

Domestic Labor in the Gulf Countries

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This article looks at domestic labor migration to the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council.¹ It reflects a feminization of the occupation and the domination of Asian migrant women in this sector. The article argues that despite the high demand for Asian domestic workers and the increasing dependence on them in the Gulf countries for many years, they are still perceived as ‘others’, excluded from labor laws and thus rendered more susceptible to exploitation and various abuses. Efforts made by both the sending (Asia) and receiving countries (Gulf countries) towards adopting national laws and policies that protect domestic Asian migrant’s rights are reviewed. The article will end by giving brief recommendations to minimize the suffering of those migrants.

KEYWORDS Domestic workers, Gulf countries, Asia, migrants, human rights, international migration

INTRODUCTION

International migration has doubled in the past 25 years and despite that, as a proportion, it still constitutes around 3% of the world’s total population. Even though many of migrants today are found in developing countries, still large numbers of people engage in ‘south-south’ migration moving from one developing country to the other. According to a recent UN statistic, Asia has the highest share of international migrants of about 49 million; Africa has 16 million while Latin America and the Caribbean have about six million (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005).

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Historically, women have been participants in international migration unlike the wide assumption that claims that international migration explicitly focuses on males especially when looking from the economic perspective of international migration. It was believed that the share of women in international labor migration is negligible if ever present.

Data from the year 1960 however, give us a different perspective. In fact data show that women and girls constituted nearly 47% of international migrants worldwide, in 2000 this reached around 49% (Asis, 2005; Zlotnik, 2005). When looking at the number of international migrants by sex, one can see that women and girls had a high share in international migration for more than 40 years. In 1960 for example, there were around 35 million female migrants as opposed to around 40 million male migrants. In 2000, the numbers doubled with minor differences among sex, 85 million female migrants compared to 90 million male migrants (Zlotnik, 2005).

Women are increasingly entering the global labor market and are migrating alone more frequently especially with the increase in demand for labor in sectors that are traditionally associated with women of which domestic work constitutes a vital demand. Such economic opportunities are usually associated with attractive promises of well paid domestic jobs of which the Gulf countries constitute one of the main destination areas for these labor migrant women.

With such an increase in female migration internationally, it would indeed be interesting to look closer at the relationship between migration and gender in the Gulf countries and the sectors that attract female migration. In other words has there been a feminization of one sector as opposed to others, and whether this persistence in female migration is dominated by a specific immigrant group or ethnicity? Using Jose Moya's conceptual framework on domestic service in Europe, the Western Hemisphere, Africa, Australia, India and Japan, this article will attempt to extend it further to the Gulf countries to see if this conceptual framework is further supported in this region or not (Moya, 2007). Specifically, the article will attempt to answer the following questions: Has domestic labor been feminized in the Gulf countries? Does this sector constitute a domination of certain ethnic groups? How are foreign domestic workers constructed? The article will go a bit further beyond Moya's framework by looking at the policy implications and thus reviewing the efforts made by both sending and receiving countries and giving food for thought on potential recommendations.

DOMESTIC LABOR: IS IT FEMINIZED IN THE GULF COUNTRIES?

Large-scale labor migration to the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council started in the 1970s. Since demand is usually an important factor shaping labor migration, need for men migrants was more prevalent during the 1970s

to correspond to the different and more technical or heavier form of labor such as infrastructural projects in the Gulf countries. There has been a shift in trend however in the 1980s, when the projects were finished and the market demand shifted to medical personnel, nurses, sales persons including domestic workers. There was a high demand for women participation in the domestic labor market from South and East Asia (Zlotnik, 2005; Malecki & Ewers, 2007). This has been accompanied by the changing economic opportunities in the labor countries that encouraged female labor migration. Migration became part of the households' survival strategies where decisions needed to be made with respect to which members to send out in response to the demand market (Malecki & Ewers, 2007). Since the demand market was focused on females, it was easier for women to find jobs overseas as opposed to men, even though the children would rather stay with their mothers, and husbands would rather work abroad. Thus it was women who migrated to join their other female counterparts in the labor sector (Asis, 2005).

The female participation has been increasing ever since. Female migrants constituted about 43% of foreign population in Kuwait, 33% in Saudi Arabia, 30% in Bahrain, and 20% in the United Arab Emirates (UAE).² In 2000, there were about 7.4 million female workers constituting around 39% of all migrants in the region (Zlotnik, 2005). It is important to note however, that not all female migrants were labor migrants but included women migrating for family reunification purposes and others for studying abroad. This is especially true of Arab women who usually migrated with their husbands to the Gulf countries especially during the 1970s when the percentage of Arab Migrants was still high (League of Arab States, 2006). While a considerable percentage of men are employed in the domestic service whether as drivers, outdoor helpers or gardeners, still the majority of domestic workers are women (Shah, Shah, Chozvdhury & Menon, 2002).

DOMESTIC LABOR: DOES IT CONSTITUTE AN ETHNIC NICHE IN THE GULF?

During the 1970s, Arab migrants constituted a high percentage of all foreign workers in the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), specifically they constituted 1.5 million (mostly Yemenis, Egyptians, Palestinians and Iraqis of the total 7.5 million GCC populations). A remarkable shift occurred however in the 1980s and 1990s, where the number of Arab migrants started to decrease substantially ranging between 25%–29% in 2002, reflecting a stark decline from 72% in 1975. This decline in Arab migrants was substituted by Asian migrants which were almost double the number of Arab migrants (3.5 million Arab compared to 7.5 Asian migrants) in 2006 (League of Arab States, 2006).

Furthermore, the employment in domestic work has become also one of the major reasons for Asians' migration especially women, thus adding to their increasing number mentioned above. Therefore, an 'Asianization' phenomenon of the Gulf labor force seems to have emerged despite efforts and policies to increase and/or encourage Arab nationals' migration. Also, it seems that the domestic labor sector is dominated by migrant women from Asia. According to the International Labor Organization, around 1.5 million Asian women were working abroad in the mid 1990s many of which were headed to be employed as domestic workers in the Middle East (Shah et al., 2002). Specifically, data from Kuwait reveals, around 90% of all Asia migrant women are primarily employed as domestic workers in the service sector whereas only 10% of the employed Arab women are working in this sector (Shah, 2004).

Still with what seems to be an 'Asianized' Gulf labor force, there are certain countries within Asia that have taken dominance in the migration field and have thus created an ethnic niche. Three countries to be precise; Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia with a percentage ranging between 60 to 80% with both Sri Lanka and Indonesia dominating the Gulf market with their female domestic workers (Asis, 2005).

DOMESTIC LABORERS AND LABOR LAWS IN THE GULF COUNTRIES: INTEGRATION VERSUS 'OTHERNESS'

Like any other migrant group, socioeconomic characteristics of domestic migrant workers varied by country of origin. Philippine and Indian migrants for instance, were better educated compared to migrants from Thailand, Bangladesh, and Pakistan who were usually from rural and impoverished areas and as such, received higher wages (Kazi, 1994; Malecki & Ewers, 2007). Nevertheless, all Asians specifically women, occupied the lowest position in the social hierarchy and are considered outcasts in a country/society that largely depends on them for its functioning. Although women from Muslim countries are preferred, very subtle differences occur within this group of Asian women (Malecki & Ewers, 2007). Despite these differences in educational attainments/levels among the Asian domestic working women, there tends to be a general perception in the Gulf countries towards them being uneducated (Shah et al., 2002).

Furthermore, there tends to be a general negative social attitude towards the presence and influence of domestic workers both in the media and in social gatherings, particularly on the upbringing of children (in terms of language religion and culture/customs). Other factors are related to negative impacts on marital relationship, health impacts by the encouragement of a sedentary life style, and concerns about child abuse by domestic workers

(Shah et al., 2002). It is striking to see the strong negative perceptions when factual evidence suggests the contrary. A study conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor in Kuwait has shown no difference in psychological development of children raised primarily by domestic workers compared to those who have not (Shah et al., 2002). It's more likely therefore that these perceptions were more based on personal perceptions and/or experiences.

To extend further on this, domestic work is locally perceived (in the Gulf countries) as a foreigner's job and since many domestic workers come from Sri Lanka (as highlighted above), the word 'Sri Lanky' has entered the spoken Arabic Language to mean 'servant' thus further emphasizing two points: the unique ethnic niche of the domestic service and the 'otherness' construction of their work. Similar observations have been depicted by Moya in Brazil. With many servants coming to Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo from the poor north-east region of Brazil, the word 'nordestino' (in Portuguese) became synonymous to the word 'servant' (Moya, 2007). The similarities in these two observations are striking and might suggest the transnational construction of 'otherness' towards female domestic workers.

Signs of a gradual change of perception in attitudes toward domestic work were revealed in Bahrain. A survey conducted among local Bahraini workers has shown the beginning of acceptance to what they perceive as foreigners' jobs of which domestic service constitutes one (Shah, 2005). Although this indicates a start, it seems still that changes in perceptions are unlikely to occur in the near future as only 10% of the interviewees said that they would actually employ a Bahraini domestic servant, though around 70% of both men and women stated that they are willing to take on such a job (Shah, 2005).

With such negative social perceptions, being viewed as 'others' and accompanied by an almost lack of protection from local labor laws that invariably favor the employers in the Gulf countries; female domestic workers are increasingly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. The abuse may entail sexual harassment and sexual attack (ranging from propositions, threats of rape, and groping, to repeated rape), physical abuse (ranging from slaps to severe beatings), verbal abuse (harsh insults, threats, and belittlement), imposition of excessive working hours, unfair contractual terms, confiscation of passports, confinement to private homes and it may even reach the level of forcing the housemaids into sex trade (Shah, 2004; Malecki & Ewers, 2007). Thus the Welfare and status of migrant domestic women are most of the times dependent on their employers that renders them vulnerable to their employer's treatment, abuses and whims. Domestic migrant women most of the time endure rights violations, humiliation and abuses for fear of losing their jobs and thus their work permits and visas which might subject them to deportation (Asian Migration Center, 2003; Moya, 2007).

According to many media reports, many South and East Asian women were faced with under paid jobs, sexual and physical abuse, and long

working hours (International Organization for Migration, 2003). In Saudi Arabia for example, many of the estimated 8.8 million mostly from South and Southeast Asia comprising a third of the country's population face exploitive working conditions, no food, drink nor breaks, 16 hour workdays and often remain confined to locked dormitories during their time off (Human Rights Watch, 2006a). The number of cases of abuse against migrant workers rose by 194% between the years 2001 and 2002 according to investigations undertaken by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Asian Migration Center, 2003). As for Domestic servants in particular, there were many reported cases of humiliation, severe beatings, long working hours, unpaid wages, or delayed salaries (Shah et al., 2002; Shah, 2004; Malecki & Ewers, 2007). A study in Kuwait conducted by Shah et al. in 1991, reported that the average salary of domestic workers in 1985 ranged between \$115–130 per month (35–40 Kuwaiti Dinars), this salary has remained stagnant for over 20 years due to abundance supply of Asian workers, only very fortunate workers might get about \$165 per month, though very rarely. This abundance in supply is the very same reason that is leading to an exploitation of domestic workers, physical and sexual abuse and harassment (Shah, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2006a).

The consequent violations and abuses endured by domestic workers have resulted in suicide attempts being made by some of the housemaids. Incidents of jumping from multi-storey buildings was reported in a study in Kuwait and have labeled this as the 'jumping syndrome' phenomenon; in 2002, for example, there were approximately two to three cases of serious fractures per week as a result of jumping (Shah et al., 2002; International Organization for Migration, 2003). Another study conducted in the psychiatric hospital in the same country, reported psychiatric morbidity to be about five times higher in the foreign domestic workers compared to the natural rate for a Kuwaiti female (Shah et al., 2002).

Some cases of physical abuse are so severe that they lead to a domestic worker's hospitalization or death. Moreover, the Indonesian, Philippines, and Sri Lankan embassies in Saudi Arabia handle thousands of complaints annually. In January 2004, for example, the Sri Lankan embassy reported receiving approximately 150 domestic workers who had fled their employers (Human Rights Watch, 2006b). In addition, female domestic workers from other Asian countries including Sri Lanka have been seeking refuge in their embassies; in 1996 approximately 400 Sri Lankan, 80 Filipino, and 80 Indian women sought refuge at their embassies in Kuwait (Shah, 2004).

Other common forms of mistreatment are those that reinforce the inferiority of the domestic worker's status by withholding food or providing it in a poor quality (Shah, 2004). While members of the Human Rights Watch were interviewing Filipino domestic workers in March 2006 in the UAE, 11 out of 26 interviewed domestic workers reported being deprived from adequate nutrition (Human Rights Watch, 2006b). In Kuwait, patterns of assault, rape,

and murder are prevalent. Reports have shown that some male foreign laborers have kidnapped runaway housemaids and forced them into prostitution. However, due to the sensitivity of the issue and difficulty in locating and studying domestic workers and their working conditions (mostly because they have numerous employers many of which refuse to acknowledge the employment ratio and/or provide access to those workers), there is no reliable information or objective data on the percentage of women actually subjected to rape and sexual abuse (Shah et al., 2002; Shah, 2004; Malechki & Ewers, 2007).

EFFORTS MADE TOWARDS ADOPTING NATIONAL LAWS AND POLICIES THAT PROTECT ASIAN MIGRANTS RIGHTS

Action Taken by Gulf Countries

In the Gulf countries, the sponsorship system known as *Kafala* (in Arabic) is the only means through which a worker can enter the country; it is the guarantee system for the worker vis-a-vis the authorities. Under the Kafala system four types of visas prevail: House visas, company visas, sponsorship by state institutions, and sponsorship for business partnership. Of these the house visa, issued for domestic jobs, represents the most risky option for the guest worker. The *Kafeel*, or sponsor, is the one that provides the worker with an entry job and a visa, and is responsible for changes in employment or residence of the worker to the authorities. The Kafeel therefore assumes control over the worker's freedom of movement, labor, and right to act as a judicial person. The sponsorship rule may entail elements of servitude and slavery, where sponsors might concede employees to others without their consent and might withhold their passports so as to prevent any possible escape (International Organization for Migration, 2003; Shah, 2005).

In addition, many migrant women working as domestic workers are often denied key labor protections extended to other workers and are faced with exploitive working conditions, including round the clock confinement by their employers making them vulnerable to sexual abuse and other mistreatment. These abuses have gained an increased attention lately and thus several measures were taken by the Gulf countries in an attempt to protect migrant workers' rights (International Organization for Migration, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2006a, 2006b). In Saudi Arabia for instance, slavery was abolished by royal decree in 1962 and currently there is an extensive system of labor courts that enforces the terms of work contracts. Nevertheless, the Saudi law does not protect many basic rights of foreign workers, and there are still cases where workers are not covered under the labor law (Shah et al., 2002; League of Arab States, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2006a). As such, in domestic workers' disputes that fail to be resolved, workers are

deported from the country. In 2002 the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia circulated a fatwa condemning the exploitation of guest workers. Nevertheless, in September 2005, the Saudi government issued a new labor law that still continues to exclude domestic workers with the exception of a special annex that promises to regulate their relations with the employers. On July 24th of the same year, the Ministry of Labor created a new department for the protection of domestic workers, to receive complaints and impose penalties (Human Rights Watch, 2006a).

In Bahrain, the country's penal code outlaws forced labor and withholding of salary. In 1993, amendments to the labor law strengthened the penalties, including jail sentences of up to six months for abuse of the sponsorship system, whether by the sponsor or the illegally sponsored worker. However, the fact remains, sponsors have not yet received jail sentences and the workers involved are usually deported as illegal migrants. In 2003, the housemaids' rights were included within the labor law (International Organization for Migration, 2003).

In Kuwait, abuse of domestic workers represents one of the main trends and may lead some Asian governments to ban women from taking jobs as maids abroad. In addition, the government has blacklisted over 4,000 Kuwaiti sponsors from sponsoring domestic workers due their failure to provide prescribed benefits. It also sponsors a center that assists domestic workers who have complaints against their employers and ensures that employers meet their contractual agreements (International Organization for Migration, 2003).

In Qatar, the labor law charged 105 companies in court for non-payment of wages and keeps record of companies that were blacklisted for severely violating labor laws and/or abusing their workers. In addition, the government does provide assistance to domestic workers who suffer from abuse by paying back their wages.

In the UAE, where nearly 80% of the population are foreigners accounting for 90% of the workforce in the private sector including domestic workers, the government had not signed most international human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, and the Convention against Torture, leaving these migrants particularly vulnerable to serious human rights violations (Human Rights Watch, 2006a). Nevertheless, the UAE has acceded to the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in October 2004. In addition, forced or compulsory labor is illegal in the UAE and labor regulations prohibit employment of persons less than 15 years of age. In 2003, as a response to the ill treatment of domestic workers, the government in Dubai decided to establish a shelter refuge to runaway domestic workers. The Dubai naturalization and residency department would also contact the recruitment agencies and sponsors of the worker and would not allow them

to bring in substitutes. By this, the department aims to identify the domestic workers that failed to get along with their sponsors and determine those who experienced ill treatments from their employers. In 2003, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs warned employees to provide their workers with the original labor contract while at the same time they advised job seekers abroad to confirm that the terms and conditions agreed upon in their countries are the same as the contracts they sign in the UAE (Human Rights Watch, 2006a; International Organization for Migration, 2003).

Action Taken by Asian Countries

Generally, labor sending countries in Asia are faced with the dilemma between 'promoting' and 'protecting' labor migrants. Given the economic gains from remittances sent by the migrants abroad, these countries would like to expand the overseas migration of their nationals, yet at the same time they cannot neglect the widespread abuses and violations of basic human rights suffered by their nationals abroad. Therefore many Asian countries started taking some measures in order to protect the rights of their nationals abroad (Wickramasekera, 2002). Now, the Sri Lankan Government for example, is funding an awareness-training program for women seeking domestic work in Saudi Arabia through which they receive information on their rights as well as useful contact information and telephone numbers (International Organization for Migration, 2003). The government also obliges its nationals to have health insurance before going overseas. The insurance covers the workers' deportation to Sri Lanka in case of accident, illness or death. It also covers hospitalization and medical treatment both abroad and up to 60 days upon the return of the migrant to his/her home country (Al-Najjar, 2002).

The Philippines, considered to be one of the major labor sending countries, is very active in protecting its citizens compared to other Asian countries. Specifically in 1995, the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act was created stating 'the State does not promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development', it also stated that the state would only deploy overseas Filipino workers in countries where their rights are respected and protected (Human Rights Watch, 2006a). Moreover, the Philippines provides legal and technical advice for citizens wanting to work overseas. It also puts them in contact with consulates or representatives from the country of destination. In addition, the Bureau of Immigration had recently decided to question all young Filipino women upon departure from Manila (International Organization for Migration, 2003). Also the Philippines through its overseas employment administration has extended greater government protection to Filipinas domestic workers employed abroad in addition to a standard

contract that requires employers to pay most of the costs related to recruitment and placement and ensuring a weekly day of rest (Human Rights Watch, 2006b).

Indonesia suspended sending unskilled labor to Saudi Arabia in light of the major human rights violations they encountered there and specifically from March 2005 until August of the same year. This was effective for it led to the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia on standard employment contracts, regulated weekly with annual time off as well as minimum wages (Human Rights Watch, 2006a).

Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, decided to send male migrants only, while restricting female migration particularly domestic workers migration in order to protect women from abuse and exploitation (Asis, 2005).

Also embassies of labor sending countries are playing more roles in responding to migrant workers that fled from their employers. For example, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Indonesian embassies in Saudi Arabia now have staff specifically responsible for assisting domestic workers in submitting labor complaints to their host countries. Some embassies also have temporary shelters or refer workers to private shelters (Human Rights Watch, 2006b).

Action Taken Internationally

A number of regional and global instruments exist and are designed to protect migrant workers and their families. The International Labor Organization (ILO) has done pioneer work in that area where many international instruments were developed for the protection of the rights of migrant workers if employed in countries other than their origin. In 1990, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. This instrument is comprehensive and clearly defines the rights of all migrant workers including irregular workers. Unfortunately however, neither major labor receiving nor sending countries in Asia did ratify this convention (Human Rights Watch, 2006a).

In 2003, after 13 years of adoption by the UN General Assembly, the International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (MWC) was finally put into force. The MWC provides a set of binding international standards on the responsibilities and obligations of sending and receiving States. Since the largest numbers of migrants come from Asia and the Middle East, it is vital that migrant workers in and from these countries fall within the monitoring of the MWC (Asian Migration Center, 2003).

In 2005, the International Labor Organization representative to Kuwait proposed a change to its current sponsorship Kafala system to the Kuwaiti government. It suggested the state of Kuwait to be the sponsor of all

foreign workers as opposed to individual sponsors implying that the current sponsorship system leaves workers vulnerable to exploitation (Shah, 2005).

Now, in light of this general overview and given the current situation of migrant workers in general and domestic laborers in particular, the MWC remains a paper document till it is effectively widely ratified and implemented. Only when this Convention is used as a tool in adopting protective rights based national policies, can the real change on the ground affect the lives of million migrant workers and improve the abuses of domestic laborers (Asian Migration Center, 2003).

CONCLUSION

The article has argued the continued feminization of the domestic work sector to the Gulf countries. A sector which has longed been a feminized sector in Europe, Africa, and American, extends also to the Middle East (specifically in the Gulf countries) thus supporting Moya's conceptual framework. It has further shown that this sector has become 'Asianized' overall with the following ethnic groups specifically dominating this market in order of concentration: Sri Lanka, Philippines, Indonesia, and India. The article still shows the prevailing 'otherness' of transnational domestic workers in the Gulf countries as it has been in other regions as well, thus excluding them from protective labor laws and continuing the reproduction of inequity, abuses, exploitation, and marginalization.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Domestic workers make a big sacrifice by leaving their homes to seek work overseas in an unknown world to be able to better support themselves and their families back home. For many, this is the first time they leave their cities or villages. The idea of working abroad in general and the Gulf in particular represents a new horizon for many of them, a trip full of opportunities in the hope of a better future back home. The reality however, is far from that; what these workers are eventually faced with are heavy workloads and long working hours accompanied by severe human rights violations, abuses, and insults. The land of opportunities soon becomes a nightmare where humane employers represent an exception rather than a rule, and is simply a matter of luck.

In light of the article's overview, domestic workers still continue to be excluded from many labor laws, and are thus rendered more vulnerable to violations, abuses, and exploitation. Despite some positive achievements and initiatives to address the abuse of migrant domestic workers adopted by governments, whether from the labor sending or receiving countries, their

response has thus far been less than adequate and much more is needed if protecting the rights of the millions of domestic migrants is indeed at heart.

Below are some recommendations that could present a start on the long journey of securing the human rights of all domestic migrants (Pongsapich, 1989; Abu-Habib, 1998; Human Rights Watch, 2006b):

- The establishment of an appropriate legal framework that protects the rights of domestic workers should be put in place and acted upon. The successful example of Hong Kong where domestic workers have the right to a minimum wage, a weekly day of rest, public holidays and maternity leave should be replicated elsewhere.
- The establishment of a framework that regulates and monitors the recruitment, employment and training conditions of domestic workers.
- Increasing awareness about domestic workers by organizing and developing mass communication campaigns that aim to educate the domestic workers, employers and labor recruiters about domestic workers rights including penalties against abuses.
- An establishment of the post of Labor Attaché (representative) in embassies will help support migrants by providing moral support and services for them while working abroad thus making adjustments easier in host countries.
- Governments of both sending and receiving countries including non-governmental organizations must take a more proactive role to protect female domestic workers, publicize their plights and take action to address the abuses they face.

NOTES

1. The Gulf Cooperation Council includes the Arab States of the Persian Gulf: Kingdom of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, Sultanate of Oman, Emirates of Kuwait and Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.

2. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a federation of seven emirates: Abu Dhabi, 'Ajman, Al Fujayrah, Sharjah, Dubai, Ra's al Khaymah and Um al Qaywayn.

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