates.

Conceptual Framework

The model illustrated below was constructed according to the objective of the study.

The conceptual framework of the research model is based on the independent variables (Emiratization) & (Kafala system) and the dependent variable (low-skilled & unskilled migrants). It shows the impact and the link between the aforementioned independent variables and the dependent variable.

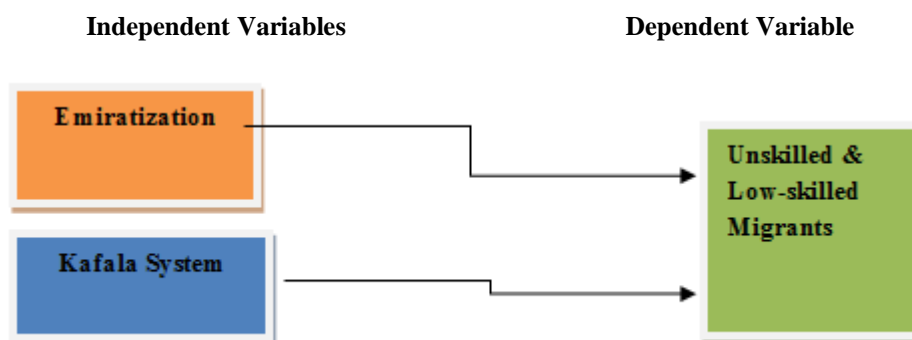


Figure 1: Independent variables (Emiratization) & (Kafala system) and dependent variable (low-skilled & unskilled migrants)

Source: By researcher

Emiratization

As stated by McGill & Scala(2019), 89% of the workforce of the UAE is made up of foreign workers making the country the second highest percentage of foreign workers among all of the GCC countries.

According to Horinuki (2009), during the building period of the UAE in 1970 and due to the lack of skilled and unskilled national workers, the UAE brought large numbers of migrant workers. To reduce the dependency on the oil sector, the UAE government developed non-oil sectors such as construction, manufacturing and services, which created job opportunities for migrants, as due to the working conditions, nationals refuse to work there. According to Khondker (2008), there was an inflow of foreign workers in the construction and service industries with the investment in non-traditional sectors as mentioned by Randeree (2009). To meet the labor shortages in oil and non-oil sectors, the solution was to employ workers from abroad, which led to the fact that workers from other countries outnumbered Emirati nationals as expressed by Suliman(2006).

The major economic growth witnessed by the UAE during the 1982 and the early 1990s increased the pressure on the government to employ a large number of unemployed individuals and to offer them jobs in public and private sectors. The job market in the UAE's private sector is divided into cheap & unskilled labor and highly qualified labor. Neither of these markets employs many Emirati nationals as per Rasheed (2010).

The UAE government made several efforts to hire Emiratis in the private sector. The reason behind this is that the number of available jobs in the public sector is decreasing as mentioned by Albloushi (2015). According to Al-Waqfi & Forstenlechner (2010), with the aim of integrating nationals into the labor market, the government launched a federal initiative called Emiratization in order to reduce the non-Emirati population and workers percentage. As mentioned in the memorandum entitled (Employment Issues in the United Arab Emirates), the Emiratization programme was introduced by the UAE government in 2004 to ensure that the employers prioritize UAE nationals, but UAE nationals find some aspects of private sector employment unacceptable. In accordance with Al Ali(2008), cultural barriers exist in relation to jobs that are regarded as menial such as physically demanding work and long working hours.

In accordance with Martin(2019), several migrant-sending countries reported lower demand for their workers in general such as Pakistan's Economic Survey 2018-19. It showed a 40% decline in workforce requirements from the UAE, which is a country that consists of 90% immigrants. The Emiratization policy negatively affects the higher-skilled foreigners rather than the low or mid-skilled migrant workers. The reason behind this is that the average Emirati family is wealthy and local workers will not accept working in retail, construction or even low-level administration posts. The country will still depend on foreign workers to finish its infrastructure projects.

Kafala system

Accordant with McGill & Scala(2019), the Kafala system; a type of visa sponsorship and ties the migrants to their employer is used in the UAE. The migrant worker's visa status depends on his job performance and if he leaves his employer before the end of a contract without his approval, he can face punishment such as prison, fines and even deportation. Under the Kafala system, migrant workers are obliged to hand over their passports to their employers. The employer determines the workers living conditions, their salaries, ability to work elsewhere and even to return to their home countries. This means that every aspect of the worker's lives is controlled by the employer starting from finances to their overall well-being. The contracts offer little protection for the migrant workers and reduce their job security. Workers are obliged to work for long hours and face violence and abusive situations. If any migrant worker tries to escape his employer, he will be imprisoned and deported. He will also be obliged to pay back the employer sponsorship fees and he won't be receiving his earned salary. All these costs leave the migrant indebted to the employer and unable to escape. Therefore, the Kafala system seems to contribute in the abuse against migrant workers.

Challenges

As by Hamza(2015), the workers living conditions are shocking as they are piled into labor camps geographically and socially separated from the city. The camps are overcrowded and lack sanitary living conditions. Not only do these migrant workers suffer from health problems, they are also subject to hazardous working conditions every day especially in the construction industry. The heat, extremely long workdays and few days off contribute to these hazardous work environments.

The way domestic and migrant workers are treated in the UAE is troubling. Low-paid migrant workers are 70% of the UAE's 9.4 million inhabitants. Hiring domestic staff became a prosperity and wealth symbol of the Emirati nationals. Migrant workers offer cheap and flexible labor that endures low wages. Domestic migrant workers earn average monthly salaries between \$150 and \$200 and they work between 16-21 hours per day without any breaks or rest in addition to weekends. Several domestic workers sleep on the bare floor, under stairwells or in common living quarters as well. Domestic migrant workers are regarded as objects sold and bought in the global marketplace and are at an increased risk of abuse and mistreatment. Migrant workers who work in the construction sector in the UAE also are subject to control and mistreatment. The UAE Labor Law 1980 determined expected working conditions for migrant workers working in the construction sector such as maximum working hours, annual leave, overtime, health and safety requirements and that a minimum wage must be guaranteed in the UAE equal to \$2,029 a month. Despite of all this, the majority of these requirements are ignored and construction workers earn approximately only \$175 a month. In order to finance their trip

and pay recruitment fees to agencies, these workers incur debt. Upon arrival, their passports are confiscated and they face difficulties when their contracts are in Arabic or English, which are considered alien languages for them. When these workers refuse to sign the contracts, they are threatened to return to their home countries as based on McGill & Scala(2019)

The UAE Government's efforts

As by Jacobs(2018), the UAE government is working on solving the migrant workers problems and laws were passed in 2017. These laws impose penalties on employers or recruitment agencies that don't guarantee any legal rights to these workers. Penalties are also imposed if these employers or agencies use violence against these workers or do not determine the expected salary or job description to the workers before they arrive to the UAE. A system was adopted by the UAE to ensure salary payment on time.

As mentioned by Sadek (2017), Federal Law No. 10 of 2017 was issued by the President of the United Arab Emirates on the 26th of September 2017. This law aims at protecting domestic service workers by strengthening legal measures. According to this law, domestic service workers must be treated equally by their employers. The law also requires that labor contracts define domestic workers rights and duties.

Although this law is promising with regard to the strengthening of legal measures for domestic service workers protection, it contains some shortcomings. Since the law states that the contract between the employer and the domestic worker is required only in Arabic and the Arabic version is authoritative if the contract is in another language, the language barrier problem is unsolved.

The law states that the worker can end a contract on his own will, but must pay for the ticket to leave to his home country. Workers who face unfair employment conditions have no other option than ending their contracts, which costs them a large sum. As these workers face difficulties in filing complaints against their employers, they are obliged to end their contracts since they have no other solution. Even though the law provides more protection and rights for the domestic workers, the employer's position is stronger. He speaks the language of law and has the financial capability that allows him to fight harder than the employer and win the case. The power imbalance remains and is in favor of the employer. The new law includes very progressive elements and will only be powerful with the existence of transparency.⁵

As expressed by Ahmed(2019), one of the examples of the UAE efforts to protect the migrant workers rights is the new initiatives taken by the UAE to protect the Pakistani workers who come to the UAE. The Memorandum of Understanding that has been signed by the UAE and Pakistan in June 2019 aims at fostering cooperation in the labor and human resources sector. This Memorandum ensures legal and risk free working environment for Pakistani workers upon their arrival to the UAE and deals with resolving any conflicts between the employer and the worker. Both parties shall sign the employment job offer, which states the rights and obligations of the worker and employer before the departure of the workers from Pakistan.

Despite of the improvements acknowledged by the Human Rights Watch and the United Nations, labor abuses continue. According to the Human Rights Watch, the reform laws still allow the employers to charge the workers recruitment fees and this makes them indebted as stated by Jacobs(2018).

IV. METHODOLOGY

Because this study is conducted to examine the key challenges, which the low-skilled and unskilled migrants face in the UAE, the population consists of all levels of low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE. The research used oral interview and content analysis and was carried out with the help of an assistant residing in the UAE who met and interviewed the selected migrants. The oral-interview consisted of six open-ended questions in which the respondents were asked whether Emiratization and the Kafala system have an effect on them as migrants. The population was made up of migrants from different nationalities residing in the UAE. The population size was 1200 in the ratio of 0.5, 0.4 and 0.1 respectively and to get a sample size of 300, the Taro Yamane's formula was used. A Spearman's rank correlation

⁵UAE: *New Draft of Domestic Worker Law pending approval* . (2017, March 30). Retrieved November 1, 2019, from <https://www.migrant-rights.org/2017/03/uae-new-draft-of-domestic-worker-law-pending-approval/>.

coefficient and a coefficient of reliability (r) 0.95 was obtained indicating item consistency for the purpose of testing and retesting. To obtain the sample size of 300, a systematic sampling technique was used giving the measured content validity.

V. DATA ANALYSIS

The 300 respondents were asked whether the Emiratization policy has a negative impact on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE and more than 90% of them gave a negative answer. When the 300 respondents were asked whether the Kafala system has a negative impact on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE, more than 90% of them agreed.

Table 2: The Responses Analysis from the Respondents

Seq	Question	Yes in number	%	No in number	%	Total in number	Total in %	
1	To determine whether the Emiratization policy has a negative impact on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE i. Was the demand for low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers decreased? ii. Is there a competition between UAE nationals and low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers in the fields of domestic services and construction? iii. Were low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers stopped being hired in the UAE?	2	0.67	298	99.33	300	100	
		3	1.00	297	99.00	300	100	
		5	1.67	295	98.33	300	100	
2	To determine whether the Kafala system has a negative impact on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE i. Is the Kafala system exposing migrant workers especially domestic workers to abusive practices? ii. Do the recruitment agencies exploit migrant workers to debt bondage? iii. Due to the Kafala system, do the migrant workers suffer from poor living accommodations and restrictions on freedom?	294	98.00	62	20.67	300	100	
		293	97.67	72	24.00	300	100	
		292	97.33	82	27.33	300	100	

Source: By researcher

As demonstrated in table 2, 300 respondents were asked whether due to the Emiratization policy, the demand for low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers decreased, a competition existed between UAE nationals & low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers in the fields of domestic services & construction and were low-skilled and unskilled migrant workers stopped being hired in the UAE. 298, 297 and 295 of the respondents making percentages of 99.33, 99.00, 98.33 had a contrary opinion, while 2, 3, and 5 of them making percentages of 0.67, 1.00 and 1.67 agreed to it.

The 300 respondents were also asked whether the Kafala system exposes migrant workers especially domestic workers to abusive practices, whether the recruitment agencies exploit migrant workers to debt bondage and whether due to the Kafala system, the migrant workers suffer from poor living accommodations and restrictions on freedom. 294, 293 and 292 of the respondents making percentages of 98.00, 97.67 and 97.33 agreed to it, while 6, 7 and 8 of them making percentages of 2.00, 2.33 and 2.67 disagreed.

VI. FINDINGS

Findings revealed the following:

- There is no significant negative impact of the policy of Emiratization on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates. The reason behind this as revealed by this study is that Emirati nationals refuse to work in stressed atmospheres that involve physical hardship. Besides this, they also consider that jobs that demand medium-skilled or low-

skilled workers are mostly involved around working in construction or offering domestic services and are degrading and not acceptable. Therefore, the Emiratization policy would not negatively influence low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE as there is and there will be no competition between Emirati nationals and these workers.

- There is a significant negative impact of the Kafala system on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates. As revealed by this research, the Kafala system is a threat to the safety and wellbeing of low-skilled and unskilled migrants who are completely vulnerable and under the full control of the employer based on the Kafala system regulations. This system created a helpless and defenseless low-skilled and unskilled migrants labor that is not able to stand up for itself or speak up whenever mistreated. There are no guarantees for these migrants in relation to their rights as humans and not even their basic rights of survival. Therefore, the Kafala system has a significant negative impact on the low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates.

VII. CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the impact between the Emiratization policy and the Kafala system on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the United Arab Emirates. Results supported only hypothesis No. 2 which stated that there is a significant negative impact of the Kafala system on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE, while they did not support hypothesis No. 1 which stated that there is a significant negative impact of the Emiratization policy on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in the UAE.

Despite of the efforts of the UAE government to solve the problems and challenges faced by the migrants, there are still several violations and reforms are very slow. There are still major challenges, which are faced by the migrant workers and are related to their poor living conditions in the UAE. The UAE government should adopt serious regulations that put an end to the suffering of these migrant workers with all its forms; exploitation, unsafe working conditions, abuse, discrimination and non-payment or late payment of wages. It should protect these migrants especially the most vulnerable ones such as women who are working in domestic services. Most of these women suffer from serious human rights abuses at the hands of their employers and are often treated with cruelty and disrespect. They are not even allowed to speak up and stand up for themselves.

By adopting serious regulations and laws that ensure the protection of these migrants, this would not only be in favor of these migrants but would also contribute to the UAE economic growth as these migrants and the hard labor they offer contribute to the country's development. Therefore, these migrants should at least be granted their basic rights such as fair salaries and safe and good living conditions.

In addition to the adoption of serious regulations, the Kafala system that gives the employers the opportunity to abuse these migrants should end.

The findings of this study can be useful in future comparative studies. It is hoped that the results of this study could serve as a benchmark for any researches or future studies related to this field. This research has as any other researches some limitations. The sample of respondents is limited as it is mainly based on low-skilled and unskilled migrants in one specific country.

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