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EMIRATI WOMEN'S LIMINAL ECONOMIC AGENCY

Gendered space within modernity and
tradition

Valerie Priscilla Goby



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores Emirati women's liminal economic agency in the rapidly modernising Arabian Gulf country, the United Arab Emirates. This study represents a complex research area in which elements of modernisation such as women's increasing educational and professional qualifications are materialising against a cultural landscape traditionally characterised by domestic women, their financial dependence on men, and gender segregation. I employ a variety of methodologies to investigate the new spaces that are being moulded by the contradictory forces of modernisation and traditional values associated with women.

The theoretical framework of my research is based on three intersecting analytical lenses, namely, space, the Islamic conceptualisation of gender, and localised Islam. The conceptual frame of space is important as the backdrop of state policy and traditional gender norms is creating fluctuating, liminal spaces which influence the development of new agencies for Emirati women. The Islamic conceptualisation of gender is of vital importance as it is influential in determining the nature and degree of agency that women can validly assume. The conceptual lens of localised Islam permits the researcher to trace how Islam is reinterpreted both individually and collectively within phases of substantial socio-economic and national change as is the case in the United Arab Emirates.

This compilation thesis comprises a synthesis and four individual studies. The first study maps the area of my research which is the evolving space of women's economic agency, a space interactively contoured by empowering gendered state policy and restrictive gendered cultural traditions. These two potencies mutually influence the potential for positions of change for women. The second study explores how Emirati women are enacting leadership both in terms of self-reported behaviours and employee perceptions. Given the traditional cultural subordination of Emirati women, it was considered valuable to investigate how they assume positions of organisational power. The results of this study reveal highly contextualised enactments of leadership through the merger of state policy encouraging the rise of women to leadership roles and patriarchal subordinations of women. The third study investigates women employees in the public sector and finds that women have considerable sense of agency generated by their state-endorsed belief that they are contributing to national development. Its findings also reveal that young women regard the workplace as an important extra familial social setting in

which they can independently forge personal relationships. The fourth study employs the conceptual lens of localised Islam to explore women's discursive legitimisation of their economic agency in terms of Islamic dogma and their attribution of objections to this agency as deriving solely from cultural traditions.

Research in the geopolitical setting of my study, an affluent nation with an Islamic heritage aiming to establish itself as a global political player, provides a valuable addition to research on the mutual constitution of gender, culture, and nation in the global south. The contribution of this research is that its findings add to the reframing of transnational gender studies as it illustrates that freedoms and agencies may exist in very different forms from Western interpretations of these constructs. My identification of a case in which elements of patriarchal subordination fuel greater agency among women leaders demonstrates a highly contextualised relational operation of subordination and agency thus negating the binary of power versus subordination. My four studies illustrate a fluid interpretation of development of state, culture, and gender, and thus problematise the assumption of a dualism of modernity versus tradition.

KEYWORDS: Economic agency; Islamic conceptualisations of gender; localised Islam; modernity; United Arab Emirates

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee emiratinaisten taloudellista toimijuutta nopeasti modernisoituvassa maassa, Yhdistyneissä Arabiemiirikunnissa. Tutkimus sijoittuu haastavalle tutkimuskentälle, jossa yhtäältä naisten mahdollisuudet koulutukseen ja ammatilliseen pätevyysien hankkimiseen ovat parantuneet. Toisaalta kulttuurinen ympäristö tukee sukupuolista jaottelua, jossa naiset perinteisesti ovat kotona ja taloudellisesti riippuvaisia miehistä. Tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään useita metodologisia lähestymistapoja. Tavoitteena on tarkastella niitä uusia tiloja, jotka muovautuvat modernisaation voimien ja perinteisten naisiin kohdistuvien arvojen ristiaallokossa. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu kolmeen analyytiseen kehykseen: tilan käsitteeseen, islamin sukupuolikäsitykseen ja lokalisoituun islamiin. Tilan käsite on tärkeä, sillä valtion politiikka ja perinteiset sukupuolinnormit luovat muuntuvia, liminaalisia välitiloja, jotka vaikuttavat emiratinaisten uusien toimijuuksien kehittymiseen. Islamin sukupuolikäsitys on keskeinen analyytinen kehys tässä työssä, sillä sen avulla voidaan tarkastella naisten toimijuuksien sisältöjä ja rajoja. Lisäksi lokalisoitun islamin käsite toimii tutkijan teoreettisena linssinä, miten Arabiemiirikunnissa niin yksilöt kuin kollektiivi uudelleentulkitsevat islamia merkittävän sosioekonomisen ja kansallisen muutoksen keskellä.

Tämä kokoelmäväitöskirja sisältää yhteenveto-osion ja neljä yksittäistä tutkimusta. Ensimmäinen tutkimus sijoittaa naisten taloudellisen toimijuuden kehityksen keskiöön tilassa, jota valtion politiikka ja sukupuolittuneet kulttuuriperinteet rajaavat. Nämä kaksi voimaa vastavuoroisesti vaikuttavat niihin mahdollisuuksiin, joita naisilla on muuttaa asemaansa. Toinen tutkimus käsittelee sitä, kuinka emiratinaisten johtajuus nousee esiin niin naisten itseraportoidussa käyttäytymisessä kuin työntekijöiden havainnoissa. Ottaen huomioon emiratinaisten perinteisesti kulttuurisesti alisteisen aseman on arvokasta tarkastella, kuinka he ottavat johtajuutta organisaatioissa. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset tuovat esiin hyvinkin kontekstuaalisia johtajuuden muotoja: yhtäältä valtionhallinto kannustaa naisten sijoittumista johtajatehtäviin ja toisaalta patriarkaalisten toimintatavat haastavat tätä. Kolmas tutkimus keskittyy julkisen sektorin naistyöntekijöihin. Tutkimuksen perusteella julkisella sektorilla työskentelevien naisten kokemusta heidän toimijuudestaan tukee valtion edistämä käsitys siitä, että naiset edesauttavat kansallista kehitystä. Tutkimuksen tulokset nostavat myös esiin, että nuoret naiset pitävät työpaikkaa tärkeänä perheen tai suvun ulkopuolisena sosiaalisena ympäristönä, jossa he voivat

itsenäisesti luoda henkilökohtaisia ihmissuhteita. Neljäs tutkimus analysoi lokalisoitua islamin käsitteen avulla, miten naiset diskursiivisesti legitimoivat taloudellisen toimijuuden tavoittelua. Legitimointia tarkastellaan suhteessa kulttuuriperinteisiin ja islamin dogmeihin. Naisten tulkinnoissa kulttuuriperinteet estävät naisten taloudellista toimijuutta enemmän kuin islamin opit.

Tutkimus on tehty geopolittisessä ympäristössä, jossa varakas, islamiset perinteet omaava valtio tavoittelee globaalien poliittisten toimijan asemaa. Tämä ympäristö tarjoaa arvokkaan ympäristön ymmärtää paremmin sukupuolen, kulttuurin ja valtion keskinäistä vuorovaikutusta globaalissa etelässä. Tutkimuksen tulokset lisäävät ymmärrystä monikansallisen sukupuolentutkimuksen kentällä. Toimijuuksia ja vapauksia voi esiintyä hyvin erilaisissa muodoissa verrattuna länsimaisiin näkemyksiin. Tässä tutkimuksessa havaitaan, että patriarkaalisen alistussuhteen elementit luovat naisjohtajissa voimakkaampaa toimijuutta. Tämä osoittaa alisteisuuden ja toimijuuden kontekstuaalisen suhteen ja kumoaa kaksijakoisen valta vastaan alistus-käsityksen. Tutkimuksen neljä osatutkimusta havainnollistavat liukuvan tulkinnan valtion, kulttuurin ja sukupuolen kehityksestä sekä problematisoivat oletuksen nykyisyyden ja perinteiden kaksijakoisuudesta.

ASIASANAT: taloudellinen toimijuus, sukupuolen islamilainen käsitteellistäminen, lokalisoitu islam, modernisaatio, Yhdistyneet Arabiemiirikunnat

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18.10.2022

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Table of Contents	8
List of Original Publications	11
1 Introduction	12
1.1 Rationale for study	12
1.2 Aim and research questions	14
1.3 Outline of study	16
2 Contexts and their limitations for the study	17
2.1 Country context.....	17
2.2 Religious and cultural context	18
2.3 Emirati women’s context	19
2.4 Challenges of doing research in these contexts	21
3 Analytical frames	24
3.1 Key frames in RQs and individual studies	24
3.2 Space: The shifting, liminal spaces of my research	25
3.3 Islamic conceptualisations of gender.....	27
3.4 Localised Islam	31
4 Individual original studies	34
4.1 Methodologies.....	34
4.1.1 Narrative	35
4.1.2 Mixed methods.....	36
4.2 Discussion of the individual studies	37
4.2.1 Paper I	37
4.2.2 Paper II	37
4.2.3 Paper III	39
4.2.4 Paper IV.....	40
4.3 Summary of individual papers in relation to RQs and conceptual frames.....	41
5 Contribution of study	42
5.1 Contributions to theoretical thinking	42
5.2 Further research	44

List of References..... 45
Original Publications..... 57

Tables

Table 1. Key frames used in studies.....24
Table 2. Individual studies and their publication details.34
Table 3. Methodology and focus of each study.....35

Figures

Figure 1. Gendered spaces constructed by contradictory
potencies.....15
Figure 2. Gendered execution of job role.....39

List of Original Publications

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

- I Valerie Priscilla Goby, Murat Sakir Erogul. Female entrepreneurship in the United Arab Emirates: Legislative encouragements and cultural constraints. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 2011; 34(4): 329-334.
- II Abdelrahman Alhadhrami, Valerie Priscilla Goby, Yahya Al-Ansaari. Women's enactment of leadership in a heavily gender-marked Islamic context: An exploration within the United Arab Emirates. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 2018; 26(5): 728-747.
- III Valerie Priscilla Goby. Emirati women's professional legitimacy: Synergy of the political and the personal amid constraint and self-determination. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 2021; 29(1): 1-15.
- IV Valerie Priscilla Goby. Localised Islam and creating spaces for women's economic activity: Emirati narratives. *Organization and Culture*. Under review.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Rationale for study

The fact that women represent the "inner sanctum" of diverse national collectivities and the focal point of kinship-based solidarities, as opposed to a more abstract and problematic allegiance to the state, has presented a dilemma for the "modernizing" states of the Muslim world (Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 11).

Gender and culture are mutually constitutive and the power relations that exist between men and women are configured differently within each cultural context (Bose, 2015). Research on gender originated in Western settings and cultural patterns particular to those settings, such as notions of patriarchy and family, were unconsciously imported into gender studies conducted in vastly different socio-cultural contexts (Oyewumi, 2002; Collins, 1998). An unfortunate outcome of using such a Euro-centric or US-centric approach to gender and other social constructs is the drawing of a dichotomy between Western and non-Western women (Mohanty, 1984; Oyewumi, 2002) which has little theoretical or empirical validity (Bose, 2015). Gendered institutions and inequities within individual contexts of the global south vary far more than in those of the global north making it essential to conduct keenly contextualised studies of global south contexts (Bose, 2015, p. 789) that do not privilege Western understandings of gender (Mohanty, 1984).

As rapid globalisation impacts more places and institutions, it is essential to recognise that globalisation itself is a gendered process (Freeman, 2001). Martin (1999) criticises the prevalent assumption that globalisation and modernisation are forces emerging solely in the West and transmitted to other geo-political contexts. Bartelson (2000) identifies three sequences of globalisation namely, transference, the increase of interaction and exchange among different social contexts, transformation, the emergence of change within specific local contexts, and transcendence. This last implies the despatialisation and detemporalisation of human practices that cannot be attributed to singular causes or specific contexts or actors and manifests contradictory tendencies of globalisation versus glocalisation and renationalisation (Wodak &

Meyer, 2016, p. 13). This notion is relevant to my research context given the exponential changes of recent decades in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and its national and international agendas. Identifying the impact of transcendence on gendered structures helps avoid a reductionist approach and simplistic notions that are determined by binaries that originate in Western ideology (Blackwood, 2005). The research I present here was undertaken to empirically explore the nuanced, culturally embedded subjectivities of Emirati women's liminal economic agency.

Transnational feminist theory urges us to rethink and reframe how we investigate the links between culture and gender (Kim-Puri, 2005), and to do so necessitates minute analyses of heterogeneous gendered subjectivities that emerge in specific geo-political contexts at particular historic points of time. Studies of gender in Islamic settings are proliferating and illustrate diverse highly contextualised gendered processes and agencies (Duderija et al., 2020; Howe, 2020; Sibgatullina & Kemper, 2021). Limiting the researcher's a priori assumptions and approaching the exploration and analysis of specific gendered structurations in a finely nuanced manner can empirically contribute to how we theorise about gender, subjugation, agency, and power (Kim-Puri, 2005, p. 141). I attempt to eliminate a priori assumptions from my research by not departing from the reductionist view of Arab women as deeply oppressed, as Grewal (1996) recommends, and by not assuming that cultural values associated with women are necessarily unqualified challenges. Through this approach, my study of the UAE context draws out different kinds of embedded inequalities and freedoms which are emerging through the interplay of its modernisation policies with its traditional values.

In the case of economically active Emirati women, how they can reconstruct themselves and assume new agencies is bounded by the cultural traditions of their Arab tribal system (Heard-Bey, 2005; Rugh, 2007) as well as the heavy gender marking of Islam. This doesn't imply that they necessarily have fewer freedoms, but that these freedoms can be of a different nature from those that might develop in Western settings. These freedoms cannot be determined a priori and are contextually defined, and my research explores these freedoms and different kinds of inequities as they emerge in the context of Emirati women's liminal economic agency.

The UAE aims to become a global political player (Eno et al., 2016; Kourgiotis, 2020), and part of achieving this objective involves addressing traditional subjugation of women (Esposito & Mogahed, 2008). The government has expressed the goal of becoming a global leader in gender equity and has augmented women's political participation and removed some legislative gender inequities. Moreover, its affluence eliminates many of the inequities of global processes that Grewal and Kaplan (2001) identify as affecting more economically challenged contexts. These developments call for attention to how this culture now positions its women and to the agencies that might be permitted to them (Maclean et al., 2016, p. 618; Macleod, 1991). However, it is important to bear in mind that new agencies conferred on

women often result from patriarchal political agendas rather than the objective of greater gender equity (Rahman, 2018). A nuanced scrutiny of the UAE's fluctuating gendered socio-cultural structurations and their "multifaceted dynamics" (Bose, 2015, p. 769) affords an understanding of culturally embedded subtleties of gendering and the doing and undoing of gender (Butler, 1990, 2004) beyond the economic distinction of global north and global south.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The transition from a preindustrial society to a modern one provokes deep changes in the gendered structurations of a society (Klenke, 2011). The interplay of traditional collective memory versus the dynamics of modernisation generates a constant push and pull between these two poles of influence and institutional changes do not necessarily imply cultural shifts in attitudes to gender roles and norms (Klarsfeld et al., 2016; Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). The notion of legitimacy, that is, the "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574), determines the degree of permissible change and women remain obliged to avoid non-normative behaviour (Butler, 2004). MacLean et al. (2016, p. 620) consider the issue of legitimacy in situations in which "there is no preexisting legitimacy on which to draw" and assert that legitimacy, once achieved, can influence the broader socio-political context. My research reveals some examples of how Emirati women's economic agency is influencing social structures beyond the workplace and impacting personal and social behaviours.

The fact that the UAE's rapid modernisation is evolving on a powerful economic foundation making it independent of foreign assistance and able to withstand the vicissitudes of the world economy (Issawi, 2013) endows the state with great autonomy in determining how it configures modernity within its own cultural framework (Eno et al., 2016). This context, therefore, affords a valuable opportunity to scrutinise how the constructs of gender, power, and agency are being mutually constituted in a heavily funded modernisation process within a cultural context vastly different from those of more researched geopolitical settings. The diverse subtleties of gendering which emerge in my studies call into question the dualism of modernity and tradition (Kim-Puri, 2005, p. 142) and can contribute to our reframing of how nation, identity and gender can be mutually constituted (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997).

In the UAE, historic financial reliance on men, gender segregation, confinement of women to the domestic arena, and gendered power asymmetries come face to face with state policy encouraging women into the workforce and recasting them as nation builders. Some policies enhancing Emirati women's economic agency include the setting up of women-only third level educational institutes, the provision of free

education for all citizens up to graduate level, workforce localisation, entrepreneurship training programmes, legislation mandating equal treatment of women in the workplace, and organisations devoted to assisting women engaged in business and finance. This situation of change raises questions as to how traditional values associated with women amalgamate with roles of the new professional woman and how women construe their new empowerment. In my study, I consider only Emirati women and not the larger number of migrant women in the UAE workforce as these latter are not embedded within the framework of Emirati cultural values.

In sum, my research area lies in the rapidly changing gendered space that is emerging from the interplay of the contradictory potencies of UAE gendered state policy and gendered traditional Emirati patriarchal structurations. Figure 1 provides a diagrammatic representation of the changing gendered terrain of women's economic agency provided by policy, represented in the upper part of the figure, and influenced by some of the cultural norms that compose the cultural landscape, represented in the lower part of the figure. The space my research explores lies within these two potencies and is represented by broken lines to indicate its porous and mutable configurations.

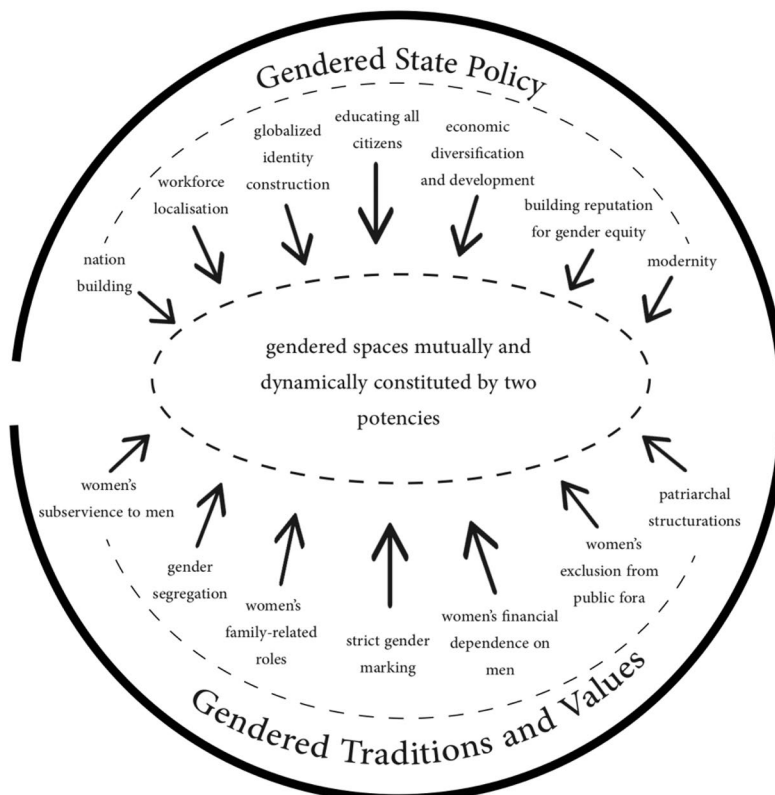


Figure 1. Gendered spaces constructed by contradictory potencies.

Given the “complexity and multiplicity of gender as a social structure, bodily ascription and everyday enactment,” (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018, p. 15), the boundaries of my study are broad and defined only by the varied and multifaceted emergence of new gendered spaces. To focus on some aspects of this vast, complex, embryonic gendered space represented at the centre of Figure 1, I investigate the leadership behaviour of Emirati women, explore how women employees consider their nascent presence in the workforce, and examine how women address the discrepancies between the roles that cultural traditions mandate and their enactment of economic agency. To gain some understanding of these fluctuating spaces, I formulate three research questions:

RQ1: *What agencies are women able to assume in the gendered transitional space between gendered tradition and gendered state policy?*

RQ2: *How do women conceptualise their liminal presence and agency in the workforce?*

RQ3: *How do women address the perceived discord between their economic participation and traditional norms associated with women?*

These research questions guide my examination of the modalities of agency which Emirati women are operationalising within a multiplicity of possible nuanced articulations (Linstead & Pullen, 2006) to explore the contextualised interplay of the constructs of modernisation, gender, and culture that is emerging in the UAE.

1.3 Outline of study

This synthesis consists of this introductory chapter and four more chapters. Chapter 2 overviews the context of my research providing some key facts about the country’s development since the oil boom, its religion and culture, state policy relating to women, and challenges to conducting research in this cultural context. Chapter 3 discusses the key concepts I employ, namely, (1) the notion of an operational space that is being moulded by empowering state policy and overtly restrictive cultural tradition; (2) the Islamic conceptualisation of gender; and (3) the conceptual lens of “localised Islam.” Chapter 4 presents the original studies conducted and discusses the methodologies used. It summarises each individual study including some points of their value to the overall purpose of my doctoral research beyond those stated in the individual papers. It ends with a summary of responses to research questions. Chapter 5 highlights the contribution my studies make to theoretical thinking.

2 Contexts and their limitations for the study

2.1 Country context

The UAE is a politically stable, industrialised, Islamic, patriarchal Arabian Gulf nation with one of the world's highest GDPs at US\$40,711 (Schwab, 2019). Its development altered radically due to its oil boom of the 1960s, at the beginning of which its population was only 90,000 (Lahmeyer, 2001) and lacked educational and professional skills. To remedy the scarcity of a qualified local workforce, huge numbers of foreign workers were recruited to build necessary infrastructures (Chemingui & Roe, 2007; Forstenlechner, 2008; Rees et al., 2007). This trend of relying on an expatriate workforce continues as the country strives towards economic diversification, foreign investment, and creating a desirable environment for international companies to operate in (Findlow, 2000; Kazemi, 2000). The success of this effort is demonstrated in the country's rank of 25th in terms of ease of doing business of the 141 countries surveyed in the most recent *Global competitiveness report* (Schwab, 2019).

The UAE was established in 1971 as a federation of emirates with Arabic as the official language and Islam as the national religion. Its population of over nine million comprises only 18 percent Emirati citizens, the remainder consisting of an expatriate labour force and their families. This disproportion is mirrored in the labour force with Emiratis making up only about 2 percent of the private sector workforce of 4,417 million and 60 percent of the public sector (De Bel Air, 2015). To offset this imbalance, the government introduced a workforce localisation policy, termed Emiratisation, in the 1990s to encourage Emiratis' entry into the labour market, most especially the private sector (Forstenlechner, 2008, 2010). Apart from ensuring full employment among Emiratis, the localisation plan was intended to achieve the socio-economic benefits of a less transient workforce (Al-Waqfi & Forstenlechner, 2010). Improved educational levels of citizens means that they are gradually increasing their presence in higher level and leadership roles (Forstenlechner, 2010), although the localisation plan has had far less impact on offsetting the imbalance in the workforce than anticipated (Ryan, 2016).

Massive sociocultural changes have resulted from the UAE's vast sudden wealth, and Samier (2015, pp. 241-242) applies Bourdieu's notion of a "split habitus" to discuss how its historical trajectory is compromised by globalisation and the dramatic alteration of its social institutions. Its exponential transition to a highly affluent, multicultural, globalised society has generated a future-oriented younger generation (Bristol-Rhys, 2009) with an identity that is disconnected from its history (Bristol-Rhys, 2010). Fox et al. (2006), however, argue that the strength of its tradition is softening the impact of globalisation.

UAE society remains tribal in nature, and tribal membership is a stronger construct than social class (Heard-Bey, 2005). Moreover, the effect of economic status is mitigated by the fact that all Emiratis are entitled to free education, including undergraduate courses, at government institutions and abundant scholarships are offered to Emiratis at non-government universities. This means that financial constraints on access to education are not significant as they are in other countries. The opportunities for free university education are taken up by all socio-economic levels (Matherly et al., 2017), and my research does not incorporate the intersectionality of socio-economic status and gender.

2.2 Religious and cultural context

Since the establishment of the country, a commitment to moderate Islam has been part of its development plan and national rebranding strategy (Kourgiotis, 2020), and it has implemented a range of strategies to promote this, dubbed the "moderate Islam" campaign (Cafiero, 2018). This drive towards reinforcing moderate Islam serves multiple purposes (Kourgiotis, 2020). One relates to the objective of containing and discrediting militant Islamists and the threat of political Islam to protect both national and global security. Another is to enhance the image of Islam and the country at the international level. One instrument of this drive was the establishment in 2014 of the "Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies" (PEACEMS) with the goals of actively reviving the alleged original spirit of coexistence and tolerance within Islam and using science as an antidote to distorted religious views (Kourgiotis, 2020). There is a great deal of discussion of the genesis and goals of this drive to establish moderate Islam, some of which construes it in terms of aspiring to leadership of the Arab world (Carvalho-Pinto, 2014; Al-Azami, 2018) that go beyond the point of interest of my research. However, the strong promotion of moderate Islam serves to generate evolutions of thought and values that are highly significant to my research interest in the gendered spaces of the country's transition to modernity. It explicitly draws on verses of the Koran to assert values such as tolerance, compassion, reform of the self, justice, patience, solidarity, and religious centrism as true Islamic ones (Kourgiotis, 2020). The campaign brands

itself internationally as pursuing a vision for the Middle East region based on “an alternative, future-oriented model that supports moderate Islam, empowers women, embraces diversity, encourages innovation and welcomes global engagement” (US UAE Embassy 2019 <https://www.uae-embassy.org/discover-uae/society/religious-inclusion>). The Abraham Accords Peace Treaty of 2020, in which the UAE and Israel formally normalised relations, demonstrates its willingness to develop unhampered by historic collective identities such as that of conflict between Arabs and Israelis. The UAE is keen to stress that the genesis of this strategy is not influence from Western values but a return to the ethos of the Islamic Golden Age (Kourgiotis, 2020). The government insists that the framework of traditional Emirati values has survived intact and that the country’s exponential socio-economic changes have occurred “without sacrificing the heritage and culture that defines this society’s national identity” (*Women in the UAE: A portrait of progress*, 2009). One overt display of the survival of its heritage is the mandating of Emirati traditional dress for public sector workers, both men and women, and forms part of the cultural politics through which it creates its identity (Huisman & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005, p. 46). A recent example of how it attempts to maintain important symbolic Islam while striving for a role as a key global economic player is the realignment of its weekend with that of the Western world. In 2006 it changed the traditional weekend days from Thursday and Friday, the holy day for Muslims, to Friday and Saturday to provide more commonality with the working week of much of the world. In January 2022 it shifted the weekend to Saturday and Sunday to achieve complete correspondence and, as a counter-remedy to potential objections from religious groups and to maintain an Islamic identity, it shortened the working week for the public sector to Friday midday, the time of the most important mosque prayers (Duncan, 2021).

2.3 Emirati women’s context

The country has adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) prioritising gender equality and the empowerment of women and signed the UN’s Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The government’s stance is that it “views women’s issues as a part of a larger ‘work in progress’ and is determined to continue supporting their empowerment” and its roadmap to achieving gender equity is “that positive discrimination towards women ... is an essential first step towards an equal society. In order to prove themselves in their chosen careers, women must first be given the platform to achieve” (*Women in the United Arab Emirates*, 2009, p. 3, p. 11).

In 2017 the UAE Gender Balance Council, in collaboration with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), developed specific guidelines for gender balance with the stated “vision of becoming one of the

top 25 countries for gender equality by 2021” (OECD, 2017, p. 9). In 2019 it achieved the rank of 31st of the 189 countries included in the UN Gender Development Index which assesses gender equity across three dimensions (UNDP, 2020). These are health, measured by male and female life expectancy at birth, education, measured by the expected years of schooling and the mean years of schooling for men and women over the age of 25, and command over economic resources, measured by estimated income of males versus females. However, such limited measures of gender equality fail to capture a broad-based view of gender regimes (Bose, 2015). If we look at more detailed statistical data such as the 2021 *Gender Gap Report*, we see a different picture with the country ranking 135th in terms of women’s economic participation and opportunity of the 156 countries surveyed, 89th in educational attainment, 130th in health and survival, and 72nd across all dimensions (WEF, 2021). This overall ranking of 72nd represents a substantial rise since the 2018 report in which it ranks 121st of the 149 countries surveyed (WEF, 2018). This rise is largely due to the 2018 presidential decree that mandated that 50% of members of the Federal National Council, the UAE’s parliamentary body, should be women, a change which raised the country from 75th of the 152 countries surveyed for the dimension of political empowerment in the 2020 *Gender Gap Report* (WEF, 2020) to 24th in the 2021 report (WEF, 2021).

In 1975 the female literacy rate was 31%, but now women outperform men in education with 95% of female high-school graduates pursuing further education and 70% of university graduates being women (OECD, 2020). This rapid increase in educational level coupled with abundant government initiatives has created a dramatic evolution of the institutional environment affecting Emirati women engaging in economic activity in recent decades (Kemp et al., 2021). Nonetheless, despite abundant government facilitators and high levels of education, there is still substantial underutilisation of women’s professional skills, similar to other parts of the Middle East (Budhwar et al., 2018; Marmenout & Lirio, 2014), and entrepreneurship among Emirati women in the UAE is hampered by enduring socio-cultural values which reject the legitimacy of women’s full economic agency (Itani et al. 2011). Inequity is evident, but whether this is institutionally conceptualised as divinely ordained or whether it remains open to a more progressive politics of gender is not yet known. That is, it is impossible to assess whether women are being given greater agency solely for the purpose of serving the goals of national development as Sibgatullina and Kemper (2021, p. 7) and Kandiyoti (1991) argue to be true for other emerging nations. Increasing levels of education often produce awareness of inequities among women and enhance their capacity to articulate such inequities (Shakiba et al., 2021). However, there is little evidence of wide-spread dissatisfaction with the state of gender equity in the country, and young Emirati

women report themselves as having been granted considerable rights and freedoms (Schedneck, 2014).

2.4 Challenges of doing research in these contexts

Conducting social science research in this context is typically hampered by cultural proscriptions of speaking directly and of expressing opinions that might be considered contrary to what is already established, and this can be attributed to its culture and religion.

UAE society represents the Arab tribal system in which relationships depend on allegiances and these relationships are hierarchical, symbiotic, situational, and gendered (Rugh, 2007). The success of these relationships depends on maintaining harmony among members of the collective. Highly relevant to harmony is the sociological concept of face which is defined “as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman, 1955, p. 5). While face is a universal concept (Zane & Yeh, 2002), it is more central in cultures in which the collective is seen as paramount (Chan et al., 2009, p. 292). A discussion in which some aspect of society is described as imperfect or needing change would be construed as a face threatening act for the persons associated with the issue or entity discussed (Loewenberg, 2011), and face threatening acts are viewed more seriously in collectivist cultures (Park & Guan, 2009). The imperative to avoid face threatening acts requires substantial social constraint against overtly identifying areas of potential disagreement, and people tend to bring their talk into line with what already exists or has been expressed by others (Wright & Bennett, 2008). This proclivity is strengthened by the fact that, in collectivist societies, sweeping links are more readily made than in individualist societies and criticism by, or about, one member of a group can rapidly extend to reflect all those associated with that member (Knight et al., 2009). The country’s history of Ottoman and British administrations, both of which compelled strict obedience, also strengthened the practice of displaying respect for existing authority (Scott-Jackson, 2010).

Alongside this cultural dimension of collectivism, the pre-eminence of religion restricts open discussion and, again, can hinder academic investigation. Religion-inspired values and behaviours have become more implicit in many secularised societies (Staudt, 2013), but in the UAE, as in many Muslim contexts, religious dogma has permeated popular thinking and encourages explicit acknowledgement of its principles (Moghadam, 2003). This results in a situation in which the emphatic statement of adherence to mandated religious practice (Geertz, 1973) is prioritised. Such religious principles also impact how business operations are perceived

(Katsioloudes & Brodtkorb, 2007) and encourage companies to display adherence to Islamic principles to satisfy Muslim consumers (Rettab et al., 2009).

The charge of saying something anti-Islamic is an enormous one, and capital punishment for apostasy or hints of apostasy still exists in some countries (Wood, 2012). Any indication of speaking out against Islam is met with alarm so people are socialised from birth to display respect for, and acceptance of, Islamic doctrine in all its forms. The response to the Danish cartoons crisis of 2005 exemplifies this (Knight et al., 2009). This renders open discussion, research, or speculation as to other possible ways of doing things that differ from the traditional, more problematic than they might be in other contexts.

When it comes to issues that refer to women, constraints on discussion or criticism are more severely enacted. The murder of the Dutch film director Theo Van Gogh in 2004 after the release of his film depicting oppression of women under Islamic law made in collaboration with the apostate Muslim woman Ayaan Hirsi Magan is one example (Eyerman, 2011). An example from the UAE itself is that of Wedad Lootah, a marriage counsellor in Dubai Courts (Worth, 2009). In 2009 she published a book on sex within marriage in which she argues that the prevalence of homosexual activity in the Arab world leads many men to consider anal intercourse the norm and fail to consider their wives' right to sexual gratification. She used precepts from the Koran to confront taboos relating to sexuality, and while the work was approved by the senior Islamic jurist and acclaimed by more liberal Emiratis, she received death threats from strict religious groups who branded her an infidel and insisted the book was blasphemous.

Embryonic attempts to break the silence on taboos within the UAE as well as in limited parts of the rest of the Arab world are emerging. In the Egyptian context, for example, Elmeligy (2022) analyses how feminist activists participate in story-telling workshops that challenge state-sanctioned discourse on men and women and contribute to disrupting “normative discourses to enable feminist counter-memorializing” (2022, p. 112). In the UAE the “Letters Project” (<https://thelettersproject.co/>) is an Instagram based platform that invites people to submit anonymous letters in which they narrate their problems, many of which document anti-normative experiences and implicitly challenge patriarchal controls. These alternative communication fora function to raise awareness of gender issues at grassroots level.

With this brief account, I describe for the Western reader a culturally embedded reticence which exerts a limiting factor on research on gender in the UAE and the Arab world in general. This has implications for the research questions that may be formulated as well as for methodological choices. Research based on questionnaires or interviews produce participants' attempts to make meaning about social practices and relations (Kim-Puri, 2005, p. 149). I propose that in the geo-political context of

my research the way people are able to vocalise how they make sense of social practices is strongly curtailed by religious and cultural traditions, and that the meaning they experience and the stories they tell about that meaning can diverge substantially (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 471). For example, while research explores how women manage to navigate patriarchal constraints (e.g., Barragan et al., 2018; Tlaiss, 2013), I have not identified research that features explicit statements of objection to these patriarchal constraints which are overtly treated as normalised social structures.

3 Analytical frames

In this chapter, I introduce the conceptual frames of space, gender, and localised Islam which compose the framework of my study given the primacy of gender and religion within UAE culture and the liminality of the spaces of Emirati women’s economic engagement. These frames reflect a theoretical picture of the contextualisation outlined in Chapter 2 and the empirical manifestations which emerge in the individual studies discussed in Chapter 4.

3.1 Key frames in RQs and individual studies

There is considerable intersectionality between these frames because gender constitutes a space as does localised Islam, and they are both highly influential in contouring the operational space of Emirati women's liminal economic agency which is the focus of my research. Before discussing each of these conceptual frames separately, I tabulate their presence in my RQs and individual studies in Table 1:

Table 1. Key frames used in studies.

Key frames							
Concepts	RQ			Paper			
	1	2	3	I	II	III	IV
Space	X	X		X	X	X	
Gender	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Localised Islam		X	X			X	X

3.2 Space: The shifting, liminal spaces of my research

One of the conceptual frames of my research is that of space, the varying gravity of cultural phenomena and contextual complexities that shape it, and the gendered subjectivities that emerge within this space. This space can be understood as a subjective space but also, and perhaps more interestingly in terms of my research, as a collective space consisting of shared cultural understandings, yet capable of incorporating multiple interpretations. Its most dominant characteristic is its liminality, meaning the transitional quality identified in spaces and moments of time when previously existing orders begin to change and new, unpredictable orders begin to come into being (Thomassen, 2016). This liminality results from the evolving individual interpretations and collective understandings of what state policy means for women.

This space emerges between two substantial potencies, namely, the cultural and real-life understanding of the religion that is the bedrock of UAE society (Kazemi, 2000) and state policies decreed by a powerful semi-constitutional monarchy (Stewart, 2012). The government stresses that these policies are implemented “without sacrificing the heritage and culture that defines this society’s national identity” (*Women in the UAE: A portrait of progress*). The extent and nature of the economic agency permitted to women is contoured within this evolving space (Mahmood, 2001, p. 210). Within the potency of religion, there is heavy marking of gender and a vast body of norms associated with women which makes society keenly resistant to changes in women’s roles (Karam and Afiouni, 2014). Government policy acknowledges the Islamic conceptualisation of the domestic woman: “Traditionally, women have always been the backbone of family life and the social structure of the UAE and they continue to remain an integral part of maintaining the nation’s Islamic heritage and national culture” (*Women in the United Arab Emirates*, 2009). This position reflects that of many developing nations in which women are tasked with the “burden of representation” of the nation’s identity (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 45) and obliged to reflect a dual identity composed of the country’s traditions in combination with its integration of imported economic and professional praxis. Materially, Emirati women who have homes and children to take care of are well placed to work because UAE labour laws permit the employment of domestic labour at salary levels that are attractive only in comparison to those of the workers’ home countries. Additionally, the continued prevalence of living within extended family households means the availability of relatives such as grandparents to help supervise the care of children. Nonetheless, alongside such institutional affordances, sociocultural values determine what changes may occur (Suchman, 1995), and Islamic values are instrumental in determining the modalities of agency that working Emirati women may enact.

My initial study (Paper I) overviews policies developed to create the space for women's economic activities and the academic literature that explores how conservative values associated with women's activities inhibit the efficacy of this institutional support. In this way, this paper aims to respond to RQ1. Policy becomes integrated but it can then be contested as imposed state policy can serve to "denaturalise" former gender roles and impinge on the cultural linkages of gender (Kim-Puri, 2005). The changes dictated by policy entail the changing of old patterns and the space in which they operate is fluid and situational (Oyewumi, 2002). This means that the initially dichotomous forces of empowering state policy and conservative values associated with women are blending together, being mutually reconstituted, and creating an operational space which is evolving, liminal, fragile, and imaginary. Significant rises in the number of women in the workforce, taking up senior leadership positions in government and business, and entering formerly male-dominated fields testify to shifts in the interaction between culture, gender, and policy. This space is not enacted through legislation but rather defined contextually through the intertwining of religion and culture, generating a malleable structure within which positions are negotiated and agencies and permissions determined. This liminal space is not, in itself and as a whole, amenable to empirical research, and Papers II, III, and IV examine some specific subspaces and the cultural reconstitutions of agency and power therein.

The particular organisational, social, and cultural space within which women leaders operate influences the development of their leadership identity (Eveline, 2005; Linstead and Thomas, 2002). In Paper II, I investigate Emirati women in leadership roles and the negotiation of organisational power within their cultural landscape of gender-based power inequality (RQ2). The findings of this study reveal that the operating space of these Emirati women leaders is enhanced, not only by the state policy which grooms women for leadership roles, but also by the Islamic cultural proclivity of benevolent sexism which mandates privileged treatment of women. This example reveals modalities of power within subordination and thus problematises the assumption of a binary relationship between subordination and power.

Naturally, most Emirati women work at employee level, and I turned my attention to this organisational level to investigate women who do not carry the burden of a superordinate role and explore their inclusion or exclusion in the space of the public sector workforce in response to RQ2 (Paper III). Findings suggest young women's increasing capacity to disregard some traditional expectations of them, such as early marriage to men identified by the family, and to explicitly leverage on state support for their work. Identity is created through discourse (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) and state support for women in work shapes the discursive modes of many of my participants who construe themselves as

valuable role models for younger women, thereby contributing to the further modification of norms (Martin, 2003). Most of my participants perceive the workplace as one in which they have full rights of agency and from which they have generated an additional social interaction space beyond the historic exclusively family-based social space of women (RQ2).

Paper IV demonstrates women's discursive bridging of the gap between the space for their economic activity created by state policy and the historic cultural space which repudiates their economic activity (RQ3). Their narratives challenge hegemonic female subordination by employing the very same source that moulded that subordination, namely, Islamic dogma. To explore how they negotiate the traditional Islamic model of women in relation to their new state-endowed agencies, I use the conceptual frame of localised Islam developed by Arolda Elbasani (Elbasani, 2016; Elbasani & Roy, 2015; Elbasani & Tošić, 2017). This permits the discovery of how individuals incorporate traditional religious values within new spaces emerging from political and socio-economic change. The women in my study call into question societal religious narratives and their individual reinterpretations harness religious dogma to assert the legitimacy of their economic agency, thus displaying further subjectivities at play in this evolving space (RQ3). This finding demonstrates how this space is mutating not only through the merger of state policy with cultural patterns, but also through the particularities of women's personalised interpretations of their changing roles, identities, and agencies as economically active Muslim women (RQs 2 and 3).

In Papers III and IV, I use narrative methodology, and in Paper II, I use focus group discussions (FGDs). Participants' unrestricted talk made possible by these methodologies reveal unexpected, nuanced dynamics that are materialising in the mutual reconstitutions of context-specific subjectivities of work, gender, culture, and religion within the liminal operating spaces of women's economic agency. They draw out subjectivities that were perhaps obscured by women's economic subordination and become possible through women's engagement within economic spaces, but these subjectivities and spaces are clearly open ended and constantly shifting.

3.3 Islamic conceptualisations of gender

Another conceptual frame in my research is that of gender, or rather gender as conceived of, and enacted within, Islamic cultural contexts. In this section I discuss this with reference to its impact on Emirati women's economic agency.

Despite the insistence that Islamic social justice embodies rights for women (Al Orami, 2011), demonstration of women's power in Islamic history (Howe, 2020), and criticism of the reductionist views of Arab Muslim women as "oppressed"

(Grewal, 1996) or “religious creatures” (Sonbol, 2006), Islamic religious tradition exerts fundamental restrictions on how women live their lives (Karam & Afiouni, 2014). Gender is a relational construct always enacted in relation to something else and within hierarchies in which the masculine is typically placed above the feminine, thereby constructing substantial power asymmetries (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; West & Zimmerman, 1987). In Islamic contexts, the placing of the masculine above the feminine is highly salient and consolidated in the legal system. Patriarchal structures are more entrenched, and gender is more resolutely configured than in other religio-cultural contexts (Jamali et al., 2005). As with much of the Middle East and North Africa, Sharia law (Islamic canon law) forms part of state legislature in the UAE. In Shariah law the concept of gender equality does not exist; indeed, the law is based on a premise of divinely sanctioned gender inequity (Metcalf, 2008, pp. 90-91) and thus provides no ground on which to develop a notion of parity (Kazemi, 2000). In family-related issues, such as marriage, divorce, child custody rights, and inheritance, the law discriminates against women (Kirdar, 2010), and this further rigidifies configurations of gender roles. This premise creates social values based on non-equity and leads to a conceptualisation of gender roles as fixed and dichotomous (Joseph & Slyomovices, 2001; Kelly & Breslin, 2010; Metcalf, 2007). Religious principles are cited as accounting for challenges women face in work and the consequent limited interest many Emirati women have in their career development (Gallant & Pounder, 2008; Itani et al., 2011; Kemp & Zhao, 2016; Madichie & Gallant, 2012; Naguib & Jamali, 2015; Tlaiss, 2014a, 2014b). While scholars have demonstrated that Islamic tenets do not prohibit women from holding positions of economic agency (Essers et al., 2013; Omair, 2008; Tlaiss & McAdam, 2021), patriarchal interpretations of them do (Karam & Afiouni, 2014), and Islamic values associated with women still prioritise their domestic roles (Jamali et al., 2005, p. 592) challenging their entry into the workforce (Naser et al., 2009).

Localised interpretations of Islamic dogma may be heavily influenced by tribal notions of acceptable behaviour and further restrict women’s agency (Karam & Afiouni, 2014). Bullock (2002) demonstrates that many customs ascribed to Islamic principles actually pre-date Islam, and scholars investigate which gendered roles and inequities are prescribed by dogma and which originate only in local custom (Rizzo et al., 2007). Given the power Islam has to control its adherents (Sidani, 2005), identifying authentic religious principles as opposed to manipulations of dogma is of particular importance (Hilsdon & Rozario, 2006). Moreover, as more women enter the workforce, traditional inequities have been called into question, and many Muslims, both men and women in Arab countries and within Muslim immigrant communities overseas, are beginning to employ Islamic scripture to re-examine the patriarchal controls traditionally associated with Islam and the potential for more egalitarian Islamic gender politics (Glas et al. 2018; Glas & Alexander,

2020; Nyhagen-Predelli, 2004). Any feminist, or anti-feminist, discussions must be located within Islamic doctrine as this is the only permissible discourse within Muslim communities (Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 9) and Paper IV demonstrates Emirati women's personalised discussion of women's economic agency in terms of Islamic values.

Islamist movements have placed their national women at the centre of their ideological struggles (Kandiyoti, 1991). According to Karmi (1996), this is because Islam has been exploited by the patriarchy to maintain the subordination of women, and changes in women's roles are threatening to traditional patriarchal structures. Mernissi (1996) suggests that hostility to women in many Muslim societies is manipulated to divert attention from poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and aspirations for democracy. Moreover, the term "religion" is often used to explain away restrictions on women and may be used for the purpose of removing attention from other institutional issues that impact women's economic engagement (Bastian et al., 2018). However, the strong institutional support for women in the workforce means this factor is less trenchant in the UAE where state support is increasingly reflected in family support for women's career development (Alzaabi et al., 2021, p. 11; Jabeen et al., 2019, p 427; Kemp et al., 2021), and their engagement in entrepreneurship (Jabeen et al., 2019, p. 410). While this support attenuates the traditional Islamic equation of Emirati women as domestic creatures, religious precepts still have powerful implications. (Williams et al., 2013).

Contemporary Islamic literature "tends to project woman as endowed with a special mystique of domesticity interpreted as an essential part of God's plan for humanity, a religious duty" (Haddad & Esposito, 1997, p. 5), and Muslim women are frequently cast with an air of purity and are infused with "great symbolic value in distinguishing Muslim society from the West" (Timmerman, 2000, p. 24). Religion dominates the discourse around women's central role as the biological reproducers of citizens and ethnic group, transmitters of cultural traditions through their childcare role, and through their projection of a clearly defined cultural identity (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989). As with many developing nations, the motherhood role is keenly subordinated to patriarchal control to ensure that "biological reproduction will fall within the legitimate boundaries of the collectivity" (Yuval-Davis, 1993, p. 621). Muslim women's reproductive and domestic roles are enshrined as invaluable components of social structurations (Kazemi, 2000), even in the case of economically active women (Tekeli, 1990). This forms part of the control that is wielded over women's bodies within Islamic contexts, and the politicised discussions of Muslim women's dress reflects this control (Şimşek, 2018). While this non-questionability of motherhood is perhaps a universal (Morrisey, 2003; Scarborough et al., 2019), its salience is more marked within Islamic societies. UAE state policy incorporates the inevitability of motherhood for women in the

workforce, declaring its intention to “Develop means and mechanisms to more effectively integrate public work and social welfare, both of which refer to the capacity to work and attend to family” (*Women in the UAE: A portrait of progress*).

Islamic doctrine stipulates that men are responsible for the financial provision for their womenfolk. This practice originates in a verse from the Koran which states: “Men are the protectors and maintainers of women because of what Allah has preferred one with over the other and because of what they spend to support them from their wealth.” (Koran [Sûrah an-Nisâ’: 34]) <http://iswy.co/e110kr>. This has generated values around the unacceptability of women earning their own living and is often cited as a reason for the redundancy of women attempting to build careers for themselves. The strength of this value in the UAE is evidenced in the fact that the many pre-oil boom Emirati women who worked out of economic need in roles such as market selling have been excluded from historical accounts (Al-Sayegh, 2001). Their contribution has not been recognised or celebrated, and no mention is made of it in school history textbooks (AlMutawa, 2016). Contemporary state policy side-tracks women’s financial empowerment by accentuating that women are contributing to national development (*Women in the UAE: A portrait of progress*). This state perspective has been well absorbed by all generations of Emiratis who rank the most valuable aspect of university training as that of being better able to contribute to national development (Matherly et al., 2017). Women’s absorption of this notion of their value in contributing to the nation emerges in Paper III and responds to RQ2.

When women are doing economic participation, they are also doing gender and they must construct their doings of gender and work in culturally appropriate ways (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The UAE’s gendered cultural traditions set parameters for what is culturally appropriate in doing both gender and work. A relational understanding of gender means recognising that, when a change occurs in a context, the way gender is “done” in that context is also subject to change (Pessar & Mahler, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 2009). Some instances of how the new economic roles created for women are reconstituting gender and culture emerge in Papers II, III, and IV.

Viewing gender as a changing dynamic construct (Gherardi, 1994) allows us to see how it can be reconstructed as other components of social structures are transformed within specific historic periods and within social discourse (Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Billing, 2011). Its mutating configurations entail that “patriarchal bargains are not timeless or immutable entities, but are susceptible to historical transformations that open up new areas of struggle and renegotiation of the relations between genders” Kandiyoti (1988, p. 275). This understanding construes gender, not as a composite of characteristics or competencies, but as being socially constructed (Brickell, 2006; Butler, 1990) and emerging from a set of shifting,

dynamic interactive processes that materialise within social events (Deutsch, 2007). My research captures some instances of how “social doings” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 129) and women’s doings within the workplace are contributing to the reconfiguration of patriarchal bargains. Norms associated with gender develop as the patterns created in social settings are learned and replicated with little consciousness and become institutionalised in those cultural contexts (Martin, 2003). The evolution of new norms emerges in how women enact leadership (Paper II), in women’s increasing self-efficacy and independence (Paper III), and in their assertion of the moral legitimacy of their economic agency (Paper IV).

3.4 Localised Islam

In this section I discuss localised Islam as an analytical frame I employ to explore women’s interpretations of their new economic agency within their religio-cultural tradition.

The work of Arolda Elbasani explores the enormous multivocality of interpretations of “being a Muslim” that emerge in the wake of massive geo-political change in the Balkans and how Muslim people have responded to the end of Soviet restrictions on religious practice and the creation of new nation states in the region (Elbasani, 2015, 2016, 2017; Elbasani & Roy, 2015; Elbasani & Tošić, 2017). To explore these highly complex situations of flux and diversity, she develops the concept of “localised Islam” defined as “an analytical lens that aptly captures the input of various interpreting agents, competing narratives and alternative choices of faith” (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017, p.3). Its value as a lens is that it “enables us to unpack the role of agency, relevant solutions and the consequential vernacularization of Islam in specific localities where it takes place” (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017, p.3). Her work provides a valuable conceptual device that can trace transitions from a collective Islamic identity to the personalised interpretations of what it is to be a Muslim in a vastly changing world. In my research context, it permits a grasp of the real-life interpretations of Islam by newly economically active Emirati women. Islam, like other major religions, “is a contested and malleable field of meaning, open to multiple interpretations” (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017, p. 3) and the ways in which its principles are interpreted are contextualised within specific geopolitical contexts and at specific historical points (Yavuz, 2006). Correctly speaking, we cannot talk about Islam in general, but only about specific Muslims at specific times interpreting and living their faith in specific circumstances (Kramer, 1993). Like other religions, Islam is a relational construct, recast and reinvented according to the material circumstances of given contexts and times (Elbasani, 2016), and changes within personalised reinterpretations serve to attenuate the dominance of existing hegemonies (Creed, 2011).

Localised Islam relates to state apparatus and institutions and their efforts towards modernisation, which are never clear-cut or necessarily involve rapid transformation, but which influence the distillation of activities that take place in working life (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017). In the UAE such reinterpretations are occurring at the macro level with the government's keen commitment to moderate Islam (Kourgiotis, 2020) and its move towards greater secularisation. This secularisation is not being shaped on the classical model of complete separation between state and religion (Casanova, 1994), but involves creating spaces in which modalities of compromises between religion and state emerge (Bhargava, 1998). Its efforts to establish modernity and a common pluralist country (Findlow, 2000; Kazemi, 2000) create latent institutional support for reinterpretations of Islam that do not necessarily correspond to the country's historic Islamic identity. Changes in interpretation are also occurring at the micro level among individuals whose educational and socio-economic status are vastly different from preceding generations, who have grown up in the age of the Internet, and who have been heavily exposed to other religious and cultural trends within their country in which 80% of the population is expatriate (Bristol-Rhys, 2010; Bristol-Rhys & Osella, 2018). These fundamental changes enable individuals to "discover Islam in unrestricted and unconventional ways" (Elbasani & Roy, 2015, p. 13) and to consider different construals and enactments of their religious affiliation.

The massive socio-economic changes that have occurred in the UAE in recent decades require individuals to consider their own identity as they take on new opportunities and the circumstances of their collectivities alter. In the early years of new-found wealth, vastly improved health care resulted in a rapidly rising birth rate which strengthened women's ties to the home, and women who wished to work chose the traditional Emirati climate afforded within the public sector (Harry, 2007). Now, with saturation within the public sector (Forstenlechner & Rutledge, 2010) and the need to diversify the economy, women's workplaces and roles have expanded, constraining them to "engage with the socio-political contingencies that affect their individual and communal lives" (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017, p. 8). We cannot interpret these contingencies by applying Western concepts to this Islamic setting (Esposito & Mogahed, 2008), whereas a localised Islam lens allows us to trace the interactivity of modernity and Islamic religious tradition. This conceptual lens reveals the "contextualized explanation" (Welch et al., 2011, p. 745) of diverse practices and narratives accompanying women's liminal economic agency and the macro-level and micro-level dynamics of their contexts (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017, p. 4). In Paper IV, I adopt the localised Islam lens explicitly to analyse women's discursive legitimation of their newly conferred economic agency, demonstrating how women bridge the gap between their economic participation and the cultural need to adhere to Islam-inspired values (RQ3).

Elbasani's (2015, 2016, 2017) exploration of the history of Muslim religiosity in the Balkans finds parallels in the UAE. She discusses how, during the post-Ottoman Empire period of nation-state formation, the general population experienced modernity through normal developments which fostered "genuine bottom-up engagement with ideas and proposals for reform" (Elbasani, 2017, p. 11). In the UAE, this bottom-up engagement occurs as even conservative sectors of the society are finding it beneficial to align themselves with advances for women. For example, as more young men are preferring to find wives who are graduates and who can contribute to the family income, conservative families are encouraged to send their daughters to university, thus moderating the tradition of keeping women at home (Bristol-Rhys, 2010). Such patterns feed other patterns, and now some young women find their husbands in the workplace rather than being introduced by the family, a choice opened up by their economic activity, as emerges in Paper III and responds to RQ2. Elbasani (2015) traces the impact of EU policy on Islam in the Balkans, and this echoes the UAE's attention to Western ideological trends in establishing its credentials as a worthy global player (Kourgiotis, 2020). Other examples of this include the legislative reforms of 2020 which decriminalised practices proscribed by religion such as co-habiting, homosexuality, attempted suicide, and the consumption of alcohol by Muslims. These changes institutionalise greater personal freedoms (Kerr, 2020) and facilitate interpretations of religious duty in ways that deviate from those of the more homogeneous, preindustrial UAE society. Women's easy acceptance of their professional empowerment and the ramifications of this, such as the correctness of socialising outside the ambit of the family (Paper III), and their narratives attributing restraints on women solely to culture rather than to religion (Paper IV), demonstrate such personalised reinterpretations and respond to RQs 2 and 3.

4 Individual original studies

This chapter describes the methodology used in my research and then considers each of the individual studies separately going beyond the discussion already contained within the paper. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the individual studies in relation to my research questions and analytical frames. For ease of reference, Table 2 summarises the individual studies:

Table 2. Individual studies and their publication details.

Paper	Title	Authors	Status	Journal
I	Female entrepreneurship in the United Arab Emirates: Legislative encouragements and cultural constraints	Valerie Priscilla Goby, Murat Sakir Erogul	published	<i>Women's Studies International Forum</i> , 34(4), 329-334
II	Women's enactment of leadership in a heavily gender-marked Islamic context: An exploration within the United Arab Emirates.	Abdelrahman Alhadhrami, Valerie Priscilla Goby, Yahya Al-Ansaari	published	<i>International Journal of Organizational Analysis</i> , 26(5), 728-747
III	Emirati women's professional legitimacy: Synergy of the political and the personal amid constraint and self-determination	Valerie Priscilla Goby	published	<i>International Journal of Organizational Analysis</i> , 29(1), 1-15
IV	Localised Islam and creating spaces for women's economic activity: Emirati narratives	Valerie Priscilla Goby	under review	<i>Culture and Organization</i>

4.1 Methodologies

My individual studies are all conducted within spaces demarcated by the two potencies of gendered state policy and gendered traditional values. To explore these complex, multifaceted spaces, I chose to combine different empirical methodologies, namely, a survey study, FGDs, and narrative as my distinct research questions are better responded to by a variety of data collection approaches. While such a combination does not ensure objectivity of data gathering or analysis, and qualitative

inquiry requires rigorous analysis of carefully gathered or constructed data (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016; Silverman, 2013), avoiding overemphasis on any single source of data can provide a more strategic basis for gaining insight into how gender, culture, and state are mutually constituted (Kim-Puri, 2005, p. 149; Jännäri & Kovalainen, 2015). This use of multiple data collection methods was particularly valuable given the challenges to doing research in my study context outlined in 2.4.

My studies offer diverse perspectives of the dynamics of women's economic engagement as summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Methodology and focus of each study.

Paper	Research question responded to	Data collection method	Focus
I	1	government initiatives and academic literature	overviews policy in conflict with traditional values associated with women
II	2	surveys and FGDs	explores women in leadership roles
III	2	narrative interviews	explores women employees' construal of their economic agency
IV	3	narrative interviews	explores women's discursive legitimization of their economic agency in terms of traditional values

4.1.1 Narrative

For Papers III and IV, data was generated from narrative interviews. Narratives are individual stories set within societal narratives and represent an individual's ongoing efforts to make meaning of societal systems (Boje, 2008). They are composed of people's stories and thus provide valuable counterevidence to the meta-narratives that "ignore the heterogeneity and variety of human experience" (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016, p. 219). Narrative has become a popular methodology in the study of gender (Spiering, 2016) as narratives represent "processes of 'practicing gender'" (Gherardi & Poggio, 2007, p. 25). It is an effective means of understanding gender norms in specific contexts (Essers, 2009) given that personal narrative is both a relational and situated practice (Gherardi et al., 2018). Ybema et al. (2009) argue that individual narratives are particularly valuable when investigating gender in more rigid cultural contexts which do not permit of an easy construction of an individual identity not consonant with the dominant, hegemonic one, and this makes it particularly valuable in the UAE context. Narrative methodologies also offer the possibility of exploring gender from the local perspective expressed by the subject

and this is instrumental in moderating the Western-centric bias that has been identified in much research on gender (Oyewumi, 2002). I contrived to access possible insights of value from narratives by aiming for pluralistic understanding and context sensitivity (Maclean et al., 2016) and minimising my influence as researcher (Gioia et al., 2013).

The interviews I conducted for Papers III and IV were unstructured, and, because I as researcher was vague and elicited any story related to their working lives, what participants spoke about was their own personal narrative of choice making it valid to consider their texts narrative (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016, p. 220). Nonetheless, narratives are inescapably co-constructed by participant and researcher (Boje, 2001), and the meanings they provide of changing events are accessible to reinterpretation (Hamilton, 2014). I attempted to limit my sway over the participants' narrations (Gioia et al., 2013) by approaching our interaction as a conversation to help equalise the status of researcher and participant (Essers, 2009) and to cultivate trust (Dundon & Ryan, 2010). I was careful not to guide the conversation beyond raising the issue of workforce experience (Paper III) and career progression and support and/or challenges from family and the broader society (Paper IV). This freedom conferred participants with the status of experts or "knowledgeable agents" of their own narratives and their construction of their reality and allowed me to foreground this in my analysis (Gioia et al., 2013, p. 17).

Following Polkinghorne, Eriksson and Kovalainen (2016, p. 222) distinguish between two basic approaches to analysing material generated through narratives. One is termed the analysis of narratives which views narratives as the representations people offer of specific issues and which use a method such as thematic analysis to analyse the data. The other is narrative analysis in which the researcher interprets the narratives to construct another narrative. In Paper III, the approach I adopt is that of analysis of narratives as I use thematic analysis to identify patterns to explore commonalities among the lived work stories of participants. In Paper IV, my approach is more that of narrative analysis and involves a more structural analysis in that I construct a type of narrative based on the salience of religious arguments within the participants' narratives.

4.1.2 Mixed methods

While straightforward studies of differences between male and female leaders are criticised, especially as men and women are exposed to different social and work experiences and expectations (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016, p. 273), it was considered helpful to conduct such a study given the dearth of data relating to Emirati women's leadership behaviour (Samier, 2015). For Paper II, it was not possible to rely on theory developed within existing research as, while there is quite an abundant

literature on problems, challenges, and future development of women leaders (Al Farra, 2011; Alhaj & Van Horne 2013; Kemp & Zhao, 2016), a dearth of literature on how Emirati women perform leadership was observed apart from Yaseen's (2010) brief study. This prompted the decision to employ the Competing Value Framework (CVF) developed by Quinn et al. (2003) which is considered to incorporate adequate robustness as an investigative tool and be capable of capturing aspects of organisational culture relating to leadership (Day et al., 2014). The choice of a comparative survey method did not derive from an androcentric and positivist basis (Spiering, 2016) and an assumption that differences are there to be found and measured (Ahl, 2006, pp. 608-609), but was adopted as a preliminary means to gather self-reported and perceived behaviours among women leaders. The CVF is a valuable methodological instrument as it does not impose values at the outset but rather allows values and their interrelationships to emerge. This feature responds to the imperative of avoiding a priori assumptions within gender research (Mohanty, 2003) and allowing the contextualised complexity surrounding Emirati women's nascent leadership to emerge. The finding that the single significant difference identified was that of superior brokering skills among women leaders prompted further enquiry using a qualitative study (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Spiering, 2016). FGDs were organized to further probe these findings and elicit further participant input. Six FGDs were arranged segregated by gender and organisational level to better stimulate uninhibited, spontaneous interaction among participants which is a principal benefit of FGD methodology (Edmunds, 1999).

4.2 Discussion of the individual studies

4.2.1 Paper I

This paper maps how two layers of institutional gendered societies are being put into a change position and lays the ground for my framework describing this contextualised Islamic state. It constructs a macro-level view of the agency newly accorded to women by state policy in combination with the agency that is permitted to, or withheld from, them by traditional social structures.

4.2.2 Paper II

As part of the drive to absorb qualified Emiratis into higher-level positions, government policy focused on developing leadership potential among Emiratis (Forstenlechner, 2010). Given that gender intersects with work and identity (Poutanen & Kovalainen, 2013), women's traditional subordination implies significant role-fulfilment and attitudinal issues when they assume superordinate

roles. Emirati women are conscious of the tensions and contradictions that affect their rise to leadership positions (Samier, 2015), and Emirati women who hold senior corporate positions are likely to suffer from discrimination and inequitable practices in relation to promotion (Tlaiss, 2013). In many developing nations, women's organisational roles are undermined by virtue of their gender (Fernando & Cohen, 2014), and in Western contexts women in senior roles are frequently construed as having less legitimacy than male leaders (Vial et al., 2016). It was therefore of particular interest to explore how women enact leadership roles and how they are viewed by their subordinates. Paper II's finding of greater commonality than difference in the self-reported and perceived behaviours of women versus men reflects gender and leadership studies in Western settings (Eagly et al., 2003).

This study also reveals a contextualised gendered response to women leaders deriving from traditional values, namely, the precept of taking care of women, and the strands of benevolent sexism this generates. Benevolent sexism, "paternalistic or chivalrous positive affect toward women" (Chen & Farhart, 2020, p. 1037), is an integral part of the Islamic tradition, and in the UAE it manifests as conferring women with a special status (Bristol-Rhys & Osella, 2018). While this derives from the construction of women's inferiority vis-à-vis men, Paper II demonstrates how women leaders accrue benefits through gaining access to higher organisational members because of this traditional value of affording women special respect. I coin the term "glass cushion" to describe the implicit support that derives from the social value mandating special care for women. Its institutionalisation bestows women leaders with benefits which affect their interactions with other organisational members, and it is within these interactions that identity is constructed (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

Another aspect of support that originates from patriarchal structurations is that women need to continually seek their menfolk's approval for their activities and are in frequent situations of negotiating with these men (Barragan et al., 2018; Eroglu et al., 2019; Samier, 2015; Tlaiss, 2013). The development of negotiation skills appears to have provided women with keen communication dexterity as reported by participants in this study's FGDs who describe Emirati women leaders as having superior communication skills to their male counterparts. Figure 2 illustrates how patriarchal values impact the gendered execution of job role.

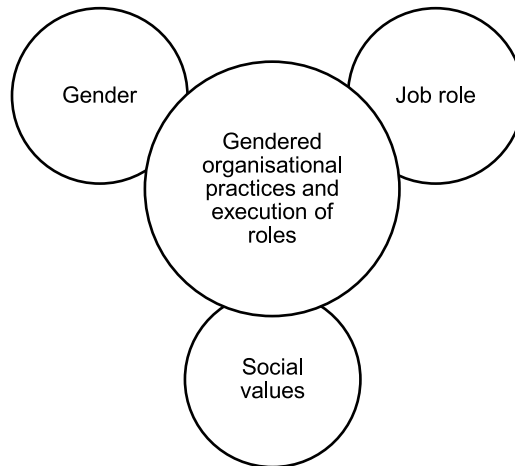


Figure 2. Gendered execution of job role.

4.2.3 Paper III

This study explores women's experiences as employees within the public sector to detect how the traditional identity of domestic woman is transitioning to an acceptable identity as a woman engaging in the workplace. Unlike in the years immediately following the oil boom when many women attended university for social prestige, now most students express the intention to join the workforce (Augsburg et al., 2009; Schvaneveldt, et al., 2005). Considerable levels of ease and comfort within the workforce were expressed by participants of this study, and I argue that this is attributable to state policy respectablising the woman at work. That is, state policy casts women as “working to build the nation,” hence disconnecting their work from socially unacceptable aspirations for independence, freedom, or financial empowerment. When women enter the workforce in patriarchal societies, they rely heavily on traditional markers of respectability such as workforce segregation (Salem & Yount, 2019) “to signify that they continue to be worthy of protection” (Kandiyoti, 1988, p 283). This is particularly the case in highly restrictive patriarchal contexts such as post-revolutionary Iran in which Khomeini established policies to keep women at home (Kandiyoti, 1988). However, UAE state efforts towards “energizing and reinforcing the promotion of women in all sectors” (*Women in the UAE: A portrait of progress*) elevate their roles in the workforce and diminish potential censure, and this is illustrated by the salience of the value of being a role model for future generations expressed by many participants. The absence of physical gender segregation in the workplace, such as occurs in neighbouring Qatar (Golkowska, 2017; Salem & Yount, 2019), establishes a terrain for development of women's agency in relation to men-women relationships. These changes are not

imposed by authority but come about through subjective interpretations of what it is to be educated, to mix with men, or to have a wife or daughter who is educated and spends her day working among people not known to the family. That is, people are encountering modernity through patterns of women's behaviour normalised through state policy, and this is stimulating bottom-up engagement with new gendered spaces (Elbasani, 2017, p. 11). This study documents changes to interactions between the genders with young women now considering the workplace as a safe social context for them and potentially an arena in which to identify possible husbands. Traditionally, mixed-gender social networking, as with business networking, has been precluded from women in the UAE (Bertelsen et al., 2017; Tahir & Baradie, 2019), but Emirati women are now succeeding in constructing identities that permit business networking with men (Erogul et al., 2019; Jabeen et al., 2019). This demonstrates substantial modification to the traditional norms associated with the interaction of the genders, including that of courtship. This incipient deviation from the tradition of parents identifying potential marriage partners is also emerging with pious Muslims in the Balkans and has given rise to the practice of "Sharia dating" (Mesarič, 2017), that is, a means of meeting potential marriage partners that conforms to Islamic principles, and both trends demonstrate a new space being created between modernity and tradition. While a few participants express the burden of continued patriarchal controls, many narratives suggest the normalisation of women working and conducting their lives beyond the ambit of the family indicating incipient but significant changes in the gendered spaces of social rituals (Bristol-Rhys, 2010; Bristol-Rhys & Osella, 2018) and the workforce.

4.2.4 Paper IV

This paper presents an analysis of narratives in which women explicitly discuss Islamic doctrine in relation to their economic agency. It demonstrates their critical reflexivity of their religious affiliation and their efforts to re-institutionalise this to eliminate apparent tension between dogma and women's economic agency. Their narratives present a valuable antidote to the broader societal expressions of Emirati women's agency that disregard the ongoing individual efforts of specific agents (Maclean et al., 2016, p. 623). One participant stresses that many Emiratis are beginning to question the traditional narrative of being Muslim, exemplifying Arolda Elbasani's notion of how social change can stimulate personalised reinterpretations. Participants take advantage of culture as a flimsier construct than that of religious dogma, a consequence of the country's exponential sociocultural changes, and reconstrue constraints on women's economic agency as originating in cultural, not religious, values; they also underscore elements of Islam that endorse women's

economic participation. As such, this paper illustrates how these women simultaneously do Islam, do gender, and do economic activity.

4.3 Summary of individual papers in relation to RQs and conceptual frames

A condensed overview of the conceptual frames used in each paper and their findings in relation to my three research questions is presented in this section.

RQ1: What agencies are women able to assume in the gendered transitional space between gendered tradition and gendered state policy?

Paper I maps the territory of dichotomous dynamics of gendered policy and restrictive gendered cultural tradition which interact to establish the potential for positions of change for women's agency. In this study, gender and space are key conceptual frames as the dual presence of tradition and state policy is sculpting new and culturally embedded spaces in which women can exercise economic agency.

RQ2: How do women conceptualise their liminal presence and agency in the workforce?

Paper II identifies features of traditional patriarchal structurations that women can exploit to enhance their positions suggesting that women organisational leaders appear to be functioning in quite a different space from their male counterparts and gender and space are key frames here. Paper III's findings indicate that women feel fully entitled to their state-conferred economic agency and regard themselves as important role models for younger generations of women and their increasing economic agency is enhancing their social agency. The lens of localised Islam is theoretically involved as these participants reinterpret the traditional norms associated with women to justify and celebrate their presence in the workforce.

RQ3: How do women address the perceived discord between their economic participation and traditional norms associated with women?

The women reported in Paper IV stress that their former exclusion from the economic domain is attributable to cultural rather than religious tradition, thereby creating legitimate spaces for their economic activities and validating their multiple identities as Muslims, women, workers, and Emiratis. The conceptual frames of localised Islam and gender intersect here as women explicitly address religious dogma to bridge the conflict between women's economic participation and traditional norms for women.

5 Contribution of study

In this chapter I discuss how my research contributes to theoretical thinking and conclude with a brief identification of further research of key importance to this study area.

5.1 Contributions to theoretical thinking

My research makes incremental contributions to theoretical thinking which are achieved in two ways. One is by not approaching modernisation as a linear process but rather understanding tradition and modernity as being present at the same time, being mutually influential, and being differently interpreted both collectively and subjectively. The second way is by not conceptualising religion as a monolithic force but as a construct open to personalised interpretations and diverse enactments. In this way my studies reveal specific subtleties of the gendered workplace that materialise as the contradictory undercurrents of tradition and state policy amalgamate within the spaces occupied by economically active Emirati women.

A common research premise is that Emirati working women are challenged by cultural constraints and various studies explore the mechanisms women develop for coping with these (Barragan et al., 2018; Eroglu et al., 2019; Tlaiss, 2013). My research, on the other hand, suggests a more fluid interpretation of development as it explores institutional affordances as well as constraints and reveals reconfigured gendered responses including women's increased self-efficacy and their finding power within subordinating values. The existence of these distinct research perspectives testifies to the fuzziness that exists within the ongoing interplay of supportive state policy and restraining cultural values.

Viewing gender as a relational construct involves understanding that when a change occurs in a given context, the way gender is "done" will most likely undergo changes (Pessar & Mahler, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 2009). The exponential socio-economic changes within the UAE over the past 50 years have shifted the doing of gender away from the patterns of the pre-oil boom socio-economic environment (Heard-Bey, 2021). Nation, culture, and gender are mutually constitutive (Kim-Puri, 2005), and my studies demonstrate that the forces of

modernisation and globalisation are configuring new gendered patterns. These patterns are altering women's positioning in society as they assume the role of members of the nation contributing to national development and thus expand their modalities of agency (Macleod, 1991). Paper II suggests the non-tenability of construing power and subordination in a binary relationship as Emirati women's leadership displays subordinate status serving as a mechanism of power. Bartelsson's (2000) notion of transcendence which is characterised by the despatialisation and detemporalisation of human practices and the understanding of change as not being attributable to singular causes or specific contexts or actors is relevant in the reconstruction of the UAE's gendered spaces. I suggest this because my studies indicate that the gendered patterns that are emerging from the co-existence of Muslim tradition and modernity problematise the notion of modernity and tradition as a dualism (Kim-Puri, 2005, p. 142).

Another contribution to theoretical thinking stems from my approach to religio-cultural issues that are frequently cited in the literature as curtailing women's economic agency. Taking religion in the UAE as consisting of a body of monolithic Islam, another common research premise, cannot serve to identify "a form of explanation that offers a coherent, examined conceptualisation of phenomenon" (Welch et al., 2011, 741). Religion is a relational construct, and the localised Islam approach allows for the documentation of diverse narratives emerging in specific UAE spaces which transcend the traditional collective category of being Muslim (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017). My data highlights the considerable interpretive agency of Emirati working women, their subjective reinterpretations repudiating restrictive religio-cultural values (Paper IV), and their agency in disregarding social behaviours supposedly mandated by these values (Paper III) while still maintaining their Muslim identity. These perspectives have value given that Muslim identity has become a highly politicised concept despite the enormous diversity of its enactment (Elbasani & Tošić, 2017; Kramer, 1993).

The UAE strives to retain its traditional heritage and, at the same time, is compelled to reconsider women's agency (Kourgiotis, 2020) both to improve international attitudes to Islam and to entice more Emirati women to support its workforce localisation and economic diversification policies. I have employed the conceptual frames of space, Islamic notions of gender, and localised Islam to explore Emirati working women's spaces and illustrate how the constructs of modernity and Islamic nationalism interact therein. Modernisation has opened up the reconfiguration of gendered spaces and a renegotiation of patriarchal bargains, and my research documents some of the heterogeneous, gendered nuances emerging in the ongoing evolution of this culture and economy. It has used a variety of data collection and methodologies to examine "gender as a multiplicity with no fixed point of articulation but as an ongoing performance which draws on diverse and

nuanced articulations” (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018, p. 14). Its findings enhance our understanding of the heterogeneity of gender equity struggles and offer fresh insight towards alternative perspectives for the theoretical framing of women’s agency.

5.2 Further research

There have been many calls to address the complexity of the intersection of Islam and gender (Duderija et al., 2020; Howe, 2020; Sibgatullina & Kemper, 2021), and my studies have made some contribution to the exploration of the multifaceted questions that emerge within this vast research area. Given the sensitivity around issues relating to women in Islamic contexts, research into how women cope with the entangled dynamics of modernisation and religion is a rich field. The conceptual frames of space and localised Islam can identify further possibilities for gender to find space in the ever-changing understandings of modernity and Islam.

I have argued that I succeed in contributing to theoretical thinking by not regarding Islam as a singular monolithic force. Future research should, I believe, adopt this approach to religion and do the same regarding culture. That is, researchers need to identify exactly what they are referring to when they use the word culture. This term is often used in a vague way, but it needs precise qualification to have value. Future research can address penetrating questions such as the kind of state policy and Islamic perspectives that may enhance women’s economic agency and thereby contribute to gender equity. However, for research in these areas to generate meaningful insight, it is essential to desist from using culture and religion as broad composite constructs. The researcher needs to precisely delineate specific cultural elements such as the relative importance of individual, family, tribe, specific patriarchal structures, social structurations, and so on, rather than bundling such diverse key issues into an ambiguous, multifactorial category. Similarly, when issues relating to religion are involved in the study area, the researcher needs to be very clear about what interpretations are relevant to the investigation, that is, localised, personalised, regional, or canonical.

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