Expectations for Gender Equality in Middle Eastern Context: Insights based on the Possible Selves and Future Selves

By

Ann Maginn

PhD, MSc, BA, FHEA, CIPD

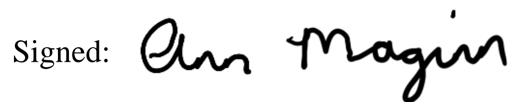
Research Supervisor: Professor Edel Conway

A Thesis Submitted to Dublin City University Business School in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

January, 2024

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: 

ID No.: 50726168

Date: 30.10.2023_________________

Dedication

For Saidhbh, Evan, and Daire

Acknowledgements

This PhD marks the end of a significant journey, one that encountered many challenges along the way and lasted longer than I could ever have anticipated. A journey that tested my resilience and determination. As I reflect on this path, I am grateful for the support and inspiration that guided me through it.

First and foremost, I am immensely thankful to my supervisor Professor Edel Conway, for her unwavering guidance, insightful feedback and endless patience. Your patience, encouragement, and willingness to navigate these complexities of this journey alongside me have been invaluable. I also extend my appreciation to Professor Janine Bosak for her valuable input and constructive feedback that have significantly enhanced my work over the years.

To my beloved children Saidhbh, Evan and Daire, you have been my constant reminder of the need for resilience and determination. Your unwavering support, understanding, and boundless love have been my driving force throughout this journey. I am grateful for your sacrifices and your resilience in adapting to the demands of my academic pursuits. You have been my motivation, my source of joy, and my reminder that life is not about the destination but also about the journey itself – you are my greatest achievements in life and I am immeasurably proud of each of you. Thank you for always keeping me grounded and reminding me of what is important in life, for making me laugh and for showering me with unconditional love.

To my husband Mick who has been beside me through this long journey, thank you for the sacrifices you have also had to make to allow me the time and space to study. To my parents Tom and Margaret who have always believed in me and my ability to achieve whatever I set my mind to. Your belief in me has always been a constant source of motivation.

I am grateful for my lifelong friends in Ireland and Abu Dhabi, thank you for decades of laughter and for offering words of encouragement and welcomed distraction when needed.

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Labour Market and Gender 2

1.2 The Possible Selves Framework 3

1.3 Gender Inequality in the UAE Labour Market 5

1.4 Aims of the Research 9

1.5 Significance of the study: Contributions 11
1.5.1 Theoretical Contributions 11
1.5.2 Methodological Contributions 14
1.5.3 Practical Contributions 16

1.6 Structure of the Thesis 18

2 THE UAE CONTEXT 20

2.1 The Economic Context 20
2.1.1 Economic Phases and Emirati Women's Education and Employment 20
2.1.2 Current Economic Context 22

2.2 The Political Context 24
2.2.1 Women's Rights 25
2.2.2 Political Developments Associated with Families and Communities 30
2.2.3 Emiratisation 31

2.3 The Socio-Cultural Context 32
2.3.1 The Position of Women in UAE Society 33
2.3.2 The Current Socio-Cultural Context 34
2.3.3 Wasta 35

2.4 Career Choices of Women in the Workforce 37

2.5 Conclusion 38

3 LITERATURE REVIEW 1: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON POSSIBLE AND FUTURE SELVES 40

3.1 Introduction 40

3.2 Differences in Gender Roles and Attitudes between Western Countries and the UAE 41
3.2.1 The Feminist Waves of Western Countries and Impacts on Equality 41
3.2.2 Equal Opportunities in a Western Work Context 44
3.2.3 Comparing Evidence from Western Countries and the UAE 46

3.3 Understanding Life Outcomes through the Possible Selves Framework 48

3.4 Possible Selves and Psychological Processes: Self-Regulation, Well-Being and Self-Efficacy 51

3.4.1 Self-Regulation 52
3.4.2 Well-Being 52
3.4.3 Self-Efficacy 53

3.5 Self-Discrepancy Theory 54

3.6 Possible and Future Selves from a Western Perspective: A Review of the Findings and Formulation of Hypotheses for the UAE 56
3.6.1 Salary 57
3.6.2 Working Hours, Caregiving, and Housework 58

3.7 Conclusion 66

4. LITERATURE REVIEW 2: BUILDING A CULTURALLY SENSITIVE MODEL 68

4.1 Introduction 68

4.2 Social Role Theory 68
4.2.1 Gender Roles and Correspondent Inference 69
4.2.2Gender Roles Affecting Behaviour 70

4.3 Goal Congruity 71
4.3.1 Goal Congruity as an Extension of Social Role Theory 71
4.3.2 Communion and Agency 72

4.4 The Biosocial Construction Model 75

4.5 Cultural Differences Relevant for Congruity Theory 78
4.5.1 Role Congruity in Western Countries 79
4.5.2 Role Congruity in Non-Western Contexts 81

4.6 Life Goals 83

4.6 Goal Congruity Theory, Gender and Life Goals 85
4.6.1 Relating Gender to the Attainability of Life Goals 85
4.6.2 Relating Life Goals to Life Outcomes 88
4.6.3 Life Goal Attainability as a Potential Mediator of Gender and Self-Perceptions 91

4.7 *Wasta* 94
4.7.1 The Meaning of Wasta 94
4.7.2 Positive and Negative Sides of Wasta 97

4.8 Intention to Use *Wasta* 99

4.9 *Wasta* as a Form of Locus of Control 101

4.10 Employment Status in a 'Privileged' Population 104

4.11 Research Models 106

4.12 Conclusion 108

5. METHODOLOGY 109

5.1 Introduction 109

5.2 Research Philosophy **109**
5.2.1 Introduction to the Five Major Research Philosophies 110
5.2.2 Philosophical Assumptions in the Present Study 122

5.3 The Methodological Approach in the Present Study **123**
5.3.1 Quantitative Approach 123
5.3.2 Self-Completion Questionnaire 124
5.3.3 Study Design 126

5.4 Student Pilot Study **127**

5.5 Possible Selves Study **129**
5.5.1 Sample and Procedure 129
5.5.2 Measures 134

5.6 Future Selves Study **137**
5.6.1 Sample and Procedure 137
5.6.2 Measures 137
Personal and Family Background Information 141

5.7 Employee Pilot Study **141**

5.8 Employee Study **142**
5.8.1 Employee Sample and Procedure 142
5.8.2 Measures 145

5. 9 Statistical Verification of the Factor Structure of the Attainability of Life Goals **146**
5.9.1 Analysis for the Student Sample 146
5.9.2 Analysis for the Employee Sample 149

5.10 Statistical Analysis **153**

5.11 Ethical Considerations **154**

5.12 Conclusion **156**

6 RESULTS: PART 1 .... **157**

6.1 Introduction **157**

6.2 Student Sample: Possible Selves Survey **157**
6.2.1 Possible Selves: Gender Differences in Self-Expectations 157
6.2.2 Possible Selves: Expectations for Possible Self vs. Spouse 158

6.3 Student Sample: Future Selves Survey **166**
6.3.1 Future Self: Gender Comparisons of Self-Expectations 169
6.3.2 Future Selves: Expectations for future self vs. spouse 171

6.4 Actual Selves: Employee Study **174**
6.4.1 Employee Study: Gender Comparison of Life Outcomes 175
6.3.2 Employee study: Gender differences in the Self and Spouse Comparisons 178

6.5 Conclusion **183**

7 RESULTS: PART 2 .... **184**

7.1 Introduction **184**

7.2 Future Selves **185**
7.2.1 Correlations Between the Variables in the Student Sample for Future Selves (H6ab–H7ab) 185

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Future Selves) **189**
7.2.2 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Salary Expectations ($H8a_{(1)}$, $H9a_{(1)}$, H10, $H12_{(1)}$) 190

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Salary Expectations) **195**
7.2.2 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Childcare Expectations ($H8a_{(2)}$, $H9a_{(2)}$, $H12_{(2)}$) 196

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Childcare Expectations) **204**
7.2.3 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Childcare Expectations ($H8a_{(3)}$, $H9a_{(3)}$, $H12_{(3)}$) 205

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Housework Expectations) **210**

7.3 Employee Sample (Actual Selves) **210**
7.3.1 Correlations between the Variables in the Employee Sample (H6cd–H7cd) 210

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Actual Selves) **213**
7.3.2 Regression Analysis for Salary ($H9b_{(1)}$, H11) 215

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Salary) **227**
7.3.3 Regression Analysis for Childcare (H9b2) 228

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Childcare) **235**
7.3.4 Regression Analysis for Housework ($H9b_{(3)}$) 235

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Housework) **242**

7.4 Conclusion **242**

8 DISCUSSION **244**

8.1 Introduction **244**

8.2 Overview of the Key Research Findings **244**

8.3 Associations between Gender and Expected and Experienced Life Outcomes (H1–H4) **250**

8.4 Expected and Perceived Gender Differences (H5) **254**

8.5 Attainment of Life Goals (H6) **259**

8.6 Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes (H7, H8, H9) **261**
8.6.1 Student Future Selves, Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes 261
8.6.2 Employees' Actual Selves Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes 264

8.7 *'Wasta'* and Network-Oriented External Locus of Control (H10, H11) **271**
8.7.1 Students' Intention to Use Wasta in the Future 272
8.7.2 Employees' Experience of Network-Oriented External Locus of Control 273

8.8 Employment and Gender (H12) **275**

8.9 Conclusion **277**

9 CONCLUSION ... 279

9.1 Study Contributions and Implications ... 279
9.1.1 Theoretical Contributions ... 279
9.1.2 Methodological Contributions ... 286
9.1.3 Practical Contributions ... 288

9.2 Study Limitations ... 291

9.3 Directions for Future Research ... 294

9.4 Conclusion ... 296
10. REFERENCES ... 299
APPENDICES ... 364

APPENDIX A: Student Study Ethical Clearance from Higher Education Institute ... 364

APPENDIX B: Student Study Ethical Clearance from DCU Research Ethics Committee ... 365

APPENDIX C: Employee Study Ethical Clearance from Organisation ... 366

APPENDIX D: Employee Study Ethical Clearance from DCU Research Ethics Committee ... 367

APPENDIX E: Plain Language Statement ... 368

APPENDIX F: Possible Selves Survey ... 369

APPENDIX G: Future Selves Survey ... 376

APPENDIX H: Employee Survey ... 391

Appendix I: Comparisons Between the UAE and US and the Spanish Studies ... 409

List of Tables

TABLE 2.1 POLITICAL/GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION TO BOLSTER GENDER EQUALITY 26
TABLE 4.1 AGENTIC AND COMMUNAL GOAL DIMENSIONS 72
TABLE 4-2 DEFINITIONS OF WASTA 96
TABLE 5.1 DEFINING RESEARCH PHILOSOPHIES 111
TABLE 5.2 PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS AS A MULTIDIMENSIONAL SET OF CONTINUA 115
TABLE 5.3 COMPARISON OF FIVE RESEARCH PHILOSOPHIES AND THEIR ASSUMPTIONS 117
TABLE 5-5 STUDENT SAMPLE: GENDER DISTRIBUTION, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND EMIRATE 133
TABLE 5.6 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS ASSIGNED TO EACH CONDITION, SEPARATED BY GENDER 135
TABLE 5.7 FACTOR STRUCTURES AND STANDARDISED LOADINGS OF THE FUTURE SELVES GOAL ATTAINMENT ITEMS 147
TABLE 5.8 PROMAX ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS OF THE GOAL ITEMS IN THE EMPLOYEE SAMPLE 151
TABLE 6.1 POSSIBLE SELVES: DESCRIPTIVE MEASURES FOR LIFE OUTCOME ITEMS WITH GENDER COMPARISONS 159
TABLE 6.2 FUTURE SELVES: DESCRIPTIVE MEASURES AND RESULTS OF TESTS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES FOR LIFE OUTCOMES 167
TABLE 6.3 EMPLOYMENT PLANS FOR FUTURE SELVES 170

TABLE 6.4 EMPLOYMENT: DESCRIPTIVE MEASURES AND RESULTS OF TESTS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES FOR ACTUAL LIFE OUTCOMES 176
TABLE 7-1 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES 188
TABLE 7.2 HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR FUTURE SALARY EXPECTATIONS 192
TABLE 7.5 REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR SALARY IN THE SAMPLE OF EMPLOYEES 225

List of Figures

FIGURE 2.1 FEMALE VERSUS MALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FROM 2013–2021 IN THE UAE 22
FIGURE 4-1 BIOSOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ROLES (SOURCE: WOOD AND EAGLY, 2012) 76
FIGURE 4.2 AFFORDANCES AND MOTIVES THAT PREDICT ROLE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR (DIEKMAN ET AL., 2020) 88
FIGURE 4.3 MODEL FOR STUDENTS' FUTURE SELVES 107
FIGURE 4.4 MODEL FOR EMPLOYEES ACTUAL SELVES 107
FIGURE 6.1 INTERACTION OF THE EXPECTATION FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE IN TERMS OF SALARY 161
FIGURE 6.2 INTERACTION OF THE EXPECTATION FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE IN TERMS OF WORKING HOURS 163
FIGURE 6.5 INTERACTION OF THE EXPECTATION FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE IN TERMS OF FUTURE SELF SALARY 171
FIGURE 6.6 INTERACTION OF THE EXPECTATION FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE IN TERMS OF FUTURE SELF: HOUSEWORK 174
FIGURE 6.8 INTERACTION OF THE REPORTED SALARY FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE 179
FIGURE 6.9 INTERACTION OF THE REPORTED WORKING HOURS FOR SELF VS. SPOUSE 180
FIGURE 7.1 MODERATION OF THE EFFECT OF GENDER ON EXPECTED CHILDCARE BY EMPLOYMENT 198
FIGURE 7.2 EFFECT OF GENDER ON EXPECTED SELF-PARTNER DIFFERENCE IN CHILDCARE MODERATED BY EMPLOYMENT 198
FIGURE 7.3 INTERACTION BETWEEN COMMUNALITY AND WORK-LIFE GOAL ATTAINMENT ON SELF-SPOUSE DIFFERENCES IN CHILDCARE 200
FIGURE 7.4 EFFECT OF GENDER ON SALARY MODERATED BY NETWORK ORIENTED EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL 216
FIGURE 7.8 EFFECT OF CAREER GOAL ATTAINMENT ON SALARY MODERATED BY AGENCY 220
FIGURE 7-17 GENDER EFFECT ON SELF-SPOUSE DIFFERENCE IN HOUSEWORK MODERATED BY EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL 237

Abstract

Ann Maginn

Expectations for Gender Equality in Middle Eastern Context: Insights based on the Possible Selves and Future Selves

While the world strives for greater gender equality, disparities and stereotypes persist between men and women in terms of labour force participation, wages, and domestic roles. Research evidence suggests that young women still expect to serve as the primary caregiver to their future families and to perform most of the housework. This research aims to: (a) investigate differences in the gender role expectations of male and female Emiratis and (b) identify some of the factors that influence these expectations. The research contributes to the literature on gender equality in an under-researched context, the Middle East, where research on gender issues is still very scarce. It also contributes to extant literature on goal congruity and future gender expectations by examining how the life goals of males and females are influenced by gender role self-concepts and how these life goals in turn influence their expectations for their future lives. The study adopts a 'possible selves' and 'future selves' framework and draws on a student sample (N=435) of male and female Emiratis. A number of mediation path models for each outcome of interest are tested. The analysis tests for both direct and indirect effects of gender on future expectations via life goals (achievement, work satisfaction, and work life balance/family relationships). The results reveal that traditional roles are still prevalent in the UAE, where women see themselves as primarily responsible for family, even if they expect to engage in the workforce. The findings also suggest that support from males for labour force participation among females does not extend to an expectation for a more equal distribution of domestic labour and childcare support. The implications of these findings for both future research and for the future of the equality agenda in this context are considered.

1 Introduction

Gender roles and expectations have been intensely debated topics for several decades (Block et al., 2019; Croft et al., 2021; Eagly and Koenig, 2021; Eagly and Revelle, 2021; Saxler et al., 2024; Zhu and Chang, 2019; Zosuls *et al.,* 2011). With the rise of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as a global economic powerhouse, insights into how men and women perceive their future life outcomes is crucial for understanding its domestic labour market (Khassawneh and Abaker, 2022; Lim, 2014). After all, this information can help the UAE to anticipate and respond to these perceptions in order to ensure the development of a thriving and equitable workforce (Khassawneh and Abaker, 2022; Lim, 2014).

The present research uses the framework of social role theory and focuses on Emirati men's and women's perceptions about critical life outcomes, namely: salary, working hours, childcare, and housework. This first chapter describes the motivation behind the research, followed by a description of the research framework, the aims of the study and the main contributions of the research. The chapter begins with an explanation of why gender is an important topic to study with respect to a country's labour market. Then, a broad introduction to the UAE's unique labour market will be provided before discussing the value of social role theory to investigate how prescribed roles of individuals in a given society affect their expectations of life outcomes in terms of salary, working hours, housework and childcare. The aims of the research will then be presented, which will include a synopsis of what is significant about the study. The chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Labour Market and Gender

Gender[1] is an important factor to take into consideration when studying the labour market in a country because gender inequalities have been recognised as one of the most pressing societal challenges in recent years (Fontana, 2024; Tobin, 2017). Globally, women are substantially less likely than men to participate in the labour force, and those who do participate are more likely to work in lower-paying jobs and to have less access to social protections such as paid leave and health insurance (Fontana, 2024; Tobin, 2017). This gender gap not only affects women's economic opportunities, but also has broader implications for economic growth and development. Studies have shown that increasing the number of women in the labour force can lead to a boost in growth because they bring new skills and attributes to the workplace, leading to more productivity (ILO, 2021; Lagarde and Ostry, 2018; Singh and Singh, 2023). Furthermore, empowering women and girls leads to positive outcomes in other areas as well, including health and education, reflecting basic human rights that are also essential for a sustainable future (United Nations Women, 2023).

Gender norms generally can restrict women's economic opportunities by limiting their access to information and networks, jobs, and assets (Peters, Adelstein and Abare, 2019; UN Women, 2020). Gender norms refer to the societal expectations and cultural beliefs about how men and women should behave (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020). *Traditional gender norms* are conservative and restrictive towards women in the sense that they dictate that women should prioritise their domestic responsibilities over their professional careers or in the most extreme form, be fully committed to being a wife and a mother, staying home with children and taking full responsibility of the household (Syrda, 2023; Thijs *et al.*,

[1] It is important to note at this juncture that gender is different from sex. Gender refers to the socially constructed notion that defines conventions of behaviour and roles in the categories of masculine and feminine (Wood & Eagly, 2012).

2019). Traditional gender norms negatively impact a women's ability to participate in the labour market and contribute to economic growth (; Diekman and Schmader, 2021; Peters, Adelstein and Abare, 2019; Syrda, 2023; Thijs *et al*., 2019). In addition, gender-based discrimination and bias associated with traditional gender norms can lead to unequal pay and limited opportunities for career advancement, which can further exacerbate gender discrimination in the labour market (Peters et al., 2019). *Egalitarian gender norms*, on the other hand, support equal rights of men and women, where the roles and responsibilities are not dependent on gender, and both men and women take responsibility for earning money, and for taking care of the household and children (Atkinson et al., 2021; Thijs *et al*., 2019).

This distinction between traditional and egalitarian gender norms should not be seen as a dichotomous categorisation but as a continuum: in certain countries, gender norms are *more* traditional and in other countries gender norms are *more* egalitarian. Even countries that are more egalitarian may not have a gender-neutral distribution of tasks (Buzmaniuk, 2023; Glynn, 2018; Horowitz, Parker and Stepler, 2017). Rather, in these countries there are smaller gender disparities compared to other, less egalitarian countries (Elass, 2024; Glynn, 2018; Horowitz et al., 2017). In other words, gender inequality is globally present, but there are large national differences regarding the severity of the issue (Klasen, 2019; United Nations Development Programme, 2020; World Economic Forum, 2022) that can partly be explained by the country's gender norms (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Uunk, 2015). Understanding how gender norms impact the social roles of women and men is highly relevant to the creation of an inclusive and equitable labour market.

1.2 The Possible Selves Framework

One theoretical approach that can aid in understanding gender-based inequalities in the labour market from a near-future perspective is the possible selves framework (Markus and

Nurius, 1986). From the perspective of this framework, it is understood that people's perceptions about the future contain multiple *possible selves*, which are ideas of what they *might* become, including desired as well as feared outcomes. This framework has previously been used to investigate how students' expectations of future outcomes are affected by different possible scenarios, such as getting married and having children, and then also analysing what they see as the most likely outcomes in their lives (hereafter referred to as *future selves*), which can be further impacted by the expected future attainment of certain life goals (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016).

Studies using the future selves framework have offered important insights when it comes to the possibility of improving gender equity in a country. For example, one insight is that men in the United States (US) and Spain expect that if they work more hours, then their spouse will take more responsibility for the housework (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). These kinds of insights gleaned from a future selves framework enable researchers to better understand outcomes for the near future, which align well with goals and interventions to reduce gender inequalities that usually also have a long(er)-term view to bring about change across generations in a culturally sensitive manner. For example, Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals set out by the United Nations (UN) aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by the year 2030. This time frame aligns with the understanding that the achievement of such a goal takes a longer-term perspective. After all, gender equality requires the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and girls, which is a complex and multifaceted undertaking. It involves addressing deep-rooted cultural and societal norms that perpetuate gender inequality (UN, 2022; UN Development Programme, 2022; UN Women, 2023).

To date, the vast majority of research on gender roles and gendered perceptions has been conducted in Western countries such as the US and Western Europe (e.g., Dicke,

Safavian and Eccles, 2019; Cialdini and Trost, 1998; Eagly et al., 2020; Eagly and Sczesny, 2019; Glick and Fiske, 1996; Haines, Deaux and Hentschel, 2019; Hudson & Ghani, 2024; Williams and Best, 1990b; Wood *et al.*, 1997). This Western focus is problematic for non-Western countries because the findings and implications of Western studies cannot be readily generalised to countries with different social and cultural ideologies, as has been made evident by the few studies that have made cross-cultural comparisons between other countries (Obioma, *et al.*, 2022; Obioma, Hentschel and Hernandez Bark, 2022; Wiliams and Best, 1990). For this reason, there are calls for more research in non-Western contexts (Syed, Ali and Hennekam, 2018), with the Middle East and Northern Africa region (MENA) being singled out for having received very little research attention to date (Budhwar *et al.*, 2019; Doh, Budhwar and Wood, 2021). This study responds to these calls by examining gender differences based on the possible selves framework in the UAE, which is a country that has more traditional gender norms compared to Western countries (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates Washington, DC, 2022; Martinez and Christnacht, 2021). The next section will explain the specific situation in the UAE's labour market and why insights with respect to gender roles are relevant.

1.3 Gender Inequality in the UAE Labour Market

The call for more research on gender roles and gendered perceptions in non-Western settings is of particular relevance to the UAE because it has quite a unique labour market, which has experienced rapid development in recent years. This development has occurred in a way that has led to an excessive dependence on expatriate workers. To illustrate, 89% of the total population now consists of expatriates (Global Media Insight, 2023) and there is a low relative number of Emirati nationals compared to expatriate workers in the private sector (Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2014; World Bank, 2023). This situation has mainly arisen due to the UAE's ambitious modernisation programme, coupled with the need for

significant growth-driven business changes (Brown and True, 2021a). Through the adoption of a more flexible immigration policy (Malit and Tsourapas, 2021; Malit and Al Youha, 2013), the government relies on foreign workers to sustain economic growth and maintain the country's high standard of living because of the small national population and the severe shortage of a qualified local workforce (Brown and True, 2021a). Emiratisation, which has seen the introduction of initiatives aimed at workforce nationalisation, seeks to lower expatriate employment by increasing national employment (Dwiveda and Patil, 2019; Randeree, 2012; Younis, Elsharnouby, and Elbanna, 2024). Like other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, this has become one of the most important and pressing policy agendas in recent years (Elbanna, 2022; Hodgson and Hanson, 2014).

The empowerment of women through these initiatives could increase the number of Emiratis in the workforce and also foster a more diverse and inclusive economy (Al-Ali, 2008; Karam, Ashill, Jayashree, and Lindsay, 2023). Yet, gender inequality is identified as a key structural barrier to Emiratisation. It is true that the UAE has taken important steps to create an environment conducive for women to work and thrive in the private sector, including through the adoption of policies and enforceable legislation aimed at promoting gender equality and empowerment (Klugman, 2021). In addition, both the Global Gender Gap report and the Gender Inequality Index of the Human Development Report reveal that educational attainment among Emirati women has improved (Conceição *et al.,* 2022; Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022a; World Economic Forum, 2022). This improvement makes the UAE the best performing country of the Middle Eastern region with respect to gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2022). For example, the mean years of school for Emirati women has increased from 8.3 years in 2010 to 13.1 years in 2019 (UNDP, 2020), suggesting that Emirati women have remained in school longer, resulting in a higher level of education attainment. Many scholars regard this improvement

as significant, since education is generally seen as a means of obtaining better future employment outcomes (Ashour, 2020; England *et al*., 2020). However, in 2021 it was reported that only 46.5% of Emirati women were in the workforce compared to 88% of Emirati men (Conceição et al., 2022). Furthermore, higher levels of educational attainment have not led to higher salaries for women: the estimated gross national income per capita is reported to be $28,921 for Emirati women and $77,318 for men (Conceição *et al.*, 2022). These findings demonstrate that, in the context of the UAE, the improvements in educational attainment have not translated into gender equality in the labour market and so gender remains a significant barrier to Emiratisation.

The reasons why educational attainment does not lead to smaller gender differences seems to be due to: (1) the fact that there is no economic necessity for women to work, (2) the more traditional gender norms that exist in the UAE, and (3) the different cultural setting surrounding work success, with males having better access to networks that can help their careers. First, with respect to the economic situation, in some other non-Western countries women work in order for the family to have sufficient financial means (Beham et al., 2023; Yang *et al.*, 2000). In the UAE, this is not the case. Expatriates continue to occupy junior and senior positions throughout the private sector (Zeffane and Kemp, 2020) due to the potential for higher salaries and better job opportunities compared to their home countries (Behar, 2015). Emirati nationals, however, tend to prefer working in the public sector due to the job security it offers, as well as the social status associated with government jobs (Al-Asfour and Khan, 2014; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2012; Forstenlechner *et al*., 2012; Forstenlechner and Rutledge, 2010; Kabbani and Mimoune, 2021; Randeree, 2012; Zaffane and Kemp, 2023). Davidson (2021) noted that those working in the public sector can expect to earn several times as much as those in the private sector, making the public sector an employer of choice for Emiratis. Better salaries and working conditions such as

shorter working hours (Routledge and Kaabi, 2023), generous annual leave and pension contributions, as well as better maternity leave, are strong motivations for choosing public sector employment (Forstenlechner and Routledge, 2010, Zaffane and Kemp, 2023). These conditions do not create an economic necessity for women to work because a single income will often be sufficient for the family.

Second, the gender norms that exist in the UAE are strongly associated with the Islamic religion (Oluwafemi, 2019). Every religious doctrine has a slightly different attitude towards differences between males and females (Klingorová and Havlíček, 2015; Kretschmer, Lämmermann and Leszczensky, 2024). As explained by Oluwafemi (2019), the Quran has not 'masterminded the marginalization and dehumanization of women' (p. 138), but traditional gender roles and discrimination 'against women … [are] more pronounced in countries where Islam is the source of legislation' (p. 136), which seems to be caused by patriarchal interpretations. Within Islamic societies, men and women's roles are seen as complementary, with important roles assigned to each based on their perceived strengths and weaknesses, strengthening the traditional position (Al Waqfi and Alfaki, 2015; Hashim, 1999; Naguib, 2024). Research shows that religion in general advocates more traditional gender roles and gender inequality, yet this is more strongly so for Islam compared to Christianity and Buddhism (Gondal and Hatta, 2024; Klingorová and Havlíček, 2015). In making the comparison with Western countries, the difference is not only explained by the difference in dominant religions but also by the decreasing influence of religious affiliation and gender norms in the West. In Western countries, the pressures associated with religious affiliation and adherence to gender norms are waning, particularly as the number of citizens without religious affiliations continues to rise (Smith, 2021). This shift in societal dynamics allows for greater freedom of expression and opportunities for

individuals to challenge traditional gender roles and expectations (Inglehart, 2020; Smith, 2021).

Finally, concerning the cultural setting, the Middle East has a specific cultural norm in the form of *wasta*: ‘the ability of people to acquire benefits through their membership in social networks or other social structures and the reputation they have because of their connections’ (Broadbridge, 2010, p. 6). As will be explained in more detail later in the dissertation, it seems to be the case that male access to wasta is greater than female access to wasta, especially when it concerns the use of wasta to obtain work related opportunities (Bailey, 2012; Gold and Naufal, 2012). This makes wasta an important cultural aspect to include in models aimed at explaining gender differences in possible and future selves.

1.4 Aims of the Research

The overall aims of this research are: (1) to examine gender differences in the perceptions and expectations of Emirati students and employees in terms of life outcomes (salary, working hours, housework and child labour responsibilities) for themselves and their spouses, and (2) to better understand how those perceptions and expectations are related to gender role self-concepts and attainment of life goals. More specifically, to achieve these aims, the study assesses gender differences in three ways. The first is by exploring gender differences in *students’ possible selves* with experimentally manipulated hypothetical scenarios that vary in terms of education and employment levels. The second is the examination of gender differences in *students’* anticipated *future selves*, referring to what they expect of their own futures. Then, to improve understanding about gender differences and how this is associated with gender roles, the study incorporates a third objective, which is to investigate gender differences in *actual selves* among a working sample.

The study further extends the possible selves framework by testing a more elaborate conceptual model developed based on gender theory and previous findings relevant to

gender norms and roles, life goals and outcomes, and *wasta* in the UAE. This model will help advance more specific insights into the way gender affects perceptions of possible and future selves. As will be explained in the forthcoming literature review, one reason why there might be gender differences in expectations is that these differences are based on the perceived attainment of life goals. These perceptions about the attainment of life goals, in turn, could be affected by gender in the sense that life goals that are congruent with society's gender roles might be perceived as more attainable. Therefore, the study will examine whether the attainment of life goals mediates the relationship between gender and the expected life outcomes of salary, working hours, childcare responsibilities and housework responsibilities for students' possible and future selves and for their spouses, as well as for employees' selves and spouses.

The study also examines several moderating effects. Moderating effects refer to a third variable altering the association found between two variables, making the association weaker or stronger, or even causing a change in direction. Moderation is also known as interaction (Hayes and Montoya, 2017). The moderating effect of gender roles in understanding life outcomes and life goals will be addressed based on the understanding that individuals can have stronger or weaker identification with gender roles in society and this can affect how life goal attainment is associated with perceived life outcomes. Furthermore, the options of employment status (full-time, part-time or stay at home) can have different implications for women in an economically privileged, yet gender-traditional society like the UAE when compared to other countries. Women may expect to work less because they feel they will meet expectations regarding the traditional gender roles, while men can have different reasons to opt for less than full-time employment. From this understanding, it will be examined how employment status interacts with gender in predicting expected life outcomes. Furthermore, based on the expectation that *wasta* will

be more accessible and helpful for males, the moderating effect of the intention to use *wasta* on the relationship between gender and life outcomes will be explored among the student sample. For the actual selves, perceptions related to effects of *wasta* are examined because employees will already have formed perceptions about how *wasta* effects at work.

1.5 Significance of the study: Contributions

The study makes several contributions to knowledge that can be categorised according to their theoretical, methodological and practical dimensions. These are described in more detail in the following sections.

1.5.1 Theoretical Contributions

The theoretical contributions of the study can be described as *theory elaboration*: 'contrasting, specifying, or structuring theoretical constructs and relations to account for and explain empirical observations' (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017, p. 438). Theory elaboration is seen as an important process by which research aims to achieve progressive understanding by extending, clarifying or applying existing theories in new and interesting ways (Makadok, Burton and Barney, 2018). This study uses the possible selves framework as the main theoretical basis to understand gender perceptions of future life outcomes, where theories on gender roles and their effects help to further understand potential processes through which gender affects possible and future selves. The study makes four theoretical contributions in the form of theory elaboration.

First, the study responds to the various calls for more research to examine gender inequality and gender roles in non-Western countries and more specifically in the Arab region (Budhwar et al., 2019; Doh et al., 2021; Kemp, 2021; Obioma et al., 2022; Syed et al., 2018). By examining gender dynamics within the context of the UAE and comparing them to existing research primarily focused on Western settings, the study has the potential

to refine current theories about gender (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017). The possible selves framework should apply to any culture since feared and likely outcome expectations are inherent to the universal human possibility to think beyond the here and now (Deng, Rosenblatt, Talhelm, and Putnam, 2023; Liberman and Trope, 2008). However, studies that allow for cross-cultural comparisons are crucial for pinpointing the specific mechanisms through which gender impacts these expectations.

This study directly contributes to refining theories about gender by examining them within the unique social context of the UAE. As culture significantly shapes gender norms (Kavanagh, Haintz, McKenzie, Ong, and Adeleye, 2023), existing research on the possible selves framework may not fully capture these nuances. Therefore, the present study adopts a culturally sensitive approach, accounting for national and social norms as recommended by Al-Hamadi et al. (2020) and Cislaghi and Heise (2020). This focus on a specific cultural context aligns with the work of Makadok et al. (2018), who argue that studying 'special cases' with different circumstances can lead to strong theoretical contributions. By examining gender dynamics in the UAE, where gender inequality hinders Emiratisation and gender equality efforts, this research offers valuable insights that can inform broader theories about gender roles and career aspirations, particularly in non-Western societies.

Second, the study contributes to theory elaboration by expanding the research to include a sample of employed public sector workers. This design offers a novel lens to explore potential discrepancies between aspirational goals and workplace realities, particularly for women in the public sector. Comparison to the student sample allows for a more complete understanding of the UAE context and how perceptions align with or deviate from 'actual' selves. Previous studies have not included this perspective, yet it can help inform ideas about the extent to which a new generation has future expectations that may not be similar to those experienced by workers, or that may be affected by other

factors. The possible selves framework acknowledges the fact that young people are affected by the situation that they perceive as currently realistic (e.g., knowing that high positions are given more easily to men than to women). However, it is also known that changes in life-work circumstances occur over generations because people strive for improvements. Relevant for the present study is that dissatisfaction with the present situation can motivate changes toward gender equality (Keane and Sarathy, 2021). This motivation to change has not been incorporated into social role theory and so a first step would be to compare possible and actual selves to gain insight into potential differences and similarities. As there are limits to knowledge about the UAE, using a possible selves framework can provide insights into the changing ideas and perceptions of young Emiratis in terms of their views towards gender equality. In principle, there is support for greater equality in the UAE but unless the attitudes of the younger generation are going to change, there will be limited developments in the achievement of greater gender equality and greater Emiratisation.

Second, this study enriches the understanding of the social context shaping gendered expectations. By integrating social role theory, gender role theory and goal congruity theory into the possible selves framework, the research offers a more nuanced understanding about factors influencing future life outcome expectations including the expectations for future working hours, salaries, distribution of childcare and housework. Combining and integrating these theories will help to improve the accuracy of predictions (Makadok et al., 2018), because they help to better explain, specify or structure theoretical constructs and relationships (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017) and offer an insight into the future expectations of local graduates.

Third, the inclusion of the cultural norm of *wasta* to better understand the role it plays in the future expectations of students as well as in the working lives of employees

represents a new construct that has not been considered in prior research (Makadok et al., 2018). While this concept is not present in Western contexts, *wasta* is a widespread practice in many Arab nations (Hutchings and Weir 2006; Stefanidis, Banai, and Dagher, 2023). Furthermore, the existence of *wasta* in the UAE context is understandable because it represents a strongly collectivist society, one ‘in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong cohesive in groups, which throughout peoples’ lifetimes continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty’ (Hofstede, 1994: 260). These links are personal, and most often derive from family relationships or close friendships (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993; Stefanidis, et al., 2023). *Wasta* can be considered a barrier to employment if individuals do not have the necessary level of *wasta* or it can be considered as an enabler to securing employment if they have the right level of *wasta.* Understanding the importance of *wasta* in the UAE is an important factor to consider when researching and understanding the labour market. Hutchings and Weir (2006) have identified distinct cultural norms and customs in other collectivistic cultures that are conceptually similar to *wasta*. This means that the results obtained in the present study may also be germane to other collectivist countries, which may inspire future research to develop theoretical expectations and investigate similar processes appropriate to those contexts.

1.5.2 Methodological Contributions

The study also makes four methodological contributions. These mainly fall under what Berg and Boyd (2022) have described as *refinements and extensions*, where an existing methodology is applied and adjusted, specifically for use in another context, which they call *transfer*. First, and regarding transfer, very little is known about Emirati students’ expectations for their future lives and careers. The possible and future self-expectations

assessment that was previously used within a Western context in the US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) and in Spain (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016) was adapted for this Middle Eastern context, where it had not previously been used. Using an existing method to investigate a problem in a new setting can motivate others to use this method as well, thus creating a best practice (Berg and Boyd, 2022). Best practices are advantageous because they can facilitate more direct comparisons of findings in different settings, such as cross-cultural comparisons as is the case in the present study.

Second, and with respect to refinements and extensions, the statistical approach chosen for this study entailed analysing the data in new ways rather than just replicating the analytical approach undertaken in the original studies. These original studies examined (on average) women's thoughts about their future responsibilities compared to their thoughts about those of their spouses (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2015). Further, Gartzia and Fetterolf's (2015) study also included male participants and they analysed their expectations in the same way. However, they did not calculate the differences in scores that reflect how each individual thought about the division of work (salary or hours), childcare and housework. This calculation can be derived by subtracting the hours that the spouse is expected to take care of children from the hours a participant expects for themselves, thereby showing greater, smaller or equal responsibility. These difference scores may be interpreted as the gender equality (or lack of it) expected by the participants in their future relationships. Therefore, an analysis of these difference scores and what may predict them was added in the current study.

Third, the present study makes a methodological contribution with respect to the measurement of *wasta*. Most research conducted on *wasta* has been qualitative, whereas this study aims to contribute to knowledge by shifting the research on *wasta* to a quantitative approach. For the student sample, the intention to use *wasta* was measured, as

this was about future intentions only. However, for the employed sample, the subjective effects of *wasta* in obtaining job success was examined by adapting an existing scale to measure locus of control. Items measuring the attribution of job success to the use of social networking were selected as a direct reflection of *wasta*. The present study provides insights about the internal consistencies of the construct and associations with other variables; thus, it may help future researchers who are also interested in quantifying *wasta*.

Fourth, attention was paid to the fact that culture and life stage could affect the factor structure of life goals. Investigating the factor structure of measures developed for another age, language or culture contributes to the rigor and validity of research and can lead to improvements in survey development (Marsh et al., 2014). Yet this is not often done, except in studies where the specific aim is to understand the cross-cultural differences or similarities of a construct (Marsh et al., 2014). In the present study, this was not the case. Life goals were seen as potentially relevant predictors of life outcomes, and for this reason it was considered important to measure them. However, the factor structure that emerged was not as expected based on prior research. For this reason, the findings may be valuable to other researchers who wish to measure life goals in similar contexts. This sensitivity to culture and context can set a good example to other researchers to ensure that factor structures are fully investigated before creating subscales as part of the measurement process.

1.5.3 Practical Contributions

With respect to practical contributions, the research offers insights that can be valuable for policymakers and employers. For policymakers, it is relevant to know how societal and individual factors (including gender equality, culture, and the role of women in society) may deter Emiratis – especially women – from entering the workforce and progressing in their careers or what informs their decisions to work part-time, full-time or stay at home.

The specific focus on a population of students (young adults) is of particular importance as over 60% of the UAE's population is under the age of 29 (UNDP, 2022). There is a large emerging group of young adults who will need jobs, which makes their employment a top government priority for the future. However, while most Emiratis prefer to work in the public sector, there are not enough government roles for everyone (UNDP, 2022). The UAE is therefore dealing with a human capital challenge, which is a key domestic socio-political concern, as its public sector is overstaffed with a predominately local workforce that cannot accommodate all new national labour market entrants (e.g., Alfarhan and Al-Busaidi, 2018). As suggested by Jabeen, Friesent and Ghoudi (2018), more in-depth insights into the expectations of Emiratis in their professional careers may assist in the further development and improvement of Emiratisation. Besides having the perspectives of students, the sample of employees is also informative in this respect because their perceptions of work-life balance and their associations with goal attainability can reveal what might be important aspects to foster in policies in order to bring more Emiratis, including women, into the workplace.

For employers, understanding how gender affects perceptions of work-life balance can help them to tailor their policies and benefits to better meet the needs of their workforce. For example, if women are more likely than men to expect to spend more hours taking care of children and carrying out housework, employers may need to consider offering more flexible work arrangements or other family-friendly benefits. Similarly, it can be important for employers to know if men expect to work part-time in the future and if the work-life perspectives of the new generation of workers are different from current employees in order to be able to anticipate and adapt if necessary.

Further, the research findings will be of practical value to both policymakers and employers with a desire to contribute to reaching sustainability Goal 5 to achieve gender

equality and empowerment of all women and girls by the year 2030. The insights offered in this study can help identify whether changes or interventions to reduce gender inequality in the UAE should focus on life goals, gender goals and/or *wasta*. The motivations for doing so can stem from a human rights perspective, as well as from the assumption that women add value to the work setting.

Finally, 'borrowing' these related theories (i.e. social role theory, gender role theory and goal congruity theory) and integrating them into the possible selves framework makes it possible to draw on theoretically derived mechanisms and processes that can provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between variables. In addition, the theoretical advancements arising from this integration can be of particular use to inform interventions. For example, if differences in perceived goal attainability help to explain gender differences in future self-perceptions, interventions may provide new information to help women to adjust their goal attainability perceptions (Aguinis, Edwards, and Bradley, 2017). Further, this study sheds light on how social norms, gender roles, and the perceived attainability of life goals all interact to influence how individuals envision their futures. By examining these complex relationships, the research can identify previously unexplored connections that can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of why Emiratis and, in particular, female Emiratis are opting not to join the labour market.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters, including this chapter, which is the introduction. Chapter 2 provides a review of the political, economic, and cultural contexts associated with gender equality in the UAE. Chapter 3, which is the first of two-literature review chapters, introduces the literature surrounding the four life outcomes that represent the dependent variables in the research model: salary, working hours, childcare responsibilities, and housework responsibilities. The chapter also examines gender

differences reported in the literature relating to these outcomes from a Western and non-Western context. The second literature review chapter, Chapter 4, introduces social role theory and explains how it leads to behaviours in men and women that align to the social roles prescribed by society. Goal congruity theory, which is derived from social role theory, explains how the goals that individuals choose are a direct product of the social roles and stereotypes that are prevalent in a society. The chapter also examines the gendered differences that have been found in prior research regarding life goals (career versus family aspirations) and proffers that the attainment of life goals plays a mediating role in the relationship between gender and the expected life outcomes for self and spouse. The chapter then introduces gender roles (agency and communion) and proposes that they have a moderating effect on the relationship between gender and life outcomes. Finally, the chapter provides a strong rationale for the moderating effect of *wasta* on the expected life outcomes between men and women. Chapter 5 describes the methodology used and presents the sampling strategy and sample recruitment, construct measurement, and the survey protocols that were adhered to. The chapter concludes by presenting the statistical analysis strategy, power analyses, and a discussion of relevant ethical considerations. Chapter 6 introduces the first results chapter and the findings relating to hypotheses H1 through H5. Chapter 7, the second of the results chapters, presents the mediation and moderation analyses as well as the results relating to H6 through H9. Chapter 8 provides an overall discussion of the results, considers the limitations of the research and suggests areas worthy of further investigation. Finally, Chapter 9 presents the conclusion and summarises the main contributions of the research.

2 The UAE Context

Scholars have called for studies to consider the role of context in achieving gender equality (Syed, Ali and Hennekam, 2018). By considering the specific context including the economic, political and socio-cultural factors, gender issues can be better understood and addressed (Hennekam, Ali and Syed, 2018; Pringle and Ryan, 2015). This chapter will provide insights into the UAE context where this study is situated. It begins by describing the recent history of gender equality in the UAE within the economic, political, and socio-cultural contexts. It then provides an overview of women in the workforce, highlighting the challenges and opportunities they face. Finally, the chapter concludes by summarising the key themes raised in the chapter.

2.1 The Economic Context

This section first describes the significance of recent economic phases in the UAE and how they have altered the situation for women. Thereafter, the current overall economic context is described.

2.1.1 Economic Phases and Emirati Women's Education and Employment

The UAE is a relatively young country, having recently celebrated its 50th anniversary since its foundation in 1971 (Bourke and Hymers, 2021). Before the UAE's founding, the country experienced three major economic phases (Al-Sayegh, 2001). The first occurred from 1900 to 1929, when the UAE (known as the Trucial Sheikhdoms before its independence) was the centre of the pearling industry. The second phase began in 1929 when the UAE held the responsibility of regional trade mediator 'between the Gulf, India, and Persia' (Al-Sayegh, 2001, p. 1060) and acted as a major transit centre. The third economic phase began in the mid-1930s when the UAE initiated the receipt of royalties for air and oil concessions as a result of becoming a vital link in the British air route between

London and India (Al-Sayegh, 2001). Shortly after air royalties were realised, more significant oil concessions followed as foreign companies searched for oil in the UAE. Today, the UAE is regarded as one of the leading emerging economies in the world (World Economic Forum, 2019).

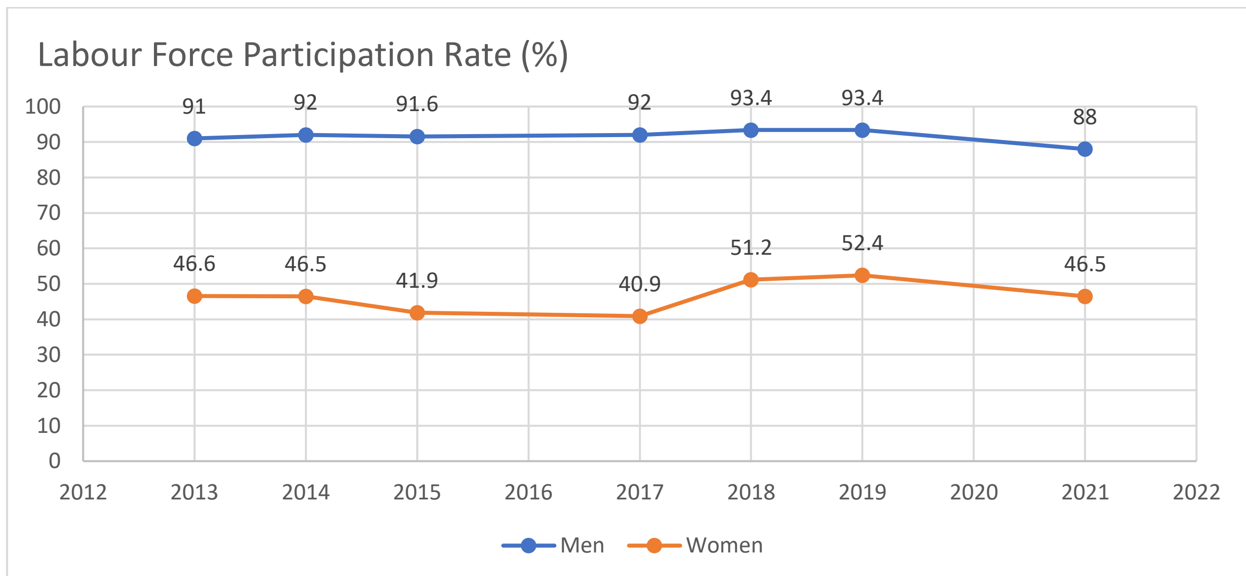
Although research exploring women's position throughout the history of the UAE is limited, it is suggested that during the pearling phase, women helped their husbands to sell their pearls at the market and contributed to their family's income by hand-sewing and selling clothes and wood (Hesketh and Williams, 2021). Women did not attend school during this time and were predominantly educated through the teachings of the Quran (Al-Sayegh, 2001). This means that women only had a religion-based education at this time, rather than what would be considered formal foundational education today. In 1971, the UAE was established as a country predicated on discovering oil and growing its financial wealth. The 'mother' of the UAE, Sheikha Fatima, began the first organisation focused on education for women, called the Women's Development Association, in 1973 (Hodgson, 2014; Pudney, 2017). As a result of this focus on women's education, the number of female national first-degree holders more than doubled in two generations (1975–1995), increasing from 3,005 to 6,710 (Burden-Leahy, 2009; Kemp, 2013). By 2007, it was noted that more women than men were enrolled in tertiary level education (Kemp, 2013). Moreover, the vision of creating equal access to all levels of education for women was also the focus of the first president, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan, and is evidenced by his statement that:

> Young women have the right to work in all spheres; there are no obstacles before them. We expect young women to support and proceed with everything undertaken by their brothers, the youth of the United Arab Emirates, and that there will be fruitful cooperation between the young women and their brothers in the different

spheres (documented by Al-Doafi and Al-Siksek, 1987, cited in Hodgson, 2014, p. 18).

Whereas educational achievement continued to be high among Emirati women over the next few years, and in 2018 was found to be higher than that of men overall (Cookman, 2018; Kovacevic *et al.*, 2018), Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan's vision with respect to equality in the working sphere was never achieved: women are still underrepresented in the labour market and experience inequality in earnings compared to their male counterparts. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, the employment of Emirati women within the workforce has fluctuated over the years, yet there is no evidence of a steady increase, and in all years Emirati men far outpaced their female counterparts.

Figure 2.1 Female versus Male Labour Force Participation Rates from 2013–2021 in the UAE



Sources: Conceicao *et al.*, 2019; 2020; Jahan *et al.*, 2014; 2015; 2016; 2018; Klugman *et al.*, 2011; Kovacevic *et al.*, 2018; Malik *et al.*, 2013.

2.1.2 Current Economic Context

The UAE's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2019 was USD 421 billion (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022c). It has abundant natural resources and accounts for '10% of

the total world supply of oil reserves and the world's fifth-largest natural gas reserves' (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022c, p. 1). In addition to these natural resources, the UAE is the central hub for trade and commerce. It is considered 'one of the most open and dynamic economies in the world' (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022c, p. 1).

As a result of the booming economy, the UAE government provides many financial benefits to Emirati nationals. These benefits include a tax-free income, subsidised fuel, free high-quality healthcare, access to land to build homes with interest-free loans, and free higher education. Further, Emirati nationals are offered generous government-funded retirement plans, a wedding bonus to men who marry Emirati women ($19,000), a debt settlement fund, and many other financial perks to relieve Emirati nationals of financial stressors (Al-Quwain and The Associated Press, 2021). In addition, nationals who choose to work for the government can expect to receive a larger bonus than those working in the private sector, better working hours, and an ample retirement fund at the end of their 15-year employment (Al-Quwain and The Associated Press, 2021; Waxin *et al.*, 2018). The wealth generated in the UAE creates a unique environment for Emirati nationals. Although Emirati nationals are the minority in the UAE workforce, they are uniquely advantaged and are regarded as powerful (Waxin, Kumra, and Zhao, 2020). The government has implemented initiatives such as Vision 2021, which promotes entrepreneurship within the Emirati population (Tipu and Sarker, 2020). In conjunction with a strong support infrastructure – for example, the Emirati Entrepreneurs Association, Impact Hub, Launchpad Dubai, Khalifa Fund for Enterprise Development, Mohammed bin Rashed Establishment for Small to Medium-sized Enterprise (SME) development, Tajar Dubai, Sharjah Entrepreneurship Foundation, the UAEU Science and Innovation Park, the Sheras Shara Entrepreneurship Centre – and government funding to bail out those Emirati entrepreneurial businesses that fail, the Emirati people are uniquely positioned to reject

employment opportunities that they feel will not garner the most rewards (Tipu and Sarker, 2020).

Still, despite 40 years of government initiatives to bolster localisation efforts, UAE nationals are the minority workers in both private and public institutions (Budhwar and Mellahi, 2016; Waxin *et al.*, 2018). Based on their economic privileges and further compounded by their low competency and skill levels upon graduating from college (Tipu and Sarker, 2020), Emirati nationals prefer public organisations over private ones for the multitude of benefits they offer their workforce. These benefits include shorter hours, better benefits, higher salaries, an Arabic-speaking workforce, and many native colleagues who would not be found in private organisations (Waxin, Kumra, and Zhao, 2020). The Emirati population is therefore considered not just a robust minority in the workforce, but a privileged one too; for instance, experiencing minimal pressures to enter and stay in the workforce. For Emirati women, this situation and broader cultural factors can significantly influence their decision about whether to enter the workforce. It is evident from the economic context that Emirati nationals can scrutinise the employment positions offered because of the abundant financial resources made available to them. This economic advantage allows for more cultural or religious norms to dominate since financial needs are being met through government subsidies. Before discussing the socio-cultural context, the next section will first describe the political context. Although they mutually affect each other, providing this political context will help to understand the broader context within which the socio-cultural norms can play a role.

2.2 The Political Context

When describing the political context and recent political developments, three dimensions are relevant: political developments directly associated with women' rights, political developments associated with families and communities, and Emiratisation in response to

the economic context. The most important political events are described in Table 2.1 (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022).

2.2.1 Women's Rights

As was mentioned in the previous section, the improvement in education for women reflects a political development, which is 'one of or relating to the state, government, the body politic, public administration, and policymaking' (Sanderson, 2022, p. 1). To start with the recent political history of women's rights in Arabic countries, by the 1960s, women were progressively holding high-status positions in the legal, medical, and academic fields, including judicial positions in various states (Samier, 2015). They were appointed to top government positions, held the right to vote, and ran for office (Samier, 2015). Since creating the Women's Development Association in 1973 (Hodgson, 2014; Pudney, 2017), the UAE has taken several positive steps to bridge the gender disparities within the country (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022).

Table 2.1 Political/Government Intervention to Bolster Gender Equality

Year	Intervention/Event	Description
1980–present	UAE Constitution	Article 14 and Article 16: Promote Emirati women's rights (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022b).
1982; 1996; 1997	Hosted women's rights conventions	1982: the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention. 1996: the Equal Remuneration Convention. 1997: the Child Protection Convention (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022e).
1992–2022	Labour Law	Maternity Leave (Naja and Crossley, 2022).
2004	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	The UAE signed the CEDAW (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022e).

2015	Gender Balance Council	A federal entity that is responsible ‘for developing and implementing the gender balance agenda in the United Arab Emirates’ (Gender Balance Council, 2022, p. 1).
2016	Regional office for UN Women in Abu Dhabi	The UAE opened this regional office (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022e).
2017	World Bank's Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative Fund	The UAE pledged $50 million (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022e).
2017	New labour rights bill	Aims to protect migrant and domestic workers (Johansen, 2017).
2019	Family protection policy	Seeks ‘to strengthen social ties in the UAE's families and communities’ (United Arab Emirates, 2022a, p. 1).
2020	Secular-learning legal reforms	Criminalises honour crimes against women while decriminalising several practices (Kerr, 2020).

2020	Federal Decree Law No. 8	New Article 74 entitles both male and female employees of private sector businesses to five working days of paid parental leave (i.e., for women on top of maternity leave). The decree also amends Article 32 of the UAE Labor Law, which contains equal-pay provisions for female employees. Previously Article 32 required an employer to pay a female worker the same wage as a man for undertaking the "same work" and this is changed to work of "equal value" for female counterparts.
2021	Vision 2021: Emiratisation	A key performance indicator of Vision 2021. The UAE Government 'trains Emiratis in various fields, provides life skills, reserves jobs for them, and has made legal provisions for recruiting and retaining them in jobs' (United Arab Emirates, 2022c, p. 1).
2022	UAE Federal Labour Laws	Law No.33: protects against discrimination, harassment, equal pay for women, fixed-term employment contracts, flexible work models, and several other labour-related provisions (Brown and True, 2021).

The implementation of constitutional articles to bolster Emirati women's equality began in the 1980s (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022b). Article 14 of the UAE constitution consists of four provisions. It states that 'equality, social justice, safety, security and equal opportunities for all citizens shall be the pillars of the society' (United Arab Emirates, 2022b, p. 1). The first provision states that 'all persons shall be equal before the law. No discrimination shall be practised between citizens of the Union because of race, nationality, religious belief or social position' (United Arab Emirates, 2022b, p. 1). Further, Article 16 of the constitution states that:

> …society shall be responsible for protecting childhood and motherhood and shall protect minors and others unable to look after themselves for any reason, such as illness or incapacity or old age or forced unemployment. It shall be responsible for assisting them and enabling them to help themselves for their own benefit and that of society (United Arab Emirates, 2022b, p. 6).

Several other laws have been established since the 1980s, and the UAE has continued to advocate for women's rights in various ways, including enacting and enforcing labour laws that bolster equal pay, providing new mothers with maternity leave, providing protection against discrimination and harassment, and offering new models for flexible work schedules, among many other provisions (Brown and True, 2021). In the 1990s, many Arab countries transitioned from state feminism programmes to civil society feminism (Samier, 2015). Emirati women also formed social movements to promote their participation in society including during the 2011 "Arab Spring", which swept throughout the Middle East and North Africa

(Olimat 2013). This movement was a significant turning point for many countries in the region, as it advocated for political and social changes, demanding greater democracy, human rights, and social justice. Emirati women actively participated in the Arab Spring movement, joining protests, organizing rallies, and voicing their concerns about various issues. They played a crucial role in advocating for women's rights, political reform, and social equality. Women’s active involvement in protests and advocacy efforts demonstrated their commitment to bringing about political and social change.

2.2.2 Political Developments Associated with Families and Communities

While the previous subsection has described developments and initiatives directly focused on women’s rights, several policies aimed at bolstering families and communities that have affected gender equality were implemented. For example, in 2019, the UAE enacted the Family Protection Policy to strengthen the social ties among the nation's families and communities. In addition, in 2020, secular legal reforms were enacted, which criminalised discriminatory practices toward women. For example, honour crimes committed by a male family member against an Emirati female were previously subject to a lower sentence due to them being a family member. However, in 2020, the UAE criminalised honour crimes against women and decriminalised several social behaviours initially deemed as criminal acts. For example, an unmarried couple can now cohabit legally in the UAE without fear of prosecution (Kerr, 2020). The UAE has also provided financial support to various programmes to empower women. For example, the UAE opened the UN’s women’s regional office in Abu Dhabi, which has donated over USD 26 million to initiatives and programmes to bolster women’s empowerment in the UAE (Hesketh and Williams, 2021). In conclusion, Emirati women played a vital role in promoting their participation in social movements, including the Arab Spring movement in

2011. These developments signal a positive shift in UAE society towards greater gender equality.

2.2.3 Emiratisation

Finally, an initiative called Vision 2021 in which Emiratisation is a key performance indicator has also affected Emirati women (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022). Emiratisation aims to achieve work localisation by bolstering the Emirati workforce in all sectors of the economy, including the uptake of positions currently dominated by a non-UAE workforce (Waxin *et al.*, 2020). The government first embarked on a workforce localisation policy in the early 1990s and formalised the Emiratisation agenda in 2000 (Matherly and Hodgson, 2014). The Emiratisation quota system requires selected industries in the private sector to employ a particular minimum share of the indigenous population (Matherly and Hodgson, 2014). In 2010, Ministerial Resolution (MR) 1187 was released, which included further Emiratisation measures to increase the number of Emiratis taking employment in the private sector by incentivising compliant employers and penalising non-compliant ones (Zeffane and Kemp, 2019). Free education for all Emirati students is among the policies established to ensure that locals can take employment roles in the private sector (Malit, Al Awad, and Alexander, 2018). However, private sector employers find it challenging to recruit Emirati workers because they cannot compete with the salaries, working hours, and flexible conditions provided in the public sector, where most Emiratis work (Waxin *et al.*, 2018). Even though some private sector companies have registered more Emirati employees following Emiratisation (Zeffane and Kemp, 2019), records also show that employment for this minority group remains low (Sarker and Rahman, 2020).

The Emiratisation of women has also been part of the agenda as policymakers seek to increase women's contributions to the workforce by creating conditions and environments that allow women the flexibility to balance work and family duties (Jabeen, 2017; Zeffane and Kemp, 2019). As previously described, the UAE government implemented several laws and policies to bolster equal rights for women in the workplace and to mitigate the challenges Emirati women can face in seeking employment. To make jobs in the private sector more attractive to Emirati women, the UAE government made further reforms that required the private sector to give paid parental leave to both women and men alike, as well as the same wages for work of equal value (Hamel and Dexter, 2021). This reform is intended to close the gender gap between employed men and women in the UAE. It is the first of its kind in the MENA region, which is a significant step in the right direction in addressing employment inequality between the sexes.

While it can be acknowledged that the UAE has taken several steps to address women's inequality within the workforce, other factors continue to mitigate these efforts, as evidenced by the minimal number of women currently employed. The following section provides a review of the socio-cultural developments in the UAE as they relate to the current state of employment.

2.3 The Socio-Cultural Context

This section will provide an overview of the socio-cultural context that is relevant to understanding Emirati women’s role in society. A separate section will be devoted to *wasta*, which is a specific cultural value in the UAE that is relevant to the current study.

2.3.1 The Position of Women in UAE Society

Like other Arab countries, the prevalent assumption in the UAE has traditionally been that a woman's primary role should be her commitment to her family and home, whereas the man's main role is to be the breadwinner for the family (Feki *et al.*, 2017; Mostafa, 2005; Neal, Finlay and Tansey, 2005). While it cannot be denied that an unintended by-product of the country's economic development has been impacted by Western culture – including media, foreign travel and products - the Emirati culture has remained strong over the course of its different economic phases (Samier, 2015). Further, in the UAE men and women have been segregated, and women have been found to follow the gender stereotypes assigned to them, not only in the distant past, but also in more recent times (Alibeli, 2015; Sikdar and Mitra, 2012). Yet, it has been found that in gender-segregated countries, there tend to be gendered perspectives on normative life. Men tend to focus on cultured life elements such as religion and gender-divided roles while, in contrast, women are more receptive to cross-cultural lifestyles (Ottsen and Berntsen, 2014). This explains why in Arabian countries, women have been increasingly willing to accept political, occupational and educational responsibilities, but encounter barriers in obtaining them as men are often unwilling to share them (Abdalla, 1996; Jamali, 2005; Metle, 2002). Indeed, Al-Othman (2011) found that the strongest predictor of negative attitudes towards women participating in public social life in the UAE was being male. Further, Sikdar and Mitra (2012) reported that an increasing number of women were overcoming stereotypes and showing more agentic leadership intentions to break traditional barriers and become leaders, but this was not easy. Research by Kemp *et al.* (2013) on 954 MENA organisations showed that women were underrepresented in senior leadership and managerial positions but were more represented in the hospitality and smaller business sectors or in public organisations, suggesting that resistance was particularly present in more 'masculine' domains. Others have

described that the support of their male relatives was often necessary, and women also relied on *wasta* (the use of a social network, see 2.3.3) to advance their career goals (Abalkhail and Allan, 2015; 2016). In conclusion, the possibilities for women in UAE society seems to be determined by socio-cultural ideas of what is appropriate or fitting for women, where the complementarity of genders is emphasised.

2.3.2 The Current Socio-Cultural Context

Although the UAE has made significant strides in transforming its culture towards gender equality, many traditional values remain deeply embedded (Tipu and Sarker, 2020). Specifically, tribal collectivist relationships, Islamic values, social cohesion and networks (see 2.3.3.), and the importance of extended families are still profoundly valued by Emirati nationals (Ali and Weir, 2020; Daleure, 2017).

The culturally assigned roles of Arab women as caregivers and homemakers and men as leaders are evident in organisational hierarchies, where women tend to be excluded from top managerial positions. In a study exploring the challenges and barriers experienced by Saudi women in advancing their careers, a range of barriers negatively affected Saudi women's ability to advance in the workplace, including gender stereotypes, discrimination, limited opportunities for growth, lack of mobility, excessive workload, lack of family/work balance, and work challenges associated with pregnancy (Al-Asfour *et al.*, 2017). Similarly, a study exploring the attitudes of Emirati men and women in the UAE sought to quantify gender attitudes (Maitner and Henry, 2018). This survey found that Emirati men were less influenced by the UAE government's initiatives to bolster equality for women, as evidenced by male participants scoring highly for both hostile and hostile-benevolent sexist attitudes towards women. Specifically, Emirati men felt hostility towards women ‘who challenge men's power

or traditional gender roles [by, for example, working outside of the home]' and restricted Emirati women to 'stereotypical roles while eliciting protective and idealised feelings toward them' (Maitner and Henry, 2018, p. 833). These research findings further indicate that it is men in particular who keep the focus on gender-restricted roles, whereas women are changing their perspectives (Ottsen and Berntsen, 2014).

2.3.3 Wasta

Wasta is an influential feature that is prevalent in the employment relationship in the Arab world and that influences people's lives and how business is conducted (Sabri, 2011). *Wasta* has been defined as 'the intervention of a patron in favour of a client to obtain benefits or resources from a third party' (Mohammad and Hamdy, 2008, p. 1). *Wasta* relates to multifunctional 'social networks of interpersonal connections implicating the exercise of power, influence, and information sharing through social and political–business networks. *Wasta* is intrinsic to the operation of many valuable social processes, central to transmitting knowledge and creating opportunity' (Sultan *et al.*, 2012, p. 41).

Throughout Arab societies, social networks are an essential component of culture linked directly to kinship relationships and family connections (Ramady, 2015). *Wasta*, as a form of social networking provides insights into understanding how decisions are made and how people operate within the public sector in the Arab region (Cunningham and Sarayah, 1993; Ramady, 2015). Consequently, these networks influence career advancement to top positions within an organisation (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011). *Wasta* is deeply rooted in the social makeup of Arabic societies (Barnett, Yandle, and Naufal, 2013; Harbi, Thursfield and Bright, 2016), and represents 'a way of life' (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011, p. 479). Hofstede (2001) and Harbi *et al.* (2017) reported that the Arab culture is a collectivistic culture that emphasises

strong group commitment and loyalty to group members, and families are the key players that secure a strong *wasta* (Hutchings and Weir, 2006). The phenomenon of *wasta* is found not only in the Arab countries but also in other cultures. In Russia, for example, it exists as *Blat,* while in China it exists as *Guanxi* (Velez-Calle *et al.,* 2015). *Wasta* may be seen as equivalent to being part of an 'old boys' network' in the West or having the 'right' family background (e.g., nobility) in order to succeed (Hutchings and Weir, 2006).

Given its prevalence in the Middle Eastern context, the impact of *wasta* on employment opportunities for Emirati women and men needs to be more thoroughly understood (Iles, Almhedie, and Baruch, 2012). For example, Tlaiss and Kauser (2011) conducted a study across five Arab countries, namely Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, concentrating on managers' opinions of *wasta* at various managerial levels. They found that 89% of respondents had used *wasta* in their positions, 80% used it regularly, and 86% believed that *wasta* improved both business and personal relationships inside and outside the workplace. *Wasta* can act as either a help or a hindrance to the advancement of Emirati women in the workplace, depending on how advanced the woman's network is. However, research to date has not examined this possibility despite the fact that women are underrepresented within the Emirati workforce and are on a weak footing regarding their access to such networks. Further, *wasta* could perpetuate gender inequality in the workplace by showing a bias towards Emirati men, much to the detriment of Emirati women. Therefore, *wasta* will be examined as a meaningful and relevant consideration in the context of the present study.

2.4 Career Choices of Women in the Workforce

The previous section has demonstrated that the socio-cultural context has important implications for Emirati women in the workforce. More specifically, evidence suggests that as women will very often have few female role models - despite various recent initiatives – their fathers will heavily influence their chosen career paths (Howe-Walsh *et al.*, 2020). Mothers will reinforce this pattern by taking their husbands as the example of a paternal role model when thinking about career options for their daughters (Howe-Walsh *et al.*, 2020). Unlike the West, where women are underrepresented in academic programmes and professions associated with Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) (Martinez and Christnacht, 2021), Emirati women dominate STEM courses in the UAE, with 56% of female Emirati students graduating from STEM programmes, thus following in the footsteps of their fathers (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022e). Interestingly, the emergence of 'new' female role models – such as older sisters – are also very unlike those found in Western cultures, as they are associated with careers that in the West would typically be considered as 'masculine' (Howe-Walsh *et al.*, 2020).

In a study about work-life balance, Shaya and Khait (2017) reported that women from the UAE who had studied at Western educational institutes were exposed to Western examples of balancing work and family life. The women interviewed reported difficulties in achieving work life balance, but also identified solutions including having a socially supportive network, such as mothers, sisters, and other family members willing to take care of the children. Together with the governmental supports for education in the UAE, fatherly support for their daughters, and the empowerment associated with the Islamic work ethic, new possibilities have opened up, and there is some evidence that women are starting to reach more senior, leadership

positions in organisations (Shaya and Khait, 2017). At the same time, these emerging possibilities should be nuanced with the already mentioned findings regarding the difficulties for women gaining acceptance in certain positions that are considered as being more suitable for males (Kemp *et al.*, 2013).

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter offers valuable insights into the UAE context and its impact on gender equality, particularly concerning Emirati women's roles in the workforce. It outlines the importance of considering the specific context, including economic, political and sociocultural factors, to better understand and address gender issues.

The economic context highlights the UAE's transformation from a pearling industry to an emerging global economy driven by oil reserves and international trade. It emphasises the significant strides in women's education over the years leading to increased female enrolment in tertiary education. However, despite these educational achievements, the employment of Emirati women has not seen significant improvement, with men consistently outnumbering women.

The political context summaries the government's initiatives to promote gender equality, including constitutional provisions and various laws and policies aimed at empowering women. While progress has been made, societal norms and stereotypes still impact women's advancement, with men often holding traditional views on gender roles.

The socio-cultural context sheds light on the historical and current position of women in Emirati society. While women have been increasingly willing to challenge traditional roles and pursue career opportunities, they still face barriers such as gender stereotypes,

discrimination, and limited opportunities for growth. The concept of *wasta* or social connections, also plays a significant role in career advancement and can either help or hinder Emirati women depending on the strength of their network.

Overall, this chapter highlights the complexities of achieving gender equality in the UAE. Where there have been considerable advancements in education and some legislative measures to promote women's rights, deeply rooted cultural norms and practices continue to influence women's roles and opportunities in the workforce. Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive understanding of the context and a commitment to challenging traditional beliefs and practices to create a more equitable society for Emirati women. It appears that women in the UAE suffer the burden of being the primary caregivers and shouldering the brunt of domestic labour around the home. Ultimately, the gender inequalities witnessed in the UAE's workforce are partly due to conflicting socio-economic responsibilities that impact Emirati women's ability to achieve a fair work-life balance (Jabeen, 2017). The next chapter, Chapter 3, will introduce the theoretical framework that is used in the current study to gain further insight into how young people in the UAE feel about life outcomes in terms of gender equality.

3 Literature Review 1: The Influence of Gender on Possible and Future Selves

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two literature review chapters. Its aim is twofold. First, it presents the main theoretical underpinnings of this research. It introduces the possible selves framework and describes its relationship to future selves, as well as the impact of gender on notions of the self. Second, the chapter examines what is known about men's and women's perceptions regarding expected salary, working hours, childcare responsibilities, and housework responsibilities for their possible selves, future selves, and potential future spouses from a Western and UAE perspective. It is important to note that the literature is based on a heterosexual perspective and may not be generalisable to other gender identities or sexual orientations. The present study is situated in the UAE where LGBT rights are unsupported and LGBT persons face legal challenges, thus requiring a completely different perspective and line of research that falls outside of the scope of this thesis.

Because almost all research on this topic has been carried out in Western countries, and thus adopts Western assumptions, this chapter begins with an explanation of the differences in gender roles and attitudes between Western and Arabian countries (3.2) before providing a detailed description of the possible selves framework which is used to examine gender roles and expectations (3.3). It then continues to explain how possible selves relate to psychological processes (3.4). The next section (3.5) uses self-discrepancy theory to describe why future selves are important to discriminate from other possible selves. In 3.6, the findings from the theoretical framework in Western countries are described and what is expected for the present

study in the UAE. Finally, a brief conclusion brings together the key points made in the literature review and describes their relevance to the current research.

3.2 Differences in Gender Roles and Attitudes between Western Countries and the UAE

As explained in the previous chapter, gender roles in the UAE are embedded in a context of economic, political and socio-cultural developments, where measures to address women's rights only began in the 1960s. While these changes are positive and are directed at increasing women's participation in public life, gender roles are still best characterised as complemental and traditional (Tipu and Sartker, 2020). Furthermore, gender role attitudes change more rapidly among women than among men in Arabian countries, including in the UAE (Maitner and Henry, 2018; Otham, 2011; Ottsen and Berntsen, 2014; Sikdart and Mitra, 2012). This section will first briefly describe the historical context of gender in Western countries prior to describing the current situation. It will then conclude with a comparison between Western countries and the UAE.

3.2.1 The Feminist Waves of Western Countries and Impacts on Equality

In Western countries, the women's rights movement first began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Malinowska, 2020). At that time, Western women and men had distinct functions; women's roles were seen as operating within the private domain, while men's roles were within the public domain (Malinowska, 2020; Mohajan, 2022). The first feminist wave emerged from an environment of urban industrialism and liberal, socialist politics (Malinowska, 2020) and sought to create opportunities for women, with a focus on suffrage (Malinowska, 2020; Mohajan, 2022). The second wave, which lasted from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, arose in the context of anti-war and civil rights movements, and a growing self-awareness of various minority groups worldwide (Ferguson, Katrak, and Miner, 2014).

Sexuality and reproductive rights were dominant topics during this period, and much of the movement's energy was focused on the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution, which guaranteed social equality regardless of gender (Malinowska, 2020). The third wave emerged in the mid-1990s and was founded on postcolonial and postmodern ideas. Many constructs were destabilised during this period, including notions of universal womanhood, body, gender, sexuality and heteronormativity (Rampton, 2015). Women during this wave defined female beauty as something of value to themselves rather than as an object of a sexist patriarchy (Rampton, 2015). It is suggested that most third wavers refused to identify as 'feminists' and found the term to be restrictive and exclusive (Rampton, 2015).

A more recent fourth wave of women empowerment (starting in about 2012) has evolved where women share their stories – mainly online - about sexual abuse, sexual harassment, sexual violence, female objectification and workplace sexism (Mohajan, 2022). This wave reveals the presence of gender stereotypes, where restrictions to women's opportunities in Western countries are more openly discussed than ever before, and yet still are not resolved (Eagly and Sczesny, 2019). This wave provides an increasingly detailed focus on how gender plays a role not just in the workplace, but also in the home.

Despite these waves of feminism or female empowerment, gender roles have not dramatically changed. For example, one gender ideology study of twelfth-grade students conducted between 1976 and 2014 in the US reported that the most desired scenario in 2014, reported by 23%, depicted the husband as the earner and the wife as the homemaker, with a further 19% depicting a full-time working husband and a part-time working wife as most desirable (Dernberger and Peppin, 2020). However, there have been notable changes in gender role attitudes, with only 8 percent finding it acceptable for women to work outside the home

in 1976, compared to 24 percent in 2014 (Dernberger and Pepin, 2020). To provide further context to these trends, nearly 50 percent of all two-parent households had a mother who stayed at home in 1970, while in 2015 almost 70 percent of families in the US were dual-earner-parent households (Pew Research Centre, 2015). Further evidence suggests that women who feel their partners do not assist with domestic work have higher depression rates, lower satisfaction, and an increased likelihood of divorce than women whose partners help with daily chores (Bird, 1999; Frisco and Williams, 2003; Wilkie *et al.*, 1998). Since the beginning of this century, there has been a reported increase in the contributions of fathers to child development (Croft *et al.*, 2014; Marsiglio *et al.*, 2000) and women increasingly prefer equal partnerships, in which financial and domestic responsibilities are shared equally (Gerson, 2010; Miller and Carlson, 2015; Pedulla and Thébaud, 2015). Thus, co-parenting and stay-at-home-father arrangements have become much more common in Western countries (Chesley, 2011; Rushing and Powell, 2015; Rushing and Sparks, 2018; Yan, Schoppe-Sullivan and Dush, 2018) and contemporary fathers spend about triple the time caring for children compared to their 1965 counterparts (Livingston and Parker, 2019). Consistent with these trends, it would be expected that working male fathers would be helpful and supportive in domestic work and childcare, but evidence suggests that the main responsibility for these domains still rests with women (Dernberger and Pepin, 2020; Fulcher and Coyle, 2011; Fulcher *et al.*, 2015; McConnon *et al.*, 2021; Midgette, 2020; Wenhold and Harrison, 2020). Thus, while feminism in Western countries may have resulted in *greater* equality in gender roles, it has not resulted in total equality (Lundvall *et al.*, 2017). This focus on equality of opportunity in the work context is dealt with in greater detail in the following section.

3.2.2 Equal Opportunities in a Western Work Context

With respect to equality in the workplace, Western women have increasingly become economic providers for their families (Pew Research Centre, 2013; 2022). Still, despite initiatives aimed at improving gender equality in the workforce (U.K. Department of Business and Industry, 2022; United Nations, 2021; 2022), women's opportunities are unequal. Inequalities in gender pay persist in the workforce, as highlighted by various studies (Brooks *et al.*, 2019; Chisholm-Burns *et al.*, 2017; Glauser, 2018; Jawaid, LoMonaco and Bollegala, 2021; Lyness and Grotto, 2018; Mölders *et al.*, 2018; Pew Research Centre, 2022). Further, Jasko *et al.* (2020) found that women had less success in the job market, including fewer job offers, lower salaries, and fewer jobs in their preferred profession. Women also experience fewer promotions and occupational segregation compared to their male counterparts (Beach, Finnie and Gray, 2003; Block*et al.*, 2019; Evans, 2002; Fortin and Huberman, 2002).

Significant differences in the career priorities of men and women have also been found, with women often choosing low-paying careers while men are more commonly engaged in higher-paying roles with a higher potential for growth and promotion (Block *et al.*, 2019; Croft *et al.*, 2015; Diekman *et al.*, 2010; Fulcher *et al.*, 2015; Joy, 2003). These occupational differences are believed to stem from the career evaluations and choices that young men and women make earlier in life (Schielder and Gould, 2016). Women who expect lower salaries in their early careers are more likely to be underpaid later in their careers compared to men (Gerhart and Rynes, 1991). Furthermore, jobs traditionally associated with male roles have become higher paying than those associated with female roles (Hegewisch and Hartmann, 2014; Beasley *et al.*, 2021). A study in 2001 revealed various barriers to women's participation in management globally, including corporate barriers (e.g., seeing women as less qualified), and a lack of mentoring and networks (Linehan, Scullion and Walsh, 2001). Similarly, in the

investment management sector, a later study found that everyday social practices (overt and covert) placed women as outsiders (Sheerin and Linehan, 2018). The International Labour Organisation's (ILO) 2016 report indicated that women working in demanding but high-paying jobs still faced disadvantages due to work policies that favour male-oriented attributes such as competitiveness and aggressiveness, reflecting the effects of social expectations about these attributes (Rubery and Koukiadaki, 2016). Thus, women are still less frequently hired and accepted than men in positions that provide agency status, resulting in females being compelled to assume stereotypical gender roles in the workplace (Dicke *et al.* 2019).

There is further evidence that after having children, women are more likely than men to reduce their work commitments, earn lower salaries, and advance more slowly in their careers (Barroso and Brown, 2021; Niemistö *et al.*, 2021; Parker, 2015). Although many women embrace this choice (Gatrell *et al.*, 2017), twice as many working mothers than fathers report that parenting responsibilities hinder their careers, especially among families of highly career-focused men (Pew Research Centre, 2015; 2022; Stavrou and Kilaniotis, 2020). As such, women's responsibilities have increased as they attempt to simultaneously take care of their home responsibilities and carry out their work roles (Pepin and Cotter, 2018; Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2007; Sockley *et al.*, 2021). As the existing literature indicates, this double burden has an impact on women's involvement in the workforce (Christnacht and Sullivan, 2020; Freeney, van der Werff and Collings, 2022), their adjustment to becoming new parents (Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2007), their marital satisfaction (Li *et al.*, 2020), their time poverty (Hyde *et al.*, 2020), and their career ambitions (Drinkwater *et al.*, 2008). In conclusion, despite evidence of women's expanding roles, family responsibilities continue to fall disproportionately on women's shoulders in Western countries (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016;

Anita *et al.*, 2020; Delina and Prabhakara Raya, 2013; Emslie and Hunt, 2009; Goldscheider *et al.*, 2015; Hochschild and Machung, 2012).

Croft *et al.* (2019) argue that men's domestic involvement should be considered when assessing the role of women at home and at work. Their research suggests that if male partners assumed more caregiving responsibilities, women would be more likely to envisage becoming the primary economic provider and less likely to take on the primary caregiver role in their future families. This shift would redress the imbalance between traditional societal views of gender-specific roles in the workplace and at home, allowing women to perform non-traditional roles (e.g., Croft *et al.*, 2015; 2019; see also Meisenbach already in 2010). Yet, during the recent COVID-19 pandemic, it was found that it was mainly mothers who made career sacrifices during the quarantines to take care of their children (Carli, 2020). This juggling of family responsibilities and paid work negatively impacted women's well-being and career performance (Collins *et al.*, 2020; McKinsey and Company, 2021; Shockley *et al.*, 2021). These findings thus strongly indicate that gender-related barriers persist both in the workplace and at home.

3.2.3 Comparing Evidence from Western Countries and the UAE

While movements towards the empowerment of women in Western countries are ongoing, these have taken place within quite a different socio-economic and political context than that described for the UAE in the previous chapter. This is reflected, not only in the high levels of inequality for Emirati women compared to Western women (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022; Martinez and Christnacht, 2021), but also in the more rapid weakening of traditional gender roles in Western countries (Glynn, 2019; Parker and Stepler, 2017), and differences in gender attitudes. Glick *et al.* (2000) carried out a large cross-cultural study

investigating sexism, where several Western/ European countries were represented (Portugal, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany the Netherlands, the UK, Australia, and the USA). While the samples were diverse in terms of their geographic, cultural and economic backgrounds, they were not fully representative of the whole populations in these regions. Specifically, Portugal, Italy, the UK, and the USA used mainly college/university students in contrast to the other countries that also included older adults. The study measured 'hostile sexism', which refers to resentment towards women who challenge male power or traditional gender roles, and 'benevolent sexism' which regards the male and female sexes as complementary. In this latter case, women are seen as more nurturing or precious than men, and as the sex that should be protected, restricting women's roles to stereotypical roles. The study found that, on a scale with values ranging between 0 and 5, men reported hostile sexism scores between 2.9 (the Netherlands) and 2.75 (Portugal), and women reported lower hostile sexism scores between 1.7 (US) and 2.0 (Portugal). The benevolent sexism scores reported were lower for men, ranging between 1.8 (Belgium) and 2.5 (Spain), but higher for women: between 1.8 (Australia) and 2.4 (Germany).

Maitner and Henry (2018) later used the same measures in a study in the UAE among university students. They found that the hostility sexism score of Emirati men (2.8) was about the same as that reported among Western men in 2000, although it was somewhat higher (3.0) among other Arab men living in the UAE. Emirati women, on the other hand, had an average score of about 2.4 (and other Arab women of 2.2). While this was a lower score than that of Emirati men, it was a higher score than that reported for Western women in 2000. On the other hand, in the UAE, benevolent sexism was higher than hostility sexism: 3.1 for Emirati men and 2.8 for women (with similar scores for other Arabs in the sample) (Martin *et al.,* 2018).

In conclusion, despite the fact that the UAE study took place eighteen years later, the benevolent sexism of both men and women was stronger than in Western countries. What this means for the UAE can best be understood from the perspective that benevolent sexism has an oxymoronic character (Glick and Fiske, 2021). The part 'benevolent' refers to women being portrayed as pure and in need of protection and respect. Yet, it is considered as 'sexism' because this idealisation of women simultaneously suggests that women are weak and best suited to traditional gender roles. Emirati men who see and treat women in this way will see it as nurturing and cherishing, and many Emirati women will perceive it as such. However, this is restrictive for women because these attitudes legitimise gendered roles (Maitner and Henry, 2018). This suggests that much of the research reviewed from a Western perspective may not be generalisable to the UAE. Nevertheless, it provides a framework for comparison for the later discussion of the current study's findings. The next section introduces the theoretical framework that forms the basis of the current study.

3.3 Understanding Life Outcomes through the Possible Selves Framework

This section introduces the possible selves framework and its relationship to future selves and illustrates its importance in researching life outcomes for young people in the context of this research. In their seminal work using possible selves theory, Markus and Nurius (1986) posited that there exists a range of possibilities of self that an individual can adopt, based on factors that are both inside and outside their control. These possible selves often represent 'the individual's persistent hopes and fears and indicate what could be realised given appropriate social conditions' (Markus and Nurius, 1986, p. 965). As such, possible selves represent individuals' images of the self in the future, associated with goals, desires and emotions (e.g.,

Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). Different variations of possible selves comprise the imaginative self, the self that the individual hopes to become, the self that the individual fears becoming, and the self that is more realistically expected (Oyserman and Fryberg, 2006). As Ruvolo and Markus (1992) suggested, individuals' expectations concerning their possible selves are ever-changing and rely on personal assessments and experiences which, in turn, influence both desirability and probability.

The possible self that is perceived by individuals as most realistic is often referred to as the 'future self', because it is the possible selves scenario that reflects the individual's ideas about who they are likely to become in the future (Garzia and Fetterolf, 2016). It is important to understand why future selves can deviate from the ideal self and can overlap with both desired and feared for selves (Harrison, 2018). Individuals visualise their goals and internalise them, thereby creating a desired state, which also forms the 'complex cognitive depictions of desired outcomes, such as career success' (Austin and Vancouver, 1996, p. 338). Yet, people may feel these desired or ideal selves will be unlikely, on the one hand because of impossibilities (e.g., a person wants to be the owner of a large company, but thinks that it will not be possible to obtain the necessary start-up capital), and on the other hand because of 'want/should' conflicts (e.g., a person wants to become an artist, but feels this would not be accepted by significant others because of the financial insecurities it would bring) (Bitterly *et al.*, 2014). These projections about the future self as possible selves are important because they, along with their desired selves, direct present-day behaviours and attitudes (Knox *et al.*, 1998; Markus and Nurius, 1986).

To explain this better, from a life-time perspective, individuals first form an ideal possible self and achieve a clear vision of their future self, along with the steps needed to

achieve their potential self, which is the developmental stage (Cross and Markus, 1991). The elaboration stage follows, which is a process that is crucial in motivating individuals to take specific actions strategically to reduce the discrepancy between their present and desired possible selves (Ruvolo and Markus, 1992). Thus, the possible selves framework primarily guides the direction of individuals' behaviour (Markus and Nurius, 1986). By mapping out the difference between their ideal future self and their feared self, individuals' cognitive processes guide them towards achieving their desired future self and avoiding the feared self, using roadmaps as guides to evaluate if they are on the right track (Frazier and Hooker, 2006; Robinson and Davis, 2001). When possible selves influence an individual's motivations, they are more likely to persevere in achieving their objectives and goals to reach their future self (Nuttin *et al.*, 1984; Stahan and Wilson, 2006). As such, possible selves serve as 'self-schemata' influenced by interpersonal activities and goals (Markus and Wurf, 1987) and can also aid in regulating individual behaviour (Erikson, 2007). Possible selves, therefore, are a valuable analytical tool for studying future expectations because they can influence behaviour (e.g., Oserman, Bybee, Terry, and Heart-Johnson, 2004) and assist with creating strategies for attaining future goals (Austin and Vancouver, 1996).

The possible selves framework is not just of relevance for understanding individual behaviour, it also informs us about the expectations of specific social groups. The reason for this is that possible selves vary by social group membership. These variations can relate to gender role norms (Brown and Diekman, 2010), cultural differences (Waid and Frazier, 2003), and political contexts (Federico and Ekstrom, 2018). The literature suggests that these factors can affect and contribute to differences in possible selves, both within and between social groups (Federico and Ekstrom, 2018; Waid and Frazier, 2003). For this reason, the possible

selves framework is frequently used to better understand the effects of specific factors that are seen as embedded in a socio-cultural or political context, including gender (Croft *et al.,* 2019; Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Wonch Hill *et al.,* 2017).

Possible selves have been measured in various ways (Lee at al., 2015). These comprise: (i) the content of a person's most important possible self (Hooker and Kaus, 1992); (ii) cognitions associated with a specific part of the possible self – such as becoming a 'problem drinker' (Corte and Szalacha, 2010); and (iii) the number of feared or expected possible selves (Oyserman and Markus, 1990; Aloise-Young *et al.*, 2001). Evidence suggests that possible selves may impact behaviour through their role in self-regulatory processes that influence both motivation and behaviour (Hoyle and Sherill, 2006; VanDellen and Hoyle, 2008). This work on the goal-directed function of possible selves reflects cognitive models of the self (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce, 2000), which conceptualise the self as operating within a goal hierarchy. Such studies confirm that the way we think about our future goals has important implications for the way we live our lives (e.g., Aloise-Young et al, 2001; Hoppmann *et al.*, 2007; Oyserman *et al.*, 2006). In conclusion, possible selves on the one hand tell us about how certain people in certain contexts feel about their future, and on the other hand also affect this future as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The next section describes in further detail how this latter process takes place through psychological processes.

3.4 Possible Selves and Psychological Processes: Self-Regulation, Well-Being and Self-Efficacy

Possible selves have been associated with self-regulation, well-being and self-efficacy, all of which are discussed in this section.

3.4.1 Self-Regulation

Self-regulation is an essential outcome of possible selves (Oyserman and Markus, 1990; Oyserman *et al.*, 2004). Some possible selves might direct specific behavioural actions (van Dellen and Hoyle, 2007) and may lead to regulatory behaviour by increasing the desirability of such behavioural directions (Fishbach *et al.*, 2003). The desired self will motivate behavioural self-regulation to reduce the discrepancy between the present and the future self. For example, an individual may (i) make an effort to complete difficult educational assignments knowing this will increase the likelihood of them qualifying for a desired profession or (ii) reject a relationship with someone when they, unlike their partner, have no desire to have children. In contrast, a feared self may lead the individual to increase the disparity between the present and future self (Carver and Scheier, 1998). A person may realise, for example, that their introverted nature has led to a very limited circle of acquaintances, which may cause problems in the future and so they change their behaviour to achieve a larger social network. This latter self-regulatory behaviour is more likely to be present if the distance between one's present self and feared self is perceived as small (Busseri and Merrick, 2016; Ogilvie, 1987).

3.4.2 Well-Being

Achieving a wished-for possible self leads to an improvement in well-being (King, 2001). For example, one might study hard for an examination knowing it is a step towards having a well-paid job in the future. Obtaining a positive exam result, for this reason, not only improves well-being because of the immediate success, but also because of the increase in the realism of the goal. Additionally, positive possible selves help an individual understand that they can change and that the current state does not need to persist longer than it has to (Klein and Zajac, 2015). In this regard, a person does not even need to think of a list of steps towards becoming that

possible self or act upon such a list because they will get gratification from seeing themselves as the potential future version that they prefer to be (Gonzales *et al.*, 2001). This idea is supported by Dark-Fruedeman and West (2016), who demonstrated that health self-efficacy positively predicted well-being among adults for whom healthy selves were important. Possible positive selves, therefore, may serve as a source of optimism and courage to withstand potential hardships that exist at a particular moment in time in the individual's life, provided that people have sufficient levels of self-efficacy (Cross and Markus, 1994; Markus and Wurf, 1987).

3.4.3 Self-Efficacy

Research demonstrates that possible selves and self-efficacy are related in a complex manner, including their bidirectional effects, which are threshold dependent (Bennet and Malle, 2016; Hiver, 2013, Murru and Ginnis, 2010; Schelegel *et al.*, 2019). For example, Schlegel *et al.* (2019) showed that providing primary school students with positive experiences in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics), resulted in students including STEM careers in their possible selves. This suggests that if people experience self-efficacy in certain areas, these can become part of their possible selves.

In another experimental study, Murru and Ginis (2010) manipulated people's possible selves related to exercise and fitness (making it more salient) and found that this increased their self-efficacy and led to greater exercise behaviour. In this regard, potential selves can also foster self-efficacy. Further, and forming an exception to the typical Western context in which the framework is used, Hiver (2013) showed that Korean English teachers with low levels of self-efficacy due to experienced inadequacies, were driven by their potential selves to change this and show self-regulated behaviours. This means that potential selves cannot only directly

increase feelings of self-efficacy but can also lead to behaviours that will help increase skill, and therefore, self-efficacy. As such, potential selves can be a motivator, similar to how it was discussed earlier as a stimulator of self-regulation. Bennett and Male (2016), however, showed that second year engineering students who perceived gaps between their current self-efficacy and later requirements were only motivated if they felt it would be possible to close the gap. This latter finding demonstrates clearly how the possible selves framework is not just about what is possible in a theoretical, imaginative sense, but is also about what is considered as realistic by people. As already mentioned, however, what is realistic is not just based on possibilities and impossibilities, but also on 'want/should' conflicts (Bitterly, 2014). This latter point is well-explained by the self-discrepancy theory that will be described next.

3.5 Self-Discrepancy Theory

Self-discrepancy theory provides a framework for understanding what happens when a person experiences conflict between their possible and future selves (Higgins, 1987). It posits that a discrepancy due to conflicting beliefs about oneself can negatively impact the individual's well-being and create discomfort. Self-discrepancy theory describes three self domains: the actual self, the ideal self, and the ought-to self (Higgins, 1987; Maroiu and Maricutoiu, 2017). The actual self refers to an individual's current perception of themselves, including their characteristics, attributes, and abilities. The ideal self refers to an individual's aspirations, goals and dreams for themselves. It represents the person they would like to become, and the qualities they would like to possess (Higgins, 1987). The ought-to self describes an individual's perception of the person they ought to be (in the present and in the future), based on external expectations, obligations, and responsibilities. It includes the standards and rules set by society, family and peers, and represents the person an individual should become (Higgings, 1987).

Both discrepancies between the actual and the ideal self and between the actual and ought-to self can result in negative, yet different feelings. This is because discrepancies with the ideal self are in contrast with one's own desires (and as such lead to feelings including disappointment and self-hate), while discrepancies with the ought-to self are more felt as something that should be avoided (and as such lead to feelings including anxiety) (Higgins, 1987; Maroiu and Maricutoiu, 2017). On the other hand, alignment between these self-representations can lead to positive emotional experiences such as pride in the case of alignment with the ideal self and satisfaction in the case of alignment with the ought-to self (Mahmoodi-Shahrebabaki, 2016; Maroiu and Maricutoiu, 2017). Individuals strive to attain congruence with these personal standards (Alexander and Higgins, 1993; Higgins, 1987; Higgins *et al.*, 1994; James, 1890; 1948). This theory, therefore, is closely related to the possible selves framework used in the current study and it sheds light on how people's aspirations and beliefs about who they should be are relevant to their perception of their possible selves. This is especially important to understand taking into consideration that normative, ought-to self-standards can also be incorporated into people's ideal selves, which further highlights the importance of understanding the influence of personal standards on motivation and behaviour.

In conclusion, self-discrepancy theory and its application to gender in particular, help in understanding that socio-cultural norms integrate into people's self-perceptions in multiple ways. This was also argued by Markus and Nurius (1986) who suggested that people can choose from various options of selves depending on their social and cultural contexts, which provide the initial frameworks for individuals' possible selves. By fully integrating the self-discrepancy theory into the possible selves framework, it can be assumed that the individual's

sociocultural context shapes their experiences and other social interactions, leading to a shift in their perception of possible selves based on desirability and probability (Prince, 2014). From this insight, we can now continue to specify the framework for gender. The next section will first explain how the possible selves framework has been used in Western cultures to study gender differences, because this is where the framework has primarily been applied hitherto.

3.6 Possible and Future Selves from a Western Perspective: A Review of the Findings and Formulation of Hypotheses for the UAE

This section discusses the findings from several studies that examined young women's and men's expectations about gender equality in their future careers and marriages, for possible and/or future selves. These will be explained and will form the basis of the hypotheses in the present study with respect to salary, working hours, caregiving and housework. The most important sources for the present study are the previous studies carried out by Fetterolf and colleagues (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf and Gartzia, 2016) among student samples in the US ($N = 114$) and Spain ($N = 230$). They aimed to examine the expectations of women (the US and Spain) and men (Spain only) regarding gender equality in their future careers and marriages. Using a possible selves framework, participants were randomly asked to envision themselves as married individuals possessing either an advanced degree or a bachelor's degree, employed either full-time, part-time or not at all. Participants indicated their expectations for gender equality by estimating their own and their future husbands' expected salaries and hours per week of housework and employment.

3.6.1 Salary

Regarding salary, Fetterolf and Eagly (2011) and Fetterolf and Gartzia (2016) found that in all conditions, female participants expected to have lower salaries for themselves; even female participants who anticipated obtaining an advanced degree and full-time employment still expected to earn a lower salary than their husbands. A further seminal, albeit older study on gender-based salary expectations (future selves) by Major and Konar (1984), revealed that women expected lower salaries due to differences in (a) their career path decisions; (b) their perceptions of job value; (c) social comparison standards; (d) the importance placed on the job; and (e) actual differences in the value of job inputs. More recent research by Hogue *et al.* (2010) among 435 undergraduate students in the US illustrated that women expected to be paid less than their male counterparts both early in their careers and at the peak of their careers. Schweitzer *et al.* (2013), in a study of 452 Canadian post-secondary students, found that pre-career women had initial salary expectations that were 86 percent lower than their male counterparts. Two factors were found to mediate the relationship between gender and initial salary expectations: (i) choosing to work in healthcare or social services, and (ii) the connection between gender and labour markets. These studies show that gender-associated differences in career and job aspects play a role in expected differences in salary.

Heckert *et al.* (2002) compared the salary expectations of 371 white college students from middle-income backgrounds and found that women stated lower entry and career-peak salary expectations than men. Women also prioritised raising a family and having good working conditions when choosing an employer. Relatedly, Litman *et al.* (2020) analysed data from approximately five million tasks performed by 9,959 male and 12,312 female workers over 18 months using the MTurk online platform. They found that single mothers and married women were more willing to accept lower pay than both single and married men. The findings

of these two studies suggest that family circumstances and a focus on working conditions also play a significant role in women's lower salary expectations.

If in Western countries where gender gaps are smaller, women hold more pessimistic possible selves and future selves expectations than men, for the UAE, where the salary gender gap is larger (Balooshi and Abdalla, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2022), it is expected that:

H1a. For their possible selves, there will be significant, direct effects of gender, with female students expecting lower salaries compared to male students

H1b. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting lower salaries compared to male student.

H1c. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing lower salaries compared to men.

3.6.2 Working Hours, Caregiving, and Housework

With respect to working hours, caregiving and housework, researchers have suggested that these expectations are affected by young adults' retrospective views of the gendered division of labour and how housework and responsibilities were divided in their own households during their early childhood and adolescence (Midgette and Andrea, 2021). Dernberger and Pepin (2020) further explain that young adults' gender attitudes are aligned with what they experience as certainties of adulthood, which are often based on the situation that they see. This can be that women seek out fewer work hours and less pay to ensure they have enough time to devote to and meet their domestic obligations (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016; Anita *et al.*, 2020; Delina and Prabhakara Raya, 2013; Emslie and Hunt, 2009; Goldscheider *et al.*, 2015; Hochschild and Machung, 2012). For example, young women may anticipate that they will perform more housework and childcare than men in their future lives and at the same time

expect that working hours will be long and demanding. In that situation, they may alter their career plans to allow for a better work-life balance, often strategically downgrading their professional plans to navigate social inequalities (Allison and Ralston, 2018). These decisions can contribute to occupational gender stratification if women opt out of full-time employment or choose more flexible, lower-paid jobs and occupations (Damaske and French, 2016). Here, we see that it is not even just about desired self and ought-to self, but also about feeling they have agency or control in their lives (Morton, 2012).

Various previous studies have explored how plans for family formation shape the career-related decisions of young men and women and particularly students, including workforce participation and occupational choices (Allison and Ralston, 2018; Barbulescu and Bidwell, 2013; Bass, 2015; Blair-Loy and Cech, 2017; Cech 2016). Cech (2016) found that future family formation affected the career choices of about 25% of US female college students, based on interviews with them. However, this does not mean that the future selves career paths of the other 75% were unaffected by gender norms or future selves ideas about gendered role distributions. In the study, the students distinguished between the nearby future and the more proximate future and explained that they would probably adjustments later in life make when family plans would be more relevant. Other studies have further demonstrated that anticipated parenthood leads to more women worrying about career paths and negatively affects their expectations for obtaining graduate or professional degrees (Allison and Ralston, 2018; Bass, 2015). Moreover, Blair-Loy and Cech (2017) showed that women prefer jobs that they anticipate will provide a better work-life balance, and that new mothers are more likely than new fathers to leave STEM roles to work part-time or to exit the workforce completely. From these studies, it seems that in the short-term, female students may initiate studies and

career paths that seem unrelated to future family formation (Cech, 2016), yet at the same time they visualise themselves as future primary caregivers and are likely to adjust their paths accordingly (Askari *et al.*, 2010; McLean *et al.*, 2017; Croft *et al.*, 2020).

This was indeed found by Brown and Diekman's (2010) study in the US that investigated how male and female students saw their future selves in one year and then in 10–15 years' time. The results showed that for the near future possible selves, males and females had similar views: there were no differences regarding their expectations regarding work or family. However, when projected into the distant future, women saw themselves as more oriented toward family and men towards their careers. Participants in the study hoped to achieve selves that would be congruent with their gender, while fearing incongruence, with women seeing themselves more as caregivers and men as providers. This study further suggested that there is a time during university when gender differences are not pronounced, but gender is relevant when thinking about the more distant future.

With respect to working hours, having to juggle two roles (an employee and caretaker) negatively impacts women's ability to commit to longer working hours, particularly in jobs with less flexible work schedules. In line with this, Fetterolf and Eagly (2011) and Gartzia and Fetterolf (2016) found that women expected more working hours from their male partners compared to themselves in the possible selves scenarios. They were also asked about their expected future selves in this respect and although most did not expect to be full-time mothers (only about 9%), many women expected to work part-time (63.5% in Spain and 47.7% in the USA), in contrast to 1.9% of the Spanish men expecting to stay at home and 39.6% to work part-time. In the UAE, as explained in Chapter 2, women still have few female working mothers as role models. Further, as explained in 3.2, sexist attitudes in the UAE are present

that legitimise gendered roles (Maitner and Henry, 2018) and these can further make women feel limited in committing their time to work. As such, the following hypotheses are proposed:

> **H2a**. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting shorter working hours compared to male students.
>
> **H2b**. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender with female students expecting to stay at home more often, or work part-time compared to male students.
>
> **H2c**. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender with women experiencing shorter working hours compared to men.

With respect to childcare, it is noted that one of the most prominent gender norms that persists in many societies is the expectation that women will relinquish their work responsibilities after having children (Cotter *et al.*, 2011; Jacobs and Gerson, 2016; Ochiai and Molony, 2008; Ollson *et al.*, 2023; Raymo *et al.*, 2015). These stereotypes persist due to cultural standards that reinforce the mother's role as the primary caregiver to her children, and as the person who should devote more time and energy to their care (Bianchi and Milkie, 2010; Craig and Mullan, 2011; Hays, 1996; Hook, 2010). This is found worldwide in many different cultures (e.g., see Ollson *et al.* 2023; Poduval and Poduval, 2009; Singh, 2018). However, gender gaps related to childcare (e.g., parental leave intentions) are found to be smaller in countries with more gender-egalitarian principles, which are reflected in parental leave policies such as longer periods of leave that are available to both fathers and mothers (Ollson *et al.* 2023). This explains why it was found that in Spain, which ranks higher than the US on the gender gap rankings (i.e., a smaller gap in Spain), women expected more equality with respect

to childcare than in the US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016; for the Global Gender Gap Report of 2016 see World Economic Forum, 2016). Nevertheless, both Spanish men and women still expected that the female spouse would take more responsibility for childcare compared to the male spouse (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016).

While in Western countries there is increasing attention given to the positive effect of the father's involvement in child development (Chesley, 2011; Rushing and Powell, 2015; Rushing and Sparks, 2018; Yan, Schoppe-Sullivan and Dush, 2018), this is not the case in the Middle East, which is a far more gender-segregated society. The pressure to conform to a given gender role is high, resulting in more traditional family lives where the father provides and the mother maintains the home and children (Alayan and Yair, 2010; Charrad, 2011; El-Sanabary, 1994; Ellingsæter, 2013; Mobaraki and Soderfeldt, 2010; Slattery, 2012). As such, the third hypothesis of this thesis, which relates to childcare responsibilities is:

H3a. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender with female students expecting more responsibility for childcare compared to male students.

H3b. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender with female students expecting more responsibility for childcare compared to male students.

H3c. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender with women experiencing more responsibility for childcare compared to men.

For clarity, housework is defined in this study as the physical and mental labour that goes into maintaining a household, such as cleaning, cooking, and shopping, among other tasks. It is a form of unpaid labour and is often referred to as 'domestic labour'. Here, the terms 'housework' and 'domestic labour' will be used interchangeably. While housework could be

considered to include managing childcare, for the purposes of this study, the two are treated as different life outcomes. A recent study of US college students found that women still have a self-anticipation of carrying out most housework in the future (McConnon *et al.*, 2021).

Gender disparities in housework allocation have attracted extensive academic interest (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Baker and Jacobsen, 2007; Croft, Schmader *et al.*, 2014; Eagly *et al.*, 2020; Hakim, 2000; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Stratton, 2012). Past research suggested that despite women in the West being as well educated as men, they continue to perform a larger share of housework relative to men (Álvarez and Miles, 2003; Gimenez-Nadal and Sevilla, 2012; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; US Department of Labour, 2020). Research from the USA indicates that women anticipate bearing most responsibilities (Askari *et al.*, 2010). The possible selves studies also revealed expected gender inequality in this respect, under all conditions, although, just like for childcare, the gender gap was smaller in Spain (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). This suggests that these expectations may be difficult to change as they are in line with other studies on the gendered nature of starting a family (McLean *et al.*, 2017; Croft *et al.*, 2020).

According to a 2021 Pew Research report, in the USA this is stronger for non-White families, where it is suggested that mothers of Hispanic (38%) and Asian (36%) origins are more likely to be stay-at-home mothers compared to Black (27 percent) and white mothers (26%), a trend that has been increasing since 2000 (Cohn *et al.*, 2014). The US Census (2020) indicated that despite the high number of Asian women in the US with college-level qualifications compared to white and Black women, these women had relatively higher numbers of stay-at-home-mother family arrangements. This signifies that even within a country, cultural customs or gender attitudes play an important role. Renk *et al.* (2003) posited

that women do not expect their male partners to share domestic responsibilities if they come from cultures that strongly subscribe to traditional gender roles. Alibeli (2015) further explained that gender inequality could be propagated and sustained either coercively or voluntarily. Coercive inequality happens when the systems and structures support one gender more than the other. Voluntary inequality occurs when men and women have willingly accepted gender-defined cultural roles and behaviours, thereby manifesting certain stereotypes and living those out in society (Alibeli, 2015).

As explained, the UAE upholds traditional gender roles of women and men in the family, emphasising domestic care as an important role for women, which is also supported by the Islamic religion (Al-Tarrah, 2010; Commisceo, 2022; Schvaneveldt *et al.*, 2005; Smith, 2022). Firmly held gender roles make it less likely for societies to embrace egalitarian family arrangements, with Emirati society emphasising marriage and childrearing (Fischer and Anderson, 2012). Women pursuing higher education are still expected to perform domestic duties, making them work shorter hours than men (Dickson and Tennant, 2019). In some cases, Emirati women have chosen to stay home after completing their education because they do not feel comfortable working in male-dominated workplaces and their families expect them to fulfil prescribed gender roles (Shallal, 2011). This leads to the following hypotheses:

H4a. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender with female students expecting more responsibility for housework compared to male students.

H4b. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender with female students expecting more responsibility for housework compared to male students.

H4c. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender with women experiencing more responsibility for housework compared to men.

Whereas the above formulated hypotheses all assume that both women and men will have the same gendered expectations, there are reasons to suspect gender differences in the strength of self-spouse differences. First of all, as stated in 3.2, findings suggest that women in the UAE report less sexism than men (Maitner and Henry, 2018). Furthermore, as was explained in Chapter 2, women's readiness to undertake political, occupational, and educational responsibilities has increased, but males are frequently hesitant to share them in Arabic countries (Abdalla, 1996; Jamali, 2005; Metle, 2002). In another study in the UAE, being male was the largest predictor of unfavourable opinions regarding women engaging in public social life (Al-Othman, 2011). Overall, it seems that women are changing their attitudes about gender and role perceptions at a faster rate than men (Sikdar and Mitra, 2012), wanting to change the existing patterns in order to reach more gender equality (Abdalla, 1996; Jamali, 2005; Metle, 2002; Sikdar and Mitra in 2012). This could translate into different possible and future self-expectations, with women being more optimistic about gender equality than men. Based on this line of reasoning, a fifth expectation is formulated about the differences between the self and spouse regarding future outcomes:

H5a. For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for housework, and (4) responsibility for childcare compared to male students.

H5b. For their future selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for housework, and (4) responsibility for childcare compared to male students.

For H5c, which relates to individuals who are employed, some further explanation is necessary. While the situation should be similar for both working men and women on average, it should be explained that by selecting employed participants, a biased sample is created, as women who have chosen to stop working, for example, in order to take care of the children, are excluded. Moreover, as has been explained previously, gender roles impact career possibilities, and for women in both Western countries (Beach, Finnie and Gray, 2003; Block *et al.*, 2019; Evans, 2002; Fortin and Huberman, 2002) as well as in the UAE (Kemp *et al.*, 2013), it can be more difficult to enter professions and positions that are more typically seen as masculine. In the current study, as will be later explained in the methods chapter (Chapter 5), the working population examined in the present study was a sample of teachers. This is a profession that is seen as more typically female. For this reason, it can be expected that women in this sample will actually experience more gender equality compared to men working in this same setting. It is therefore hypothesised that:

H5c. For employees, women will experience smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for housework, and (4) responsibility for childcare compared to men.

3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this literature review provided a detailed examination of the main theoretical underpinnings of the study, including the concepts of possible and future selves, as well as the

influence of gender on perceptions of the self in the present and future. The review indicated that gender role expectations are shaped by cultural, social, legal, and economic systems, and vary across societies and cultures. The chapter also examined gender expectations and roles related to salary, working hours, childcare, and housework responsibilities, giving particular attention to findings in both Western and UAE contexts. The study's first set of hypotheses were formulated, which can be summarised as expecting traditional gender differences in salary, working hours, childcare and housework in possible, future and actual selves, yet with females expecting smaller differences between the self and the spouse compared to men. The next chapter builds on these hypotheses to further enrich the theoretical framework and examine it at a deeper level by introducing the potential mediating role of life goals in determining life outcomes for men and women. It will also introduce some potential conditional effects regarding expectations, which includes a moderation effect of gender roles in the relationship between life goals and life outcomes. Further, potential moderation effects of employment status and variables associated with the cultural concept of *wasta* in the direct gender-life outcomes relationships are specified.

4. Literature Review 2: Building a Culturally Sensitive Model

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the second literature review chapter. Its primary purpose is to provide a theoretical rationale and empirical support for presenting culturally sensitive hypotheses for the UAE. In doing so, it provides a richer conceptual model by including mediators and moderators explaining gender effects on expected and actual life outcomes. The chapter incorporates insights from social role theory and, more specifically, goal congruity from a cultural perspective. Then, the theoretical framework is further elaborated drawing on the biosocial construction model, after which cultural differences and then life goals will be discussed. This will provide a framework for additional hypotheses. Thereafter, the chapter introduces a further important theoretical contribution which relates to *wasta*. After a general section on *wasta*, the specific relevance for future selves and actual selves will be explained to formulate hypotheses for testing. The chapter then examines why employment status in the UAE context could alter the gender effects on life outcomes. Finally, the chapter will close with a presentation of the full models and a brief conclusion.

4.2 Social Role Theory

As discussed in the previous chapters, gender roles are seen as an important factor influencing possible and future selves, which can be better understood from the perspective of social role theory. Social role theory's key premise is that differences and similarities occur mainly from the social and cultural norms within a society. Eagly and Wood (2016) specifically examined how sex differences and similarities impact social behaviour. These form socialisation

processes that expose men and women to certain expectations and gender role behaviours, which can support and sustain the division of labour (e.g., preparing women more for caring professions and parenthood, and men more for leadership roles). The following sections will discuss the theoretical underpinnings of social role theory and introduce gender role self-concepts.

4.2.1 Gender Roles and Correspondent Inference

Social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly and Wood, 1999) posited that sex-differentiated behaviour emerges as a result of a division of labour between the sexes. This division occurs due to the interaction between men's and women's differences and the demands of society, resulting in men and women occupying different gendered social roles or 'gender roles' (Croft *et al.*, 2021). It is important to note that gender is different from sex: gender refers to the socially constructed notion that defines conventions of behaviour and roles in the categories of masculine and feminine (Wood and Eagly, 2012). As such, gender roles refer to 'normative expectations about the division of labour between the sexes and to gender-related rules about social interactions that exist within a particular cultural–historical context' (Spence *et al.*, 1985, p. 150).

The creation of gender roles is often thought to occur through a process called 'correspondent inference', the often-made assumption that a person's personality corresponds with his or her behaviour (Eagly and Steffen, 1984; Gilbert, 1998; Gilbert and Malone, 1995). Since men and women have traditionally occupied different social and labour roles, assumptions are made about men's and women's traits based on these roles, which become shared and form gender role beliefs (Eagly and Heilman, 2016; Eagly and Wood, 2012). For example, women are typically seen in orientating roles and so are presumed to be more

inherently communal (i.e., oriented towards the needs and interests of others). Through this correspondent inference, characteristics are generalised from the individual to entire groups of people like men and women (Prentice and Miller, 2006), which can lead to the fundamental attribution error of assuming that individuals *are* what they *do* (Eagly and Wood, 2010; Ross 1977).

4.2.2Gender Roles Affecting Behaviour

These beliefs about what men and women are like (i.e., stereotypes) guide and influence people through biological, social and psychological processes (Wood and Eagly, 2010), leading to gender differences in behaviour. Importantly, gender roles can be descriptive, but also prescriptive/injunctive (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Descriptive expectations characterise the qualities that differentiate men from women (Cialdini and Trost, 1998). These descriptive stereotypes act as a guide for men and women to behave in a gender-typical way in any given situation, especially if the situation is ambiguous (Eagly, Wood, and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2004). In contrast, prescriptive or injunctive expectations specify the ideal behaviours for each sex: what gender roles *ought* to be like for men and women (Cialdini and Trost, 1998). Thus, prescriptive/injunctive expectations can act as a motivator for individuals to behave in a gender-typical way to gain social approval (Glick and Fiske, 2001), to avoid social sanctions (Moss-Racusin and Rudman, 2010) and to increase their own self-worth (Wood *et al.*, 1997).

With respect to social sanctions, gender roles (descriptive and prescriptive) form others' stereotypical expectations. Previous studies (Eagly and Diekman, 2000; Eagly and Karau, 2002; Glick and Fiske, 1996; Newport, 2001; Williams and Best, 1990b; Wood *et al.*, 1997) have demonstrated that, in general, people approve of communal qualities in women, which place priority on the other (e.g., compassion, empathy, willingness to cooperate) and

agentic qualities in men, which place priority on the self (e.g., assertiveness, ambition, competitiveness) (Eagly, Wood, and Johannsen-Schmidt, 2004; Prentice and Carranza, 2002). These beliefs seem to be broadly shared by men and women across societies and cultures (Fiske *et al.*, 2002; Lueptow, Garowich-Szabo, and Lueptow, 2001; Prentice and Carranza, 2002; Williams and Best, 1982, 1990a, 1990b). Further, it has been found that women and men internalise traditional gender role beliefs and use such beliefs as a personal standard by which to judge themselves (Bem, 1974; Deaux and LaFrance, 1998; Grossman and Wood, 1992; Hannover, 2000; Wood and Eagly, 2009; Wood and Eagly, 2010; Wood, Eagly, and Diekman, 2000). Evidence of this tendency was demonstrated in a study of male and female students in the US by Wood and colleagues (1997). They found that positive feelings about the self in a social interaction depended on the extent to which the interaction reflected the stereotypical norms of dominance for men and warmth and intimacy for women. These feelings were not found among participants who reported that sex-typed norms were less relevant self-guides for them.

4.3 Goal Congruity

The relationship between gender roles and behaviour can be further understood by drawing on the theory of goal congruity (Diekman *et al.*, 2010), which is an extension of social role theory (Diekman *et al.,* 2017). This section will explain how goal congruity extends upon social role theory and will describe the dimensions of communion and agency goal, which are focal elements of the theory.

4.3.1 Goal Congruity as an Extension of Social Role Theory

Goal congruity theory assumes that a social structure shapes a group's internalised psychology as well as their externalised opportunities. One of the core tenets of goal congruity theory is

the concept of ‘goal affordances’, which are opportunities to pursue goals (Diekman *et al.*, 2017). This characterises social roles in terms of whether they allow for goal achievement or goal impediment. When social roles are aligned with goal achievement, they create motivational readiness in the minds of individuals (Kruglanski *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, individuals will actively seek to enter and engage in roles that fulfil their valued goals (Diekman *et al.*, 2017; 2020).

4.3.2 Communion and Agency

The goal congruity model suggests that the two main motivations for goals are agency and communion. Agentic goals focus on promoting gains for one’s self (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). These goals focus on self-direction and independence (Eagly *et al.*, 2019; Folberg, Kercher, and Ryan, 2019) and can be expressed in the form of dominance (i.e., exerting power over others) (Folberg *et al.*, 2019) and/or competence (striving for skill or mastery) (Eagly *et al.*, 2019). Communal goals, on the other hand, centre on the benefits of connecting with others (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). People with communal goals focus on the benefit of others or society from a prosocial or altruistic attitude (Brown et al., 2015ab) and/or on working and collaborating with others (Fuesting, and Diekman, 2017). Table 4.1 presents the dimensions used to describe these constructs. These dimensions are drawn from previous self-report instruments assessing agentic and communal traits (Diekman, Brown *et al.*, 2010; Diekman, Eagly and Johnston, 2010).

Table 4.1 Agentic and communal goal dimensions

Agentic	Communal
Power	Helping others
Competition	Serving community
Self-direction	Serving humanity
Recognition	Spiritual rewards
Achievement	Intimacy

Mastery	Attending to others
Demonstration skill or competence	Caring for others
Financial Rewards	Connection with others
Success	Working with people
Focus on the self	
Self-promotion	
Independence	
Status	
Focus on the self	

Sources: Diekman *et al.* (2010); Diekman, Eagly, and Johnston (2010).

From a social role point of view, the important question is not just *what* an individual values but whether individuals *perceive potential social roles as affording* the things they value (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). For any of these specific goal dimensions, the affordances that matter will be those that are most motivationally relevant. This motivational relevance can shift according to individuals, the field, or according to the specific context (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). In terms of gender, the literature has shown that women are more likely to be associated with communal characteristics and set communal goals. For example, women prefer working with people more than with things, and this gender difference maps on to gender differences in their corresponding careers (Si, Rounds, and Armstrong, 2009). Men, on the other hand, are more likely than women to endorse agentic goals and be associated with agentic characteristics (Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount, 1996; Eagly and Diekman, 2000; Fiske, *et al.*, 2002; Pohlmann, 2001).

These goals are further reinforced socially. Social sanctions from others, such as backlash for transgressing traditional gender stereotypes (e.g., Bosson and Vandello, 2012; Rudman *et al.*, 2013), represent one potential reason why people might not adopt traits associated with the opposite gender. Indeed, numerous studies have shown that women in the workplace, particularly in male-dominated domains, face negative consequences when they

behave in a gender atypical or an agentic manner (e.g., Croft *et al.*, 2020; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky, 1992; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, and Tamkins, 2004; Lyness and Heilman, 2006; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, and Phelan, 2012). While most literature focuses on the negative backlash received by women who do not conform to their expected roles, Croft *et al.* (2015) explained that just as women experience backlash and discrimination when they excel in highly agentic domains, men can experience the same social sanctions when they engage in communal tasks or enter communal roles. In fact, the threat of identity misclassification or the risk of losing status might mean that the costs of behaving counter-stereotypically are even more pronounced for men than they are for women (Croft *et al.*, 2015). In line with this observation, Mastari, Spruyt and Siongers (2021) outline how the perceived threat of social backlash is sufficient for men to affirm their masculine identity and shy away from more feminine domains. Globally, gender stereotypes around agency and communality are believed to limit women's opportunities, status advancement and earning potential (Brown and Diekman, 2010; Cici and Williams, 2011; Croft *et al.*, 2019; Park *et al.*, 2008; Stout *et al.*, 2011) and restrict men's ability to exhibit communal traits and roles (Block, Croft and Schmader, 2018; Block *et al.*, 2019; Croft et a., 2015; Moss-Racusin, 2014).

These ideas fit well with, and theoretically seem to further explain, the possible and future selves theory described in the previous chapter, which posits that (gender) identity or (gender role) self-concept can motivate individuals to behave in a gender-typical way through self-regulation. In other words, individuals regulate their behaviour to match their descriptive and/or prescriptive self-standards (Carver and Scheier, 2008; Wood and Eagly, 2009; Wood and Eagly, 2010; Wood *et al.*, 1997). Behaviour that is evaluated as congruent or matching this self-standard typically results in positive consequences, such as positive feelings and increased

self-esteem, whereas deviation results in negative consequences such as negative feelings and decreased self-esteem (Diekman and Eagly, 2008; Guerrero-Witt and Wood, 2010; Wood and Eagly, 2009). However, the model does not provide details about the complex origin of gender roles, which can be different among different societies. The biosocial construction model is relevant to understanding these differences.

4.4 The Biosocial Construction Model

Traditional roles of men and women, as seen through stereotypes, are well-acknowledged in the literature (e.g., Cejka and Eagly, 1999; Diekman and Eagly, 2000; Kite, Deaux, and Haines, 2007; Newport 2001; Spence and Buckner, 2000; Spence and Helmreich, 1978). Claims that the traditional stereotypes of males and females are fixed or rigid have more recently been challenged (Eagly, Nater, Kaufmann, and Sczensy, 2019; Koenig and Eagly, 2014). The biosocial construction model (Wood and Eagly, 2012), which is depicted in Figure 4.1, shows how numerous variables interact to determine sex differentiated affect, cognition and behaviour. In this model, biological differences between men and women, as well as local culture, create a division of labour. This division of labour then leads to the social construction of the concept of gender. This socially constructed concept influences the regulation of these notions thereby leading to differentiations based on sex that affect cognition and behaviour. Addressing the socio-cultural aspects of the biosocial constructionist model, gender roles influence women's and men's behaviour through a combination of one's gender identity or self-concept and others' stereotypical expectations (Deaux and LaFrance, 1998; Wood *et al.*, 1997; Wood and Eagly, 2010).

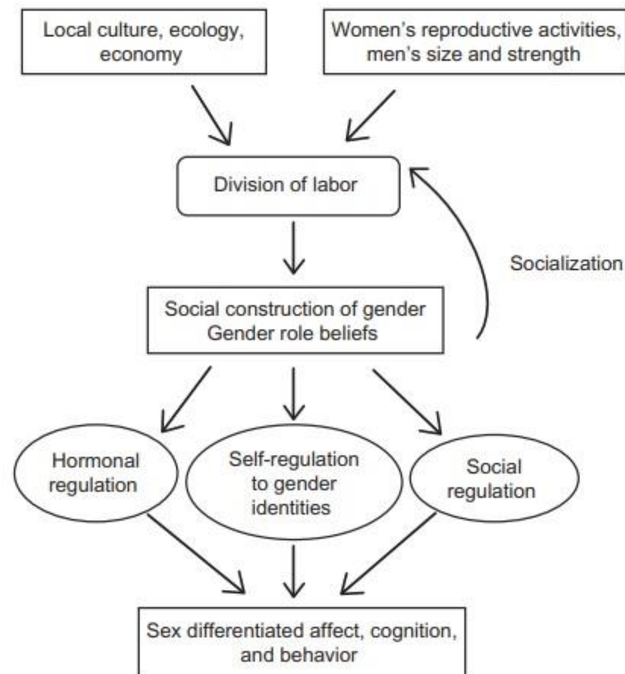


Figure 4.1Biosocial Construction of Roles (Source: Wood and Eagly, 2012)

The roles of men and women in a society are dependent on how the physical differences between the sexes enable or constrain the efficient performance of daily activities (e.g., women's childbearing and nursing of infants and men's size and strength) (Croft *et al.*, 2015; Diekman and Eagly, 2000; Diekman and Goodfriend, 2006, Eagly and Karau, 2002; Eagly and Steffen, 1984; Prentice and Carranza, 2002). These differences bring about gender role beliefs that are shared within a society; children are socialised for the skills, traits and preferences that support their society's division of labour. Most adults also conform to these beliefs by adhering to others' expectations and by internalising them as personal standards for their behaviour. In addition, biological processes such as hormonal activation further support gender roles. As such, there is a self-reinforcing process in the adoption of the gender roles.

However, Wood and Eagly (2012) suggested that a division of labour is not based solely on these biosocial aspects. They suggest that a division of labour emerges that is tailored

to ecological and socioeconomic demands, and socialisation practices are organised to support this division. Due to this confluence of biological and social processes, individuals within a society dynamically construct and share gender roles tailored to their time, culture and situation. This explains why in industrialised societies with low birthrates, there are shortened durations of lactation and employment roles that favour brains over brawn. Social roles have changed in some places, with women adopting many attributes associated with men, but with no tendency for men to adopt attributes associated with women (England *et al.*, 2020).

Feminist social movements can arise when the existing roles of women and men in a society become less well aligned with fundamental socioeconomic changes, lessening the sex segregation of social roles and raising women's status (Eagly, 2004). As also explained in Chapter 2, women are less accepting than men of the social hierarchies that subordinate women (Lee, Pratto, and Johnson, 2011). Some studies report that women have scores on their self-reported agency goals that are equal to those of men (Diekman *et al.*, 2010; 2011). Such findings suggest that women may be especially likely to advocate for social change that promotes gender equality and equal opportunity. In fact, women in legislatures are more likely than their male colleagues to advocate for changes that promote the interests of women, children, and families and that support public welfare in areas such as health care and education (for reviews, see Paxton, Kunovich, and Hughes, 2007; Wangnerud, 2009).

At a social psychological level, Wood and Eagly's (2012) biosocial construction theory explained an important aspect of the processes that underlie both social change and resistance to change. They explain how the proximal biological and social psychological processes dynamically create sex differences through shared beliefs within a society. These constructive processes build on evolved human capacities for innovation, social learning, and cumulative

culture. The biosocial construction model is compatible with some prominent evolutionary theories, especially human behavioural ecology's recognition that varying socio-environmental factors shape the costs and benefits that men and women associate with different behaviours (Bird and O'Connell, 2006; Winterhalder and Smith, 2000). The model is also compatible with dual inheritance and co-evolutionary theory's emphasis on human adaptive culture, which augments biological inheritance (Laland, Odling-Smee, and Myles, 2010; Richerson and Boyd, 2005). From this perspective, the transmission of culture arises from social learning processes in which simple imitation and observational learning undergird more complex learning associated with symbolic communication and language (Heinrich and McElreath, 2003). The biosocial construction theory further suggests that there are developmental perspectives invoking regulatory dynamics by which the products of evolution are repeatedly assembled from genes and environments (Caporeal, 2001; Lickliter and Honeycutt, 2003). As such, Wood and Eagly (2012) have outlined an approach that acknowledges biological differences, yet emphasises the centrality of social psychological processes in the construction of gender within societies.

4.5 Cultural Differences Relevant for Congruity Theory

Having explained these underlying processes and the centrality of social processes in particular, this section will discuss previous research findings relevant to congruity theory with respect to gender and life outcomes. As was already noted in the previous chapter, most research on the topic of gender expectations has been carried out in Western cultures, which is also true for studies on gender role congruity. Therefore, the following sections will provide detail on findings in Western and non-Western countries separately.

4.5.1 Role Congruity in Western Countries

In Western countries, some stereotypes about men and women have shifted over time and men and women are now considered equally competent (Eagly *et al.*, 2020). Still, the common argument that Western women have more freedom to choose their own career paths is not completely accurate (Charles and Bradley, 2009). Women in Western countries may not face any legal barriers to entry into non-conventional or agentic fields (such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)), but they may still face systemic and social barriers that prevent or limit their success in these fields (Charles and Bradley, 2009).

In Western contexts, there is a high degree of interdependence between the roles of men and women. Men and women are perceived as complementary to one another, similar to what was described for the UAE in Chapter 1 (Eagly, Wood, *et al.*, 2000; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu, 1997; Prentice and Carranza, 2002). For instance, women are often perceived as warm and kind but incompetent, whereas men are perceived as aggressive and bold, but not nurturing (Eagly *et al.*, 2019; Eagly and Mladinic, 1994; Glick, Fiske, *et al.*, 2000). In the workplace these belief systems lead to the perception that women are incompetent and need to be replaced by men (Ghasemi, 2020). Furthermore, when women do 'step outside of the box' and challenge gender roles, they can be met with greater hostility (Glick and Fiske, 2001), and may be viewed as less capable and earn lower salaries (Begeny *et al.*, 2020). It is also suggested that when women self-promote (a quality associated with men), they are not given employment opportunities because this characteristic is not aligned with the stereotypical expectations of women (Rudman and Glick, 1999). Thus, even if gender equality is found in agency goals, it does not necessarily lead to gender equality in the fulfilment of those goals.

While efforts to promote gender equality and increase the representation of women in male-dominated roles have been relatively successful, progress has slowed or possibly even stalled more recently (England *et al.*, 2020). This decline is perhaps due to existing occupational gender segregation, as well as the lack of focus in increasing men's representation in female dominated roles. This situation may be due to men's reluctance to adopt roles traditionally occupied by women. These roles still occupy an overall position of lower status and privileges, as was noted in the latest global gender gap report (World Economic Forum, 2021). Croft *et al.* (2021) suggest that one of the prominent reasons for the persistent rigidity in men's (relative to women's) roles stems from precarious manhood (Bosson and Vandello, 2011; Vandell *et al.*, 2008) and concerns about identity misclassification (Bosson *et al.*, 2013). Social psychological research further suggests that men's roles remain more rigid than women's due to internal (self-stereotyping), as well as external (social sanctions) factors that limit men's interest in adopting communal roles (Block, Croft, and Schmader, 2018; Block *et al.*, 2019; Croft *et al.*, 2015). Indeed, a recent meta-analysis of US public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018 showed that women's believed advantage in communal traits increased over time, and men's relative believed advantage in agency showed no change (Eagly *et al.*, 2019).

To promote gender equality, Croft *et al.* (2021) suggested that cultural stereotypes and gender roles should challenge the restrictions placed on women and men alike. They propose an integrative process model of gender roles inhibiting prosociality (GRIP) to understand how prosociality provides a unique entry point for change as it is immediately rewarding, less likely to threaten the gender status hierarchy and, in turn, less susceptible to social backlash. As it is a skill that can be learned, this model aims to interrupt the self-reinforcing cycle of gender role stereotyping and facilitate progress toward broader gender equality. While their research

suggests that changes in cultural stereotypes could be triggered through a feedback loop that loosens gender role restrictions on behaviour, these changes also have implications for promoting gender equality by raising the status of communal behaviours and fostering a more equal division of labour between men and women (Croft *et al.*, 2021). Van Grootel *et al.* (2018) showed that men will adapt to a more communal self-concept if they perceive more balance in the male norms for agency and communality. As such, it can be concluded that in Western countries goal congruity processes can be identified and while there are still gender roles associated with gender gaps, developments have led to potential steps toward solutions to further combat the existing gender inequalities.

4.5.2 Role Congruity in Non-Western Contexts

While studies among non-Western populations are scarce, some previous research has found that the same professions typically considered 'female' and 'male' in Western cultures are also rated as such across non-Western societies and are associated with more communality and agency respectively (Froehlich *et al*., 2020). Doctors, heads of corporations and managers, as well as those who work in the military, in plant machine operation and in building are typically considered male. Homemakers, teachers, nurses and other care-giving professions are typically considered female (Cejka and Eagly, 1999; Eagly and Steffan, 1984). Several authors (Brown *et al.*, 2018; Diekman, Brown *et al.,* 2010, Folberg, 2020; Yalcinkaya and Adams, 2020) have suggested that goal congruity theory holds true only in the context of societies where women and men are equally free to choose any career pathway. For instance, Yalcinkaya and Adams (2020) stated that in many non-Western cultures (especially in more collectivist societies), women or men's personal preferences with regards to their education or careers are not as important as they are in Western contexts. The reason is that in some countries work is

not associated with personal achievement, but rather with providing support to one's family regardless of gender (Yang *et al.*, 2000). Further, in some countries, individuals may lack the autonomy to choose their career or academic pursuits due to the influence of family members (Iyengar and Lepper, 1999). As suggested by Folberg (2020) and Stoet and Geary (2018), this may explain why certain gender disparities are more or less pronounced in certain cultural contexts.

However, working in a profession that does not conform to Western gender roles does not mean that goal congruity theory does not apply at all. For example, women can be hired for certain roles that would be considered 'male' in other cultures for different reasons that still confirm gender roles. A good example is the finding that in Nigeria more women than men work as petrol pump station attendants because the station owners believe women have a greater tendency to endure slavish work conditions (Ugwu *et al.*, 2021). Another example is that in various Latin American countries both men and women support women as political leaders, perhaps in part because women are perceived as more concerned with and capable of striving for equality, not just for gender but also for ethnicity (Morgan and Buice, 2013). This is a further example of a process that on first sight would seem to contradict social role and goal congruity theory, but in fact supports the effects of gender role perceptions.

Relevant to the present study is that in the UAE strong traditional gender roles seem to exist where men are the main breadwinners and women are responsible for the family and home (Al-Mutawa, 2020; Slak Valek, and Picherit-Duthler, 2021). This means that for young people in the UAE these roles will not (only) be in terms of specific positions, but (still) will more centrally focus on basic life decisions. While women often reach high educational levels, their motivation is not necessarily to achieve a (high) position in the labour market, but rather

to contribute to women's role in educating their own children (Kemp, 2013). Thus, for young women an important question is whether they will participate in the labour market and, if so, to what extent (Kemp, 2013). This kind of question is strongly associated with life goals, which will be addressed in the next section.

4.6 Life Goals

Life goals are critical aspects of an individual's personality and motivations because goals direct behaviour (Emmons, 1999). Goals are defined by Elliot and Niesta (2009) as the representation of self that is either desired or feared, a definition which maps well to the possible selves' framework. Goals can be more abstract (e.g., earning money) or more concrete (e.g., starting a business within the next month) (Locke and Latham, 1990). Short-term goals are daily aspirations that are more concrete and represent the move towards more general and abstract long-term goals (Steca, Monzani, Greco, D'Addario, Cappelletti, and Pancani, 2015). Life goals that are more abstract and long-term are particularly worth investigating as they are highly important for understanding both how people shape their lives, and their future well-being (Brunstein, 1993; King, Richards, and Stemmerich, 1998; Martos, and Kopp, 2012; Schmuck, Kasser, and Ryan, 2000).

Some studies have addressed gender roles and life goals, but again these have mostly been carried out in Western societies. Ceci, Williams, and Barnett (2009) reviewed over 400 publications across multiple disciplines on the underrepresentation of women in STEM professions. They concluded that the primary life goals of women in these professions tended to focus on marriage and family and helping others, while men prioritised primarily salary gains and climbing up the corporate ladder. Thus, even in the STEM area, which in Western

cultures is seen as typically male, gendered life goals are evident. Further, there is evidence that even amongst pre-adolescent girls, affinity towards professions that will enable them to achieve communal objectives is apparent, such as taking care of the family, which is facilitated by entering a profession that allows for part-time contracts (Bandura *et al.*, 2001; Jones *et al.*, 2000). However, one recent study by Croft *et al.* (2019) found that if women prioritise career aspirations over family ones, they place higher importance on having access to financial resources and career orientation in their future married lives. In other words, when women perceive themselves as adopting breadwinner roles, as opposed to caregiver roles, they seek greater equality in gender roles and are more likely to focus on agentic roles.

Differences regarding these findings would be expected in gender-segregated societies, where the pressure to identify with a given gender role is especially strong (Charrad, 2011). Research suggests that in these countries, the socialisation processes that take place are rather complex because there are multiple influencing factors (e.g., culture, religion) and these can be different for males and females. For example, Seigner (1988) found that gender differences in goals and future time orientation were more evident among female Israeli Arabs compared to female Israeli Jews. The goals of the Israeli Arab women were more concerned with higher education as a means towards emancipation when compared to Israeli Arab men and Israeli Jews of both genders. This is consistent with the finding that Qatari women are more likely to focus on education when imagining a 'normal' life compared to Qatari men (Ottsen and Berntsen, 2014). In general, the cultural expectations of a gender-segregated country such as Qatar show a gendered perspective on the normative life. In this study, Qatari men focused on life events with content specific to Qatari culture (e.g., events divided by religion and gender), whereas Qatari women generated more cross-cultural events (i.e., events shared with other

cultures). These differences likely reflect gender-specific subcultures, which might likewise lead to gender differences in goal content and perceptions of personal goals in similar gender-segregated societies. The culture in the UAE is very similar to that of Qatar where men and women are segregated and where women tend to follow the gender stereotypes that have been assigned to them by their culture. However, little research has explored the life goals of Emiratis, which at least scores somewhat better than Qatar on the Global Gender Gap index (Qatar scoring 0.0617 versus UAE scoring 0.716; World Economic Forum, 2022). Therefore, the present study aims to address this research gap. The next sections offer further theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence prior to formulating the hypotheses for testing in the study.

4.6 Goal Congruity Theory, Gender and Life Goals

Drawing on the theory of role congruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002), this section provides the rationale for the second set of hypotheses in the present study. It aims to deepen insights into the underlying processes that can explain gender differences in future selves. These processes relate to how gender corresponds to the attainability of life goals and how the attainability of life goals is related to future selves.

4.6.1 Relating Gender to the Attainability of Life Goals

Focusing on gender differences in life goal attainability, Eagly and Heilman (2016) posited that, despite some gradual progress, gender stereotypes are difficult to eradicate due to the rigidity of people's belief systems and the social position of women in society. However, and as already explained, rapid economic development, modernisation, and cultural diffusions with the attitudes of Western individuals working in the UAE seem to have caused significant changes in the life goals of the pre-oil and post-oil generations in the country. In the UAE, Schvaneveldt *et al.* (2005) found that the vast majority (93%) of female university students

reported a desire for a professional career, even though only 7% of their mothers had a professional career. The students also expressed the desire to delay the age of marriage and expected more participatory parenting from their future husbands compared to what their mothers reported. It is important, however, to interpret these findings while keeping in mind that agency goals seem to become more gender-equal worldwide (e.g., Croft *et al.*, 2015; Eagly *et al.*, 2000), whereas the stereotypes around communality seem to remain. This is evidenced by the predominance of women performing childcare and housework in Western countries (e.g., U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2015), and in the UAE (Forster *et al.*, 2013). Similarly, the rapid changes in the UAE have resulted in many women joining the workforce, but traditional life orientations such as getting married, having children, and providing financial security for the family have remained unchanged (Forster *et al.*, 2013). Importantly, expectations for women's roles in achieving communal goals have also remained the same. This suggests that women find themselves in a complex situation, having to balance both agency and communal goals.

Integrating the biosocial construction model with the goal congruity model, reveals that for the UAE, the perceived attainability of life goals is affected by perceptions of gendered possibilities in society (explained as 'externalised opportunities' in 4.3.1) and personal struggles to find the balance (explained as 'internalisation' in 4.3.1). When students think about their future selves, it can be easier for them to see how gender-congruent goals can be achieved compared to gender-incongruent goals. To illustrate this with a more concrete example: male students who have male role models who are making a successful career and are less concerned about stereotypes, suggest they should give priority to other tasks (such as taking care of the children) and may find it easy to visualise how it will be possible in the future to obtain career

success, which would be considered an agentic life goal. Women, on the other hand, despite the fact that they are preparing themselves for good career possibilities in terms of education, may feel they will find it difficult to combine a successful career with their role of being a mother in the future. They may also think that others will not give them the chance. As explained by the possible selves theory in the previous chapter, future selves are about actual expectations, and thus can deviate from desires. This means that even though Schvaneveldt *et al.* (2005) have found that most female students desire a professional career, their estimates of attainability according to goal congruity theory may be less optimistic.

With respect to employees, life goal attainment is less of a future speculation because, as explained by Bleidorn (2009), their current social roles are relevant to their life goals. That means that being employed, but also possibly being a spouse and/or a parent, can provide information about life goal attainability. Still, the context in terms of gender norms is the same for this group; the examples that students see as possibilities represent reality for them. As such, communal life goals for this group will also be easier to attain for women, while agentic life goals will be easier to obtain for men. Based on these theoretical considerations, the following hypotheses (H6) are presented:

H6a. Female students will regard communal life goals as more attainable for their future selves compared to male students.

H6b. Female students will regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to male students.

H6c. For employees, women will view communal life goals as more attainable compared to men.

H6d. For employees, women will regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to men.

The next section will consider why life goal attainments will be associated with expectations about life outcomes.

4.6.2 Relating Life Goals to Life Outcomes

As mentioned previously, an essential connection in determining life expectations exists between an individual's social structure positioning and their psychological processes (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). Figure 4.2 illustrates the critical role of affordances in understanding how a person plans to navigate their social structure. Affordances originate from observing others. First-hand observation helps individuals determine whether specific roles will enable them to fulfil their valued goals, as was articulated in H6. These affordances then, in turn, affect attitudes and behaviour.

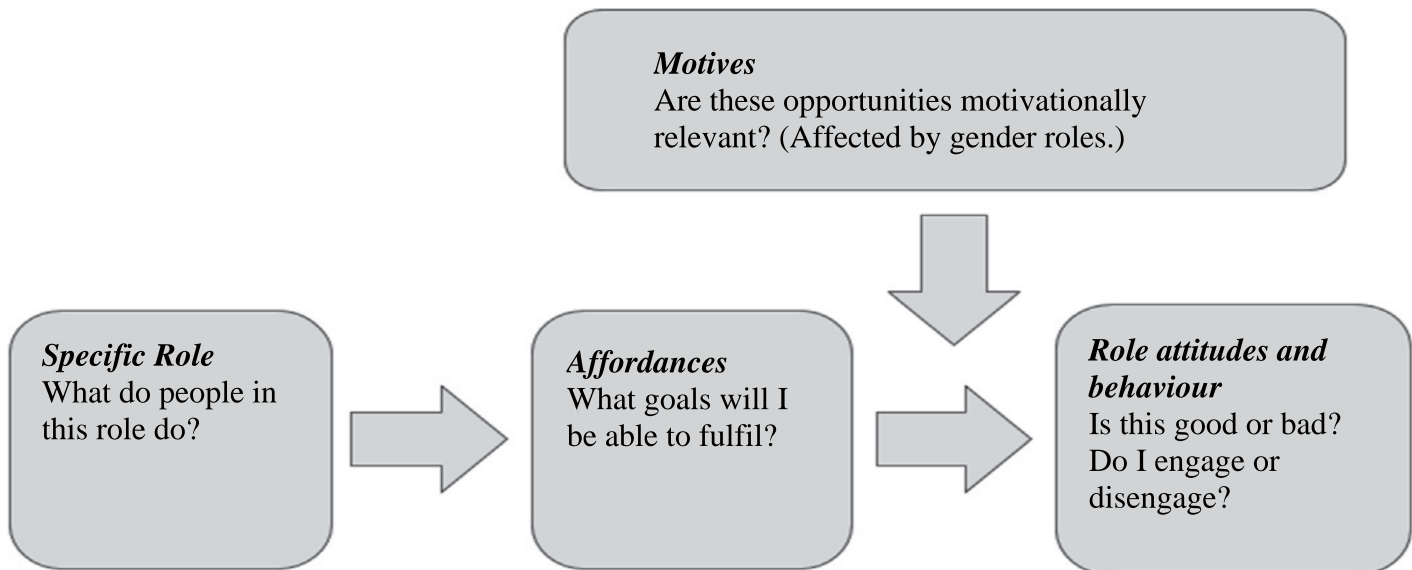


Figure 4.1 Affordances and motives that predict role attitudes and behaviour (Diekman et al., 2020)

The question, 'Do I engage or disengage?' following perceived affordances is relevant to the association between life goal attainments and expectations, as well as achievements with respect to life outcomes. Research shows that disengagement is an adaptive response if an individual perceives the obstacles as being too great to overcome, while a strengthening of engagement is adaptive if an individual perceives it as attainable (Wrosch *et al.,* 2003). While the evidence base for the relationship between life goals and future and actual selves in a UAE context is very limited, the findings from Western cultures show that communal goals in particular seem to lead people to prioritise home over work (Bandura *et al.*, 2001; Jones *et al.*, 2000). In terms of the affordances and motives model just described (Diekman *et al.,* 2020), communal affordances are perceived in certain behavioural decisions in life that are associated with these goals (Barth et al., 2015). Generally, affordances for communal goals that place the quality of relationships and interests of others as a top priority can be found when taking responsibility for childcare and performing housework (Sheldon & Cooper, 2008). However, family time and being at home will compete with the time and energy spent working and pursuing a career; this goal will therefore be attained at the expense of working hours and possibilities to obtain a better salary (Lyonette, 2015). Agentic life goal attainment, on the other hand, will more likely be associated with outcomes such as more working hours and earning a higher salary. As such, Sheldon and Cooper (2008) have described agentic goals in terms of outcomes that are relevant for the student and the worker and communal goals in terms of outcomes that are relevant for the role of parent and partner.

A study by Pomaki, Karoli, and Maes (2009) among a sample of nurses in the US showed that higher estimates of agentic, work-related goal attainment were associated with

actual goal attainment one year later, providing support for this model for employed adults. In addition, future selves consist of a balance between desires, obligations and perceived realities (Austin and Vancouver, 1996; Bitterly *et al.*, 2014; Garzia and Fetterolf, 2016; Harrison, 2018). It can be expected that life goal attainability will similarly affect the future selves of students. Indeed, support for this idea has been found among a sample of Russian and US college students (Savina, 2013). The students in this study were asked to report on their goals in the next five years, including a range of communal and agentic goals. More positive ratings of goal attainment were associated with stronger perceived internal control regarding the associated outcomes and with the adoption of assimilative strategies; the students reported that they would try harder and use different means to obtain these goals if they saw them as attainable. These studies provide initial support for the association between goal attainment and actual and future life outcomes, but no studies in this area have yet been carried out in the UAE. Based on the affordances and motives model, and the (limited) empirical support regarding associations between communal and agentic life goal attainment and life outcomes, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H7a. Attainment of communal life goals will lead students to expect more responsibility for childcare and housework, a lower salary, and shorter working hours for their future selves.

H7b. Attainment of agentic life goals will lead students to expect less responsibility for (i) childcare and (ii) housework, and (iii) a higher salary, and (iv) longer working hours for their future selves.

H7c. Attainment of communal life goals will lead employees to expect more responsibility for (i) childcare and (ii) housework, (iii) a lower salary, and (iv) shorter working hours.

H7d. Attainment of agentic life goals will lead employees to report less responsibility for (i) childcare and (ii) housework, and (iii) a higher salary, and (iv) longer working hours.

4.6.3 Life Goal Attainability as a Potential Mediator of Gender and Self-Perceptions

Integrating the hypothesised relationship between gender and life goal attainability perceptions and the possible selves framework and goal congruity theory provides a partial explanation of gender differences in future selves perceptions. After all, from the possible selves framework, individuals are assumed to have perceptions of what their future might look like, with ideals, ought to selves and feared selves (Austin and Vancouver, 1996; Garzia and Fetterolf, 2016; Harrison, 2018; Markus and Nurius, 1986). As explained, neither these possible selves nor expected future selves are unlimited (Bitterly *et al.*, 2014; Prince, 2014). On the contrary, they are formed based on the possibilities and probabilities individuals perceive in society, as well as by internalisations of cultural beliefs (Prince, 2014). According to goal congruity theory an individual’s gender can influence whether they can achieve (or believe they can achieve) gender-confirmed outcomes (Bosson and Vandello, 2012; Diekman *et al.*, 2017; Rudman *et al.*, 2013).

Perceptions about likely life outcomes may not just be about wishes, fears or how things should be, but may well be determined by gendered views about the attainability of overarching life goals. Diekman's model teaches us that individuals do not just directly translate desires or

perceived obligations into expected, future selves outcomes (such as a woman expecting to take a lot of responsibility for childcare) (Diekman *et al.,* 2020). One catalyst for this process is gender-determined expectations of goal attainment (Diekman *et al.,* 2020). Communal goals place the quality of relationships and interests of others as a top priority, leading to taking responsibility for childcare and performing housework (Sheldon & Cooper, 2008), at the expense of working hours and possibilities to obtain a better salary (Lyonette, 2015). Men, on the other hand are expected to perceive life goal attainment as more attainable, leading to expected outcomes in terms of working hours and higher salary, at the expense of childcare and housework (Sheldon and Cooper, 2008).

To summarise, life goal attainment is seen as a potential mediator or explanation for why gender will be associated with expected future life outcomes for students. As such the hypothesis can be formulated that:

H8a. Perceptions about the attainment of life goals will mediate the expected gender differences regarding (i) responsibility for childcare, (ii) responsibility for housework, (iii) working hours, and (iv) salary for the future selves of Emirati students.

For employees, life outcomes will already have been at least partially obtained, but the same path of gendered perceptions of life goal attainment leading to different outcomes is assumed, and can be formulated as:

H8b. Perceptions about the attainment of different life goals will mediate the expected gender differences regarding (i) responsibility for childcare, (ii) responsibility for housework, (iii) working hours, and (iv) salary for Emirati employees.

As Figure 4.2 shows, role affordance is particularly important if opportunities are motivationally relevant to the individual. If an individual believes that a role will offer motivationally relevant opportunities, they will more likely engage in that role (Diekman *et al.*, 2020). For example, Gino, Wilmuth, and Brooks (2015) examined goal attainability in samples of students and working adults and found that even if women perceive agentic life goals as attainable, they tend to perceive them as less desirable compared to men. Gino et al. (2015) suggested that this is because they associate agentic goal achievements (e.g., obtaining power) with negative consequences in communal terms (e.g., more work-life conflict). These empirical findings provide support for the model of role affordance, which highlights that gender roles affect the associations between goal attainment and outcomes. For example, an individual who regards career success as attainable will invest more work hours if they are highly agentic, compared to an individual who is not motivated by agentic values. Similarly, an individual who regards positive relationships as attainable will focus more energy on their family if they are highly communal, compared to an individual who is low on communal traits. In accordance with these suggestions, the moderating effects of agency and communal traits in the relationship between life goals and outcomes are hypothesised:

H9a. Gender roles will moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for students' future selves, with i) agentic values strengthening the relationships between agentic life goal attainment and working hours and salary and ii) communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals and childcare and housework.

H9b. Gender roles will moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for employees' actual selves, with agentic values strengthening the

relationships between agentic life goal attainment and working hours and salary and communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals and childcare and housework.

4.7 *Wasta*

The inclusion of *wasta* in the conceptual model represents the second theoretical contribution of the current study. This section will first explain that *wasta* is a cultural concept that is similar to social capital, albeit a more specific form.

4.7.1 The Meaning of Wasta

Understanding *wasta* is crucial to having a deeper appreciation of how decisions are made and how people operate within organisations in the Arab states (Cunningham and Sarayah, 1993; Ramady, 2015). Social capital, a concept that is internationally recognised, is a useful starting point for understanding *wasta* in Arab cultures (Kropf and Newbury-Smith, 2016). Social capital refers to the resources that individuals have access to through their social networks, such as information, support and opportunities (Broadbrigde, 2020). As argued by Albin Shaikh *et al.*, (2019a; 2019b) and Al-Hussan, Al Hussan and Alhesan (2015), *wasta* aligns closely with social capital. Indeed, the general definition of *wasta* provided by Marktanner and Wilson (2015) and already presented in the first chapter is quite similar: ‘the use of personal networks for the purpose of gaining access to scarce resources’ (p. 79)’. However, while a broad conception of social capital is understood internationally, societies differ in their specific perceptions, expressions, and values of social capital (Beugelsdijk and Van Schaik, 2005; Kropf and Newbury-Smith, 2016). Therefore, understanding *wasta* as social capital is only a first step in understanding its meaning in the Arab world.

To help fully grasp *wasta*, Table 4.2 summarises some of the definitions of *wasta* in the literature, which help to explain its characteristics. From these definitions it becomes clear that *wasta* is a multivalent concept. It encompasses social networks of interpersonal connections that derive from the exercise of power, influence and information sharing through a social network of influential individuals who can help others get ahead in life, whether it be in business, politics, or other areas (see also Alsarhan and Valax, 2021; Barnett, Yandle, and Naufal, 2013; Harbi *et al.*, 2017). For example, if someone is looking for a job they may use their *wasta* to get a recommendation from someone who has connections into the company they are interested in. Similarly, if someone is trying to start a business, they may use their *wasta* to get funding or support from influential individuals. In many Western countries and contexts, this network can be small. However, the Arab culture is a collectivist one, which emphasises a strong group commitment and loyalty to group members (Harbi et al., 2017; Hofstede, 2001). As such, the pool of connections is wider, and people will include, for example, extended family as part of their *wasta* (Kropf & Newbury-Smith, 2016). Moreover, while in some collectivist cultures the network is completely focused on family or a very limited group of people they feel close to, *wasta* extends to many other relationships and may include people who come from the same region (Harbi, Thursfield, and Bright, 2017). *Wasta* has often been referred to as kinship, colleagueship, friendship, and even cronyism (Ta Amnha et al., 2016).

Wasta is deeply ingrained in the social makeup of Arabic societies (Alsarhan and Valax, 2021; Barnett, Yandle, and Naufal, 2013; Harbi et al., 2017) and is ‘a way of life’ in the Arab world (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011, p. 479). While an understanding of *wasta* in the Arab world is limited at best, the available evidence suggests that individuals with substantial wealth

or influential occupational roles in either private or public institutions extensively use *wasta* to get things done (Abalkhail and Allan, 2016; Alsarhan and Valax, 2021; Baranik and Wright, 2018; Cunningham and Sarayah, 1993). Tlaiss and Kauser (2011) conducted a study in five Arab countries, including Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, which focused on the opinions of managers at various levels. They found that 89 % of respondents had used *wasta* in their positions, 80% used it regularly, and 86% believed that *wasta* improved relationships. Other studies suggest that *wasta* facilitates the transmission of knowledge and the creation of opportunities (Hutchings and Weir, 2006; Ramady 2015). As such, *wasta* is a key determinant of an individual's recruitment and career success in the workplace (Metcalfe, 2006; Ramady, 2005; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011; Whiteoak *et al.*, 2006).

Table 4.2 Definitions of Wasta

Definition	*Source*
Wasta is 'the intervention of a patron in favour of a client to obtain benefits and/or resources from a third party'.	Mohamed and Hamdy (2008, p.1)
Wasta is 'a type of nepotism and favouritism, which gives friends, relatives, and family members priority over organisational benefits'.	Aladwan *et al.* (2014, p. 131)
Wasta is 'an unwritten social contract based on the cooperation and obligation between members of various social groups such as families and tribes'.	Ta'Amnha *et al.* (2016, p. 393)

‘Wasta…refers to the recognition that power in society is related to tribal and familial networks…Its process involves the use of the middleman's connection, power, and certain social or economic ties to help someone else… It is furthermore based on the preferential treatment of relatives, friends, and neighbours or other acquaintance. The term *wasta*… refers to both the act of mediation as well as the person who mediates’.	Alsarhan (2022, p. 669)

4.7.2 Positive and Negative Sides of Wasta

According to Al-Twal (2021), *wasta* is a highly complex and taboo subject in the Middle Eastern region. *Wasta* is considered a hidden force (Cuervo-Cazura, 2016; Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993) or an invisible hand that is not obvious when favours are being exchanged (Gold and Naufal, 2012). While *wasta* can help people, the other side of the coin is that it can be unfair for those who cannot or do not want to rely on it (Abalkhail and Allan, 2016; Baranik and Wright, 2018; Cunningham and Sarayah, 1994). *Wasta* can favour a specific group of individuals who have befriended influential others, thus giving them an unjustified advantage over more qualified colleagues. Metcalfe (2006) observes that meritocracy can be threatened because training and development opportunities, executive recruitment, promotion, and other aspects related to one’s terms of employment, are often dependent on an individual’s relations and family networks and not on an individual’s abilities. Therefore, when *wasta* is used by others, it negatively affects the perceptions others have of this person. For example, in an Egyptian study participants thought a hypothetical employee who used *wasta* was less competent and less moral than other colleagues (Mohamed & Mohamad, 2011). Due to these negative perceptions, *wasta* is usually used in covert rather than open ways.

Although *wasta* may be used invisibly, it does not mean it always goes *unnoticed*. A qualitative study conducted in Jordan found that individuals expressed jealousy and frustration when they thought a person received benefits through *wasta*, such as a new employee entering the company and immediately earning a higher salary (Alsarhan and Valax, 2020). In addition, even when it was people who had used *wasta* and performed well, negative feelings towards that person remained, even to the point of hatred. As such, *wasta* can negatively affect the moral and job satisfaction of all (Alsarhan and Valax, 2020).

The problem with *wasta* is not solely about the moral disapproval of others. Those who use *wasta* may feel guilt and low self-efficacy. Consistent with findings that there are negative elements of cronyism and nepotism (e.g., Erdem and Karatas; 2015; Hayajenh *et al.*, 1994), Alwerthan *et al.* (2018) found that benefiting from *wasta* was associated with higher levels of psychological distress, which was explained in part by lower perceptions of autonomy, competence and relatedness (self-determination) in their work role. Drawing on a sample of mainly teachers in Saudi Arabia, they found that benefits accumulated through *wasta* evoked a sense of embarrassment, shame or incompetency. Their findings resonate with those of Calvard (2012), whose study of 154 employees from a coastguard organisation showed that employees recruited via nepotism experienced considerably lower levels of wellbeing, especially when they were not qualified for the role.

Moreover, Alwerthan *et al.* (2018) argued that those who benefited from *wasta* in the workplace might find themselves indebted to the individual providing the *wasta,* potentially resulting in the person being manipulated and coerced into doing things they would not normally consider. The person who gives *wasta* can hold the receiver to ransom, causing a state of flux since the recipient of *wasta* does not know when they will be called upon to

reciprocate or how long the 'indebtedness' will last. Thus, *wasta* can be seen as a double-edged sword. While there are benefits to securing employment and a particular position, there is also a price to pay for that opportunity, and in some cases, that price may outweigh the benefits in the long run. In line with other research suggesting negative outcomes for individuals benefitting from *wasta,* individuals who 'steal' opportunities from more deserving co-workers via *wasta* will experience lower levels of connection with their co-workers, as the stigma of unfairly gained benefits will foreshadow later workplace interactions (Mohamed and Mohamed, 2011).

4.8 Intention to Use *Wasta*

Of particular interest to the current study is the intention to use *wasta* since this data point is about future expectations. One previous study has investigated these intentions among university students located in different Gulf countries, including the UAE. In a study carried out by Gold and Naufal (2012), participants were presented with ethical dilemmas and asked if they would use *wasta* to resolve them. About half of the students indicated that they would use *wasta*. Importantly, being male predicted the use of *wasta* in unfair situations, namely in the hiring and promotion processes when others would clearly be more qualified. While these authors did not provide an explanation of this gender difference, other studies have provided more information about gender difference in the use of *wasta*.

Bailey (2012) carried out interviews among female students in the UAE. It was found that while participants gave examples of how females could use *wasta*, these examples were all through the *wasta* of male family members (e.g., father or husband) and for non-employment purposes, such as gaining access to a doctor. In contrast, the examples given in

relation to work and career opportunities were limited to being male. Abalkhail and Allen (2016) asked more directly about the use of *wasta* in women's careers. The participants were from various Arab Gulf Regions. Again, it was found that women mostly relied on *wasta* obtained through male family members. Importantly, the women did not mention obtaining better life outcomes, such as a higher salary. Instead, they felt that using *wasta* for these purposes was wrong and career development should depend on competencies. They also believed there were fewer opportunities to use *wasta* for career advancement due to patriarchy ideology. When women did report using *wasta* in their career it was to take study leave or gain permission to attend training abroad that they otherwise were not allowed to do. While these opportunities can contribute to a positive career in terms of performance, they do not necessarily lead to monetary rewards because they cannot guarantee that women will be discriminated against in obtaining a job or a promotion (Omair, 2010). These findings, though limited, suggest that even though men and women may intend to use *wasta,* they will do so with different goals and different perceptions of the outcomes. Men who intend to use *wasta* are more likely than women to do so to obtain a job or a promotion (Gold and Naufal, 2012). For women, on the other hand, even if they intend to use *wasta*, they do not expect it to lead to a higher salary, but rather other kinds of opportunities, such as being able to attend training (Abalkhail and Allen, 2016; Bailey, 2012). As such, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H10. For their future selves, the relationship between gender and life outcomes regarding salary will be moderated by intention to use *wasta,* such that the relationship will be stronger for male students who intend to use *wasta* compared to female students.

4.9 *Wasta* as a Form of Locus of Control

When focusing on the actual selves of employees, instead of intentions to use *wasta*, people can reflect on their *wasta*-beliefs. After all, they will have the experience of whether *wasta* is needed or useful to obtain career success and more specifically higher salaries. While research has shown that people can have mixed feelings about *wasta* use, most studies have not asked about *wasta* beliefs, but rather assume that people feel *wasta* helps obtain better prospects for the person who uses it, at least in terms of being able to obtain a higher salary (Alsarhan and Valax, 2020). One way to study the role of *wasta* is through the theory of Locus of Control (Rotter, 1966).

Beliefs about causes of life outcomes internationally are more commonly studied according to the theory of Locus of Control (LOC) (Whiteoak *et al.*, 2006). LOC broadly describes the extent to which an individual believes the outcomes in their life (both good and bad) are determined by their own actions or are due to factors beyond their control (Spector, 1988). Internal locus of control concerns an individual's belief that they have control over their efforts and performance which will determine their fate or success. External locus of control involves beliefs that destiny lies in the hands of fate, chance, God, or other forces external to themselves, including social structures (Rotter, 1966). From a Western perspective, it is usually thought that people either have an internal locus of control or an external locus of control. An internal locus of control is associated with more positive outcomes than an external locus of control (Wang and Lv, 2017). A large base of research has confirmed this perspective by showing that an internal LOC is positively associated with setting more difficult goals, having higher motivation to achieve those goals, and higher overall job satisfaction (Ng *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, with respect to outcomes, research has repeatedly shown that individuals with an

internal locus of control are likely to be more confident and more determined, believing that their behaviour can create desired outcomes (Allen *et al.*, 2005; Ng *et al.*, 2006; Spector, 1982; Wang and Lv, 2017). These findings are, however, limited by the fact that most studies have been carried out in individualistic, Western samples (Wang and Lv, 2017).

There are, however, exceptions. For example, Bano *et al.* (2020) carried out an extensive study among administrative workers in Pakistan. They evaluated how work locus of control (measured on a continuum from more external to more internal) affects perceptions of outcomes. Their findings showed that having a greater internal locus of control was associated with better perceived work-life balance and higher overall satisfaction at work. The positive effects of an internal locus of control at work are also evident in the UAE. A study by Abu Elanain (2010) investigated locus of control among a sample of employees drawn from five organisations in Dubai. It found that a greater internal work locus of control (measured on a continuum from more external to more internal) was associated with positive behaviours at work including, for example, individual initiative taking and interpersonal helping. Hameed *et al.* (2006) also reported that a greater internal locus of control was associated with innovation, need for achievement and motivation. In this regard, findings regarding LOC from the UAE are comparable to those reported in other parts of the world.

However, in collectivist cultures external locus of control is more prevalent (Lu *et al.*, 2000; Rossier *et al.*, 2005) in contrast to individualistic societies (Weisz *et al.*, 1984; Santiago and Tarantino, 2002). As explained by Rotter (1966), people will make causal inferences based on observations. From this social learning assumption, the more common external attribution style would be explained by people experiencing that there are important external causes for success. This finding contrasts with the finding that in collectivistic cultures an internal locus

of control is associated with more positive outcomes (Abu Elanain, 2010; Hameed *et al.*, 2006). Yet, the distinction between external versus internal control does not seem to reflect that. In terms of external control, social networks are of particular importance in collectivistic cultures for career-related outcomes, and more so than in Western countries (Fan et al., 2012).

For the UAE, it is argued therefore, that instead of focusing on *wasta* beliefs as a form of external locus of control in general, it is better understood as the specific external locus of control with respect to using social networks (referred to as 'network-oriented external locus of control' for the purpose of this research). While there is no specific research yet on this topic, the theoretical assumption here is that network-oriented external locus of control will likely be related with higher salaries for men because it is assumed that they are likely to be using their *wasta* to obtain better work possibilities and benefits workplace (Metcalfe, 2006; Ramady, 2005; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011; Whiteoak *et al.*, 2006). For women, on the other hand, it is unlikely that they will obtain higher salaries if they have a strong network-oriented external locus of control, given previous research findings that women do not intend to use *wasta* for this purpose (Abalkhail and Allen, 2016; Bailey, 2012).

Accordingly, similar to how intentions to use *wasta* are expected to moderate the direct gender effect on salary expectations, it is hypothesised that the extent to which employees have an external locus of control will moderate the direct gender effect on actual salaries, at least concerning the form of external locus of control relevant in the UAE because of *wasta*, which works in a network-oriented way.

H11. The relationship between gender and salary outcomes will be moderated by network-oriented external locus of control, such that male employees with a higher external locus of control will report higher salaries, but no difference will be found for female employees.

It is argued that instead of these beliefs, inclusion of actual *wasta* use could be a stronger and more direct moderator of gender effects on salary. However, the taboo aspect of *wasta* makes it a complex concept to study and directly asking about people's own *wasta* use is unlikely to result in valid answers in a survey study without further precautions as people are cautious when discussing *wasta* (Al-Twal, 2021).

4.10 Employment Status in a 'Privileged' Population

One further issue that is relevant to the UAE context and culture is the fact that many Emiratis enjoy a privileged status (Budhwar and Mellahi, 2016; Tipu and Sarker, 2020; Waxin *et al.*, 2018), which means that for many in the population, it is not necessary to work full-time or even part-time. This privileged position extends to men who might not expect to work full-time, but who still might not expect to suffer consequences regarding the attainment of life outcomes. In the UAE, there are many Emiratis who possess substantial assets, own companies, or generate income through investments. Consequently, these individuals are not constrained by traditional employment paradigms (Dsilva, Locke, and Ng, 2023; Issa *et al.,* 2022; Tipu and Sarker, 2020). These privileged individuals often enjoy an elevated standard of living, affording them the luxury of pursuing their passions and interests without obligatory full-time employment.

Nonetheless, the entrepreneurial landscape in the UAE is frequently characterised as being male dominated (Kargwell, 2012, p.44). Furthermore, gender disparities persist in the realm of inheritance, where women's rights to parental assets or as surviving spouses are not on par with those of men (Assi and Marcati, 2020). As a result, women generally lack financial independence unless they engage in employment (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2022). The pursuit of financial independence is a central motivator for women entering the workforce in the UAE (Haine, 2019). Potential full-time female employees often observe instances where household tasks and childcare responsibilities are shared, as highlighted in the interviews conducted by Dickson and Tennant (2021). These instances of collaboration between partners in household duties can facilitate women's professional ambitions.

However, achieving this balance is not always possible because, as outlined by Dickson and Tenant (2021), external factors such as husbands' commitments to work or education might hinder the employment prospects of women. Moreover, prevailing traditional gender norms can impact a woman's ability to pursue a career. For women in the UAE, the most important role both traditionally, and for many still, is thought to be at home taking care of the family (Al-Asfour *et al.*, 2017; Maitner and Henry, 2018). For this reason, women who are working part-time or staying at home will be expected to engage in more housework and childcare responsibilities. However, no direct gender differences might be expected if women expect to be working full-time in the future, with others having the responsibility over housework and childcare. As such, for the future selves[2], it is hypothesised that:

[2] In the case of 'actual selves', the current study focuses only on a sample of full-time employees. Therefore, similar arguments for a working sample sit outside the scope of the study.

H12. Employment status will moderate the direct gender effects on (a) responsibility for childcare, (b) responsibility for housework, (c) working hours, and (d) salary in such a way that gender differences will be larger if not working full-time (i.e., if working part-time or not at all).

4.11 Research Models

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 present the research models for the student and employee studies, respectively. The expected mediation and moderation effects that were discussed in this chapter are presented. As can be seen, the models for the future selves of students and the actual selves of employees are very similar. However, future selves among a student sample concerns their expectations, while for an employee sample it is about their actual, current situation. This is also reflected in some of the moderator variables; focusing on intentions to use *wasta* (students) or on beliefs that networks are an important form of external locus of control (employees). The expectation regarding moderation that is presented in the upper right half of the models as agentic and communal values affecting the path between life goal attainment perceptions and future self outcomes, is the same for the student and employed samples.

Figure 4.2 Model for Students' Future Selves

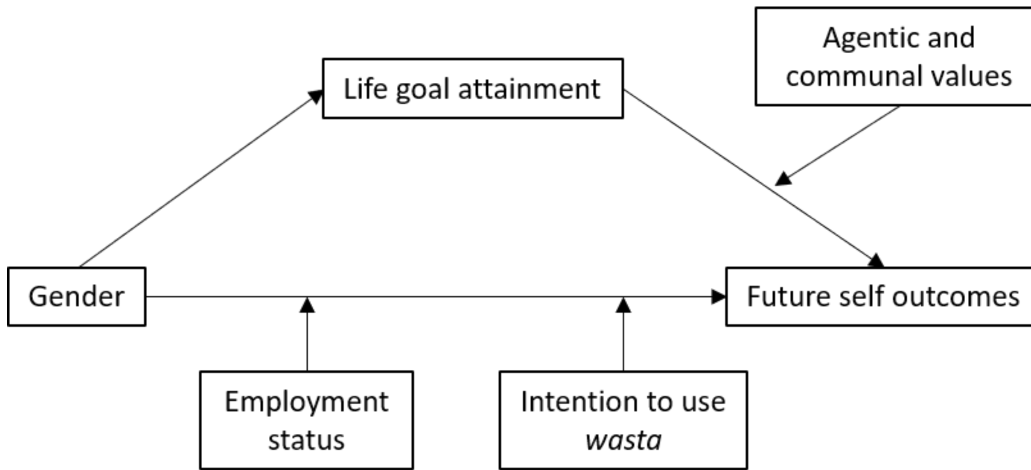
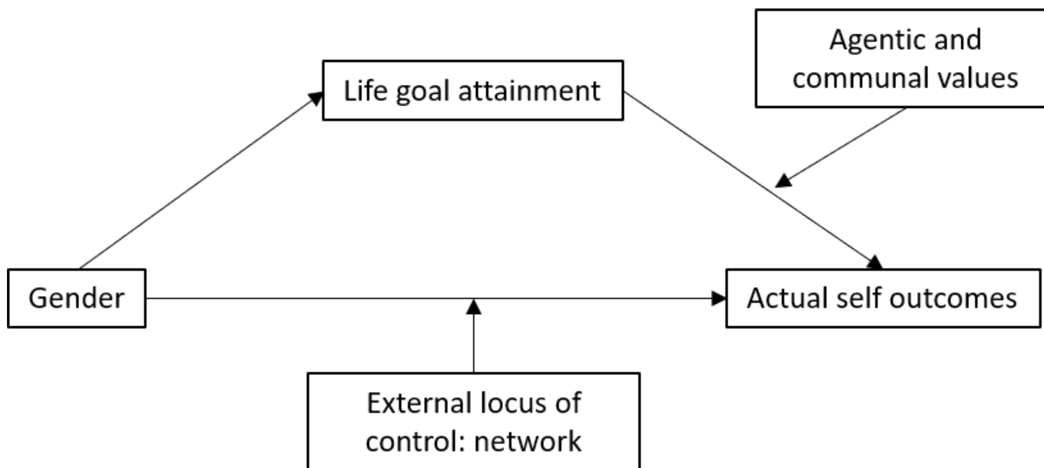


Figure 4.3 Model for Employees Actual Selves



4.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, several culturally sensitive considerations regarding the future selves and actual selves models were identified. The process of how gender roles affect 'ought to' selves, which lead to the internalisation of social norms about gender roles, were explained from the perspective of social role theory, and by adopting a cultural lens. Goal congruity theory further explained the way in which motivational processes can contribute to gender-determined life goal attainment perceptions. It was argued that life goal attainment, in turn, influences life outcomes (actual and perceived for the future) through a process of mediation. It was further proposed that perceptions of communal and agentic values (gender roles) would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes. This is based on the theory that agentic and communal values make the life outcomes that provide affordance of potential agentic and communal life goal attainment respectively more relevant or desirable. The focus in the chapter then shifted to the concept of *wasta*, where the importance of this form of social networking for career opportunities was explained. It was argued that the intention to use *wasta* would moderate the direct gender effect on life outcomes, where its effects would be more apparent for men. Further, for employees a similar argument was made with regard to external locus of control focused on networking. Finally, based on the privileged status that Emiratis enjoy in the UAE, employment status was hypothesised to have a moderating role, with gender differences being stronger if not working full-time.

5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The aims of the present research are: (1) to gain insights into anticipated gender division of labour between work and home; and (2) to investigate differences in and the factors that influence the gender role expectations of male and female Emiratis. This chapter describes the methodology used to address the main research questions and hypotheses. First, the philosophical foundation of the research is presented, which rationalises the appropriateness of a positivist approach that in turn supports using a quantitative survey research methodology. Next, a detailed description of the methods is provided. This includes an overview of the sampling strategy, including power analysis, sample recruitment, construct measurement, and the survey protocols that were adhered to. As will be described, several pilot studies were conducted to make protocol refinements ahead of data collection. The chapter then describes the statistical analysis strategy. Finally, it concludes with an evaluation of relevant ethical considerations.

5.2 Research Philosophy

As with any research, the present research methodology was affected by several assumptions. The following sections introduce the major research philosophies and how they influence how a researcher thinks about research. Then, the assumptions of the present study will be described. With this understanding, the methodological approach undertaken will be described, including a detailed explanation of the survey instruments employed.

5.2.1 Introduction to the Five Major Research Philosophies

Within the social sciences, researchers implicitly or explicitly adopt a research philosophy to specify, refine, and evaluate their research methods (Hughes *et al.,* 1997; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2002). The selected research philosophy provides a system of beliefs and assumptions that guide knowledge development (Rahi, 2017). There are five major research philosophies: positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, postmodernism, and pragmatism (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). A brief description of each of the five philosophies is provided in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Defining Research Philosophies

Positivism	is closely aligned with the natural sciences and assumes that there is an observable social reality, and that generalisations and laws can be made from these observations (Park *et al.*, 2020). As such, it focuses on unambiguous and accurate knowledge. The term 'positivism' is derived from the importance that this philosophy places on what is 'posited' (i.e., 'given') (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). The positivist stance is strictly focused on the scientific empiricist method, which is designed to yield pure data and facts that are not biased by human interpretation (Park, Konge, and Artino, 2020).
Critical realism	'focuses on explaining what we see and experience, in terms of the underlying structures of reality that shape the observable events' (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019, p. 140). This philosophy assumes that reality is external and independent and that humans can observe it only through manifestations and not direct observation (Gorski, 2013). As such, we are required to use our senses to observe reality; however, our senses deceive us. Based on this philosophy, critical realists believe we sense events in reality, and then we apply mental reasoning to them. Or, using the terminology described in the previous section; critical realism is realistic about ontology, but takes a more open view of epistemology, as it differentiates between the 'real' and 'observable' world (Gorski, 2013).

Interpretivism	applies a subjectivist perspective, which 'emphasises that humans are different from physical phenomena because they create meanings' (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019, p. 140). It developed through a critique of positivism, as interpretivists believe that human beings and their social worlds cannot be studied using the same methods as for the natural sciences (Alharahsheh and Pius, 2020). This is due to the interpretivists' belief that humans experience a rich cultural diversity that cannot be defined by universal scientific laws. Instead, according to interpretivists, social sciences should be studied using qualitative methods, and provide in-depth insight into individual experiences, rather than generalisations (Alharahsheh and Pius, 2020).
Postmodernism	is based on the role of language and its relationship to power (Powell, 2007). Postmodernists reject objectivism and the realist ontology (e.g., that reality is ordered); instead, they believe that reality is chaotic and continually in flux. Postmodernists believe that the only way order is created is through language, as it provides categories and classifications (Powell, 2007). Postmodernists believe that collective choices and thoughts are made through language and that these choices and thoughts are shaped by those in power. Therefore, they question the choices and thoughts of the collective, as well as the dominant powers associated with collectives (McHale, 2012).
Pragmatism	in general, aims to reconcile the differences in the ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions of the other four research philosophies (James, 2001). The main goal of pragmatists is to find a practical (not abstract) solution to problems. Truth is something that is not fixed, but evolves with the insights of a society.

These philosophies can be distinguished by their ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019; Sousa, 2010), with these distinctions being used to describe the research philosophy adopted in a given study.

Ontology addresses the nature of reality, or 'how the world is' (Sousa, 2010, p. 456). Ontology, therefore, is concerned with questions such as 'What is the nature of reality?' or 'What is the world like?' (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). Assumptions regarding these questions can be placed on a continuum from objective (e.g., real, external) to subjective (e.g., nominal, socially constructed; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019; Sousa, 2010). In turn, ontological assumptions result in epistemological assumptions (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002). Epistemology addresses the theory, methods, validity, and scope of knowledge by asking questions such as 'How can we know what we know?' or 'What is considered acceptable knowledge?' (Sousa, 2010). Observations about these questions can also be placed on a continuum from objective (e.g., facts, numbers) to subjective (e.g., opinions, narratives; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). Axiology addresses the role of values and ethics within the research process by asking questions such as 'How should we treat our own values when we do research?' and 'How should we deal with the values of research participants?' Again, observations are placed on a continuum from objective (e.g., value-free, detachment) to subjective (e.g., value-bound, integral, and reflexive; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). Finally, methodology refers to how the research is undertaken according to the theoretical and philosophical assumptions upon which the study is based and the implications of these for the methods adopted (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2002; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). The methodology can be quantitative (e.g., empirical, numerical), qualitative (e.g., observational, non-numerical), or a mix of the two (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2002; Edmonds, and Kennedy, 2016).

Table 5.2 below summarises the philosophical assumptions as a multidimensional set of continua (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019, p. 135).

Table 5.2 Philosophical Assumptions as a Multidimensional Set of Continua

Assumption type	Questions	Continua with two sets of extremes		
		objectivism	< - >	subjectivism
Ontology	What is the nature of reality?	Real	< - >	Decided by convention
	What is the world like?	External	< - >	Socially constructed
		One truth, universalism	< - >	Multiple realities, relativism
		Granular, the things	< - >	Flowing, the processes
Epistemology	How can we know what we know?	Adopt assumptions of the natural scientist	< - >	Adopt assumptions of the arts and humanities
	What kinds of contributions to knowledge can be made?	Facts & numbers	< - >	Opinions & narratives
	When can data be considered to be of good quality?	Observable phenomena	< - >	Attributed meanings

		Laws & context-specific	< - >	Individual and context specific
Axiology	What is the role of values in research? How should we deal with the researcher’s values?	Value-free	< - >	Value-bound
	How should we deal with the values of participants?	Detached	< - >	Integral & reflexive

Adjusted from: Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019, p.135).

How these ontological, epistemological, and axiology questions are answered, results in very different philosophies. They form, as it were, ‘the glasses’ that the researcher has on when looking at the world. This helps others to better understand the basis for decisions and the value of knowing from which of the various schools of thought a study was conceived and designed. For this reason, Table 5.3 summarises the five major philosophies according to their ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological assumptions.

Table 5.3 Comparison of Five Research Philosophies and Their Assumptions

Ontology (nature of reality or being)	Epistemology (what constitutes acceptable knowledge)	Axiology (role of values)	Typical methods
Positivism			
Real, external, independent One true reality (universalism) Granular (things) Ordered	Scientific method Observable and measurable facts Law-like generalisations Numbers Causal explanation and predication as contribution	Value free research Researcher is detached, neutral and independent of what is researched Researcher maintains objective stance	Typically deductive, highly structured, large samples, measurement, typically quantitative methods of analysis, but a range of data can be analysed
Critical realism			

Stratified/layered (the empirical, the actual and the real) External, independent Intransient Objective structures Causal mechanisms	Epistemological relativism Knowledge historically situated and transient Facts are social constructions Historical causal explanation as contribution	Value-laden research Researcher acknowledges bias by world views, cultural experiences and upbringing Researcher tries to minimise bias and errors Researcher is as objective as possible	Retrospective, in-depth historically situated analysis of pre-existing structures and emerging agency. Range of methods and data types to fit subject matter
Interpretivism			
Complex, rich Socially constructed through culture and language	Theories and concepts too simplistic Focus on narratives, stories, perceptions and interpretations	Value-bound research	Typically inductive Small samples, in-depth investigations, qualitative methods of analysis, but a

Multiple meanings, interpretations, realities Flux of processes, experiences, practices	New understandings and worldviews as contribution	Researchers are part of what is researched, subjective Researcher interpretations key to contribution Researcher reflexive	range of data can be interpreted
Postmodernism			
Nominal Complex, rich Socially constructed through power relations	What counts as 'truth' and 'knowledge' is decided by dominant ideologies Focus on absences, silences and oppressed/repressed meanings, interpretations and voices	Value-constituted research Researcher and research embedded in power relations	Typically deconstructive – reading texts and realities against themselves In-depth investigations of anomalies, silences and absences

Some meanings, interpretations, realities are dominated and silenced by others Flux of processes, experiences, practices	Exposure of power relations and challenge of dominant views as contribution	Some research narratives are repressed and silenced at the expense of others Researcher radically reflexive	Range of data types, typically qualitative methods of analysis
Pragmatism			
Complex, rich, external 'Reality' is the practical consequences of ideas Flux of processes, experiences and practices	Practical meaning of knowledge in specific contexts 'True' theories and knowledge are those that enable successful action Focus on problems, practices and relevance	Value-driven research Research initiated and sustained by researcher's doubts and beliefs Researcher reflexive	Following research problem and research question Range of methods: mixed, multiple, qualitative, quantitative, action research Emphasis on practical solutions and outcomes

	Problem solving and informed future practice as contribution	

Adapted from Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, (2019 p. 144–145).

Several criticisms have been directed at these philosophical traditions (Crossan, 2003; Popper, 1959). Critics of the positivist approach, for example, claim that it does not enable the research of 'human beings and their behaviours in an in-depth way' (Crossan, 2003, p. 51) as the use of defined quantitative measures disregards other potential influencing variables and removes the potential for unique personal individualised input. Post-positivism (Popper, 1959) emerged because of these challenges. The post-positivist approach does not reject positivism but extends it, assuming that the researcher's theory, background, knowledge and values influence what is observed. Similar to the positivist, a post-positivist still pursues objectivity, yet does this by recognising the possible effects of biases. The reader is made aware of the fact that postmodernism further differs from this view, as from this philosophy, multiple simultaneous realities are assumed.

5.2.2 Philosophical Assumptions in the Present Study

The philosophical assumptions in the present study follow those of positivism. Positivism is defined as ''an approach to science which assumes that scientific activity produces (and should aim to produce) knowledge about objectively present and knowable features of the world'' (Haslam and McGarty, 2018 p. 426). Positivism originated in the early twentieth century from a group of philosophers and scientists known as the 'Vienna Circle'. This circle included, amongst others, Francis Bacon and Auguste Comte (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). The term 'positivism' was introduced by August Comte, who developed the concept as a means of examining social phenomena via the lens of empiricism (Benton and Craib, 2001). Comte argued that reason and rigorous experimentation were the best means of understanding society and human behaviour. Walliman (2005) summarised the perspective of Comte as follows: ''society could be analysed empirically just like other subjects of scientific inquiry and social laws and theories could be established on the basis

of psychology and biology'' (p. 203). In other words, real knowledge could be derived from human observation of an objective reality (Comte, 1853).

5.3 The Methodological Approach in the Present Study

5.3.1 Quantitative Approach

Comte's positivist approach to acquiring knowledge and testing its reliability supports a quantitative methodological approach. There are several advantages to the positivist approach; first, it allows a comparison to be made between groups, locations, and times, and this can be measured to calculate group differences (Rahman, 2020). Second, a positivist approach attempts to identify mechanisms in the real world that will help to predict other phenomena (Park *et al.*, 2020). The third advantage is that researchers retain control of the research process, for example, through the standardisation of survey instruments and controlling for variables (Kincheloe and Tobin, 2015). Other advantages of the positivist approach include the generation of data that are easily comparable, the economical collection of large amounts of data, and the adoption of a clear theoretical focus (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019).

The present study is also founded on previous studies that were dominated by a positivist tradition (e.g., Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). The research objectives of the present study, which propose theory-driven hypotheses regarding gender equality in life outcomes and life goals, also reflect a positivist research philosophy. After all, the intention is to *objectively* measure *general* findings and whereas the student perceptions that are central in this study, are not necessarily a completely valid or realistic prediction of how it will be in the future, they are assumed to be real in the sense that they (i.e., the expectations) can be measured and statistically linked to various factors (Park *et al.*, 2020).

The positivist tradition argues that social phenomena should be operational in an objective and quantifiable manner that employs highly structured methodological tools in the form of surveys or experiments (Breakwell, Smith, and Wright, 2012; Carlson, Martin, and Buskist, 2004). Survey research entails predominately collecting data by questionnaire to establish patterns of association between two or more variables, i.e., correlation (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2007). A cross-sectional design, also known as a social survey design, entails the collection of quantitative or qualitative data on more than one case and at a single time point.

5.3.2 Self-Completion Questionnaire

According to Haslam and McGarty (2003), there are many different survey methods, each representing the different interests, approaches, and objectives of researchers. For the present research, the survey method chosen reflected a self-completion questionnaire (SCQ) design. This SCQ design was used primarily for economical and methodological reasons. The SCQ has several advantages and is a ‘‘widely used and useful instrument’’ in research (Walliman, 2001, p. 236). One of the main advantages is that SCQs provide a relatively inexpensive, quick, efficient and accurate means of administrating and collecting data from a specific sample of the population (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2019). Moreover, Dilman (2020) suggested that a well-structured and standardised questionnaire can enable the generalisation of results from a group of respondents to a larger population, which is not possible with other methods like focus groups, small group experiments and content analysis (Dillman, 2020). A further advantage is that questionnaires do not permit interviewer bias which allows participants to feel more confident in reporting, as SCQs are less intrusive and more anonymous than other methods (Tourangeau and Smith, 1996). Another advantage of SCQs, and correlational research more generally, is that they enable the identification of relationships between variables,

although the identification of *causal* relationships requires follow-up experiments and/or longitudinal methods (Bordens and Abbott, 2011).

Previous research in the fields of social and organisational psychology has typically used such methods to examine individuals' perceptions. Given the perceptual nature of goals, values, attitudes and affect responses, self-report measures are often deemed to be one of the most appropriate methods to assess psychological constructs (Demetriou, Ozer and Essau, 2015; Howard, 1994; Ruel, 2019; Schmitt, 1994; Spector, 1994). However, despite the widespread use of self-report data in empirical studies (Kincheloe and Tobin; 2015; Robins, Tracy and Sherman, 2007), some criticism in relation to psychometric issues has emerged in the literature (Spector, 1994).

Indeed, although the SCQ appears to be the most appropriate method for the present research, this method does have its disadvantages. One of the main disadvantages concerns response rates; SCQs often result in lower response rates than other methods. This low response rate used to be mainly a limitation of postal SCQs (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022), but nowadays most surveys are carried out online. However, SCQs still face issues with response rates, as well as with completion rates (i.e., people start the questionnaire, but fail to complete all items) (Liu and Wronksi, 2018; Speklé and Widener, 2018). Another disadvantage of SCQs and more broadly correlational research is that causal inferences cannot be drawn from correlational data due to two issues: (1) the possible existence of a third variable and (2) the directionality of the relationships posited between focal variables (Borden and Abbott, 2008). The third-variable problem refers to one of the main issues that affects validity, specifically internal validity, which is the systematic influence of a ''third'' or confounding variable (Breakwell, Smith and Wright, 2012). A confounding variable refers to an extraneous variable which unintentionally or accidentally manipulates or is associated with the variables in the study (Haslam and McGarty, 2018). The effect of such

variables can be minimised by careful attention to the design and administration of the study, such as surveying participants in similar conditions and settings (Breakwell, Smith, and Wright, 2012) and randomisation (Saunders, Lewill and Thornhill, 2007). The directionality problem refers to the difficulty of establishing the existence of direct causal relationships between focal variables without manipulation of the independent variable that is assumed to impact the dependent variable (Bordens and Abbott, 2011).

Another major disadvantage of SCQ or self-reports is the problem of common method bias, which stems from variables being measured using the same method, such as the SCQ (Spector, 2006). In the section that follows next, a description of how the study was carried out to optimise the advantages and minimalise the disadvantages of SCQs are provided. Further discussion and implications of the disadvantages of the method will also be given in the study limitations section in the final chapter.

5.3.3 Study Design

To meet the aims of the present study, it was decided to carry out two separate studies: one to measure student expectations, with two sub-studies about possible and future selves carried out 5–7 days apart, and one to verify the actual, current situation for adults. The latter was considered appropriate to decrease the limitations of the fact that the first study only relied on self-reports from one source (i.e., the students). What is more, is that before carrying out the studies, pilot studies were carried out first to verify what would be the best procedure to follow. This section will describe the study design in chronological order, starting with the power analysis, followed by descriptions of the pilot for the student surveys, the student possible selves and the student future selves studies. Then, the pilot study for the employed sample and study itself are detailed.

Before a study is carried out, a power analysis can be undertaken in order to determine the sample size needed in order to have sufficient statistical power. For this study, power analysis was carried out using G*Power (version 3.1.9.7). This indicated that for a medium effect size of f2 = .15, α = .05 and 1-β = .95 (power), a total sample size of 199 was needed. This was based on an analysis including a total of 15 predictors, which was deemed necessary for the final step in the model that included main effects and interaction terms to test potential moderators. With the expectation that some participants would not provide all the necessary information, the researcher aimed to recruit 20% more participants (i.e., *N*=239) than suggested by the analysis.

5.4 Student Pilot Study

Prior to implementing the possible and future selves' surveys, a pilot study was conducted (Pilot Study 1). The pilot study had three objectives: (1) to determine the best way to conduct the research among Emirati students; (2) to identify any parts of the survey that may be confusing to the students; and (3) to determine the length of time for survey completion.

To achieve the first objective, the researcher consulted with experienced colleagues who had previously conducted research among Emirati students for advice on best practices for conducting surveys with this population. It was suggested that a pen-and-paper approach as opposed to an online survey would be the optimum method of data collection. This approach was chosen in an effort to improve the response rates because students would otherwise have to actively access the web in their own time. This is also in line with international research, which suggests that university students can suffer from ''survey fatigue'' because they are often asked to participate in studies; and often do not complete online surveys because they have to actively arrange this in their own time (Keusch, 2015).

While a study by Ward *et al.* (2012) suggested that paper-and-pencil surveys are more time consuming because they require manual input of the data, this method was chosen mainly chosen for ease of completion by the students. It is also suggested that responses to paper surveys tend to be less biased because only certain individuals are more likely to participate (e.g., those who already use more Internet in their daily lives) (Ward *et al.*, 2012).

To achieve the second objective, the survey was piloted among five active research faculty members and among a group of 20 Emirati students (10 male and 10 female). This pilot identified a small number of adjustments that were needed before commencing the main study. For example, the instructions were reworded to provide greater clarity. It was also suggested that the possible selves and future selves surveys should be administered at two separate time points. This was to avoid confusion because the two surveys, while different, had overlapping content. The separation of the surveys would therefore allow the participants to fully grasp the concept of possible selves. It was decided that the possible selves survey would be administered at the first time point and the future selves survey at the second time point. While this decision increased the risk of losing participants over time, it avoided potential confusion and reduced the burden on participants at any one time.

Further, and importantly, it presented the opportunity to reduce common method bias, which is a well-documented risk associated with cross-sectional survey research (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Podsakoff, 2012). Common method bias (CMB) refers to inflated estimated relationships between contrast as a result of them being assessed using the same source of information and/or the same response method. In the present study, CMB could not be reduced by using different sources, because the topic of interest was about perceptions and expectations of the individuals. However, it was possible to follow the advice of Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Posakoff to apply methodological separation. By administrating the possible and future selves perceptions on different days, there was

temporal separation of the measurement of these constructs that were measured in a highly similar way, and this can help reduce the effect of response tendencies and memory effects Further, the life goal attainment and gender role self-perceptions were both measured on a 5-point Likert scale and therefore, were clearly separated as different questionnaires with different measurements purposes in the survey, each with their own heading and introduction. Further, it was also made sure that the participants new that it was about their opinions, that their answers would remain anonymous, that they had enough time and would not experience fatigue by lengthy sessions (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Podsakoff, 2012).

This latter point was related to the third objective to determine the length of time for study completion. The researcher timed the completion times of the pilot study student participants, which ranged between 9 and 15 minutes per survey and was considered appropriate. Studies show that surveys should take maximum 30 minutes to complete in order for participants not to become tired or lose motivation, and preferably take no more than 20 minutes (Revilla and Höhne; Revilla and Ochoa, 2017; Sharma, 2022). The time it took the participants to complete the survey in each session was well within these limits.

5.5 Possible Selves Study

This section provides an overview of the sample and procedure regarding the possible selves study. As the student study involved two phases, the research setting, profile of the organisation and description of the sampling employed will be described in this section only.

5.5.1 Sample and Procedure

The student study was conducted at a Higher Education Institution in Abu Dhabi where the researcher was employed. The institution was established in 1988 and is the UAE's largest

applied Higher Educational Institution with approximately 23,000 students attending 16 men's and women's campuses in six different cities in the UAE. The institution was targeted as it guaranteed access to both male and female Emirati students. Approval was granted by the institution to conduct the research among the students. The research was conducted in the men's and women's campuses in Abu Dhabi which represent the second largest of the six regions. The institution is state-funded and offers degrees in Applied Media, Computer Information Science, Education, Engineering Technology and Science, Health Science and Business. As a government institution, it is open only to Emirati students. Gender segregation makes the institution a popular choice for female Emirati students.

A non-probability-based form of sample selection, purposive sampling, was used to select the student sample. Purposive sampling is used to select respondents who are most likely to yield appropriate (Campbell *et al.*, 2020) and useful information (Kelly, 2010). It is a way of obtaining data while using limited research resources effectively (Palinkas *et al.*, 2015). Students in their final year of studies were the population of interest as it was believed they would be more focused on graduation and future careers and on their lives post-graduation than students engaged in earlier years of study. Accordingly, participants for the future and possible selves' surveys were selected from final year students undertaking a bachelor's degree at the institution.

The surveys were administered in English. While Arabic is the participants' mother tongue, research suggests that English is used in daily life across many domains, especially among university students (Kennetz and Caroll, 2018). English is also the official language of the institution; students are required to be proficient in the language upon commencing their studies. This is determined by IELTS results and in order to register for a Bachelor's degree, students must receive a level 6 in IELTS prior to admission. As students were all

in the final year of their studies, it would be expected that their IELTS level would be level 7 at graduation. In one previous study where Emirati students were given the opportunity to choose between taking a survey in Arabic or English, the majority (71.9%) preferred English (Lambert *et al.*, 2021). For the present study, the advantage of using the original surveys (and avoiding the risk of any systematic translation issues) was considered to be more important than offering the students the survey in Arabic. While there is still a very small risk that some students may have not (fully) understood a question correctly, the researcher was present during the survey administration and so it was expected that any uncertainties about the survey could be clarified.

Following the successful completion of the pilot study, the researcher approached faculty members to request approval to attend their class for 15 to 20 minutes in order to administer the survey. Participants were recruited through in-class presentations over two months**.** Following approval from faculty members and before beginning the first survey, the researcher provided an overview of the purpose of the study and a description of its two-phase design. This included providing assurances about the confidentiality of the survey and an explanation for why the unique identifier (i.e., date of birth and last 4 digits of phone number) was required for matching both surveys, while still ensuring students' anonymous participation. As mentioned, the researcher remained present in the room while the students completed the survey.

The survey was originally completed by 448 final year students. As 13 respondents (2.9% of the sample) did not disclose their gender (measured in the second, future survey), they were excluded from further analyses. The final sample therefore consisted of 435 participants: 52% males and 48% females. Although this shows an almost even distribution of gender, it should be noted that the population of the campuses consisted of slightly more females (65.8%). The average age of the 90 participants who disclosed their age was 24.06

years (*SD* = 3.88; Females: *M* = 24.05, *SD* = 4.24; Males: *M* = 24.06, *SD* = 3.62). Most of the participants (81.2%) did not have children at the time of undertaking the survey.

Most of the respondents who disclosed their country of origin (N = 78) were born in the UAE (87.2%), with the remainder (12.8%) being born in other countries, namely Saudi Arabia, the UK, and the US. Only 6.6% of the sample indicated that they lived in one of the other Emirates, the majority (93.4%) of which came from Abu Dhabi, similar to the population of the two campuses. Based on these findings, the sample was considered to be sufficiently representative of the student population.

Table 5.44 Student sample: Gender distribution, country of origin and Emirate

Gender	Female	209 (48%)
	Male	226 (52%)
Country of origin	UAE	73 (93.6%)
	Saudi Arabia	3 (3.8%)
	US	1 (1.3%)
	UK	1 (1.3)
Emirate	Abu Dhabi	85 (93.4)
	Fujairah	2 (2.2)
	Sharjah	1 (1.1)
	Ajman	1 (1.1)
	Ras Al Khaimah	1 (1.1)
	Um Al Qain	1 (1.1)

5.5.2 Measures

A variety of measures were used across the three surveys. To guide the reader, Table 5.5 presents the measures that were used in each (sub-) study. Each measure is then described in more detail when the relevant study is described.

Table 0.5 Summary of Study Measures

	Student Surveys		**Employee Survey**
	Possible Selves	**Future Selves**	
Gender		✓	✓
Expected Life Outcomes Possible Selves Scenario	✓		
Expected Life Outcomes Future Selves		✓	✓
Attainability of Life Goals		✓	✓
Gender Role Self-Concept		✓	✓
Intention to use *wasta*		✓	
External Control: Network			✓
Family Background Information		✓	✓
Personal Background Information	*	✓	✓

*As the possible selves and future selves studies were carried out among the same participants, the family and personal background information were only measured once, at the future selves measurement, but gender was used as a variable in the possible selves study as well.

Possible Selves: The first survey assessed how the students envisioned their *possible selves* with subsets of the student sample randomly assigned to one of six hypothetical scenarios that varied by employment status (e.g., unemployed, part-time, or full-time) and education status (Bachelors or Masters/Ph.D.). For instance, one scenario involved participants envisioning themselves as a married parent with a young child who was employed full-time and possessing a Masters/Ph.D. degree:

Scenario 1 Example: *Please imagine yourself 5 years from now. You are married and have a child in nursery. You have completed a Bachelor's degree in your chosen field and you are currently employed full-time.*

Thereafter, the students were asked to complete the remainder of the survey.

Table 5.6 shows the number of participants allocated to each condition for the male and female students separately. As can be seen, there was disproportionate number of females assigned to the masters and part-time employment condition. As both education and employment status are included in the path models, the researcher believes this slight imbalance was controlled for by the statistical modelling. Otherwise, it appears that random assignment worked well in distributing study participants across these conditions.

Table 5.5 Number of Participants Assigned to Each Condition, Separated by Gender

	Condition	Male students		Female Students	
1	Bachelor & unemployed	44	19.5%	35	17%
2	Bachelor & part-time employment	46	20%	38	18%
3	Bachelor & full-time employment	34	15%	23	11%
4	Masters & unemployed	35	15.5%	21	10%

5	Masters & part-time employment	25	11%	57	27%
6	Masters & full-time employment	42	19%	35	17%
	Total	226	100%	209	100%

Expected Life Outcomes**:** Four indicators of expected life outcomes were included for the self and the partner. Three of the indicators – relating to salary, childcare and housework - were adapted from studies undertaken in the US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) and Spain (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). These were single-item measures that directly asked about the participants' expectations regarding each outcome. The questions about salary were:

How much money would you make per month? (The average salary for a male graduate is 22,000 AED and is 19,000 AED for female graduates) ____________AED

How much money would your husband/ wife make per month? (The average salary for a male graduate is 22,000 AED and is 19,000 AED for a female graduate) __________ AED

The question relating to childcare was:

How would ***childcare*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following:

(Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

For housework, participants were asked:

How would the ***housework*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following:

(Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

The fourth indicator was ***working hours*.** Participants were asked the following:

How many hours a week would you work outside of the home? (The average full-time working week in the UAE is 40 hours per week) _______ Hours

How many hours a week would your husband/wife work outside of the home? *(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 40 hours per week) _______ Hours*

It is noted that the first question about own working hours was not presented in the unemployment scenario, as participants in this case were told to imagine the situation of not working.

A full copy of a survey can be found in Appendix F.

5.6 Future Selves Study

5.6.1 Sample and Procedure

The future selves study used the same sample of students as the possible selves study. The procedure was also the same with respect to the researcher collecting the data. However, for this study the survey assessed students' views on their *future selves* based on what they expected to achieve and where they expected to be in life in five years' time.

5.6.2 Measures

The full survey of the future selves is presented in Appendix G.

Expected Life Outcomes: Participants were asked to indicate their expectations regarding gender equality by estimating their own and their future spouses' expected salaries, employment, childcare and housework responsibilities, using the following questions (where necessary specified for having children or not and for before and after the children would go to school, see Appendix G):

Salary:

How much money do you expect your husband/ wife will earn per month? __________ AED *(The average salary for a male graduate is 32,000 AED and 25,000 AED for women)*

How much money do you expect you will earn per month? *(The average salary for a male graduate is 32,000 AED and 25,000 AED for women)* ____________AED

Employment:

If you **DO** expect to have children, which of the following reflects your employment plans in the years **BEFORE** your children attend school? (Please tick one option)

☐ Stay at home
☐ Employed part-time (Less than 20 hours per week)
☐ Employed full-time (35 hours per week)

If you **DO** expect to have children, which of the following reflects your employment plans in the years **AFTER** your children attend school?

☐ Stay at home
☐ Employed part-time (Less than 20 hours per week)
☐ Employed full-time (35 hours per week)

How many hours a week do you think your husband/wife will work outside of the home? *(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 35 hours per week)* _______ *Hours*

Childcare:

If you plan to have children, how would the ***childcare*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

Housework

How would the ***housework*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%

Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

Attainment of Life Goals: To measure expected life goal attainment, the life goals measure developed by Killeen, Lopez-Zafra, and Eagly (2006) was used. The measure was slightly adapted – some items were excluded - to bring it more in line with the themes of the current study. For example, the original measure included a focus on humanitarian benefits (e.g., ‘‘improving the lives of others’’), which was not considered relevant to the current study. The adapted measure that was used in the current study included 22 items that captured goals relating to finances, relationships and careers. Examples of the life goals included: ‘feeling comfortable in your job position’; ‘earning a good salary’; ‘being respected by your spouse’; ‘fostering independence in your children’; ‘being a good role model for your children’; ‘having a good relationship with your friends’; ‘achieving a high standard of living’; and ‘being respected by your co-workers’. Participants were asked to rate how likely it was that they would achieve these life goals using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very unlikely) to 5 (very likely).

Gender Role Self-Concept: The positive personality scales developed by Diekman and Eagly (2000) were used to measure gender roles. These scales include six agentic and six communal characteristics. The items representing agentic characteristics were: ‘courageous’, ‘dominant’, ‘daring’, ‘adventurous’, ‘competitive’, and ‘aggressive’. Those representing communal characteristics were: ‘sympathetic’, ‘affectionate’, ‘sensitive’, ‘gentle’, ‘kind’, and ‘supportive’. While Diekman and Eagly’s (2000) original measures

included 8-item scales for each role concept, they used the 6-item version in two of their experiments. The 8-item versions that were only used in one experiment, carried out in between the other two, did not outperform the shorter versions. For this reason, the 6-item versions were used in the current study. Participants were asked to consider how characteristic each of the attributes was for them. Each item was rated using a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 (*not characteristic*) to 5 (*characteristic*). The internal consistency of the agentic scale was adequate (Cronbach's α = .62) in the student sample. In follow-up analyses, the internal consistency could not be improved by item-removal without doing harm to its discriminative validity. The internal consistency of the communal scale was good, α = .79.

Intention to Use Wasta: The following single-item measure for intention to use *wasta* was used: 'Do you plan to use *wasta* to assist you in your career goals?' The question included a yes/ no response option.

Personal and Family Background Information: Students were asked to provide their age, marital status (or intention to marry), gender, number of children (or plans to have children). Family background information included parental education and employment status (see Appendix G).

5.7 Employee Pilot Study

As in the student study, a pilot study was carried out for the employment study. This time, an online version was used because, while it was possible to collect data from students at a time when they were already all together in the same room, this was not possible for the employed participants. Moreover, less ''survey fatigue'' was expected among this sample (Keusch, 2015). Therefore, the paper-and-pencil version was deemed as a much less

feasible option for the employee study, unless issues were identified with the online version.

The survey was designed and administered using Qualtrics. The pilot study had three objectives: (1) to test the online survey to ensure there were no issues with the technological aspects of the survey; (2) to identify any parts of the survey that might be confusing to the participants; and (3) to determine the time required to complete the survey. Ten Emirati employees took part in the pilot study. Employees were selected based on convenience as determined by their location and availability. The survey was distributed via email with an online link to the survey, and the researcher was present in the room during its completion so that the participants could report any issues or misunderstandings. The pilot study indicated that there were no technical or content-related issues, and the participants reported an average completion time of 10 minutes.

5.8 Employee Study

5.8.1 Employee Sample and Procedure

A large public sector organisation in the education sector was selected, as it was believed it would provide a good representation of employed Emiratis and, in particular, female employees. For example, the UAE Labour Force Survey (2019), reported that 78 percent of the employees in government-linked organisations were Emirati, compared to only 8 percent of the employees in the private sector. It is estimated that 89 percent of working female Emiratis are employed in the public sector (Tahseen Consulting, 2015), where they predominately work in education, health, and agriculture (The World Bank, 2021). The organisation selected was established in 2007 as an advisory council and has since taken responsibility from the Ministry of Education for the education system in Abu Dhabi. The main objective of the organisation is to develop the education system in Abu Dhabi by promoting a culture of creativity, sustainability and excellence in order to develop the

country’s human, social and economic capabilities (Abu Dhabi's Department of Education and Knowledge; ADEK, 2022). The organisation has the responsibility for branding Abu Dhabi as a pioneering regional and international hub and to align education outcomes in accordance with Abu Dhabi’s labour market needs (ADEK, 2022). In addition to licencing and regulating nurseries and private schools in Abu Dhabi, the organisation also legislates, mandates, and manages its own Charter Schools and two schools for People of Determination (ADEK, 2022).

The organisation provided the researcher with email addresses of all Emirati employees. Consistent with the aims of the study, only Emirati employees were invited to participate. An online survey was distributed using Qualtrics and was available over a two-week period. An invitation email gave an overview of the research and encouraged participants to complete the survey. Assurances about anonymity and confidentiality of the data were provided. Two reminders were sent out to participants during the two-week period; the first reminder was sent on Day 6 and the second, final reminder was sent out on Day 12.

The survey was distributed to all 8,696 Emirati employees within the organisation. As there was no way of accurately identifying only those employees with childcare responsibilities, it was decided, with the organisation’s consent, that all employees would be surveyed. In return, a summary report of the findings was provided to the organisation. Participation was on a voluntary basis and respondents were assured of anonymity in the description of the survey. Out of 631 participants who opened the survey, 585 (92.7%) indicated that they were willing to participate. The other 17 (2.8%) who indicated that they were not willing to participate, and 29 (4.6%) who did not answer this question, were excluded from further analyses. In addition, 177 (30.3%) participants who did not disclose their gender were excluded. One further non-Emirati participant was also excluded. As the

outcomes of interest included questions about childcare, and the study sought respondents to make comparisons between self and partner, the 290 participants who had a partner and children were selected for the analysis.

Thus, the final employee sample consisted of 290 participants, 139 (47.9%) were males, and 151 (52.1%) were females. The average age was M = 36.33 years old (SD = 5.98), with a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 55 years old (the Valid N for age = 287, as not all participants provided their age). All participants were UAE nationals. Almost all respondents (99.3%) were married and two participants who were still unmarried did plan to get married eventually. All levels of the organisation were represented in the sample, from administrative to senior management: 58.3% were teachers, 18.3% were in administration roles, 8.7% were assistant teachers, 7.8% were lab technicians, 4.3% were vice principals, 1.7% were principals and 0.9% were librarians.

On average, participants had been working for the organisation for 8.22 years (SD = 6.66), ranging from 0.5 years to 25 years. The sample size was sufficient in terms of statistical power[3]. However, the response rate does require careful consideration in terms of representativeness, and there were no overall organisational data made available for comparison as had been the case for the student sample. The most likely reason for non-participation was that the survey was distributed during the summer when many employees take annual leave, and it was during Ramadan which is a time when many employees reduce their working commitments to observe the Holy month. It is also important to note that the final response rate cannot be estimated because the total number of employees who were eligible to participate could not be determined. The literature suggests that individuals who comply with survey requests may be more committed people in general and are more likely

[3] The power analysis described earlier in Section 5.3.1 indicated a sample size of 199.

to have a specific, personal interest in the study (Keusch, 2015). The consequences of this potential bias will be further considered when discussing the study's limitations in the final chapter.

5.8.2 Measures

The full employee survey is presented in Appendix III

Life Outcomes: Salary, childcare, housework and working hours were included, this time, however, with respect to participants' current (actual) circumstances.

Attainability of Life Goals: The same scale as in the student study was used. All scales had good internal reliability ($\alpha > .80$ for all).

Gender Role Self-Concept: This scale also was the same as described in the future selves (student) study. The internal consistency coefficient for the agentic scale was adequate ($\alpha = .66$) and for the communal scale was good ($\alpha = .87$).

Network-Oriented External Locus of Control: The Work Locus of Control Scale (WLCS) was used to measure employees' locus of control (Spector, 1988). The original measure includes 16 items, but as the current study is only interested in whether people experience a greater network-oriented external locus of control, only 3 items were used. These were: 'In order to get a really good job, you need to have family members or friends in high places', 'When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know is more important than what you know' and 'To make a lot of money you have to know the right people'. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with each statement using a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*disagree very much*) to 6 (*agree very much*). This scale showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .80$).

5. 9 Statistical Verification of the Factor Structure of the Attainability of Life Goals

5.9.1 Analysis for the Student Sample

Version 8.7 of Mplus (Muthén and Muthén, 2021) was used to run exploratory structural equation models (ESEM) with geomin rotation following factor extraction. ESEM combines Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)/Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) and is less restrictive than CFA because factor cross-loadings are not constrained to zero. This permits estimation of potentially better-fitting and more realistic models because items can be associated with multiple factors (Asparouhov and Muthén, 2009; Marsh *et al.,* 2014). The goal was to extract the minimum number of factors that could achieve adequate fit. For each successive model, conventional fit statistics and thresholds were adopted to evaluate model fit (West *et al.*, 2012). These thresholds were: root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) ≤0.05; comparative fit (CFI) and Tucker–Lewis's indices (TLI) ≥ 0.90; and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) ≤ 0.8. This analysis showed that three-factor models fitted the data reasonably well, although the factor structures, as indicated by the pattern of item loadings did not follow completely the a priori assumed factors of finances, relationships and career. The fit indices were: RMSEA = 0.02, CFI = 0.996 and TLI = 0.993. The results for the ESEM modelling are shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.6 Factor Structures and Standardised Loadings of the Future Selves Goal Attainment Items

	Item	**Work-life achieve-ment**	**Security at work**	**Relations**
1	Spending enough time with children	0.59		0.41
2	Feeling financially secure	0.74		
3	Being respected by your peers	0.60		
4	Being a good role model for your children	0.52		0.36
5	Having a good relationship with your spouse	0.32		0.58
6	Balancing your time satisfactorily between work and home		0.33	0.33
7	Feeling comfortable in your job position		0.59	
8	Having a good relationship with your friends			0.39
9	Achieving a high standard of living	0.45	0.39	
10	Feeling equal to your spouse			0.41

11	Having a good relationship with your children			0.62
12	Advancing in your profession		0.60	
13	Having a good relationship with your co-workers		0.60	
14	Developing a strong bond with your children			0.81
15	Enjoying your job		0.66	
16	Being respected by your spouse		0.30	0.64
17	Gaining a sense of power	0.36	0.37	
18	Having an overall sense of security in your job	0.45	0.32	
19	Earning a good salary		0.48	
20	Being respected by your co-workers		0.42	
21	Fostering independence in your children	0.45		
22	Being able to be present for your child's extra-curricular events	0.30		

Note. Reported item factor loadings are standardised; loadings < .30 are suppressed. Data was analysed using exploratory structural equation modelling with goemin oblique rotation. Highlighted items shaded in grey indicate the factor on which an item had the highest, statistically significant loading.

The items that loaded highest on the first factor were interpreted as representing **work-life achievement** at work and at home (e.g., 'being respected by peers, achieving a high standard of living', 'being a good role model', 'fostering independence in your children'). Items loading highest on the second future selves' factor were about things going well at work, in all kinds of ways, including power, relationships with colleagues and salary. This was labelled '**security at work**'. The third factor had items loading highest on **relationships** (e.g., 'having a good relationship with your spouse', 'having a good relationship with your friends', 'developing a strong bond with your children', and 'balancing you time satisfactorily between work and home'). Work-life achievement and relationships reflected more communal goals and security at work more agentic goals.

Following the identification of these three factors, the estimated factor scores were estimated by calculating the sum of the life goal items weighted by their factor loadings. This is commonly done when the factor structure is based on structural equation modelling (see Distefano, Zhu and Mîndrilã, 2009; and McNeish and Wolf, 2020 for further explanation and Anglim *et al.*, 2017 for an example). The resulting three scores were merged back into the main study data set and were included in the later analysis.

5.9.2 Analysis for the Employee Sample

For the employment sample, a different approach to the analysis was used. This was because the original scale was developed to be a 'what if' scale based on a student's vision of what the future *could* look like (Killeen, et al., 2006). However, the employee sample already had actual working experiences and so there was the possibility of them having succeeded or not in obtaining goals. Therefore, even though the items were the same, there was no way of knowing if any or how many underlying factors would emerge. As a first step, a check was carried out to see if the answers to the items showed sufficient coherence

for exploratory factor analysis (EFA). According to the correlation matrix, there were many intercorrelations amongst the items higher than r = .30 and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .92, which was higher than the recommended value of .60 (Kaiser, 1974). Further, the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Bartlett, 1954) was statistically significant ($p < .001$). This all suggested that the data was overall appropriate for EFA. The exploratory factor analysis (EFA) approach gives a parsimonious representation of observed correlations between variables by identifying latent factors and thus, operates according to the *common factor model* (Field, 2018). In this model, it is assumed that there are latent constructs that exist but cannot be measured directly i.e., variables that are linear combinations of latent factors (ΨΨ) and residuals (ϵϵ): $\epsilon \rightarrow x \leftarrow \Psi \epsilon \rightarrow x \leftarrow \Psi$.

The variables representing the items were not normally distributed according to the Shapiro-Wilk normality test ($p < .001$) and based on observing their histogram distributions. Accordingly, principal axis factoring was used as a method of factor analysis. This revealed three latent dimensions with eigenvalues greater than $\lambda = 1.00$, explaining 69.4% of the variance. Promax rotation was used and the factor loadings are displayed in Table 5.8. Based on the content of the loading items, the scales were labelled relationships, work-life balance, and career for the employment sample. These subscales were similar to those found for the student sample, except that what now is labelled 'career' did not include being respected by colleagues as was the case in the work security factor in the student sample, while it did reveal a strong factor loading for achieving high standards for living. For this reason, career rather than work security seemed to be an appropriate label.

Table 5.7 Promax Rotated Factor Loadings of the Goal Items in the Employee Sample

Item	Factor: Relationships	Work-life balance	Career
1 Spending enough time with children	0.53		
2 Feeling financially secure	0.62		0.38
3 Being respected by your peers	0.81		
4 Being a good role model for your children	0.89		
5 Having a good relationship with your spouse	0.85		
6 Balancing your time satisfactorily between work and home		0.72	
7 Feeling comfortable in your job position	-0.40	0.72	0.48
8 Having a good relationship with your friends	0.64		
9 Achieving a high standard of living			0.73
10 Feeling equal to your spouse	0.47	0.44	
11 Having a good relationship with your children	0.85		

12 Advancing in your profession		0.73	
13 Having a good relationship with your coworkers	0.33	0.39	
14 Developing a strong bond with your children	0.85		
15 Enjoying your job		0.37	0.66
16 Being respected by your spouse	0.85		
17 Gaining a sense of power	0.46	0.51	
18 Having an overall sense of security in your job		0.49	
19 Earning a good salary			0.70
20 Being respected by your co-workers	0.53		
21 Fostering independence in your children	0.58	0.32	
22 Being able to be present for your child's extra-curricular events		0.57	

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring, Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. Shaded in grey are the highest factor loadings. Loadings < .30 are suppressed.

5.10 Statistical Analysis

All analyses were carried out using SPSS (version 28.01). Across all analyses of possible, future and employee selves, the sampling distribution was determined using frequencies and percentages. Simple effects of gender (i.e., differences between mean scores) were determined by independent sample t-tests. Working hours, which was captured as full-time, part-time or stay at home was tested with a Mann-Whitney U test (Field, 2018). While men and women could differ in the outcomes of interest with respect to themselves, they could also show differences regarding themselves and their spouses. This was tested using mixed ANOVAs, with gender as a between-subjects factor, and the self-spouse reports of the criterion variable as a within-subjects factor (with separate analyses for salary, working hours, childcare responsibilities and housework).

Further, a comparison was made with the results of the studies carried out by Fetterolf and colleagues among US and Spanish samples (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf and Gartzia, 2016). For the possible selves' findings, an analysis of variance was used, using gender, employment status, and education as predictors for each life outcome, to mimic the analyses previously done in the other countries and to compare the findings. For categorical findings, percentages and Odds Ratios (ORs) were compared. These results will all be presented in Chapter 6.

Further analyses were carried out to obtain a deeper understanding of the findings in the outcomes, in terms of the models that were expected to lead to them. This was done

for the future selves survey, which formed participants' actual, non-manipulated expectations and for the employment sample. These analyses were carried out twice: once using the life outcomes and once using the difference between the life outcomes for the partner and the self.

First, correlations were calculated to investigate the associations among the variables. Then, regression analysis was used, carried out with the SPSS 'PROCESS' macro developed by Hayes (version 4.1). This macro allows for the testing of moderation and mediation models. In the current study, the models that were tested in the student future selves sample and the employee sample were depicted in Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4, based on the hypotheses. The PROCESS macro helps test these models, where mediation is tested by analysis of explained variance and moderation is tested by including interaction terms in the model (Hayes and Rockwood, 2017). To help interpretation of the main effects, the variables that create an interaction term were grand mean-centred first. For further interpretation, the PROCESS macro also aids in calculating the conditional effects.

5.11 Ethical Considerations

As a student sample was being used, ethical approval from the higher education institution in the UAE was required. The ethical approval form was submitted and, as it was deemed to be a low-risk study, it was subsequently approved (see Approval Letter Appendix A). Upon receipt of the approval from the higher education institution, the researcher then sought approval from Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee (DCUREC). The application outlined how the approval for access to the student participants in the study was sought and approved by the higher education institute. Limited risks associated with the research, and more specifically, risks with regard to anonymity, were outlined by the

researcher in the application (e.g., that participation was voluntary; any responses provided would remain confidential; that there were no foreseeable risks to participation; that all data collected would be securely stored; and that the research would be the only person with access to responses). The researcher explained that as the surveys were anonymous, each survey contained unique identifiers (date of birth, last 4 digits of phone number) to enable the researcher to manually match up both surveys upon completion. Ethics approval from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee was subsequently granted (see Appendix B).

With respect to the employee sample, upon receiving access to the organisation to carry out the research, ethical approval was sought from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee before distributing the survey. During this process, in response to the committee's feedback, the explanation contained in the plain language statement was improved, additional explanations about how the participants' privacy would be protected were provided, and further details about how the data would be used and subsequently disposed of were included (see Plain Language Statement in Appendix E). Approval was subsequently granted (see Letter of Ethical Approval Employee Survey D).

The student study was conducted using paper surveys, which the researcher stored in a private locker that only the researcher had access to. This dataset will be destroyed upon completion of the research. For the employee study, an online survey using Qualtrics was used and the data was stored on a laptop (password protected) that only the researcher had access to. All surveys were anonymous, so no personal data was provided on the paper surveys and thus, participants could not be identified Assurances were provided that upon completion of the research, the data file would be deleted.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter presented the rationale for the research design and method adopted in the study. A positivist research philosophy was adopted, which was deemed to be a valid and reliable way to investigate gender differences. Importantly, this assumed that there is a real and objective reality, which scientific research helps to discover. The chapter then described in detail the study design, including the conducting of power analysis, pilot studies, and the three surveys (possible selves and future selves among the students and actual selves among the employees). This included a full description of the procedures, details of the samples and all measures employed. Because the study gathered quantitative data, the statistical analytical strategy was next explained. The chapter ended with careful consideration of the ethical aspects of the study. In particular, issues regarding informed consent and assurances with regard to anonymity were addressed.

6 Results: Part 1

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two results chapters. Since the study was divided into three categories; the student sample which included (1) possible selves and (2) future selves and 3) the employee sample, the chapter presents the results for each of these separately. First, the findings regarding the possible selves' scenarios are presented in 6.2 and the future selves in 6.3. Then, the results of the employee study are reported in 6.4.

6.2 Student Sample: Possible Selves Survey

This section will first explain the findings with respect to the self. Thereafter, the results for the self-spouse comparison will be presented.

6.2.1 Possible Selves: Gender Differences in Self-Expectations

Hypotheses H1a-H4a posited that there would be significant differences between men and women in the student sample regarding the four life outcomes for their possible selves: expected salary (H1a), working hours (H2a), childcare responsibilities (H3a), and amount of housework (H4a). Independent sample *t*-tests were conducted to test these hypotheses. H1a hypothesised that women would expect lower salaries for their possible selves than men. The results show that women expected lower salaries for themselves, thus supporting the hypothesis, $t(382.99) = 3.88$, $p < .001$ (equal variances not assumed, because Levene's test was significant, $F(1, 432) = 51.87$, $p < .001$). H2a hypothesised that women would expect shorter working hours compared to men for their possible selves. In contrast with hypothesis H2a, there were no significant differences in expected working hours between men and women, $t\ (428.88) = 1.31$, $p = .192$ (equal variances not assumed, because Levene's test was significant, $F\ (1, 432) = 17.13$, $p < .001$). H3a hypothesised that for their

possible selves, women would expect to take on more childcare responsibilities than men. In support of hypothesis H3a, for their possible selves, women expected to take on more childcare responsibilities than men, t (430) = -7.97, p< .001 (Levene's test indicated no violation of the equality of variance assumption for this variable, F(1, 429) = 0.47, p= .495). Lastly, H4a hypothesised that, in the possible selves scenarios, women would expect to take on more housework than men. This hypothesis was supported, t(429) = -2.32, p= .021 (again, tested assuming equality of variances, with Levene's test F(1, 428) = 1.90, p= .169). The descriptive statistics for these measures are shown in Table 6.1.

6.2.2 Possible Selves: Expectations for Possible Self vs. Spouse

Hypothesis H5a posited that gender would be associated with perceived differences between self and spouse regarding expected, as well as experienced life outcomes with regards to: (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for childcare, and (4) responsibility for housework. Four mixed ANOVAs were conducted with each of the life outcome variables as the criterion to determine participants' expectations for themselves compared to their expectations for their potential spouses. The within-participants independent variable was target of the question (self, spouse) and the between-participants independent variable was gender.

Table 6.1 Possible Selves: Descriptive Measures for Life Outcome items With Gender Comparisons

	Gender						
	Men			*Women*			
Item	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*p*
Monthly earnings in AED - self	226	17,743.36	16,315.52	209	12,715.31	10,267.18	<.001
Monthly earnings in AED - spouse	226	9,599.56	11,433.00	209	36,141.15	8,851.77	<.001
Working hours - self	226	19.95	16.74	209	18.02	14.02	.192
Weekly working hours outside of the home - spouse	226	13.23	12.91	209	39.20	5.23	<.001

Item	Gender						p
	Men			*Women*			
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*p*
Childcare in % - self	223	37.30	16.42	209	50.39	17.70	<.001
Childcare in % - spouse	222	43.29	16.17	209	27.78	13.58	<.001
Childcare in % - others	222	20.40	14.80	209	21.79	13.74	.313
Housework in % - self	222	31.48	23.60	209	36.18	17.87	.021
Housework in % - spouse	223	39.05	19.61	209	18.54	13.76	<.001
Housework in % - others	223	32.42	23.051	208	44.31	23.392	<0.001

The first mixed-effect ANOVA aimed to test $H5a_{(1)}$: For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to salary. This analysis showed there was a significant interaction effect between gender (male, female) and target of the question (self; spouse) for salary expectations (F (1, 433) = 161.689, $p< .001$). The two genders indicated different patterns in terms of the salaries that they expected for themselves and their spouses. As shown in Figure 6.1, men expected higher salaries for themselves than for their spouses. In addition, women expected their spouses' salaries to be higher than the salaries men expected for themselves. As shown in Table 6.1, men expected an average salary of 17,743.36 AED per month, while women expected their spouses to earn as much as 36,141.15 AED per month. These findings did not support $H5a_{(1)}$ because the self vs. spouse expectation gap for women was larger than that for the men's self vs. spouse expectation.

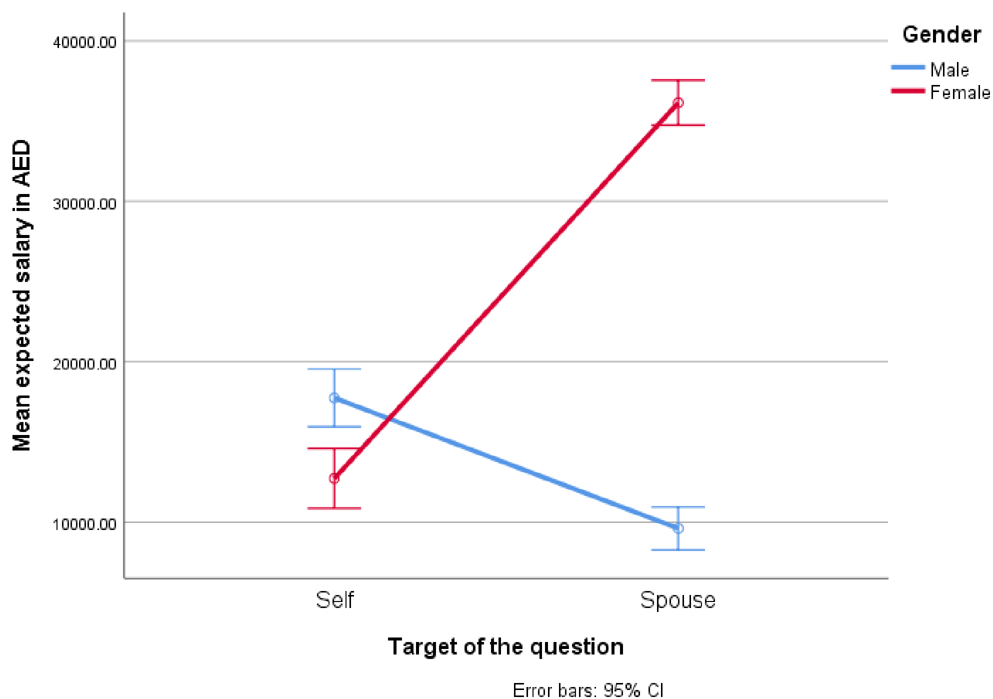


Figure 6.1 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Salary

The second mixed-effect ANOVA aimed to test $H5a_{(2)}$: For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (2) working hours. This analysis showed that there was a significant interaction effect between gender and self vs. spouse in predicting working hours (F (1, 433) = 256.969, $p<$ .001). In other words, men and women had different patterns of expectations for themselves and their spouses in terms of working hours. Figure 6.2 shows that this effect stems from the finding that women expected their spouses to work much longer hours, while men expected their spouses to work shorter hours compared to themselves. These findings do not support $H5a_{(2)}$, while the expectations of women with respect to themselves were similar to those of men, women expected that their husbands would work many more hours (in contrast to what men expected for themselves), indicating that they expected a large gender difference.

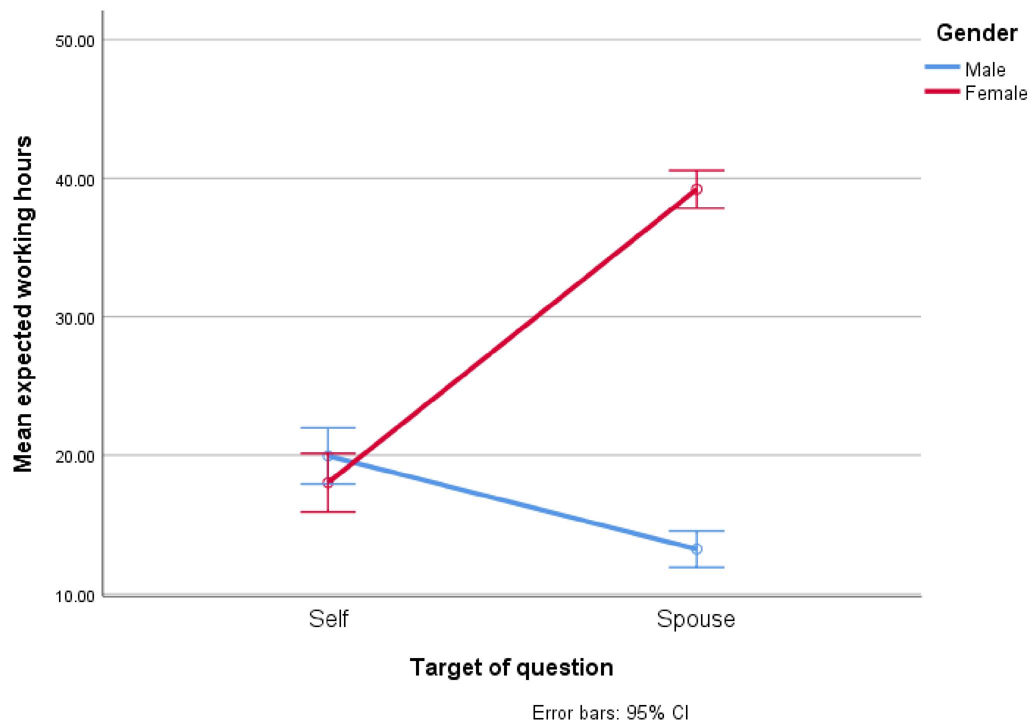


Figure 6.2 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Working Hours

The third mixed-effect ANOVA tested $H5a_{(3)}$: For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards responsibility for childcare. This analysis also showed a significant effect between gender and childcare expectations (self vs. spouse; F (1, 433) = 116.802, $p< .001$). As can be seen in Figure 6.3, both genders expected women to take on more childcare responsibilities than men. Men expected their spouses to do 6% more of the childcare than they expected to do themselves, and women expected to do 13% more childcare than their spouses (Table 6.13). These findings do not support Hypothesis $H5a_{(3)}$ showing that women did not expect smaller gender differences with respect to childcare either.

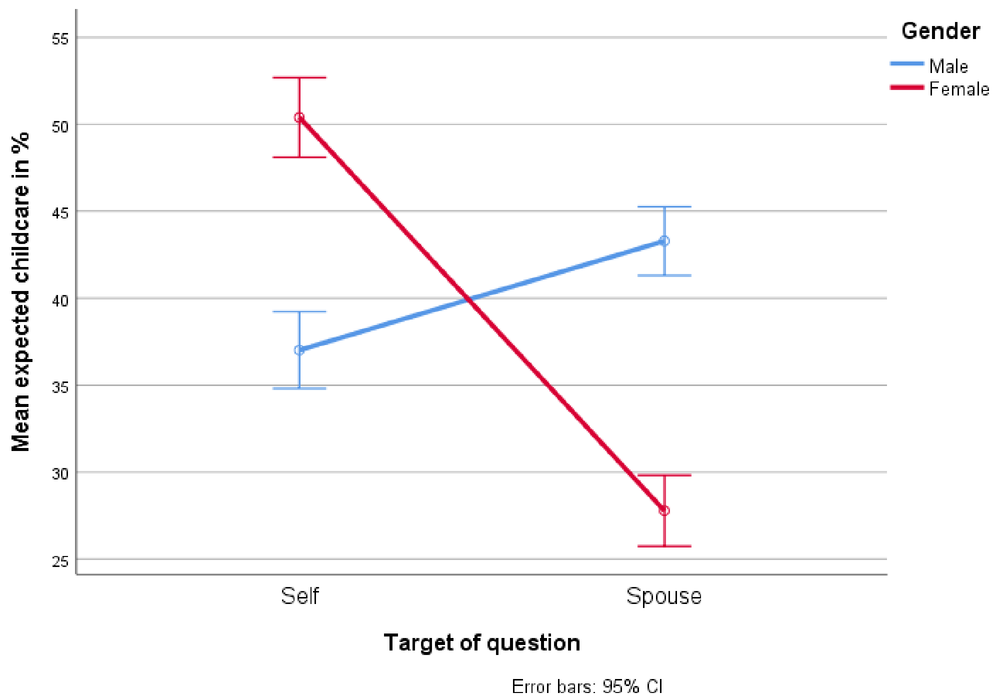


Figure 6.3 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Childcare

Finally, the fourth mixed-effect ANOVA tested $H5a_{(4)}$: For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards responsibility for housework. This analysis showed that there was a significant interaction between gender and housework expectations (self vs. spouse; $F(1, 433) = 91.068$, $p < .001$). As can be seen in Figure 6.4, on average men and women expected to carry out a similar amount of housework. While on average men expected themselves to take on 5% less of the housework than women expected to take on (31% for men and 36% for women), this difference of 5% was not statistically significant. Both genders expected women to take on more housework responsibilities than men. However, men expected their spouses to do 8% more of the housework than they expected themselves to do, and women expected to do 18% more housework than their spouses. These findings are not in line with $H5a_{(4)}$ because

the self vs. spouse expectation gap for women was larger than men's self vs. spouse expectation gap.

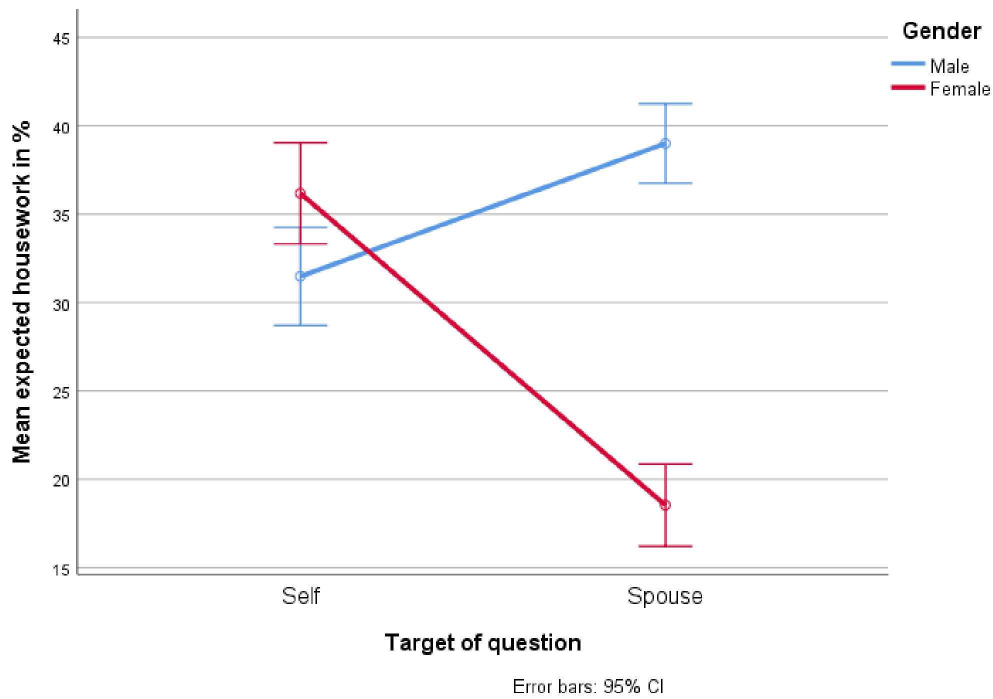


Figure 6.4 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Housework

In sum, hypothesis H5a was fully rejected by the study's findings. In fact, the opposite effects were found. For all four parts of the hypothesis, men's expectations for their possible selves corresponded more closely to their expectations for their spouses compared to women's expectations for their possible selves when compared to their spouses. In other words, while it was hypothesised that women would expect smaller gender differences, they actually expected larger gender differences.

6.3 Student Sample: Future Selves Survey

This section provides an overview of the main findings for the students' future selves perceptions. Similar to the previous section, the first subsection is about gender differences with respect to expectations about the self to test for H1b–H4b and the second subsection deals with gender differences in the self-spouse comparison to test for H5b. Table 6.2 provides the descriptive statistics and gender comparisons across each life outcome.

Table 6.2 Future Selves: Descriptive Measures and Results of Tests of Gender Differences for Life Outcomes

	Gender						
	Men			*Women*			
Item	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	p^1
Monthly earnings in AED - self*	226	28,793.45	10,545.24	209	13,481.82	8,719.06	<.001
Monthly earnings in AED - spouse	226	9,101.77	9,085.31	209	34,904.31	8,499.18	<.001
Weekly working outside of the home in hours - spouse	226	13.80	13.22	209	38.79	4.67	<.001
Childcare in % - self*	225	30.49	10.79	209	50.27751	15.53	<.001
Childcare in % - spouse*	225	51.64	14.41	209	28.86603	10.39	<.001

Childcare in % - others (nanny, family, etc.)*	224	17.63	13.11	209	21.04306	12.48	.006
Housework in % - self	225	17.11	12.17	209	32.96	17.96	<.001
Housework in % - spouse	225	46.87	21.95	209	15.45	11.39	<.001
Housework in % - others (nanny, family, etc.)	225	35.62	21.00	209	51.00	21.75	<.001

[1]Independent samples *t*-test. *Based on answering about what they expect if they work after having children

6.3.1 Future Self: Gender Comparisons of Self-Expectations

Hypotheses H1b–H4b stated that there would be significant differences between men and women regarding life outcomes for their future selves, including their expected salary (H1b), working hours (H2b), childcare responsibilities (H3b), and housework (H4b). Four independent sample *t*-tests were conducted to test the above hypotheses. H1b hypothesised that women would expect to earn lower salaries for their future selves than men. In line with expectations, the hypothesis was supported: t (382.99) = 3.88, $p < .001$ (equal variances not assumed, because Levene's test was significant, F (1, 432) = 51.87, $p < .001$).

H2b hypothesised that women would expect to more frequently stay at home or work part-time than men. Table 6.3 provides the future employment plans of men and women. As this was measured at the ordinal level, a Mann Whitney U testing was used. Contrary to this hypothesis, men and women did not differ in the expectations for their future selves about working part-time, full-time or not working outside the home, regardless of whether their children would be attending school, U = 16646, z = -1.94, p = .052 and U = 16354, z = -0.49, p = .623 respectively. Thus, H2b was not supported. However, as the first test revealed a p-value close to significance, it should be noted that 35.4% of women expected to work part-time before their children began attending school, while only 22.6% of men expected to work part-time before the children would start school.

Table 6.3 Employment Plans for Future Selves

Employment plan	Gender	
	Men	Women
***Before* their future children start school; *N* = 385**		
Stay at home	26	24
Employed part-time	45	64
Employed full-time	128	98
***After* their future children start school; *N* = 367**		
Stay at home	19	12
Employed part-time	44	50
Employed full-time	132	110

Hypothesis H3b stated that for their future selves, women would expect to take on more childcare responsibilities than men. In support of this hypothesis, the findings showed that women expected that their future selves would do more childcare compared to men's expectations for their future selves, t (430) = -7.98, $p < .001$. Lastly, hypothesis H4b posited that for their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting more responsibility for housework compared to male students. The results indicated that women expected their future selves to do more housework than men, t (429) = -2.28, $p = .023$. Thus, H4b is supported.

6.3.2 Future Selves: Expectations for future self vs. spouse

Hypothesis H5b posited that women's expectations for their future selves would correspond to their expectations for their future spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours (3) responsibility for housework and 4) responsibility for childcare and compared to men.

For salary ($H5b_1$), a mixed-effect ANOVA showed a significant interaction between gender and salary expectations (future selves vs. spouse; $F(1, 433) = 1144.51$, $p< .001$). The two genders had complementary views. Women expected to earn lower salaries than their spouses, while men in a similar manner expected to earn higher salaries (Figure 6.5). This finding does not support $H5b_{(1)}$.

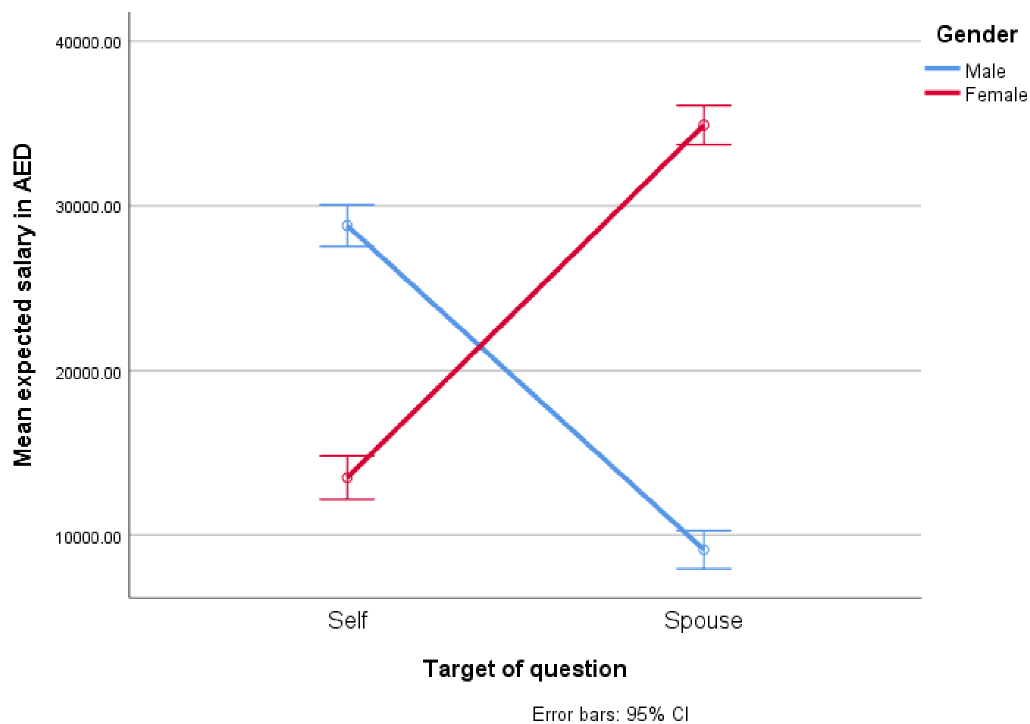


Figure 06.4 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Future Self Salary

For working hours ($H5b_2$), a full comparison could not be made as self-expectations had been measured in terms of stay at home, part-time or full-time instead of actual working hours. With respect to the expectations of the working hours of the spouse, it was found that female participants expected their future spouses to work more hours compared to men's expectations for their future spouse, $t(433) = -25.88$, $p < .001$ (see Table 6.2). Thus, the hypothesis is not supported.

A mixed-effect ANOVA also showed that there was a significant interaction between gender and expectations regarding childcare responsibilities (future selves vs. spouse; $F(1, 432) = 393.58$, $p < .001$). As seen in Figure 6.6, these expectations were again complementary: men expected their spouses to take on more childcare, and women expected to do so. This finding does not support $H5b_{(3)}$; the expected gender gap for childcare was about equally as large for men and women.

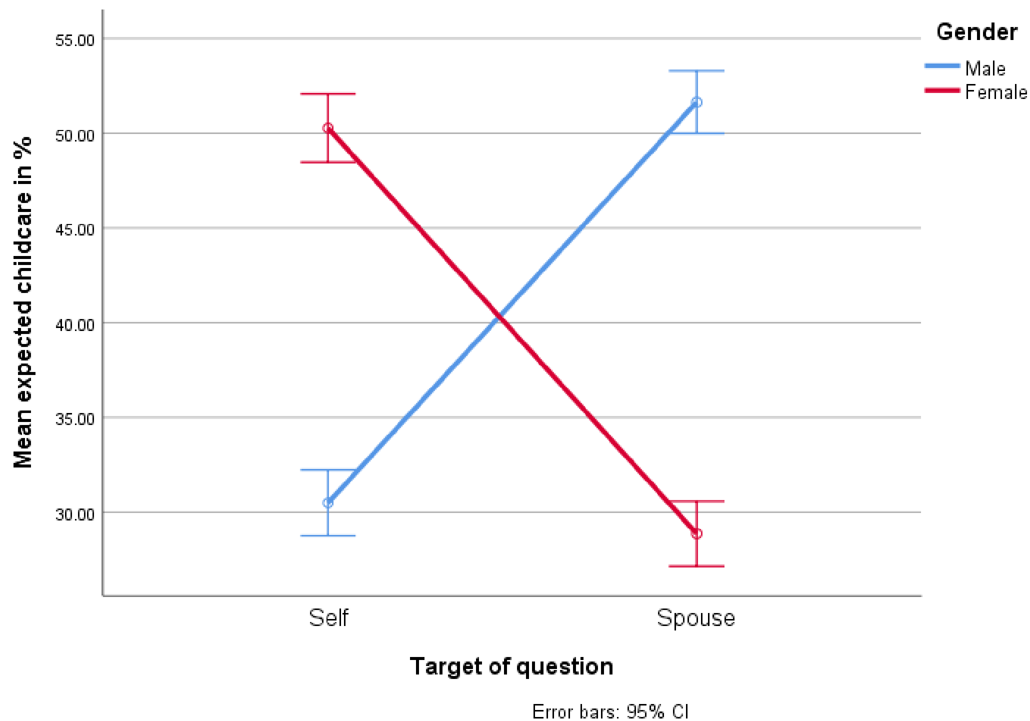


Figure 6.5 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms Childcare for Future Self

For housework (H5b4), a mixed-effect ANOVA showed a significant interaction effect between gender and housework expectations (future selves vs. spouse; F (1, 432) = 377.32, p< .001). Thus, men and women estimated different expectations regarding how much housework they and their spouses would undertake. Figure 6.6 shows that men expected to do less housework than their spouses, while women expected the opposite. Moreover, this difference was larger for men than for women. This finding supports $H5b_{(4)}$. When combining the total percentage of housework that women expected themselves and their spouses to undertake, their total expected hours only accounted for 43% (33% for themselves and 10% for their spouses) on average. It is possible that women would have expected others (e.g., nannies, other family members) to fill the 67% gap in the total amount of housework (p< .001, Table 6.2).

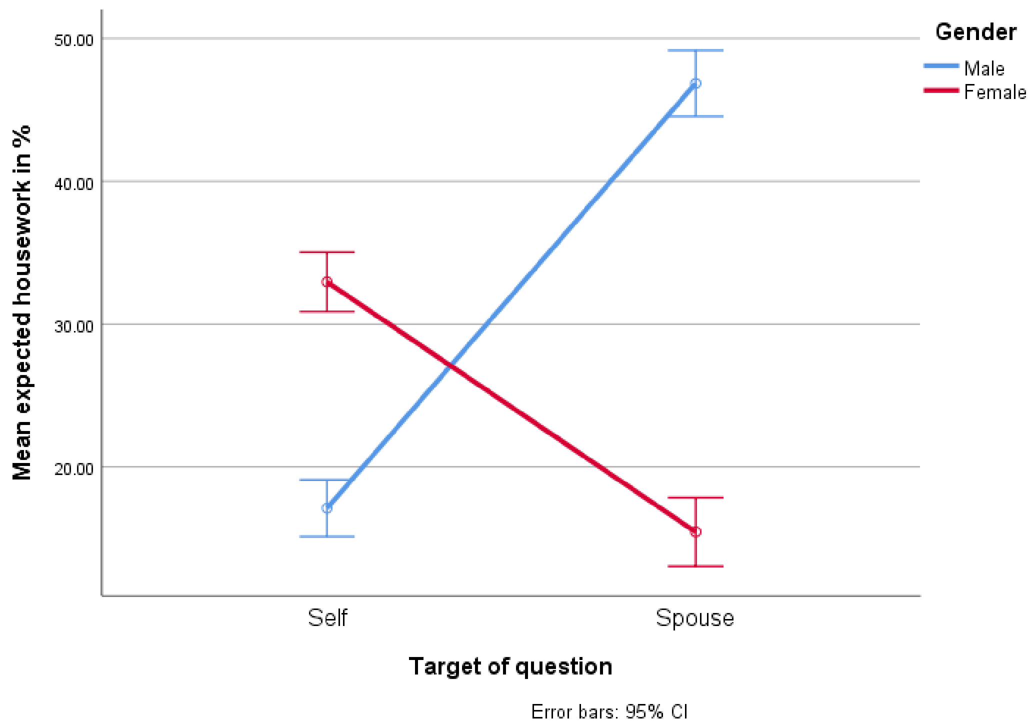


Figure 6.6 Interaction of the Expectation for Self vs. Spouse in Terms of Future Self: Housework

In conclusion, H5b (1), (2) and (4) were rejected. With respect to the housework ($H5b_3$), women expected a smaller gender gap, perhaps because they expected third parties would perform part of the housework.

6.4 Actual Selves: Employee Study

The employee section of the survey asked respondents about the same life outcome measures as the students. However, respondents were reporting their real-life experiences instead of imagining their future selves. The descriptive measures and results of the tests of gender differences for actual life outcomes are presented in Table 6.4. The actual self-differences are presented in the first section, followed by the self-spouse comparisons.

6.4.1 Employee Study: Gender Comparison of Life Outcomes

Hypotheses H1c-H4c stated that there would be significant differences between men and women regarding life outcome measures, including expected salaries (H1c), working hours (H2c), childcare responsibilities (H3c), and housework (H4c). To test the above hypotheses, four independent samples *t*-tests were conducted. H1c hypothesised that women would report earning lower salaries than men. In line with expectations, women reported lower salaries compared to men, t (181.54) = 4.89, p< .001 (equal variances not assumed because Levene's test was significant, F (1, 241) = 7.08, p= .008). Thus, hypothesis H1c is supported. Regarding working hours (H2c), it was hypothesised there would be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing shorter working hours compared to men. As expected, women reported working fewer hours than men, which supported H2c, t (253.88) = 3.07, p= .002 (equal variances not assumed because Levene's test was significant, F (1, 274) = 6.00, p= .015). H3c hypothesised that women would take greater responsibility for childcare compared to men. The t-test results supported this hypothesis by indicating that women reported taking significantly greater responsibility for childcare than men, t (287) = -8.31, p< .001 (equal variances assumed as Levene's test was insignificant, F(1, 286) = 3.68, p= .056). Lastly, women reported undertaking more housework than men, which was in line with hypothesis H4c, t(287) = -2.10, p= .037 (Levene's test was insignificant, F(1, 286) = 0.99, p= .321).

Table 6.4 Employment: Descriptive Measures and Results of Tests of Gender Differences for Actual Life Outcomes

	Gender						
	Men			*Women*			
Item	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*p*[1]
Monthly earnings in AED - self	118	40593.22	18424.42	126	31155.56	10350.47	<.001
Monthly earnings in AED - spouse	132	25371.21	24553.54	136	31211.76	21305.79	.039
Weekly working hours outside of the home – self	138	34.25	24.37	151	39.99	22.17	.002
Weekly working hours outside of the home - spouse	139	21.96	17.96	149	35.22	17.19	<.001
Childcare in % - self	138	31.49	25.09	151	56.62	21.52	<.001

Childcare in % - spouse	138	40.28	22.63	151	20.01	21.15	<.001
Childcare in % - others (nanny, family, etc.)*	138	20.17	21.15	151	26.45	20.71	.011
Housework in % - self	138	34.25	24.37	151	39.99	22.17	.037
Housework in % - spouse	138	34.14	18.52	151	18.98	19.60	<.001
Housework in % - others (nanny, family, etc.)	138	27.77	22.25	151	40.51	25.59	<.001

[1]Independent samples *t*-test

For the sake of completeness, but not part of the hypotheses testing, as can also be seen from Table 6.4, women reported that their spouses worked significantly more hours compared to what men reported for their spouses, $t(282.38) = -6.39$, $p < .001$. Women reported that their spouses had higher salaries compared to the incomes of men's spouses, $t(258.48) = -2.08$, $p = .037$. Compared to men, women estimated that their spouses completed less childcare and that other people in their lives completed more childcare, $t(267.36) = 8.24$, $p < .001$, and $t(287) = -2.55$, $p = .011$, respectively. The same pattern was found for housework. Compared to men's estimates, women estimated that their spouses completed less housework and that other people in their lives completed more housework, $t(287) = 6.75$, $p < .001$, and $t(287) = -4.50$, $p < .001$, respectively.

6.3.2 Employee study: Gender differences in the Self and Spouse Comparisons

Hypothesis 5c posited that, compared to men, women employees' lived experiences of gender differences would be smaller than those of men with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours (3) childcare, and (4) responsibility for housework. Four mixed-effect ANOVA tests were performed to test these hypotheses.

Regarding salary, $H5c_{(1)}$ posited that women's salaries would correspond more closely to what their spouses earned, compared to the spouses of men. The mixed-effect ANOVA showed a significant interaction between gender and reported salaries (for employees vs. their spouses; $F(1, 231) = 30.79$, $p < .001$). Figure 6.8 shows that men reported higher salaries for themselves compared to their spouses, with a mean difference of 16087.72 AED ($SE = 1994.43$), $p < .001$. On the other hand, women reported no significant differences in salary between themselves and their spouses ($p = .758$). These findings support $H5c_{(1)}$.

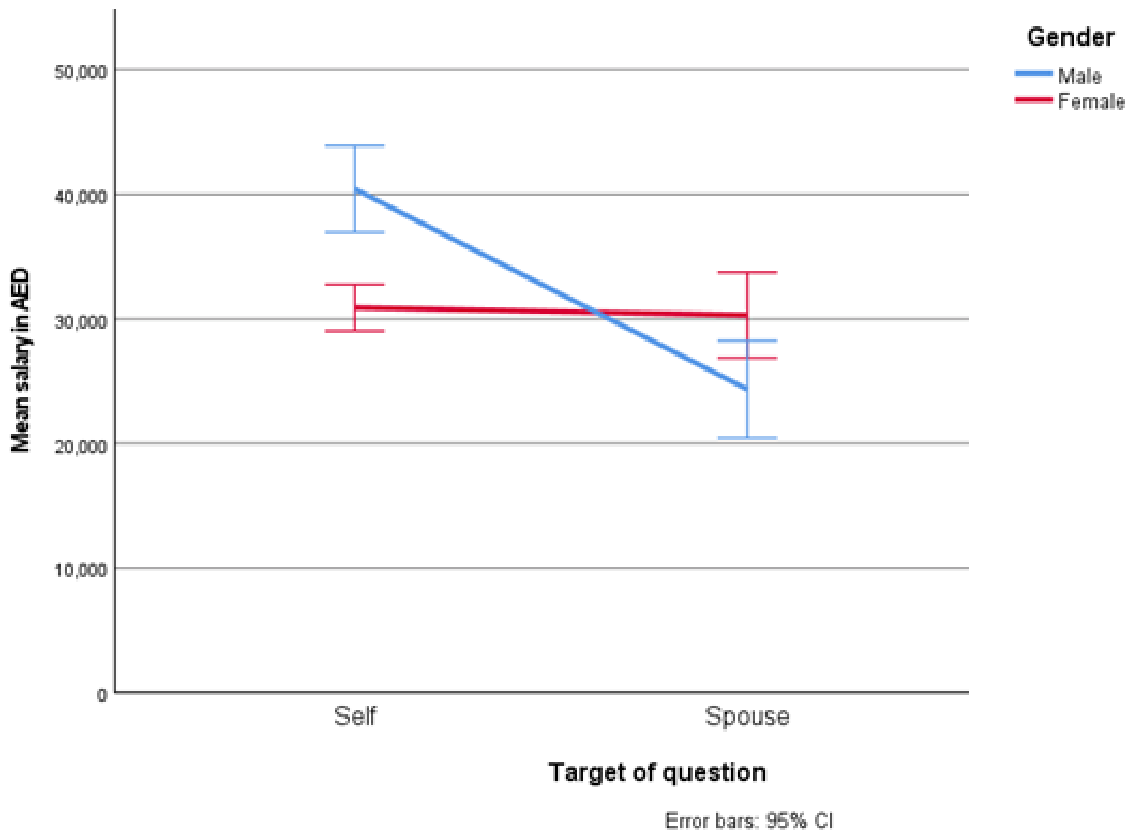


Figure 6.7 Interaction of the Reported Salary for Self vs. Spouse

Regarding working hours, it was posited that, compared to men, women would experience smaller gender differences between themselves and their spouses with regard to working hours $H5c_{(2)}$. The mixed-effect ANOVA showed a significant interaction between gender and reported working hours (for employees vs. their spouses; F (1, 273) = 61.90, $p< .001$). As seen in Figure 6.9, men reported no significant differences in their hours compared to their spouses ($p = .122$). However, women reported working fewer hours than their spouses, with a mean difference of 15.57 hours ($SE = 1.61$, $p< .001$). Thus, $H5c_{(2)}$ was not supported.

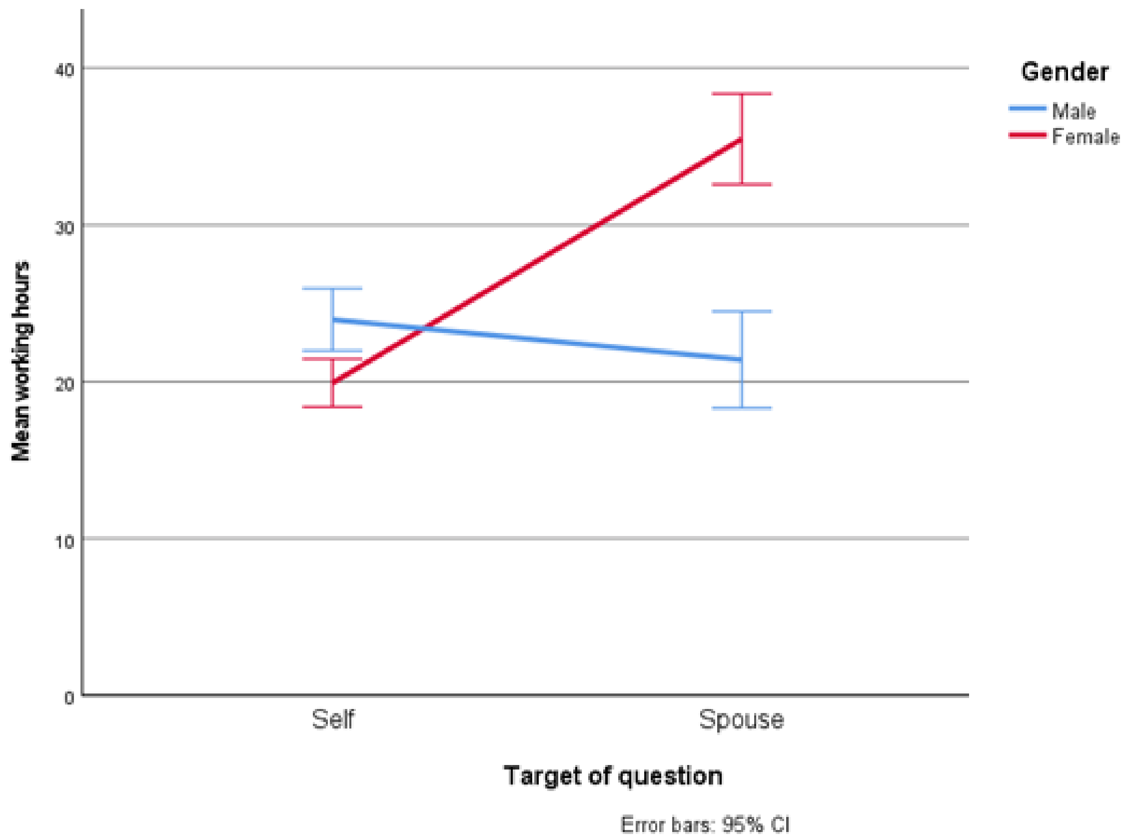


Figure 6.8 Interaction of the Reported Working Hours for Self vs. Spouse

Regarding childcare, it was hypothesised that, compared to men, women would experience smaller gender differences between themselves and their spouses $H5c_{(3)}$. The mixed-effect ANOVA showed that there was an interaction between gender and the reported amount of childcare (for employees vs, their spouses; F (1, 287) = 1119.77, p< .001). As seen in Figure 6.10, both genders reported that women spent more time caring for the children than the men. On average, men reported that they took care of the children 8.80 hours (SE = 2.93) less than their spouses, and women reported that they took care of the children 35.62 hours (SE = 2.80) more than their spouses, p < .001. These results indicate that $H5c_{(3)}$ was not supported.

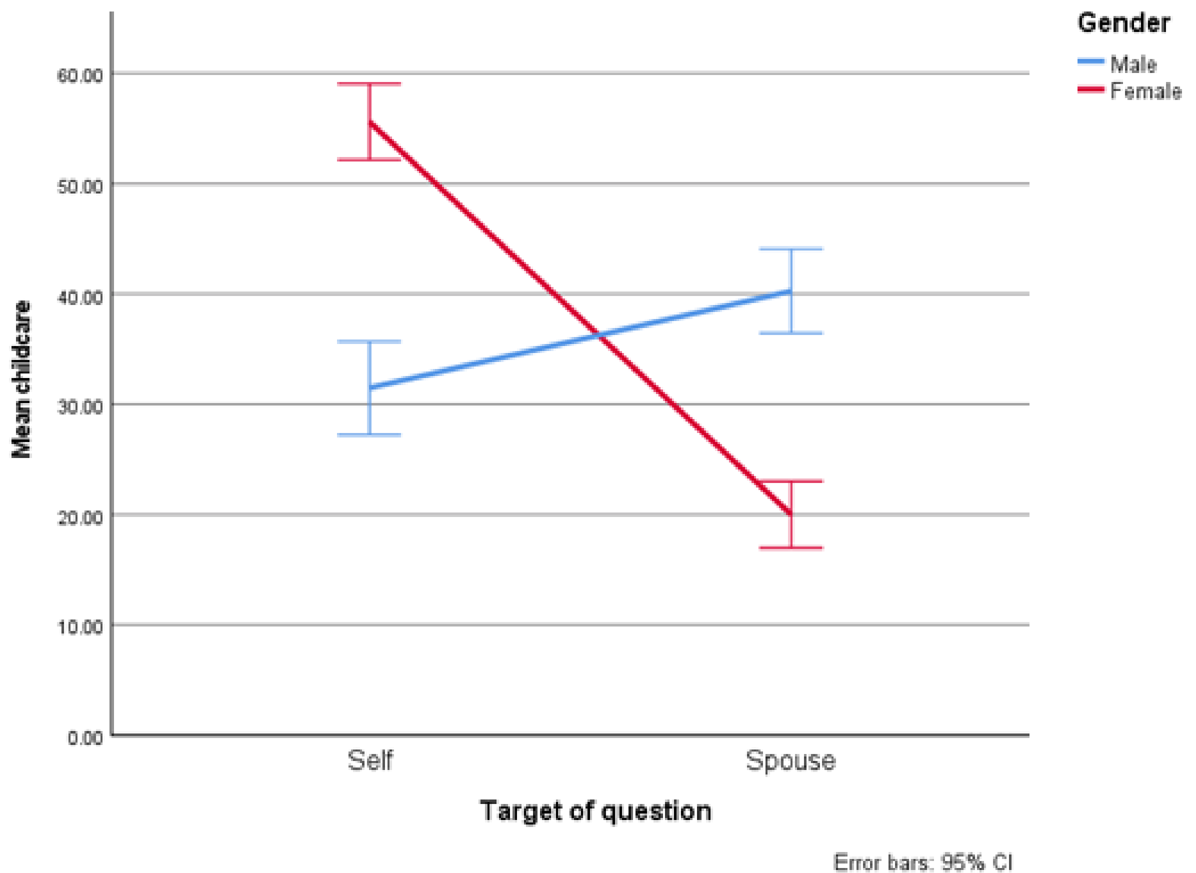


Figure 6.9 Interaction of the Reported Childcare for Self vs. Spouse

With regard to housework, it was hypothesised that, compared to men, women would experience smaller gender differences between themselves and their spouses H5c(4). The mixed-effect ANOVA (see Figure 6.11) showed that there was a significant interaction between gender and the reported amount of housework (for employees vs. their spouses; F (1, 287) = 31.28, p< .001). Women reported performing significantly more housework (21.01 hours more on average) compared to their spouses (SE = 2.61, p < .001). On the other hand, for men, there was no significant difference in the amount of housework they reported for themselves and their spouses, p = .968. Therefore, H5c(4) was not supported.

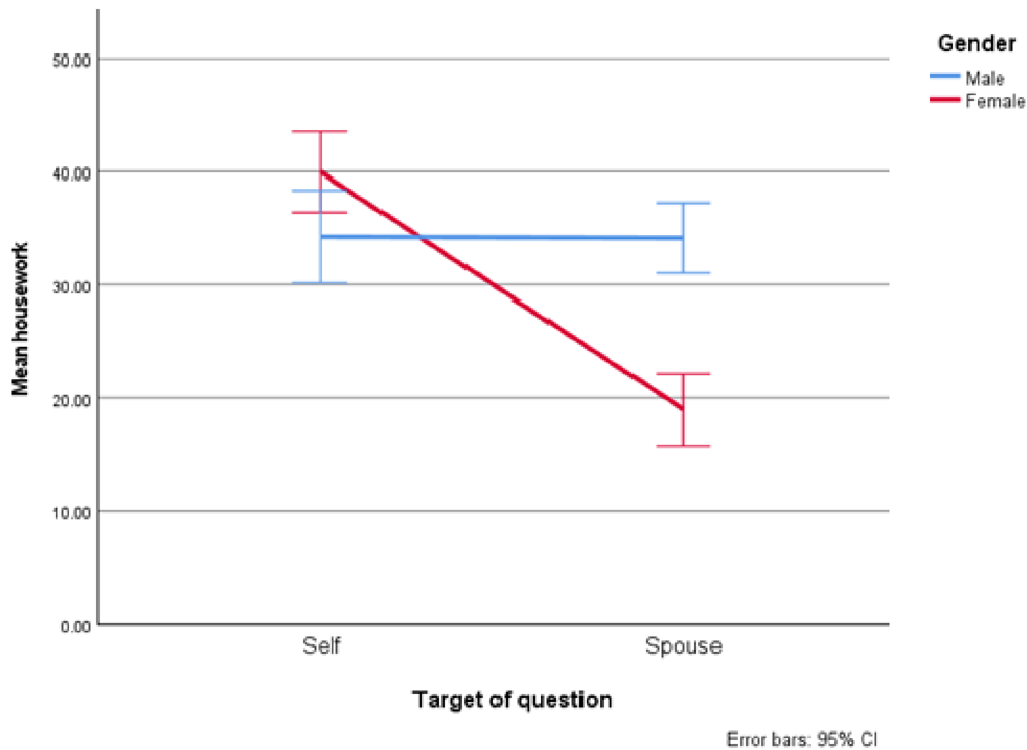


Figure 6.10 Interaction of the Reported Housework Hours for Self vs. Spouse

In summary, H5c with respect to salary ($H5c_1$) was supported, but those regarding working hours ($H5c_2$), childcare ($H5c_3$) and housework ($H5c_4$) were rejected. In the employee sample, it was expected that women's life outcome measures would correspond more closely to their spouses' experiences compared to what men experienced compared to their spouse under $H5c_1$- $H5c_4$. However, it was found that women experienced less similar experiences regarding working hours, childcare responsibilities and housework compared to their spouses, who followed the more traditional gender roles of men working more hours and performing less housework and childcare. Men, in contrast, did not share life outcomes and reported undertaking similar amounts of working hours, childcare and housework compared to their spouses. The possible reasons for these differences will be discussed in the discussion chapter.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the first set of results regarding the ‘possible self’ and ‘future self’ studies, as well as the employee study. The gender differences in life outcomes for each of the three parts (future self and possible self among the students and actual self among the employees) were presented, as well as the differences in the expectations for their spouse compared to themselves. The expected gender gaps were largely confirmed. However, while it had been expected that women would report smaller gender gaps compared to men, this was not the case. Instead, for the possible selves scenarios, women tended to expect larger gender gaps. For the future selves study, men and women seemed to expect the same gender gaps, with the exception of housework where women expected a somewhat smaller gap. For employed women, the gender gap was still present, although women did report their salaries to be equal to those of their spouses.

7 Results: Part 2

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated that when it comes to expected differences between self and spouse, both males and females expect that the male partner will achieve a higher salary, work longer hours, and spend less time engaged in childcare and housework compared to the female partner. This chapter will investigate the models that were presented in the second literature review chapter, including mediation which explains the process through which two variables are related, as well as moderation, which concerns the strength and direction of a relationship (Hall and Sammons, 2014). More specifically, the results relating to H6–H12 will be presented.

This chapter is divided in two main sections. The first section presents the results for the students' future selves and the second section presents the results for the employees' actual selves. In both sections, the order of the analyses is the same. First, the correlations between the variables are presented. From these, the hypotheses concerning gender differences in life goal attainability hypotheses concerning relationships between life goal attainability and life outcomes can be testes, which are H6ab and H7ab for the students and H6cd and H7cd for the employees.

Second, regression models are presented in subsections for the outcome variables (1) salary, (2) responsibility of childcare and (3) responsibility for housework. With these models, the hypotheses concerning mediation and moderation effects were tested. The expectations were tested for the expectations about the self, as well as for the expected differences between the self and the spouse. All regression models started with the baseline model that included only gender as a predictor. Then, in a second step, the effects of life goal attainment were added to test for mediation of gender effects of outcomes by life goal

attainment as specified under H8a for the students and H8b for the employees. In this same step, the main effects of gender roles, employment status (for the future selves) and the *wasta* variables (intention to use for the students and network related external locus of control for the employees) were also included, because these main effects need to be in the model before their potential moderating effects can be tested. In the third step, the potential moderating effects of gender on outcomes by the intention to use *wasta* (H10) and employment status (H12) were included in the student sample. While H10 only concerned salary, for sake of completeness, the potentially moderating role of *wasta* intentions was also examined for the other outcome variables. Similarly, in the third step for the employee sample, network related external locus of control was tested as a moderator of the gender effect on the outcomes with specific importance for salary as described under H11. Testing of the hypotheses concerning gender roles moderating the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes specified under H9a for the students and H9b for the employees was done in the fourth and last step. The deviation from chronology on the order of the numbering of hypotheses and the statistical testing was made because this last moderation was in a relationship between variables considered as mediators in the model (i.e., life goal attainment) and therefore represents the more complex form of "moderated mediation" (where the effect of the mediators was expected to be moderated by gender roles.

7.2 Future Selves

7.2.1 Correlations Between the Variables in the Student Sample for Future Selves (H6ab–H7ab)

Table 7.1 presents the correlations between all variables used in this study. Gender and intention to use *wasta* were dummy coded, thus, these correlations are point-biserial correlations showing the same level of significance as would be found when applying

independent sample t-tests. The dummy coding applied for gender was 0 for females and 1 for males, and intention to use *wasta* was coded 0 = no and 1 = yes. Accordingly, (i) positive significant point-biserial correlations between gender and another variable reflect higher scores for males, (ii) negative point-biserial correlations reflect lower scores for males than for females, and (iii) insignificance reflects that both genders scored about the same. Similarly, (i) positive significant point-biserial correlations between intention to use *wasta* and another variable reflect higher scores for those who intend to use *wasta*, (ii) negative point-biserial correlations reflect lower scores for those who intend to use *wasta* compared to those who do not, and (iii) insignificance reflects that both groups scored about the same. Since employment was measured on an ordinal scale, Spearman rho correlations are shown for this variable.

In line with the gender differences described in Chapter 6, correlations indicated that males reported higher salary expectations (positive), while females reported greater housework and childcare-related expectations (negative). These associations were also found for the difference scores, although they were even stronger. Additionally, gender was positively associated with communality, but not with agency. The analysis found negative associations between salary expectations, on the one hand, and childcare and housework, on the other. Furthermore, agency and communality were positively associated with employment status. These variables were also positively associated with life goal attainment. Life goals attainments were positively interrelated and were also positively associated with employment status. Intention to use *wasta* was not significantly associated with any of the outcome variables. Instead, it showed a small, but significant positive association with gender and a negative association with employment.

H6a had specified the expectation that Female students would regard communal life goals as more attainable for their future selves compared to male students. The negative

correlations between gender and work life goal attainment and between gender and relationship goal attainment supports this hypothesis. In other words: Female students indeed found the communal work-life and relationship goals easier to obtain than their male counterparts.

H6b was that female students would regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to male students. Whereas security at work had been considered an agentic life goal, the negative correlation between gender and security goal attainment indicates that females found security at work easier to obtain than their male counterparts. H6b is, therefore, rejected.

H7a was that attainment of communal life goals would lead students to expect a (1) lower salary and more responsibility for (2) childcare and (3) housework for their future selves However, attainment in work-life and relationship goals showed no associations with any of the measured life outcomes. As such, H7a is rejected.

H7b was that attainment of agentic life goals would lead students to expect a (1) higher salary and less responsibility for (2) childcare and (3) housework for their future selves. Instead, no significant relationships were found between security goal attainment and the life outcomes. As such, H7b is rejected.

Table 7.1 Correlations between the Variables

	Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Salary	.18**												
2 Salary difference	.69**	.72**											
3 Childcare	-.36**	-.16**	-.31**										
4 Childcare difference	-.46**	-.18**	-.42**	.90**									
5 Housework	-.11*	-.13**	-.15**	.28**	.22**								
6 Housework difference	-.42**	-.22**	-.40**	.46**	.50**	.75**							
7 Communality	-.20**	.01	-.11*	.05	.08	-.06	.07						
8 Agency	.01	.01	.01	-.07	-.06	-.04	-.05	.37**					
9 Security	-.23**	-.01	-.13**	-.02	.00	-.08	.00	.53**	.41**				
10 Work life	-.14**	-.03	-.09	.00	.00	.00	.04	.40**	.33**	.76**			
11 Relationships	-.20**	.01	-.09	-.03	-.02	-.02	.05	.51**	.31**	.85**	.75**		
12 Intention to use *wasta*	.10*	.03	.08	-.03	-.06	.01	-.03	-.02	-.01	-.09	.01	-.04	
13 Employment	.10	-.01	.06	-.01	-.06	-.07	-.04	.16**	.17**	.24**	.22**	.27**	-.21**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male), intention to use Wasta (0 = no, 1 = yes). Correlations for employment status represent Spearman rho instead of Pearson r, because employment status was measured on an ordinal scale.

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Future Selves)

Gender Differences:

- Males reported higher salary expectations.
- Females reported greater housework and childcare expectations.
- Males scored higher on communality but not agency.

Relationships Between Variables:

- Salary expectations negatively associated with childcare and housework expectations.
- Agency and communality positively associated with employment status and life goal attainment.
- Life goals positively interrelated and positively associated with employment status.
- Intention to use wasta not significantly associated with outcomes, but positively associated with gender (males) and negatively associated with employment.

Hypothesis Testing:

Supported (H6a): Females found communal life goals (work-life balance, relationships) more attainable than males.

Rejected (H6b): Females did not find agency life goals (security) less attainable than males. (They actually found it easier to obtain security).

Rejected (H7a & H7b): Attainment of communal or agentic life goals did not lead to predicted differences in salary or housework/childcare expectations.

7.2.2 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Salary Expectations ($H8a_{(1)}$, $H9a_{(1)}$, H10, $H12_{(1)}$)

Table 7.2 shows the results of the hierarchical regression analyses carried out to explore participants' expected life outcomes related to salary. The results were similar for own salary expectations and expected self-spouse differences in salary. In both models, only the first step was significant, $R^2 = .04$, F (1,374) = 16.79, $p < .001$ for own salary expectations and $R^2 = .50$, $F(1,374) = 379.68$, $p < .001$ for self-spouse differences.

Under $H8a_{(1)}$, the expectation was that attainment perceptions of life goals attainment would mediate the expected gender differences regarding salary. However, in rejection of this hypothesis, the addition of the main effects of life goal attainment in step 2 did not result in significant effects (see Table 7.2). It was further found that inclusion of these main effects, together with the main effects of gender roles, employment status, and external locus of control did not contribute to any further variance in salary explained, $\Delta R^2 =$ .01, $F(8, 366) = 0.38$, and $p = .932$; nor in variance explained in self-spouse differences in salary, $\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(8, 366) = 0.30$, $p = .964$.

Under H10, it had been expected that for their future selves, the relationship between gender and life outcomes regarding salary would be moderated by intention to use *wasta,* such that the relationship would be stronger for male students who intended to use *wasta* compared to female students. However, in rejection of this hypothesis, the interaction effect of gender and intention to use *wasta* was insignificant in both models in step 3. Similarly, while it had been expected under $H12_{(1)}$ that employment status would moderate the gender effect on salary, the interactions between gender and employment status were insignificant in both models in rejection of $H12_{(1)}$. Addition of these interaction terms step 3 did not significantly contribute to the explained variance in expected salary ($\Delta R^2 = .01$,

F(3, 363) = 1.77, *p* = .153) nor in expected salary differences ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, *F*(3, 363) = 0.88, *p* = .453).

Finally, in the fourth step of the model, the H9a(1 was tested stating the expectation that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for students' future selves, with agentic values strengthening the relationships between agentic life goal attainment and salary. No support for this moderated mediation was found, $\Delta R^2 < .01$, *F*(6, 357) = 0.29, *p* = .943 for the expected own salary and $\Delta R^2 < .01$, *F*(6, 357) = 0.65, *p* = .694 for expected self-spouse differences in salary.

Table 7.2 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Future Salary Expectations

		Salary				Self-Spouse Difference in Salary			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	5734.12	1399.25	0.21	4.10**	31469.95	1615.05	0.71	19.49**
2									
	Gender	6098.67	1503.21	0.22	4.06**	31922.08	1736.43	0.72	18.38**
	Security	190.16	2098.90	0.01	0.09	-75.20	2424.52	0.00	-0.03
	Work-life	-481.79	1583.29	-0.02	-0.30	-148.03	1828.92	0.00	-0.08
	Relationships	-385.09	1947.86	-0.02	-0.20	-101.05	2250.05	0.00	-0.04
	Agency	-620.77	1322.19	-0.03	-0.47	-762.37	1527.32	-0.02	-0.50
	Communality	1694.97	1353.50	0.08	1.25	1467.08	1563.48	0.04	0.94
	Intention to use *wasta*	737.75	1549.30	0.03	0.48	613.98	1789.66	0.01	0.34
	Part-time	79.82	2437.71	0.00	0.03	529.39	2815.90	0.01	0.19
	Full-time	-1314.80	2325.27	-0.05	-0.57	-1512.91	2686.02	-0.03	-0.56
3									
	Gender	4648.45	4568.47	0.17	1.02	33172.06	5296.47	0.75	6.26**
	Security	71.02	2108.82	0.00	0.03	60.94	2444.86	0.00	0.02
	Work-life	-541.90	1594.93	-0.03	-0.34	-386.87	1849.09	-0.01	-0.21
	Relationships	-195.66	1946.86	-0.01	-0.10	123.75	2257.10	0.00	0.05
	Agency	-592.57	1319.37	-0.03	-0.45	-697.71	1529.62	-0.02	-0.46
	Communality	1467.11	1355.76	0.07	1.08	1326.52	1571.80	0.04	0.84

		Salary				Self-Spouse Difference in Salary			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Intention to use *wasta*	2028.63	2272.70	0.07	0.89	937.94	2634.87	0.02	0.36
	Part-time	-3225.33	3305.68	-0.10	-0.98	-719.67	3832.45	-0.01	-0.19
	Full-time	-1241.40	3156.14	-0.04	-0.39	119.60	3659.07	0.00	0.03
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	-2049.70	3090.55	-0.06	-0.66	-477.58	3583.04	-0.01	-0.13
	Gender*part-time	7307.20	4942.35	0.17	1.48	3014.80	5729.93	0.04	0.53
	Gender*full-time	118.97	4609.60	0.00	0.03	-3166.77	5344.15	-0.07	-0.59
4									
	Gender	4360.32	4672.19	0.16	0.93	32804.89	5400.58	0.74	6.07**
	Security	609.55	2419.89	0.03	0.25	100.08	2797.15	0.00	0.04
	Work-life	-615.73	1703.77	-0.03	-0.36	-157.18	1969.39	-0.01	-0.08
	Relationships	-997.02	2089.36	-0.05	-0.48	-852.65	2415.09	-0.03	-0.35
	Agency	-998.09	1430.13	-0.04	-0.70	-1485.35	1653.08	-0.04	-0.90
	Communality	1773.27	1432.39	0.08	1.24	1904.24	1655.70	0.06	1.15
	Intention to use *wasta*	1855.03	2302.40	0.06	0.81	803.45	2661.34	0.02	0.30
	Part-time	-3590.66	3371.85	-0.12	-1.06	-1314.94	3897.52	-0.03	-0.34
	Full-time	-1468.43	3189.89	-0.05	-0.46	-106.22	3687.20	0.00	-0.03
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	-2202.49	3168.80	-0.06	-0.70	-923.27	3662.82	-0.02	-0.25
	Gender*part-time	8002.80	5109.52	0.18	1.57	4138.87	5906.10	0.06	0.70
	Gender*full-time	510.37	4714.19	0.02	0.11	-2746.17	5449.14	-0.06	-0.50
	Security*agency	1786.90	4723.88	0.05	0.38	1576.64	5460.33	0.03	0.29

		Salary				Self-Spouse Difference in Salary			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Work-life*agency	-630.81	3292.13	-0.02	-0.19	-25.96	3805.37	0.00	-0.01
	Relationship*agency	-549.63	3590.35	-0.02	-0.15	550.16	4150.08	0.01	0.13
	Security*communality	1611.18	3974.04	0.06	0.41	1278.72	4593.60	0.03	0.28
	Work-life*communality	-123.36	2969.60	0.00	-0.04	1835.73	3432.56	0.04	0.53
	Relationship*communality	-3061.52	3238.84	-0.11	-0.95	-5734.32	3743.78	-0.13	-1.53

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male). Intention to use *wasta* was dummy coded (0 = no, 1 = yes). Employment was dummy coded, with not working as the reference category.

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Salary Expectations)

- Gender was the only significant predictor of salary expectations (males expected higher salaries).
- Life goal attainment, gender roles, employment status, and external locus of control did not explain significant variance in salary expectations.

Hypothesis Testing:

Rejected (H8a(1)): Life goal attainment did not mediate the gender difference in salary expectations.

Rejected (H10): Intention to use wasta did not moderate the relationship between gender and salary expectations.

Rejected (H12(1)): Employment status did not moderate the relationship between gender and salary expectations.

Rejected (H9a(1)): Gender roles did not moderate the relationship between life goal attainment and salary expectations.

7.2.2 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Childcare Expectations (H8a$_{(2)}$, H9a$_{(2)}$, H12$_{(2)}$)

Table 7.3 shows the results of the hierarchical regression analyses carried out to explore participants' expected life outcomes related to childcare. The first step was significant, R^2 = .12, $F(1,371) = 51.01$, $p < .001$ for own childcare expectations and the self-spouse difference ($R^2 = .21$, $F(1,370) = 98.74$, $p < .001$).

Under H8$_2$, it was expected that attainment perceptions of life goals attainment would mediate the expected gender differences regarding responsibility for childcare. In rejection of this hypothesis, attainment of the life goals were no significant predictors in the second step (see Table 7.3). Further, no additional variance in childcare expectations was explained by the main effects of gender roles on life goals, or employment, $\Delta R^2 = .03$, $F(8,363) = 1.61$, $p = .120$ for the self-expectations and $\Delta R^2 = .03$, $F(8, 362) = 1.63$, p = 0.115 for the expected self-spouse difference.

Under H10, it had been expected that for their future selves, the relationship between gender and life outcomes regarding childcare would be moderated by intention to use *wasta,* such that the relationship would be stronger for male students who intended to use *wasta* compared to female students. However, in rejection of this hypothesis, the interaction effect of gender and intention to use *wasta* was insignificant in both models in step 3. Further, under H12$_2$ it had been expected that employment status would moderate the direct gender effect on responsibility for childcare in such a way that gender effects will be stronger if not working full-time. The third step revealed that employment moderated the effect of gender, with significant interaction effects between gender and part-time work ($\beta = -0.35$, $t(360) = -3.27$, $p < .001$) and full-time work ($\beta = -0.31$, $t(360) = -2.314$, $p = .033$). This moderation significantly explained additional variance (of 3.00%) in housework ($F(3, 360) = 4.43$, $p = .005$), and is depicted in Figure 7.1.Similarly, in the model for the self-spouse difference, the third step revealed that employment moderated the effect of gender,

with significant interactions between the effects of gender and part-time work ($\beta = -0.41$, $t(359) = -4.07$, $p < .001$), and full-time work ($\beta = -0.36$, $t(359) = -2.63$, $p < .001$. This moderation explained an additional 3.7% of the variance in housework ($F(3, 359) = 6.04$, $p < .001$) and is illustrated in Figure 7.2.

Using the PROCESS macro, the conditional effects of gender were calculated by employment status. For the future expectations regarding own childcare, it was found that gender had no effect if participants expected they would not be working in the future, estimated at -2.16 ($SE = 5.70$), $p = .705$. For both part-time as well as full-time employment, gender had a significant, negative effect = -22.33 ($SE = 3.76$) for part-time work; effect= -14.46 ($SE = 2.58$) for full-time work, $p < .001$ for both. This means that males expected to do less childcare than females, particularly when working part-time, except when participants did not expect to work in the future, where time spent taking care of the children was about equal for both genders.

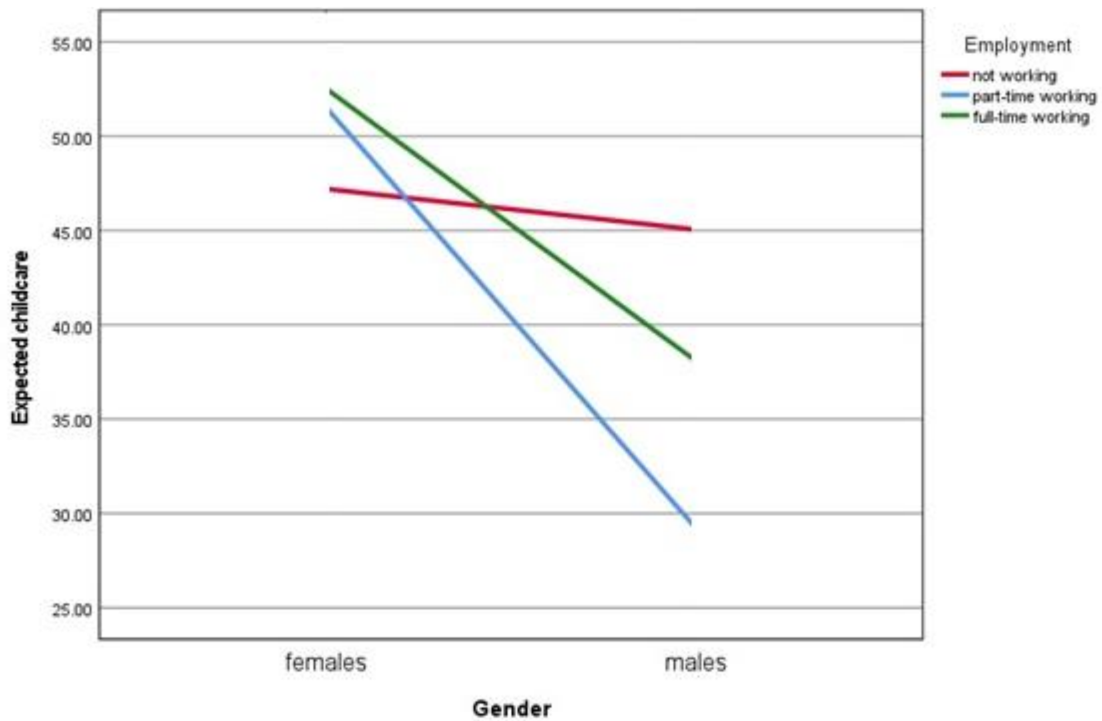


Figure 7.1 Moderation of the Effect of Gender on Expected Childcare by Employment

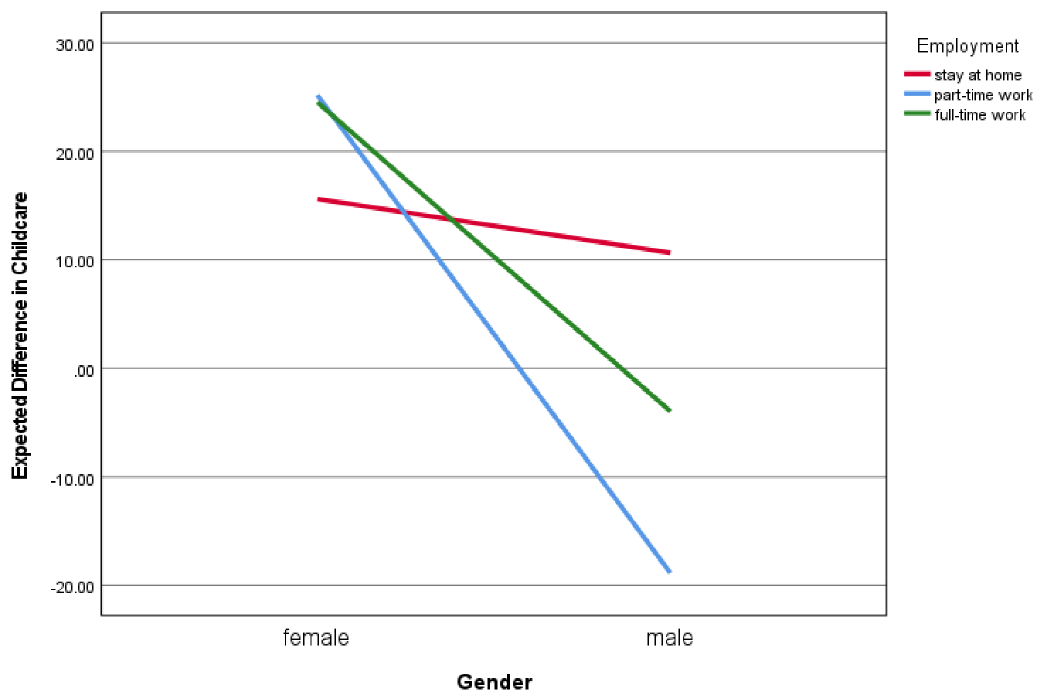


Figure 7.2 Effect of Gender on Expected Self-Partner Difference in Childcare Moderated by Employment

Similarly, it was found that males, as opposed to females, expected to be less involved in childcare than their spouse if working part-time, with an estimated negative effect of -44.05 (*SE* = 5.86), $p < .001$, as well as when working full-time with an effect of -28.49 (*SE* = 4.02), $p < .001$. However, no significant gender effect was found where participants expected not to work, with an effect of -4.96 (*SE* = 8.88), $p = .577$. In conclusion, with respect to $H12_2$, it is concluded that the hypothesis should be rejected. While the gender effect on childcare was larger for part-time compared to full-time employment, it was not present for staying at home.

In the fourth step, $H9_2$ was tested that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for students' future selves, with communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals and childcare. In the self-expectations, no support for this moderated mediation was found, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(6, 354) = 1.24$, $p = .284$. In the self-spouse differences, a significant interaction effect was found for work-life and communality goals ($\beta = -0.22$, $t(353) = -2.42$, $p = .016$, although this did not explain significantly more variance in expected childcare differences ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, $F(6, 353) = 1.89$, $p = .082$). The interaction is shown in Figure 7.3. The testing of moderated mediation (using PROCESS model 14) showed that the 95% bootstrapped confidence interval of the moderated mediation index was [-6.38, 2.58], signalling insignificance. The effect of work-life goal attainment on childcare was positive and significant, estimated at 9.38 (*SE* = 4.49), $p = .037$ for low communality, whereas the effects for medium and high communality were insignificant, with 0.56 (*SE* = 3.27), $p = .864$ for medium communality, and -8.26 (*SE* = 5.27), $p = .118$ for high communality. Based on these findings, $H9_{(2)}$ is rejected.

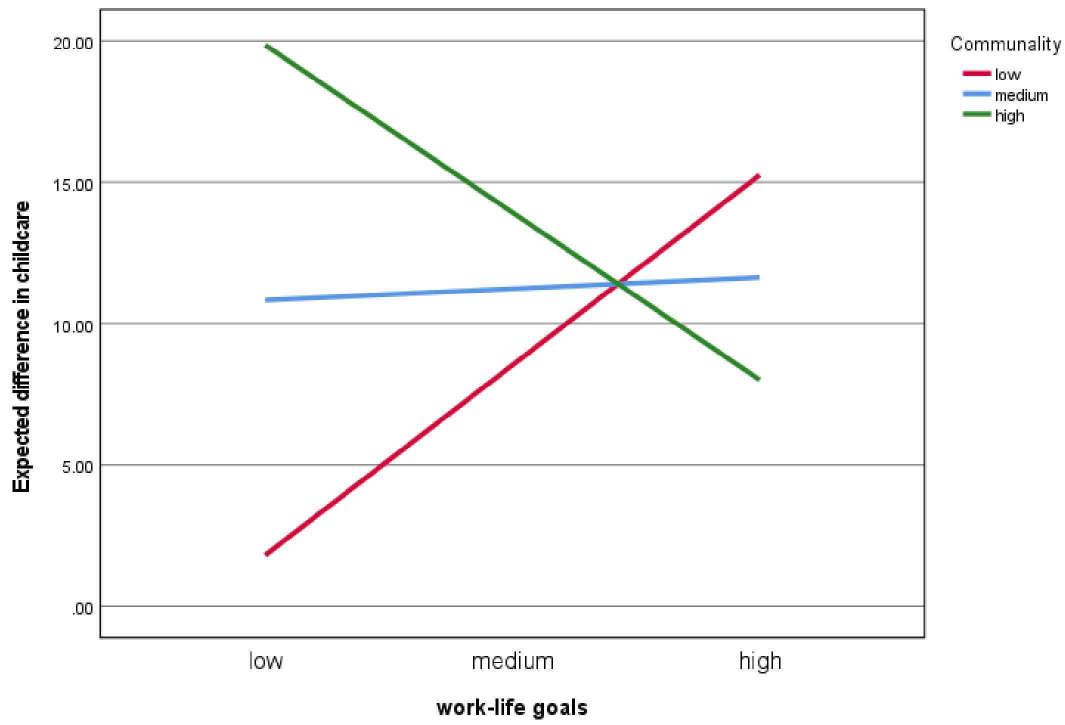


Figure 7.3 Interaction between Communality and Work-Life Goal Attainment on Self-Spouse Differences in Childcare

Table 7.3 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Future Childcare Expectations

		Childcare				Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	-12.82	1.79	-0.35	-7.14**	-27.98	2.82	-0.46	-9.94**
2									
	Gender	-13.81	1.90	-0.37	-7.26**	-29.10	2.98	-0.48	-9.75**
	Security	-2.27	2.65	-0.09	-0.86	-2.82	4.17	-0.07	-0.68
	Work-life	1.13	2.01	0.04	0.56	0.37	3.15	0.01	0.12
	Relationships	-1.24	2.46	-0.05	-0.51	-2.46	3.88	-0.06	-0.63
	Agency	-2.35	1.67	-0.08	-1.41	-3.05	2.62	-0.06	-1.17
	Communality	1.18	1.71	0.04	0.69	3.18	2.68	0.07	1.19
	Part-time	-5.09	3.07	-0.12	-1.65	-8.36	4.82	-0.12	-1.74
	Full-time	-.34	2.93	-0.01	-0.12	-1.71	4.60	-0.03	-0.37
	Intention to use *wasta*	-.37	1.96	-0.01	-0.19	-2.45	3.08	-0.04	-0.80
3									
	Gender	-2.16	5.70	-0.06	-0.38**	-4.96	8.88	-0.08	-0.56
	Security	-1.35	2.63	-0.05	-0.51	-1.23	4.11	-0.03	-0.30
	Work-life	0.61	2.00	0.02	0.30	-0.33	3.12	-0.01	-0.10
	Relationships	-1.22	2.43	-0.05	-0.50	-2.47	3.81	-0.06	-0.65
	Agency	-2.27	1.65	-0.07	-1.38	-2.96	2.57	-0.06	-1.16

		Childcare				Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Communality	1.66	1.69	0.06	0.98	4.17	2.64	0.09	1.58
	Part-time	4.33	4.12	0.11	1.05	9.58	6.42	0.14	1.49
	Full-time	5.32	3.94	0.14	1.35	8.93	6.13	0.14	1.46
	Intention to use *wasta*	-3.47	2.83	-0.09	-1.22	-5.69	4.41	-0.09	-1.29
	Gender*part-time	-20.17	6.17	-0.35	-3.27**	-39.09	9.60	-0.41	-4.07**
	Gender*full-time	-12.30	5.75	-0.31	-2.14*	-23.53	8.96	-0.36	-2.63**
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	4.75	3.86	0.10	1.23	4.13	6.03	0.05	0.69
4									
	Gender	-1.66	5.79	-0.05	-0.29	-2.34	8.91	-0.04	-0.26
	Security	-0.10	3.00	0.00	-0.03	-0.92	4.66	-0.02	-0.20
	Work-life	0.60	2.13	0.02	0.28	0.50	3.28	0.01	0.15
	Relationships	-3.10	2.59	-0.12	-1.20	-5.79	4.04	-0.14	-1.43
	Agency	-1.61	1.77	-0.05	-0.91	-0.96	2.72	-0.02	-0.35
	Communality	1.61	1.77	0.06	0.91	4.22	2.73	0.09	1.55
	Part-time	4.70	4.17	0.11	1.13	9.58	6.42	0.14	1.49**
	Full-time	5.23	3.95	0.14	1.32	8.44	6.07	0.14	1.39**
	Intention to use *wasta*	-4.29	2.85	-0.11	-1.51	-7.20	4.38	-0.11	-1.64
	Gender*part-time	-21.61	6.33	-0.37	-3.42**	-43.65	9.73	-0.46	-4.49
	Gender*full-time	-12.77	5.83	-0.33	-2.19*	-26.20	8.98	-0.40	-2.92
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	5.91	3.93	0.13	1.50	6.19	6.07	0.08	1.02

		Childcare				Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Security*agency	-2.88	5.86	-0.06	-0.49	-12.21	9.09	-0.16	-1.34
	Work-life*agency	4.97	4.09	0.12	1.21	10.29	6.30	0.14	1.63
	Relationship*agency	-5.64	4.44	-0.13	-1.27	-7.37	6.96	-0.10	-1.06
	Security*communality	6.41	4.92	0.19	1.30	9.94	7.57	0.18	1.31
	Work-life*communality	-5.91	3.68	-0.15	-1.61	-13.68	5.65	-0.22	-2.42*
	Relationship*communality	-1.57	4.01	-0.04	-0.39	-.76	6.17	-0.01	-0.12

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male). Intention to use *wasta* was dummy coded (0 = no, 1 = yes). Employment was dummy coded, with not working as the reference category.

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Childcare Expectations)

- Gender was the only significant predictor of childcare expectations (females expected more responsibility).

Hypothesis Testing:

Rejected (H8a(2)): Life goal attainment did not mediate the gender difference in childcare expectations.

Rejected (H10): Intention to use wasta did not moderate the relationship between gender and childcare expectations.

Partially Supported (H12(2)): Employment status moderated the gender effect on childcare expectations.

Males expected less childcare responsibility than females, especially when working part-time.

No gender difference was found for those not expecting to work.

Rejected (H9a(2)): Gender roles did not moderate the relationship between life goal attainment and childcare expectations (except for a weak, non-significant interaction with work-life goals).

7.2.3 Regression Analyses for Future Selves Childcare Expectations ($H8a_{(3)}$, $H9a_{(3)}$, $H12_{(3)}$)

In relation to housework, the first step was significant, R^2 = .01, F(1,370) = 4.90, p = .028 for self-expectations and R^2 = .17, F(1,370) = 75.84, p< .001 for the self-spouse difference.

Under $H8a_3$ it had been expected that attainment perceptions of life goals attainment would mediate the expected gender differences regarding housework. The second step revealed a significant relationship regarding security goals (β = -0.36, t(362) = -3.30, p< .001) and relationship goals (β = 0.22, t(362) = 2.10, p = .036). This indicates that participants who were more positive about the attainment of security goals expected to perform less housework in the future, and participants who endorsed more relationship goals expected to perform more housework. However, this finding is more nuanced as the correlations between life goals and housework were insignificant, and these relationships were found only when all other variables were controlled in the model. There was still a significant negative effect of gender (β = -0.16, t(362) = -2.96, p= .003). Similarly, regarding self-spouse differences in housework, the second step revealed a significant negative effect of security goals (β = -0.33, t(362) = -3.25, p= .001, however this did not result in a significant increase in the explained variance in housework (ΔR^2 = .03, F(8, 362) = 1.64, p = .112). Notably, this effect was only identified after controlling for all other variables in the model. The negative effect of gender also remained significant (β = -0.54, t(362) = -3.52, p< .001). In conclusion, $H8a_{(3)}$ is rejected.

Under $H12_{(3)}$ it was expected that employment status would moderate the direct gender effect on responsibility for housework. The third step revealed no support for moderation of employment the gender effect and also failed to explain more variance in expected differences in future housework ΔR^2< .01, F(3,359) = 0.27, p = .850 for own

housework expectations and ΔR^2= .01, F(6, 353) = 0.65, p = .688 and ΔR^2< .01, F(3,359) = 0.20, p = .898 for self-spouse differences in housework. In conclusion, $H12_{(3)}$ is rejected.

The fourth step tested the H9a that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for students' future selves, with communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals and housework. However, no support for this hypothesis was found. Both steps failed to explain more variance in expected differences in future housework. Inclusion of interactions between gender roles and goal attainment did not result in increased variance explained in own housework expectations (ΔR^2< .01, F(3,359) = 0.20, p = .898) nor in self-spouse differences in housework expectations (ΔR^2= .03, F(6, 353) = 1.89, p = .082).

Table 7.4 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Future Housework Expectations

		Housework				Self-Spouse Difference in Housework			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	-4.80	2.17	-0.11	-2.21*	-25.40	2.92	-0.41	-8.71**
2									
	Gender	-6.76	2.28	-0.16	-2.96**	-27.45	3.09	-0.45	-8.88**
	Security	-10.50	3.19	-0.36	-3.30**	-13.81	4.31	-0.33	-3.20**
	Work-life	3.35	2.41	0.11	1.39	3.75	3.26	0.09	1.15
	Relationships	6.24	2.97	0.22	2.10*	7.04	4.02	0.17	1.75
	Agency	.28	2.00	0.01	0.14	-1.49	2.71	-0.03	-0.55
	Communality	-2.53	2.05	-0.08	-1.23	0.92	2.77	0.02	0.33
	Part-time	-4.25	3.68	-0.09	-1.15	0.08	4.99	0.00	0.02
	Full-time	-2.79	3.52	-0.07	-0.79	2.89	4.76	0.05	0.61
	Intention to use *wasta*	.63	2.36	0.01	0.27	0.39	3.19	0.01	0.12
3									
	Gender	-6.71	6.95	-0.16	-0.97	-33.17	9.42	-0.54	-3.52**
	Security	-10.25	3.22	-0.35	-3.18**	-14.18	4.36	-0.33	-3.25**
	Work-life	3.12	2.44	0.11	1.28	4.07	3.31	0.09	1.23

		Housework				Self-Spouse Difference in Housework			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Relationships	6.23	2.99	0.22	2.09*	6.82	4.04	0.16	1.69
	Agency	.34	2.01	0.01	0.17	-1.54	2.72	-0.03	-0.57
	Communality	-2.51	2.06	-0.08	-1.21	0.86	2.80	0.02	0.31
	Part-time	-3.08	5.03	-0.07	-0.61	-2.09	6.81	-0.03	-0.31
	Full-time	-2.08	4.80	-0.05	-0.43	-0.44	6.50	-0.01	-0.07
	Intention to use *wasta*	-1.47	3.46	-0.03	-0.43	0.32	4.68	0.00	0.07
	Gender*part-time	-2.08	7.52	-0.03	-0.28	4.57	10.18	0.05	0.45
	Gender*full-time	-1.23	7.02	-0.03	-0.18	7.05	9.50	0.11	0.74
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	3.81	4.72	0.07	0.81	0.36	6.40	0.00	0.06
4									
	Gender	-6.66	7.10	-0.16	-0.94	-31.62	9.52	-0.51	-3.32**
	Security	-9.19	3.72	-0.32	-2.47*	-12.04	4.98	-0.28	-2.42*
	Work-life	2.99	2.61	0.10	1.14	3.92	3.50	0.09	1.12
	Relationships	5.50	3.22	0.19	1.71	4.68	4.32	0.11	1.08
	Agency	1.23	2.17	0.04	0.57	0.83	2.91	0.02	0.28
	Communality	-3.32	2.17	-0.10	-1.53	-0.07	2.91	0.00	-0.03
	Part-time	-2.82	5.11	-0.06	-0.55	0.05	6.85	0.00	0.01
	Full-time	-2.22	4.84	-0.05	-0.46	0.12	6.48	0.00	0.02
	Intention to use *wasta*	-1.98	3.49	-0.04	-0.57	-1.00	4.68	-0.02	-0.21

		Housework				Self-Spouse Difference in Housework			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
	Gender*part-time	-3.18	7.75	-0.05	-0.41	-0.10	10.39	0.00	-0.01
	Gender*full-time	-1.46	7.16	-0.03	-0.20	5.50	9.60	0.08	0.57
	Gender*intention to use *wasta*	5.01	4.84	0.10	1.04	3.33	6.49	0.04	0.51
	Security*agency	5.57	7.24	0.11	0.77	-10.02	9.71	-0.13	-1.03
	Work-life*agency	-1.87	5.02	-0.04	-0.37	11.81	6.73	0.16	1.76
	Relationship*agency	-8.21	5.55	-0.17	-1.48	-11.23	7.43	-0.16	-1.51
	Security*communality	-.73	6.03	-0.02	-0.12	11.43	8.09	0.20	1.41
	Work-life*communality	-.93	4.50	-0.02	-0.21	-11.62	6.04	-0.18	-1.92
	Relationship*communality	3.34	4.92	0.08	0.68	3.42	6.60	0.06	0.52

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male); intention to use *wasta* was dummy coded (0 = no, 1 = yes). Employment was dummy coded with not working as the reference category.

Summary of Findings for Student Sample (Housework Expectations)

- Gender was a significant predictor of housework expectations (females expected more responsibility).
- Security goals and relationship goals were significant predictors in the first model, but the correlations with housework were weak.

Hypothesis Testing:

Rejected (H8a(3)): Life goal attainment did not mediate the gender difference in housework expectations. Security and relationship goals had a small, counterintuitive effect when controlling for other variables.

Rejected (H12(3)): Employment status did not moderate the gender effect on housework expectations.

Rejected (H9a(3)): Gender roles did not moderate the relationship between life goal attainment and housework expectations.

7.3 Employee Sample (Actual Selves)

7.3.1 Correlations between the Variables in the Employee Sample (H6cd–H7cd)

Table 7.5 depicts the correlations between all variables for the employee sample. The correlations confirmed the already noted gender differences in the previous chapter. Furthermore, similar to the findings regarding participants' future selves, gender was negatively associated with communality (i.e., women reported more communal roles than men) but not significantly associated with agency (i.e., there was no gender difference in agency). There were negative associations between salary and childcare and housework,

which suggests that people with higher salaries tended to be less involved in childcare and housework. Agency and communality were positively associated with each other. However, agency was negatively associated with salary and communality was negatively associated with housework. As these findings were quite unexpected, the correlations were examined separately for each gender. This revealed that the correlation between housework and communal roles was insignificant for women, and in the positive direction, $r = .11$, $p = .204$ and was significant in the negative direction for men, $r = -.42$, $p < .001$. The correlation between agency and salary was in the negative direction for both genders, but was only significant for women, $r = -.18$, $p = .058$. The correlation for communality was positively associated with salary for men ($r = .25$, $p = .008$), but was not associated with salary for women ($r = .02$, $p = .798$). These results will be further discussed in the next chapter.

H6c stated that women would view communal life goals as more attainable compared to men and H6d stated that women would regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to men. However, life goal attainability was unrelated to gender in the employee sample. As such, both hypotheses are rejected. H7c stated that attainment of communal life goals would lead employees to report a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare and (3) housework. This hypothesis was rejected. Work-life goal attainment had a negative effect on salary but a positive effect on childcare. However, relationships had a negative effect on housework and childcare and the other effects were insignificant. H7d stated that attainment of agentic life goals would lead employees to report a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare and (3) housework for their future selves. This hypothesis is also rejected. Attainment of career goals had the expected, positive effect on salary. However, the other effects were insignificant.

The fact that gender and life goals were not significantly correlated in the employee sample implies that there would be no mediation of the gender effect by life goals, direct or moderated. As such, H8b stating that attainment perceptions of life goals would mediate the expected gender differences regarding (1) salary, (2) responsibility for childcare, and (3) responsibility for housework for Emirati employees is rejected. However, life goals could still influence the outcome measures, and they could also be moderated by agency and/or communality. Therefore, the same models carried out for the exploration of participants' future selves were used for the regression analyses in the employee sample.

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Actual Selves)

Relationships Between Variables:

- Gender differences similar to student sample: females scored higher on communality but not agency.
- Salary negatively associated with childcare and housework.
- Agency and communality positively associated with each other, but with unexpected relationships with other variables:
  - Agency negatively associated with salary (significant for women only).
  - Communality negatively associated with housework (significant for men only).
  - Communality positively associated with salary (significant for men only).

Hypothesis Testing:

Rejected (H6cd): No gender differences in life goal attainment.

Rejected (H7cd): Life goal attainment did not have predicted effects on salary, childcare, or housework.

Rejected (H8b): Life goal attainment did not mediate the gender effect on any outcomes.

Table 7.5 Correlations of the Main Variables, Including Self-Spouse Differences

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Gender												
2	Salary	.30**											
3	Salary difference	.34	.49										
4	Housework	-.12*	.01	-.01									
5	Housework difference	-.31**	-.01	-.19**	.80**								
6	Childcare	-.46**	-.15*	-.26**	.56**	.55**							
7	Childcare difference	-.54**	-.11	-.36**	.49**	.69**	.85**						
8	Agency	-.11	-.20**	-.10	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.09					
9	Communality	-.33**	.06	.04	-.13*	-.02	.06	.06	.54**				
10	Career	.04	.12	.15*	-.11	-.16**	-.18**	-.14*	.06	.07			
11	Relationships	-.02	.11	.14*	-.21**	-.20**	-.24**	-.17**	.19**	.33**	.67**		
12	Work-life balance	-.04	.00	.15*	-.10	-.19**	-.06	-.08	.08	.10	.78**	.74**	
13	N-O external LOC	-.03	-.28**	-.29**	-.11	-.09	-.13*	-.08	.17**	.10	.03	.05	.04

* *p*< .05. ***p*< .01

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male).
Since all participants worked full-time, employment status is not included in the table. N-O external LOC = network-oriented external locus of control

7.3.2 Regression Analysis for Salary (H9b$_{(1)}$, H11)

Table 7.5 shows the regression models for salary. The first step was significant, R^2 = .09, F(1, 241) = 24.49, p< .001 for own salary and R^2 = .30, F(1, 230) = 30.21, p< .001 for the prediction of the self-spouse difference in salary. The addition of the main effects of life goals, gender roles and network oriented external locus of control significantly improved the explained variance in own salary, with ΔR^2 = .23, F(6, 235) = 12.99, p< .001. Career goal attainment and communality had a positive effect on salary in the model, with β = 0.24, t(235) = 2.62, p = .009 and β = -0.26, t(235) = -4.79, p<.001), respectively. Conversely, work-life goals had a negative effect (β = -0.28, t(235) = -2.78, p = .006) and so did agency (β = -0.36, t(235) = -5.45, p< .001) and network related external control (β = -0.32, t(365) = -3.22, p< .001). For the prediction of self-spouse differences in salary, the addition of the main effects of life goals, gender roles, and external locus of control revealed a negative effect for agency (β = -0.23, t(224) = -3.22, p< .001), a positive effect for communality (β = 0.39, t(224) = 4.68, p< .001), and a negative effect for external locus of control (β = -0.28, t(224) = -4.87, p< .001), with ΔR^2 = .18, F(6, 224) = 9.21, p< .001.

H11 stated that the relationship between gender and salary outcomes would be moderated by an external locus of control for social networking, such that men would have higher salaries compared to women and external locus of control would strengthen this difference. Adding the potential moderation of the gender effect by network oriented external control showed a significant interaction effect in the model predicted own salaries (β = -1.28, t(234) = -6.47, p< .001, ΔR^2 = .11, F(1, 234) = 41.81, p< .001). As seen in Figure 7.4, for those with low and average network oriented external locus of control, being male had a positive effect on salary, B = 19552.51, SE = 2426.61, p < .001 and B = 8856.81, SE = 1709.63, p < .001, respectively. For high external locus of control on the other hand, gender was not significantly related to salary, B = -1838.88, SE = 2419.05, p = .448. These

findings were contrary to expectations. In the regression model for the self-spouse difference in salary, adding the potential moderation of the gender effect by external locus of control did not result in a significant effect (β = -0.23, $t(223) = -1.05$, $p = .294$), $\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1, 223) = 1.11$, $p = .294$. In conclusion, H11 is rejected.

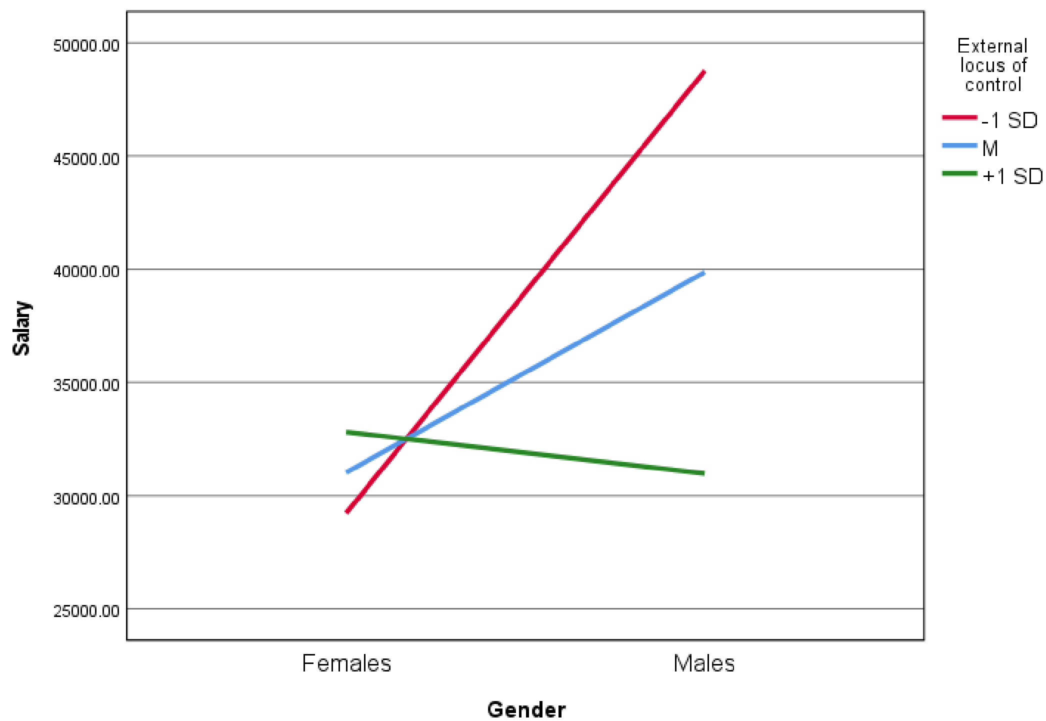


Figure 7.4 Effect of Gender on Salary Moderated by Network Oriented External Locus of Control

H9b$_{(1)}$ stated that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for employees' actual selves, with agentic values strengthening the relationships between agentic life goal attainment and salary. In the own salary reports (but not in the self-spouse differences), the fourth step showed that agency moderated the effects of career goal attainment ($\beta = 0.35$, $t(228) = 3.19$, $p = .002$). In support of H9b$_{(1)}$, reports of career goal attainability had no significant effect for low levels of agency ($B = -995.63$, $SE = 2161.44$, $p < .646$), but career goal attainment had a significant positive effect on salary for medium ($B = 4363.77$, $SE = 1290.91$, $p < .001$) and even more so for high levels of agency ($B = 9723.17$, $SE = 2073.48$, $p < .001$; see Figure 7.5).

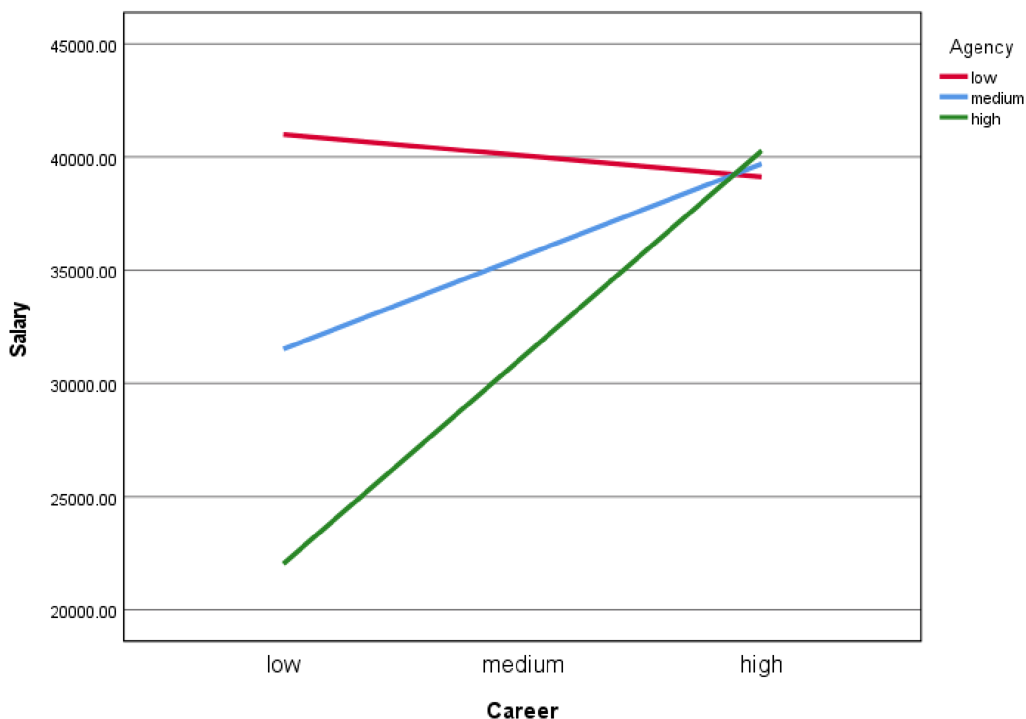


Figure 7.5 Effect of Career Goal Attainment on Salary Moderated by Agency

Further, several other (unexpected) moderating effects were found by gender roles on the relationship between life goal attainment and salary. In their own salary reports,

agency moderated the effect of work-life goal attainment (β = 0.47, $t(228) = 4.32$, $p < .001$) and relationship goal attainment (β = -1.09, $t(228) = -7.27$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, the effect of relationship goals was moderated by communality (β = -0.36, $t(228) = -5.45$, $p < .001$). These effects are visualised in Figures 7.6 to 7.8. All added interaction effects in step 4 explained significantly more variance in own salaries, $\Delta R^2 = .15$, $F(6, 228) = 12.93$, $p < .001$).

Interpreting these findings, work-life goal attainment had a negative effect on salary for low (effect = -12779.63, *SE* = 2356.22, $p < .001$) and medium (-5334.36, *SE* = 1450.69, $p < .001$) levels of agency, but no significant effect was found for high levels of agency (see Figure 7.6). The impact of relationship goals on salary was estimated at 18014.17 (*SE* = 2776.09), $p < .001$ for low levels of agency. The effect was not significant for medium levels of agency and was negative for high levels of agency, estimated at -14302.89 (*SE* = 2586.49, $p < .001$) (see Figure 7.7).

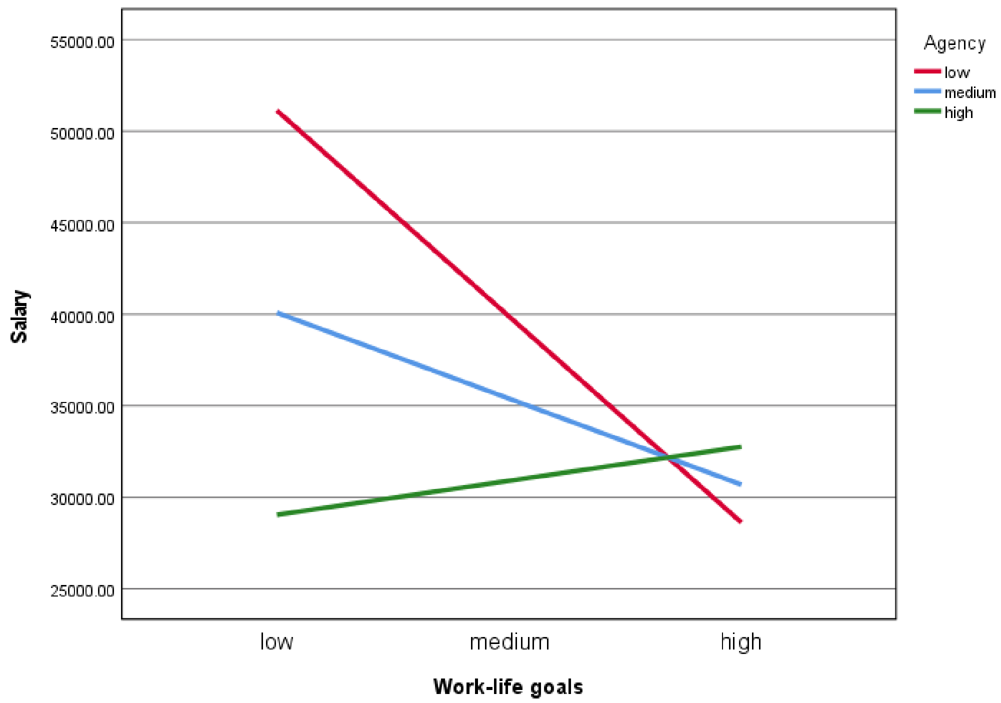


Figure 7.6 Effect of Work-Life Goal Attainment on Salary Moderated by Agency

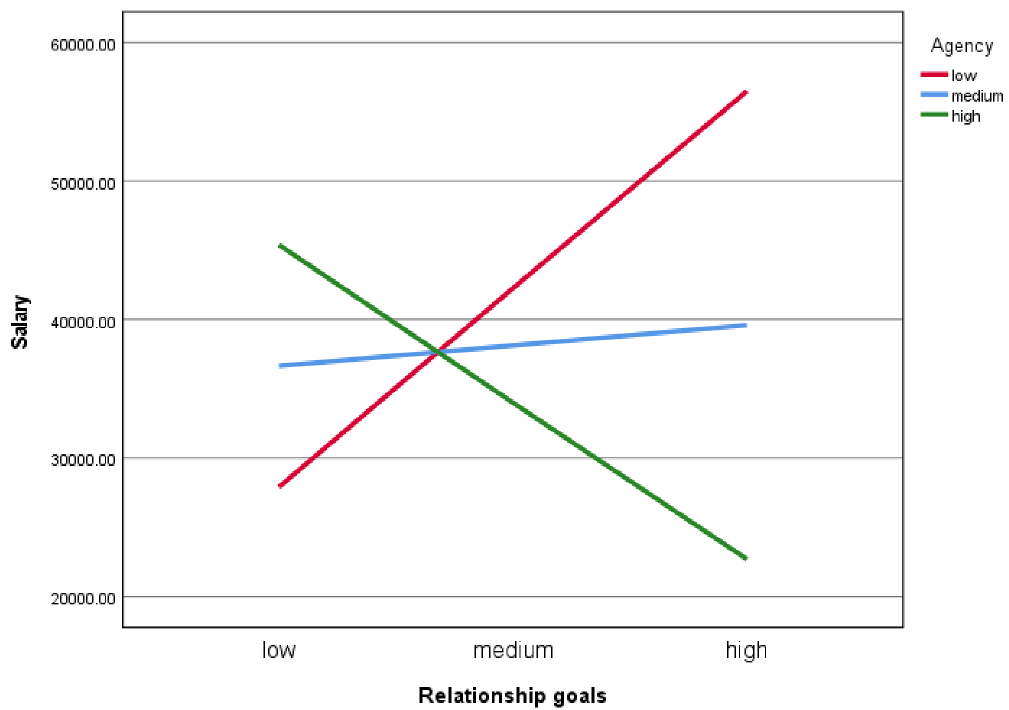


Figure 7.7 Effect of Relationship Goal Attainment on Salary Moderated by Agency

With respect to the moderation of relationship goals by communality, a positive effect of relationship goals on salary was detected only for people reporting high communality, estimated at 6956.37 (*SE* = 2897.94), *p* = .017. The effects of relationship goal attainment for low (*B* = -3368.69, *SE* = 2613.07, *p* = .199) and medium (*B* = 1793.84, *SE* = 1497.57, *p* = .232) communality were not significant (see Figure 7.8).

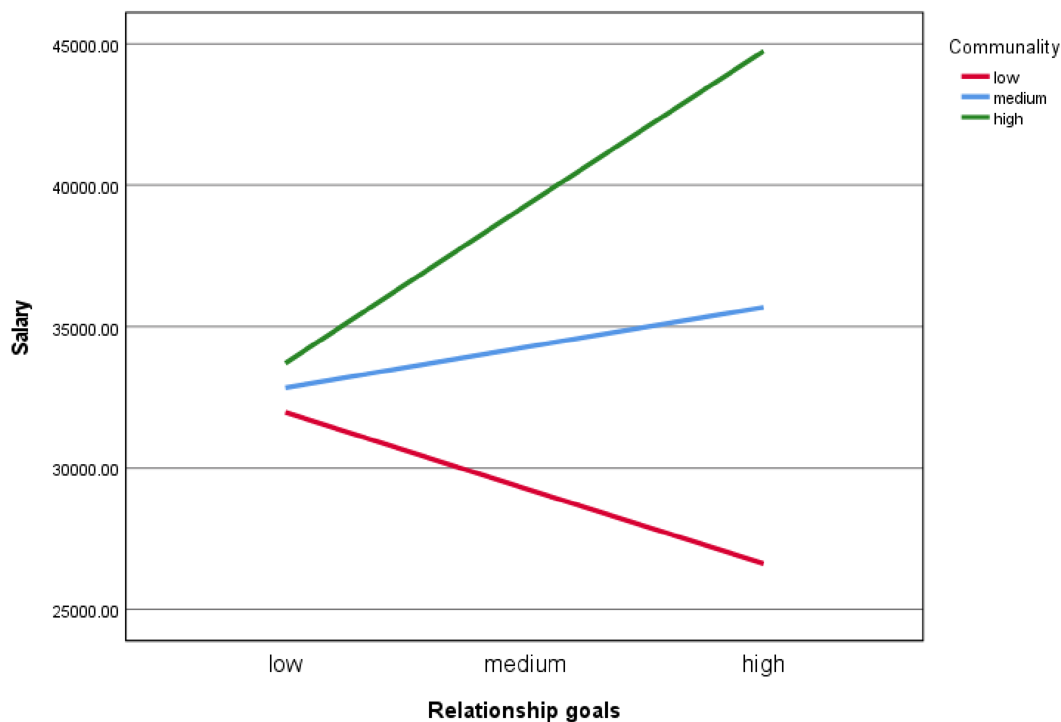


Figure 7.8 Effect of Career Goal Attainment on Salary Moderated by Agency

Similarly, in the self-spouse salary reports, it was also found that agency moderated the effects of work-life goal attainment (β = 0.73, $t(217) = 5.80$, $p < .001$) and relationship goal attainment (β = -1.04, $t(217) = -6.00$, $p < .001$). Further, it was found that the effects of relationship goals and work-life goals were moderated by communality (β = 0.64, $t(217) = 3.84$, $p < .001$ and β = -0.40, $t(217) = -3.39$, $p < .001$). All added interaction effects in step 4 explained significantly more variance in the reported self-spouse differences, $\Delta R^2 = .15$, $F(6, 217) = 10.33$, $p < .001$.

Work-life goal attainment had a negative effect on salary differences for low levels of agency (*B* = -12423.17, *SE* = 3923.78, *p* = 002). It did not have a significant effect for medium levels of agency (*B* = 4290.99, *SE* = 2412.70, *p* = .077), but positively impacted differences in salary for high levels of agency (*B* = 21005.14, *SE* = 3581.61, *p*<.001; see Figure 7.9).

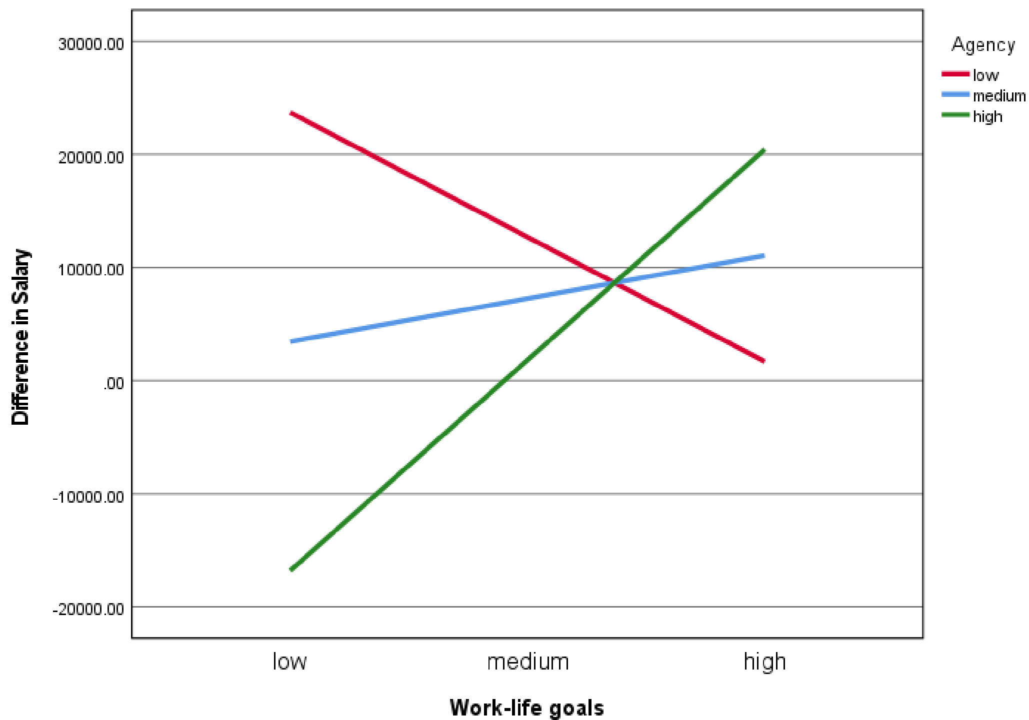


Figure 7.9 Effect of Work-Life Goals Attainment on Self-Spouse Difference in Salary Moderated by Agency

It was found that relationship goal attainment positively predicted salary differences for low levels of agency (*B* = 19269.02, *SE* = 4583.71, *p*< 001) but not for medium levels of agency (*B* = -2945.77, *SE* = 2499.95, *p* = .240). Notably, relationship goal attainment had a negative effect on differences in salary for high levels of agency (*B* = -251609.59, *SE* = 4342.95, *p*<.001; see Figure 7.10).

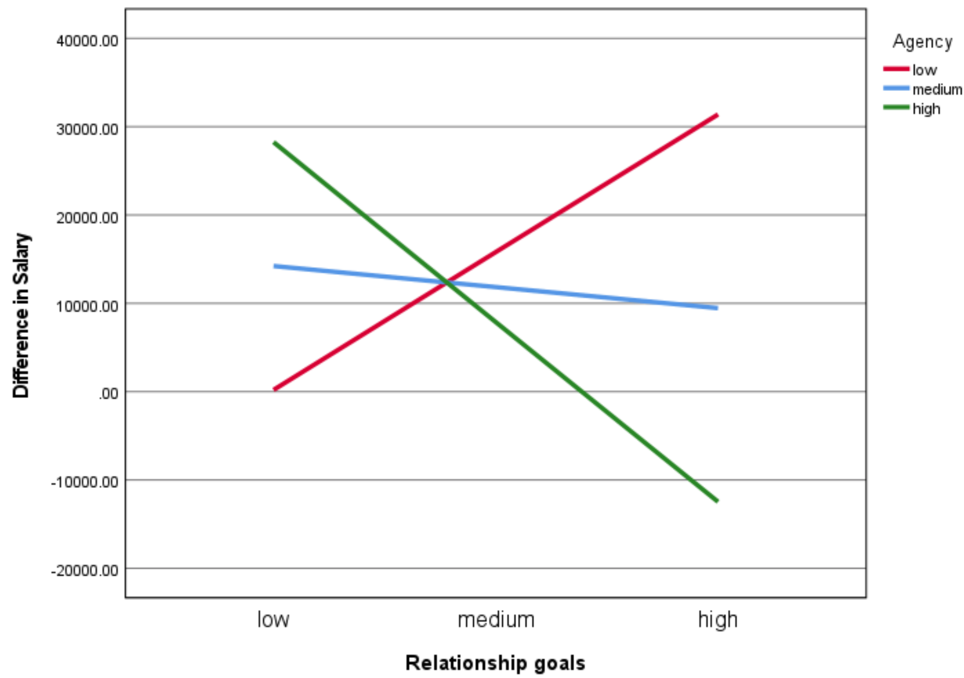


Figure 7.10 Effect of Relationship Goal Attainment on Self-Spouse Difference in Salary Moderated by Agency

Relationship goal attainment negatively influenced salary differences for low levels of communality (*B* = -18343.03, *SE* = 4466.36, *p*< 001). It did not have a significant effect for medium levels of communality (*B* = -3483.27, *SE* = 2482.90, *p* = .162), but positively impacted differences in salary for high levels of communality (*B* = 11376.49, *SE* = 4731.51, *p* = .017; cf. Figure 7.11).

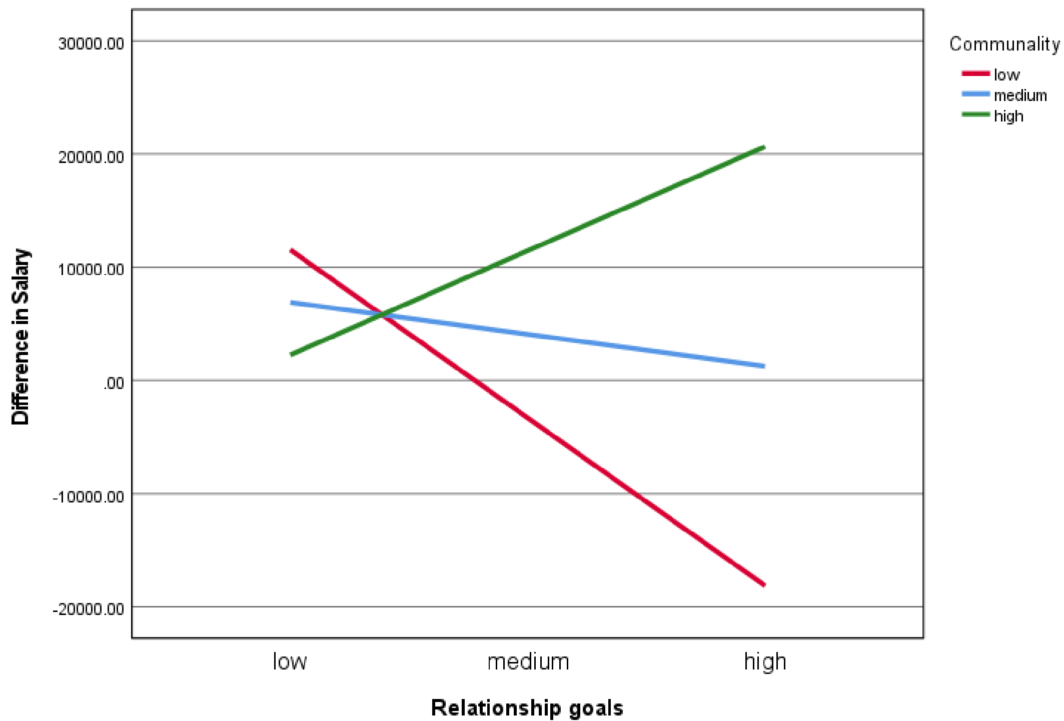


Figure 7.11 Effect of Relationship Goal Attainment on Self-Spouse Difference in Salary Moderated by Communality

Work-life goal attainment was found to positively affect salary differences for low levels of communality (B = 17184.51, SE = 4656.91, p< 001). Nonetheless, it did not significantly influence self-spouse differences in salary for medium (B = 4756.15, SE = 2431.55, p = .052) or high levels of communality (B = -7672.22, SE = 4133.88, p = .065; see Figure 7.12). Given that the direction changed for high levels of communality and the significance values approached the critical value of .05, it might be worthwhile to investigate this interaction in a larger sample.

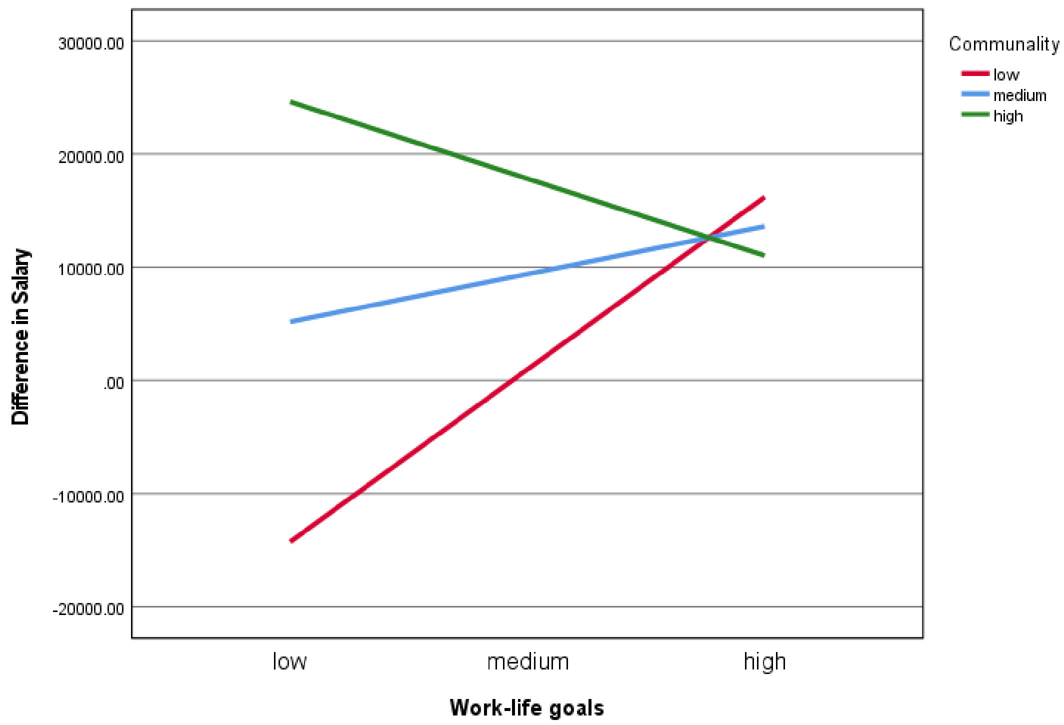


Figure 7.12 Effect of Work-Life Goal Attainment on Self-Spouse Difference in Salary Moderated by Communality

Table 7.8 Regression Analysis for Salary in the Sample of Employees

		Salary				Self-Spouse Difference in Salary			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	9428.42	1905.35	0.30	4.95**	15394.50	2801.10	0.34	5.50**
2									
	Gender	11112.15	1831.11	0.36	6.07**	19671.05	2812.23	0.44	6.99**
	Career	3911.16	1491.81	0.24	2.62**	994.82	2249.90	0.04	0.44
	Relationships	2131.93	1748.95	0.11	1.22	-2357.46	2644.71	-0.08	-0.89
	Work-life	-4869.18	1752.21	-0.28	-2.78**	4560.61	2632.12	0.18	1.73
	Agency	-8402.51	1542.90	-0.36	-5.45**	-7799.48	2419.43	-0.23	-3.22**
	Communality	8595.83	1629.29	0.40	5.28**	12074.27	2579.61	0.39	4.68**
	Network related external locus of control	-4368.34	911.52	-0.26	-4.79**	-6640.16	1364.55	-0.28	-4.87**
3									
	Gender	48565.17	6034.02	1.56	8.05**	29511.36	9773.59	0.65	3.02**
	Career	5130.35	1389.88	0.31	3.69**	1335.86	2272.65	0.06	0.59
	Relationships	2001.56	1614.52	0.10	1.24	-2399.50	2644.39	-0.09	-0.91
	Work-life	-5487.46	1620.22	-0.31	-3.39**	4393.88	2636.28	0.17	1.67
	Agency	-5942.15	1474.15	-0.26	-4.03**	-7179.92	2489.62	-0.21	-2.88**
	Communality	7962.12	1507.12	0.37	5.28**	11934.39	2582.44	0.38	4.62**
	External locus of control	1476.84	1234.98	0.09	1.20	-5089.06	2009.50	-0.21	-2.53*
	Gender*N-O external LOC	-11297.18	1747.21	-1.28	-6.47**	-2971.60	2826.69	-0.23	-1.05

Step	Variable	Salary				Self-Spouse Difference in Salary			
		B	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
4									
	Gender	53884.69	6027.48	1.74	8.94**	25643.64	10012.98	0.57	2.56*
	Career	4359.61	1290.97	0.26	3.38**	3199.91	2159.73	0.13	1.48
	Relationships	1868.19	1501.72	0.10	1.24	-2759.93	2501.94	-0.10	-1.10
	Work-life	-5340.14	1450.82	-0.30	-3.68**	4151.16	2415.04	0.16	1.72
	Agency	-6584.19	1367.10	-0.28	-4.82**	-7081.51	2315.78	-0.21	-3.06**
	Communality	7021.66	1504.48	0.33	4.67**	10924.75	2558.90	0.35	4.27**
	External control	201.07	1130.78	0.01	0.18	-7542.03	1889.05	-0.32	-3.99**
	Gender*ext. control	-11863.27	1722.82	-1.35	-6.89**	-1100.82	2854.99	-0.09	-0.39
	Career*communality	1856.38	2272.76	0.07	0.82	-1591.48	3846.97	-0.04	-0.41
	Relationships*communality	7146.97	3208.20	0.32	2.23**	20495.95	5342.51	0.64	3.84**
	Work-life*communality	-4098.81	3053.81	-0.14	-1.34	-17142.35	5063.24	-0.40	-3.39**
	Career*agency	8010.33	2509.52	0.35	3.19**	-401.21	4217.36	-0.01	-0.10
	Relationships*agency	-24151.04	3323.18	-1.09	-7.27**	-33051.09	5504.05	-1.04	-6.00**
	Work-life*agency	11127.94	2576.85	0.47	4.32**	24867.26	4283.95	0.73	5.80**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male).
N-O external LOC = network-oriented external locus of control

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Salary)

- Gender was a significant predictor of salary (males earned more).
- Unexpected interactions were found between gender, agency, communality, and life goal attainment in predicting salary.
- Salary was higher for men with high external locus of control, but not for those with low or medium external locus of control.
- The positive effect of career goals on salary was stronger for those with high agency.
- The negative effect of work-life goals on salary was weaker for those with high agency.
- The positive effect of relationship goals on salary was stronger for those with low agency and high communality, but negative for those with high agency.

Hypothesis Testing:

Rejected (H6cd): No gender differences in life goal attainment.

Rejected (H7cd): Life goal attainment had unexpected effects on salary (work-life goals negative, career goals positive).

Partially Rejected (H8b): Life goal attainment did not mediate the gender effect on salary, but moderated the relationships between agency, communality, and life goals on salary.

Rejected (H11): External locus of control moderated the gender effect on salary in an unexpected way (only for men with high external locus of control).

Partially Supported (H9b(1)): Agency moderated the effect of career goals on salary as expected, but also moderated the effects of work-life and relationship goals in unexpected ways.

7.3.3 Regression Analysis for Childcare (H9b2)

The regression results for childcare are presented in Table 7.6 The first analytical step regarding childcare was significant, with R^2 = .21, F(1, 279) = 75.22, p< .001 for the self and R^2 = .31, F(1, 279) = 125.21, p< .001 for the self-spouse difference. The second step revealed that for their own childcare responsibility, there was a negative effect of relationship goal attainment (β = -0.43, t(273) = -5.17, p< .001), a positive effect of work-life goals (β = 0.32, t(273) = 3.55, p< .001), and a negative effect of network-oriented external locus of control (β = -0.14, t(273) = -2.79, p = .006), ΔR^2 = .12, F(6, 273) = 8.44, p< .001. For the self-spouse difference, on the other hand, only relationship goal attainment had a negative effect (β = -0.19, t(273) = -2.43, p = .016), ΔR^2 = .06, F(6, 273) = 4.09, p< .001.

The third step revealed that network-oriented external control moderated the gender effect for own childcare reports (β = -0.37, t(272) = -201, p = .046, ΔR^2 = .01, F(1, 272) = 4.02, p = .046). Interestingly, the gender effect became stronger as external locus of control increased, with B = -17.11, SE = 3.84, p< .001 for low, B = -22.50, SE = 2.79, p< .001 for medium, and B = -27.89, SE = 3.91, p< .001 for high levels of network oriented external locus of control. Adding the potential moderation of the gender effect by network oriented external locus of control showed no significant effect on the self-spouse difference in childcare (β = -0.21, t(272) = -1.16, p=.0249), ΔR^2< .01, F(1, 272) = 1.34, p= .249).

Once the interaction effects of gender roles on life goals were included in the model predicting own childcare (in the fourth step), the moderation effect of network-oriented external locus of control was no longer significant. In this step, H9b was tested, stating that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for employees' actual selves, with communal values strengthening the relationship between communal attainment of life goals and childcare. For the own childcare responsibility, inclusion of all interactions between gender roles and work-life goal attainment significantly increased the variance explained in childcare, $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $F(6, 266) = 8.01$, $p<.001$. In support of the hypothesis, it was found that communality moderated the effect of relationship goals on the reports about own childcare ($\beta = 0.72$, $t(266) = 5.20$, $p<.001$). Relationship goals negatively impacted childcare for low ($B = -31.89$, $SE = 4.50$, $p< .001$) and medium ($B = -11.94$, $SE = 2.76$, $p< .001$) levels of communality. The estimated effect switched direction, but was insignificant for high levels of communality (see Figure 7.13).

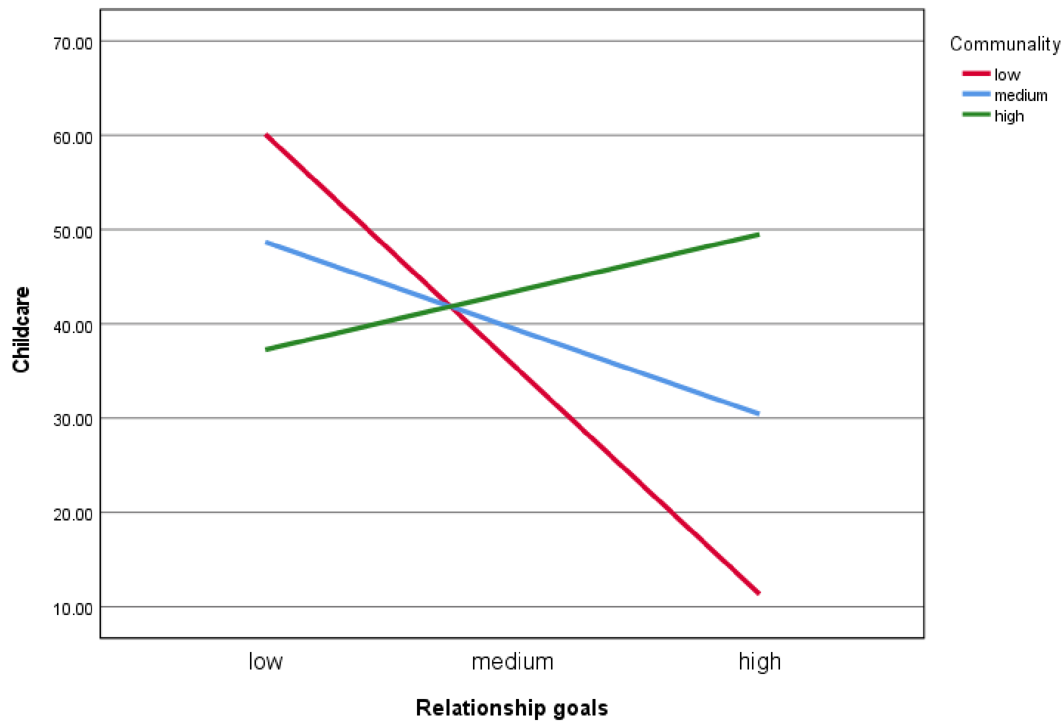


Figure 7.13 Effect of Relationship Goal Attainment on Childcare Moderated by Communality

Similarly, significantly more variance was also found in the fourth step in the regression analysis predicting self-spouse differences in childcare, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $F(6, 266) = 5.17$, $p< .001$. The effect of relationship goal attainment on the self-spouse difference in childcare was also moderated by communality ($\beta = 0.46$, $t(266) = 3.28$, $p = .001$). Relationship goal attainment had a negative effect on differences in childcare for low levels of communality ($B = -29.51$, $SE = 7.18$, $p< .001$), and a smaller but still negative effect for medium levels of communality ($B = -9.45$, $SE = 4.40$, $p= .033$). However, their impact for high levels of

communality switched signs and was no longer significant (B = 10.66, SE = 7.87, p= .177). This moderation is shown in Figure 7.14.

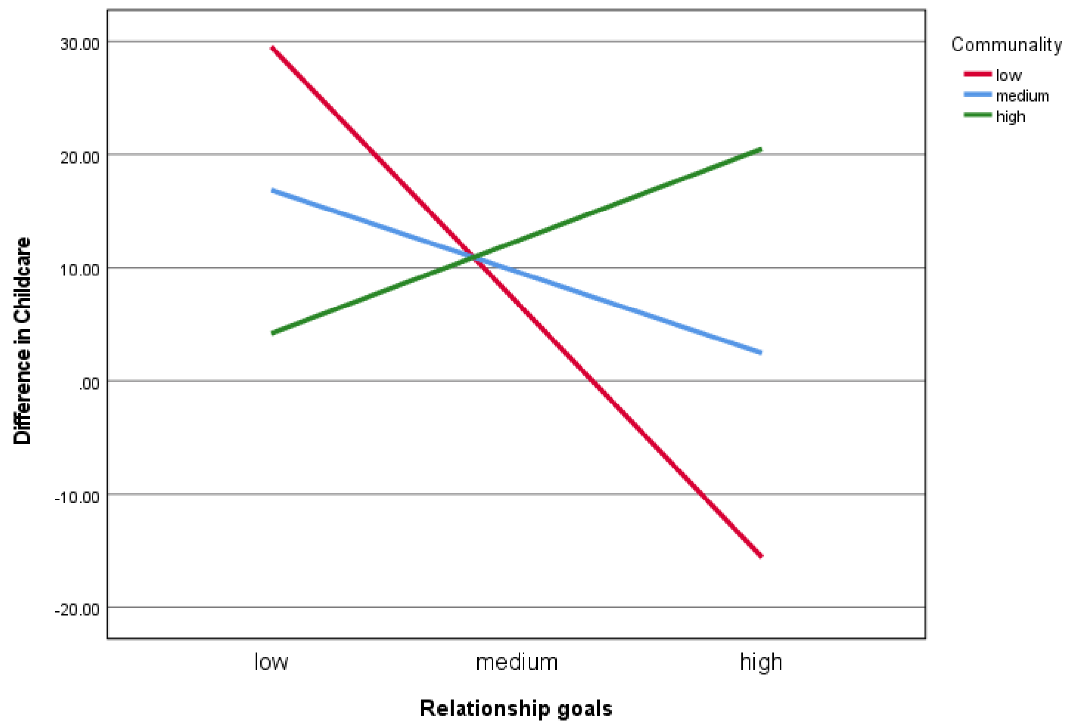


Figure7.14 Effect of Relationship Goal Attainment on Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare Moderated by Communality

On the other hand, communality did not moderate the effect of work-life goal attainment on own childcare or self-spouse differences in childcare. In conclusion, H9b is only partly supported.

Unexpected moderating effects of agency were found for work-life goals. In the prediction of own childcare responsibilities, agency moderated the impact of work-life goals, (β = 0.30, t(266) = 2.78, p =.006). The moderating effect of agency on work-life goal attainment is depicted in Figure 7.15. For individuals with low levels of agency, work-life goal attainment had no significant effect on childcare, B = -0.75, SE = 4.13, p = .857. However, it positively impacted childcare for people with medium (B = 7.55, SE = 2.61, p = .004) and high levels of agency (B = 15.85, SE = 3.78, p< .001).

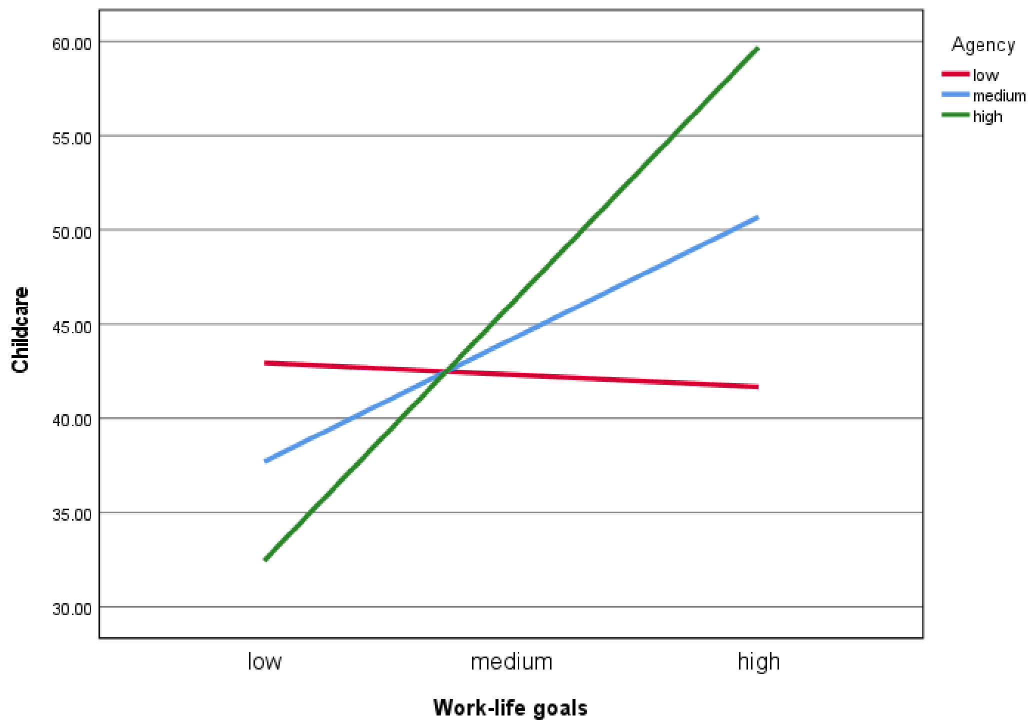


Figure 7.15 Effect of Work-Life Goal Attainment on Childcare Moderated by Agency

In the prediction of self-spouse differences in childcare, it was also found that the effect of work-life goal attainment was moderated by agency (β = 0.23, $t(266) = 2.10$, $p = .037$), $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $F(6, 266) = 5.17$, $p < .001$. Although the effect of work-life goals was negative for low levels of agency, it switched signs for medium to high levels of agency. The analysis, however, showed no significant effect for any of the levels of agency. For this reason, the possibility that agency had a different effect at different levels of work-life goals was explored. It was found that agency only had a significant negative effect on the difference between self and spouse in childcare for low work-life goals ($B = -14.81$, $SE = 6.99$, $p = .035$). However, its impact was insignificant for medium ($B = -1.72$, $SE = 3.75$, $p = .648$) and high ($B = 11.38$, $SE = 7.56$, $p = .133$) work-life goals.

Table 7.6 Regression Analysis for Childcare in the Sample of Employees

		Childcare				Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	-24.00	2.77	-0.46	-8.67**	-45.81	4.09	-0.56	-11.19**
2									
	Gender	-22.40	2.81	-0.43	-7.98**	-46.93	4.33	-0.57	-10.84**
	Career	-3.83	2.30	-0.13	-1.67	-1.84	3.55	-0.04	-0.52
	Relationships	-14.45	2.79	-0.42	-5.17**	-10.46	4.31	-0.19	-2.43*
	Work-life	9.70	2.73	0.32	3.55**	3.77	4.22	0.08	0.89
	Agency	-1.90	2.36	-0.05	-.80	-6.26	3.65	-0.10	-1.72
	Communality	3.12	2.51	0.08	1.24	-0.43	3.88	-0.01	-0.11
	Network related external locus of control	-3.71	1.33	-0.14	-2.79**	-3.28	2.05	-0.08	-1.60
3									
	Gender	-4.38	9.41	-0.08	-.47	-30.84	14.59	-0.37	-2.11*
	Career	-3.11	2.32	-0.11	-1.34	-1.19	3.60	-0.03	-0.33
	Relationships	-14.48	2.78	-0.43	-5.21**	-10.49	4.31	-0.19	-2.43*
	Work-life	9.34	2.72	0.31	3.43**	3.46	4.22	0.07	0.82
	Agency	-0.91	2.40	-0.02	-.38	-5.38	3.73	-0.09	-1.44
	Communality	2.89	2.50	0.08	1.15	-0.64	3.88	-0.01	-0.16
	External locus of control	-1.45	1.73	-0.05	-.84	-1.26	2.69	-0.03	-0.47
	Gender*N-O external LOC	-5.48	2.73	-0.37	-2.01*	-4.90	4.24	-0.21	-1.16

		Childcare				Self-Spouse Difference in Childcare			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
4									
	Gender	-34.22	9.95	-0.66	-3.44**	-67.88	15.87	-0.82	-4.28**
	Career	-2.06	2.25	-0.07	-.92	-.62	3.58	-0.01	-0.17
	Relationships	-11.79	2.76	-0.35	-4.26**	-9.27	4.41	-0.17	-2.10*
	Work-life	7.57	2.61	0.25	2.90	.55	4.16	0.01	.13
	Agency	2.77	2.35	0.07	1.18	-1.84	3.75	-0.03	-.49
	Communality	5.29	2.60	0.14	2.03*	3.68	4.15	0.06	.89
	External control	-2.76	1.69	-0.10	-1.64	-3.44	2.69	-0.08	-1.28
	Gender*ext. control	2.30	2.85	0.16	0.81	5.21	4.54	0.22	1.15
	Career*communality	-.92	4.21	-0.02	-.22	-6.28	6.71	-0.09	-0.94
	Relationships*communality	28.47	5.47	0.72	5.20**	28.66	8.73	0.46	3.28**
	Work-life*communality	-12.93	5.37	-0.25	-2.41	-9.51	8.56	-0.12	-1.11
	Career*agency	-7.02	4.42	-0.17	-1.59	-1.79	7.04	-0.03	-0.25
	Relationships*agency	-10.44	5.58	-0.26	-1.87	-9.25	8.90	-0.15	-1.04
	Work-life*agency	12.69	4.56	0.30	2.78**	15.24	7.27	0.23	2.10*

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Childcare)

- Relationship goals negatively predicted childcare responsibility (own and spouse difference).
- Work-life goals positively predicted childcare responsibility, but the effect was moderated by agency (stronger for high agency).
- Network-oriented external locus of control moderated the gender effect on childcare (weaker for high external locus of control).
- Communality moderated the effect of relationship goals on childcare (weaker negative effect for high communality).
- Agency moderated the effect of work-life goals on childcare (stronger positive effect for high agency).

Hypothesis Testing:

Partially Supported (H9b(2)):

Communality moderated the effect of relationship goals on childcare as expected (weaker effect for high communality).

Agency moderated the effect of work-life goals on childcare in an unexpected way (stronger effect for high agency).

7.3.4 Regression Analysis for Housework (H9b$_{(3)}$)

For housework, the first step was significant, with R^2 = .02, F(1, 279) = 6.33, p = .012 for own housework responsibilities and R^2 = .13, F(1, 279) = 36.69, p< .001 for the self-spouse difference in housework. The second step uncovered a significant negative effect of relationship goals on own housework (β = -0.26, t(273) = -2.74, p = .007, ΔR^2 = .09, F(6, 273) = 4.33, p< .001). The addition of the main effects of life goals attainment, gender

roles, and external control revealed no significant effects on the self-spouse difference in housework, even though the change in variance explained for the differences in housework was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .08$, $F(6, 273) = 4.46$, $p < .001$.

The third step revealed moderation of the gender effect by network oriented external locus of control, $\beta = -1.01$, $t(272) = -4.88$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $F(1, 272) = 23.86$, $p < .001$ for own housework and $\beta = -0.76$, $t(272) = -3.81$, $p < .001$), $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $F(1, 272) = 14.49$, $p < .001$ for the self-spouse difference. It emerged that gender had no significant effect for low levels of external locus of control ($B = -6.70$, $SE = 4.07$, $p = .101$) but had a significant negative effect for medium ($B = -13.03$, SE 2.81, $p < .001$) and high ($B = -19.30$, $SE = 3.86$, $p < .001$) levels of network oriented external locus of control (see Figure 7.15). Males with medium and high levels of network oriented external locus of control reported a lower contribution to housework.

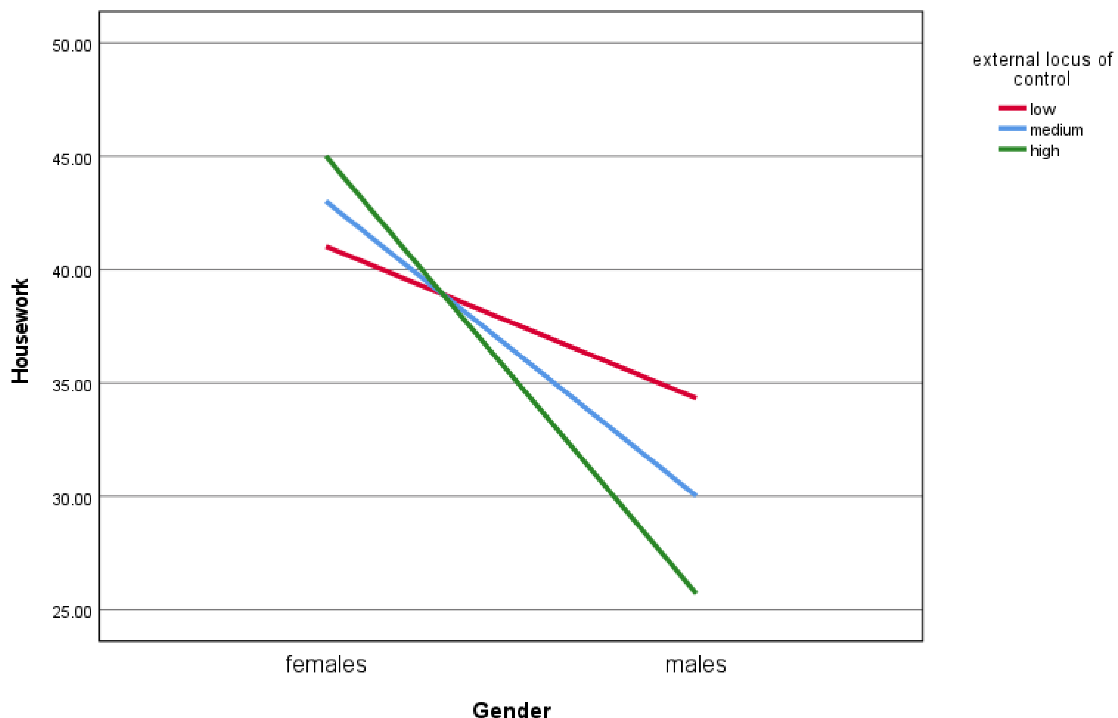


Figure 7.16 Gender Effect on Self-Spouse Differences in Housework Moderated by Network Related External Locus of Control

This was also reflected in the findings concerning the in the self-spouse differences. Gender had a negative effect on the self-spouse difference in housework $B = -13.30$, $SE = 5.19$, $p = .011$ for low, $B = -25.92$, $SE = 3.77$, $p < .001$ for medium, and $B = 38.54$, $SE = 5.32$, $p < .001$ for high levels of external locus of control (see Figure 7.17). For interpretation, as can be seen in Figure 7.17, females were found to carry out more housework compared to their spouses, with similar gender differences for all levels of network related external locus of control. However, while men reported to carry out less housework compared to their spouses, this effect was larger with stronger network related external locus of control.

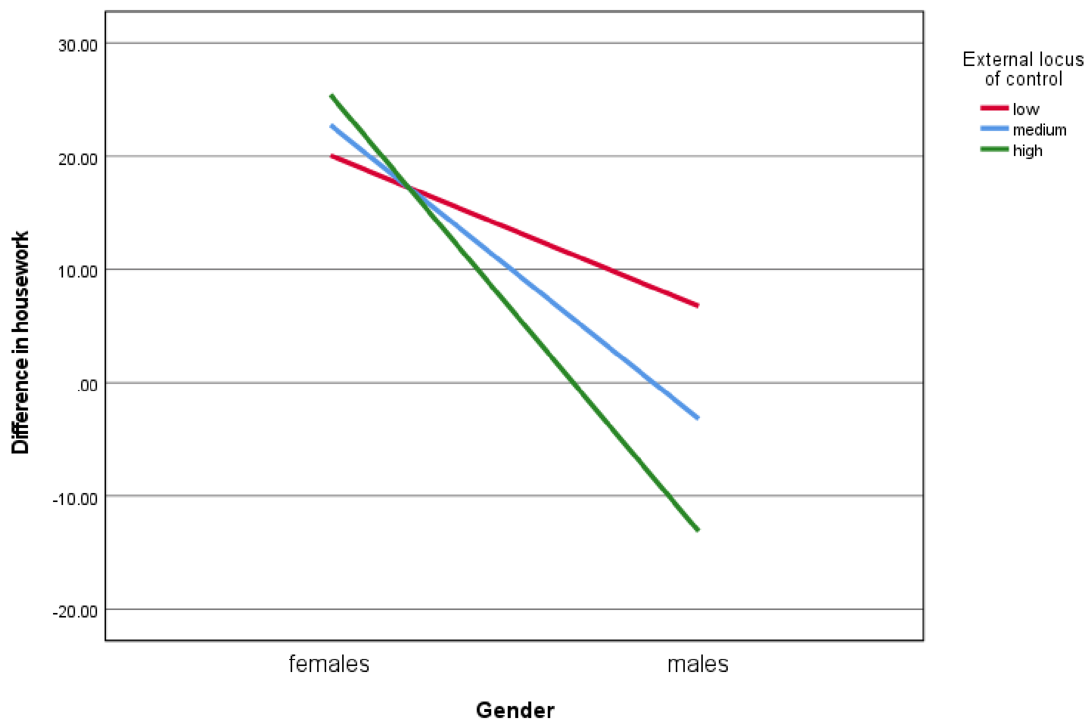


Figure 7.17 Gender Effect on Self-Spouse Difference in Housework Moderated by External Locus of Control

The fourth step tested H9b(3) that gender roles would moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for employees' actual selves, with

communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals and housework. Addition of the interaction effects between life goal attainment and gender roles significantly explained more variance in housework, ΔR^2= .11, F(6, 266) = 6.51, p< .001 and self-spouse housework differences, ΔR^2 = .07, F(6, 266) = 4.54, p<.001. For own housework, it was revealed that the effect of relationship goals was moderated by communality (β = 0.65, t(266) = 4.13, p< .001). The moderation effect is illustrated in Figure 7.18. The effect of relationship goals on housework for participants with low communality was negative (B = -24.29, SE = 4.36, p< .001). This was also true for medium communality, although the effect was substantially smaller (B = -5.55, SE = 2.79, p = .048). By contrast, for high levels of communality, relationship goals had a positive impact on housework (B = 13.20, SE = 4.82, p = .007). The regression also showed that agency had a significant and positive effect on housework once this moderation effect was included in the model (β = 0.21, t(266) = 3.13, p = .025). While the findings for own housework were in support of H9b, none of the moderation effects in the self-spouse difference in housework reached significance.

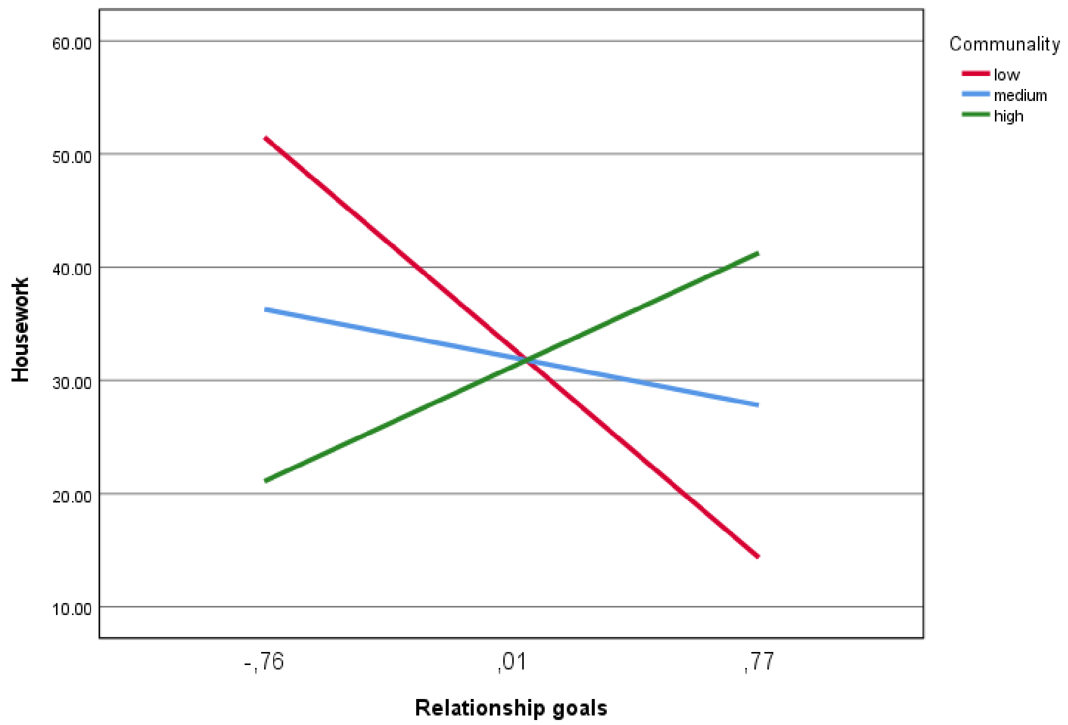


Figure 7.18 Effect of Relationship Goals on Housework Moderated by Communality

Table 7.6 Regression Analysis for Childcare in the Sample of Employees

		Housework				Self-Spouse Difference in Housework			
Step	Variable	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*	*B*	*SE*	β	*t*
1									
	Gender	-6.84	2.72	-0.15	-2.51*	-23.33	3.70	-0.35	-6.30**
2									
	Gender	-8.67	2.87	-0.19	-3.02**	-26.01	3.90	-0.39	-6.67**
	Career	-0.67	2.35	-0.03	-0.28	1.45	3.20	0.04	0.45
	Relationships	-7.83	2.86	-0.26	-2.74**	-4.79	3.88	-0.11	-1.23
	Work-life	2.86	2.79	0.11	1.02	-6.06	3.80	-0.16	-1.59
	Agency	1.81	2.42	0.05	0.75	-1.82	3.29	-0.04	-0.55
	Communality	-4.11	2.57	-0.13	-1.60	-3.57	3.49	-0.08	-1.02
	Network related external locus of control	-2.58	1.36	-0.11	-1.90	-2.87	1.85	-0.09	-1.55
3									
	Gender	34.66	9.29	0.75	3.73*	20.66	12.84	0.31	1.61
	Career	1.08	2.29	0.04	0.47	3.33	3.16	0.09	1.05
	Relationships	-7.90	2.74	-0.26	-2.88*	-4.87	3.79	-0.11	-1.28
	Work-life	2.01	2.69	0.08	0.75	-6.97	3.72	-0.18	-1.87
	Agency	4.20	2.37	0.12	1.77	0.74	3.28	0.01	0.23
	Communality	-4.68	2.47	-0.14	-1.90	-4.18	3.41	-0.09	-1.22
	External locus of control	2.84	1.71	0.12	1.66	2.97	2.37	0.09	1.26
	Gender*N-O external LOC	-13.18	2.70	-1.01	-4.88**	-14.20	3.73	-0.76	-3.81**

Step	Variable	Housework B	Housework SE	Housework β	Housework t	Self-Spouse Difference in Housework B	Self-Spouse Difference in Housework SE	Self-Spouse Difference in Housework β	Self-Spouse Difference in Housework t
4									
	Gender	8.19	9.97	0.18	0.82	2.18	14.06	0.03	0.16
	Career	1.91	2.25	0.08	0.85	4.21	3.17	0.12	1.33
	Relationships	-5.42	2.77	-0.18	-1.96	-1.16	3.91	-0.03	-0.30
	Work-life	.18	2.61	0.01	0.07	-10.41	3.68	-0.27	-2.83**
	Agency	7.37	2.35	0.21	3.13**	4.69	3.32	0.09	1.41
	Communality	-2.33	2.61	-0.07	-0.89	-4.53	3.68	-0.10	-1.23
	External control	2.03	1.69	0.09	1.20	2.96	2.38	0.09	1.24
	Gender*ext. control	-6.41	2.85	-0.49	-2.25*	-9.82	4.02	-0.52	-2.44*
	Career*communality	-3.42	4.22	-0.09	-0.81	-11.12	5.94	-0.20	-1.87
	Relationships*communality	22.67	5.48	0.65	4.13**	13.36	7.73	0.27	1.73
	Work-life*communality	-7.12	5.37	-0.16	-1.32	14.32	7.58	0.22	1.89
	Career*agency	-4.59	4.42	-0.13	-1.04	-2.30	6.24	-0.05	-0.37
	Relationships*agency	-4.10	5.59	-0.12	-0.73	-1.00	7.89	-0.02	-0.13
	Work-life*agency	6.49	4.57	0.18	1.42	.61	6.44	0.01	0.10

* *p*< .05. ***p*< .01

Note. Gender was dummy coded (0 = female, 1= male).
N-O external LOC = network-oriented external locus of control

Summary of Findings for Employee Sample (Housework)

- Relationship goals negatively predicted housework responsibility (own housework).
- Gender differences in housework were larger for men with high external locus of control (men reported doing less housework).
- Communality moderated the effect of relationship goals on housework (weaker negative effect for high communality, positive effect for high communality and high agency).

Hypothesis Testing:

Partially Supported (H9b(3)):

Communality moderated the effect of relationship goals on housework as expected (weaker negative effect and even positive effect for high communality).

Unexpected positive effect of agency on housework.

Rejected (H10): Network-oriented external locus of control moderated the gender effect on housework in an unexpected way (larger gender difference for men with high external locus of control).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided several additions to the model of gender predicting life outcomes. It was demonstrated that women had more positive expectations of life goal attainment, but this did not predict life outcome expectations. On the other hand, among employed participants, life goal attainment did not differ by gender, but were associated with outcomes, moderated by agency and communality. The expectations with respect to *wasta* and employment as moderators of gender on future self-expectations were not supported. Further, the moderation of network oriented external locus of control on salary was,

contrary to expectations, with gender influencing salary for low and moderate levels of external control. These findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

8 Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings that were described in the previous two chapters. The chapter will begin by giving an overview of the findings relating to each hypothesis and will then discuss them in detail, as well as providing possible explanations for the hypotheses that were not supported. This discussion includes a comparison of the results found in other studies conducted in Western contexts. To allow for a fair comparison, and one that is not based on a subjective reading of the results of these studies, Appendix I provides the full statistical comparison of the present study in the UAE with the US study of Fetterolf and Eagly (2011) and the Spanish study of Gartzia and Fetterolf (2016). As in the current study, both of these studies used the possible and future selves framework. The discussion ends with a conclusion.

8.2 Overview of the Key Research Findings

An overview of all the hypotheses that were formulated in the literature review chapters is provided in Table 8.1 below, together with an indication of whether they were supported or rejected.

Table 8.1 Conclusions for Each Hypothesis

Hypotheses concerning salaries

- **H1a**. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting lower salaries compared to male students. *Supported.*
- **H1b**. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting lower salaries compared to male students. *Supported.*

- **H1c**. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing lower salaries compared to men. *Supported.*

Hypotheses concerning working hours/employment

- **H2a**. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting shorter working hours compared to male students. *Rejected: similar working hours are expected by males and females.*
- **H2b**. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting to stay at home more often or work part-time compared to male students. *Rejected: only the percentage of females expecting to work part-time before children start school is higher than that of males.*
- **H2c**. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing shorter working hours compared to men. *Supported.*

Hypotheses concerning childcare

- **H3a**. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting more responsibility for childcare compared to male students. *Supported.*
- **H3b**. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting more responsibility for childcare compared to male students. *Supported.*
- **H3c**. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing more responsibility for childcare compared to men. *Supported.*

Hypotheses concerning housework

- **H4a**. For their possible selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting more responsibility for housework compared to male students. *Supported.*
- **H4b**. For their future selves, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with female students expecting more responsibility for housework compared to male students. *Supported.*
- **H4c**. For employees, there will be significant direct effects of gender, with women experiencing more responsibility for housework compared to men. *Supported.*

Hypotheses concerning self-spouse differences.

- **H5a**. For their possible selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for childcare, and (4) responsibility for housework compared to male students. *Rejected: females expect a larger gender gap regarding these outcomes.*
- **H5b**. For their future selves, female students will expect smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for childcare, and (4) responsibility for housework compared to male students. *Rejected: only supported for housework, and females expect a larger gender gap than males for childcare.*
- **H5c**. For employees, women will experience smaller gender differences between their spouses with regards to (1) salary, (2) working hours, (3) responsibility for childcare, and (4) responsibility for housework compared to men. *Rejected: supported for salary, but women worked fewer hours and carried out more housework than their spouses, while men worked about an equal number of hours*

and reported equal amounts of housework as their spouses. Women also experienced a larger gap in childcare than men (although men also reported to be less involved in childcare than their spouses).

Hypotheses concerning gender differences in life goal attainability

- **H6a**. Female students will regard communal life goals as more attainable for their future selves compared to male students. *Supported: female students found work-life and relationships goals easier to obtain than their male counterparts.*
- **H6b**. Female students will regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to male students. *Rejected: females found security at work easier to obtain than their male counterparts.*
- **H6c**. For employees, women will view communal life goals as more attainable compared to men. *Rejected: no gender difference was found.*
- **H6d**. For employees, women will regard agency life goals as less attainable for their future selves compared to men. *Rejected: no gender difference was found.*

Hypotheses concerning relationships between life goal attainability and life outcomes

- **H7a**. Attainment of communal life goals will lead students to expect a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare and (3) housework for their future selves. *Rejected: life goals did not directly explain outcome expectations.*
- **H7b**. Attainment of agentic life goals will lead students to expect a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare and (3) housework for their future selves. *Rejected: life goals did not directly explain outcome expectations.*
- **H7c**. Attainment of communal life goals will lead employees to report a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare and (3) more housework. *Rejected: work-life goal attainment had a negative effect on salary but a positive effect on*

childcare. However, relationships had a negative effect on housework and childcare and the other effects were insignificant.

- **H7d**. Attainment of agentic life goals will lead employees to report a (1) lower salary, (2) more responsibility for childcare, and (3) housework. *Rejected: attainment of career goals had the expected, positive effect on salary. However, the other effects were insignificant.*

Hypotheses concerning mediation of gender effects of outcomes by life goal attainment

- **H8a**. Attainment perceptions of life goals attainment will mediate the expected gender differences regarding (1) salary, (2) responsibility for childcare, and (3) responsibility for housework for the future selves of Emirati students. *Rejected: no evidence for mediation was found.*
- **H8b**. Attainment perceptions of life goals will mediate the expected gender differences regarding (1) salary, (2) responsibility for childcare, and (3) responsibility for housework for Emirati employees. *Rejected: no mediation effects were found.*

Hypotheses concerning gender roles moderating the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes.

- **H9a**. Gender roles will moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for students' future selves, with (1) agentic values strengthening the relationships between agentic life goal attainment and salary and communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals, and (2) childcare, and (3) housework. *Rejected: no evidence for moderation was found.*

- **H9b**. Gender roles will moderate the relationship between the attainability of life goals and life outcomes for employees' actual selves, with (1) agentic values strengthening the relationships between agentic life goal attainment and salary and communal values strengthening the relationships between communal attainment of life goals, and (2) childcare, and (3) housework. *Partially supported: several moderation effects of agency and communality in the relationship between attainment of life goals and life outcomes were found.*

- **H10**. For their future selves, the relationship between gender and life outcomes regarding salary will be moderated by intention to use *wasta,* such that the relationship will be stronger for male students who intend to use *wasta* compared to female students. *Rejected: no effects of the intention to use wasta were found.*

- **H11**. The relationship between gender and salary outcomes will be moderated by a network -oriented external locus of control, such that the male employees will have higher salaries compared to female employees, yet external locus of control will strengthen this difference because it mostly or only positively affects males. *Rejected: gender only had a positive effect on salary for individuals with a low and average network-oriented external locus of control.*

- **H12**. Employment status will moderate the direct gender effects on (1) salary, (2) responsibility for childcare, and (3) responsibility for housework, in such a way that gender effects will be stronger if not working full-time (i.e., if working part-time or not at all). *Rejected: while the gender effect on childcare was larger for part-time compared to full-time employment, it was not present for staying at home.*

8.3 Associations between Gender and Expected and Experienced Life Outcomes (H1–H4)

With respect to the first four hypotheses, it was expected that traditional gender beliefs would be found across all three parts of the study. As hypothesised, female students anticipated earning lower salaries. Previous studies in Western countries have also demonstrated that young female adults expect lower salaries for themselves (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf and Gartzia, 2016; Major and Konar, 1984; Schweitzer *et al.*, 2013). Western studies more specifically have found that female university students expect lower salaries compared to their male counterparts; findings which are similar to those in the present study (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf and Gartzia, 2016; Heckert *et al.*, 2002 Hogue *et al.*, 2010). Thus, while education is an important factor in careers, as also explained by Kemp (2013), obtaining higher education is no guarantee that women will have the same opportunities as men.

In the study of employees' actual selves, it was also found that women reported lower salaries than men, showing that the students' expectations were in line with the current situation in the UAE. In almost all countries worldwide, women on average have lower salaries than men, yet the salary gender gap is known to be larger in the UAE compared to in Western countries (Balooshi and Abdalla, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2022). This gender gap in salaries is due to a complex nexus of factors related to gender roles (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Uunk, 2015). Previous research had shown that Western women are willing to accept lower salaries than men (Litman *et al.*, 2020). The present study's results show that in the UAE, the existing gender gaps in salary are also expected by young adults for their possible and future selves.

With respect to working hours, the findings were more nuanced. In the possible selves scenarios among the student sample, there were no differences between what men

and women expected in terms of working hours. For this part of the study, students were presented with scenarios in which employment status was a given and the working hours that were expected varied accordingly (e.g., fewer working hours expected when presented with the scenario of working part-time compared to working full-time). For the future selves study, the students were not asked about working hours (which will be addressed under the study limitations), but they did report their expected working status. It is clear from the findings from this part of the study that female and male students had, for the most part, similar future expectations regarding their employment status. In contrast, in the case of the employee sample, it was found that women reported having shorter working hours than men. This finding from the employee sample supports previous studies that have shown that female labour force participation rates are well below those of men (Conceição *et al.*, 2019; 2020; World Bank, 2020).

One possible explanation for the unexpected student findings is that the present study relied on university students' reports. It is noted that a gender gap in employment in the UAE exists, despite the fact that Emirati women obtain a higher level of education than men on average (Cookman, 2018; Kemp, 2013). However, this higher level of education is an almost necessary condition for those who wish to work at all, as most employers require employees to have obtained a primary degree. In other words, it might be that those women who obtain higher levels of education are the ones who enter the workforce, while women with lower levels of education do not. For men, on the other hand, it might be more common to enter the workforce regardless of educational level. As explained in Chapter 1, in some other non-Western countries women *have to* work in order to ensure their family has sufficient financial means (Yang *et al.*, 2000). In these countries (e.g., Tanzania, India, Bangladesh) women work despite having lower levels of education, as well as having to balance work with childcare and domestic responsibilities, often resulting in the emergence

of small, home-based entrepreneurship (Isaga, 2018; Franzke *et al.,* 2022). The context of the UAE, where there is often no such economic need, is quite different.

This consideration of cultural context is important because what might appear on the surface to be the erosion of gender differences and roles might have little to do with these factors. For example, male students may feel they can work less not because of shifting gender expectations, but because they believe they can earn sufficient money without needing to work full-time (Waxin, Kumra, and Zhao, 2020). Economic need may not play a role at all in why women choose to work: women can have motivations for working that do not reflect a need for financial gain (e.g., personal development and empowerment) (Haine, 2019). Therefore, caution is needed before assuming that the results represent a disappearance of social gender differences and roles. This is all the more true if self-spouse differences are taken into consideration (which will be done in 8.4), as this provides an insight into what an individual's expectations are for themselves as well as their spouse. Moreover, support for traditional gender norms is evident in the finding that women more often than men expected to work part-time prior to their children going to school. This suggests that women accept that during this period it will be their responsibility to take care of the children at the expense of their working careers.

This brings us to the findings with respect to childcare. The expected gender differences in childcare were supported for the possible selves, future selves and actual selves. In many different countries worldwide, it is found that women devote more time and energy to childcare than men (e.g., see Ollson *et al.* 2023; Poduval and Poduval, 2009; Singh, 2018), a finding also present among the employees in this study. The present study further confirms that students also expect this difference in childcare, despite the different scenarios for their possible selves, as well as when thinking about their future selves. Overall, the gender norm is usually that mothers are the primary caregivers to children

(Bianchi and Milkie, 2010; Craig and Mullan, 2011; Hays, 1996; Hook, 2010). As discussed in the literature review, the UAE norm is known to be particularly traditional meaning that the father provides and the mother maintains the home and children (Alayan and Yair, 2010; Charrad, 2011; El-Sanabary, 1994; Ellingsæter, 2013; Mobaraki and Soderfeldt, 2010; Slattery, 2012). While in Western countries women are known to struggle with combining work and childcare (Christnacht and Sullivan, 2020; Freeney *et al.*, 2022; Pepin and Cotter, 2018; Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2007; Sockley *et al.*, 2021), the expectations of Western women is that their childcare responsibilities will be lessened when working full-time (see Appendix I). However, this expectation was not true for women in the UAE: Emirati women's expectations regarding responsibility for childcare did not change regardless of different conditions of employment (full-time, part-time or not working) (see Appendix I).

Given the traditional gender roles in the UAE, it should not come as a surprise that with respect to housework, female students expected to carry out more housework compared to male students in the possible selves scenarios, as well as when thinking about their future selves. Similarly, female employees reported more housework compared to male employees. Past research in Western countries has also shown that women continue to perform a larger share of housework relative to men (Álvarez and Miles, 2003; Gimenez-Nadal and Sevilla, 2012; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; US Department of Labour, 2020). Similar to the findings in the present study, these expectations mirror those of young adults in Western countries (Askari *et al.*, 2010; Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016).

8.4 Expected and Perceived Gender Differences (H5)

Previous research suggests that attitudes about gender roles change more rapidly among women than among men in Arabian countries, including in the UAE (Maitner and Henry, 2018; Ottsen and Berntsen, 2014; Sikdar and Mitra, 2012). Therefore, it was hypothesised that women would expect smaller gender inequalities than men regarding their possible and future self-life outcomes. However, this expectation was not supported by the present study's results. In fact, in the possible selves expectations, women expected a larger difference in salaries and childcare than men. On the other hand, for the future selves expectations, the gender gaps expected by men and women with respect to salaries and childcare were of similar size. This would suggest that for certain possible selves scenarios, such as staying at home full-time, women felt that gender inequality would further increase beyond what they realistically expected for their own futures.

Regarding self-spouse differences in male and female student expectations with respect to salary, male and female students both expected that male spouses would earn more than female spouses. This suggests that women are not more optimistic than men about the outcomes they will achieve with respect to their salaries. Given the current situation in the UAE in which gender gaps in salaries are large compared to Western countries (Balooshi and Abdalla, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2022), the students' expectations seem realistic, particularly in the absence of measures to narrow the gap.

With respect to working hours, while the expectations of female and male students under the possible selves scenarios were quite similar (as explained in 8.3), women had higher expectations of their male spouses in the sense that they expected their spouses to work more hours. As shown in Appendix I, compared to their Western counterparts, Emirati women reported a larger difference between their average working hours and those of their partners. This similarity between own working hours expected by female and male

Emirati students reflects higher working hours expected by the Emirati women overall in comparison to Emirati men, instead of it being reflective of smaller gender gap expectations. These findings make it difficult to predict how many working hours and what kind of employment status will be reached by men and women in the next five years. While both men and women expect that women will work less than men, both men's and women's estimates of working hours were not in agreement for the possible selves scenarios. The study was limited in not having accessed the expected working hours of the self and the partner for the future selves. However, regardless of the number of working hours that men and women will commit themselves to in the future, the results make clear that gender inequality with respect to working hours is likely to remain present at least in the short-term future of the UAE.

Housework was the only life outcome where women expected a smaller gender difference for their future selves compared to their spouse. Both men and women expected a traditional role pattern, with women carrying out more housework than men. However, men expected their spouse to carry out more housework than women expected for themselves. This difference might be explained by women expecting others to take over a larger part of the housework, which can include family, but in the case of the UAE also includes domestic servants (Halabi, 2008). The possibility of servants carrying out housework has been neglected in previous studies investigating gender roles. This neglect can be explained by the fact that most prior research has been conducted in Western countries where the use of servants has become less common during the post-industrial period and where modern outsourcing of housework more typically consists of availing of paid-for alternatives, such as take-out meals and cleaning services (Craig and Baxter, 2014; Hester and Srnicek, 2023).

Although Emirati households use domestic help (primarily women) to relieve women of some of the domestic labour, that use does not necessarily translate into greater gender equality. The economic prosperity in the UAE attracts domestic workers from Sri Lanka, Indonesia and the Philippines (Halabi, 2008; Arokkiaraj and Rajan, 2021). These workers are mostly women who choose to leave their families and migrate for economic and social reasons. Research has found that the working conditions of domestic workers are harsh; they are placed in a vulnerable position because they are dependent on their employers, and often face racial discrimination and violations of their human rights (Halabi, 2008; Arokkiaraj and Rajan, 2021). As such, while they may contribute to a somewhat more equal distribution of housework carried out by those employing them, the existence of domestic workers in the UAE (as well as in many other countries) should still be seen as contributing to *more* gender inequality and violations of women rights (International Labour Office, 2013).

Domestic workers can also help with taking care of children. However, women expected their future selves to do more childcare than their future husbands (as reflected in women expecting a larger self-spouse discrepancy). International studies show that childcare is perceived by mothers as fundamentally different from housework (Gupta, Sayer and Pearlman, 2021; Sayer and Gornick, 2011; Sullivan, 2013; Wang, 2013). While housework is often regarded as a 'necessary evil', childcare is perceived as a social responsibility with symbolic meaning (Gupta *et al.,* 2021). Mothers can often feel that they spend too little time with their children and while they may skip or postpone household tasks because of their jobs, they may feel it would be morally wrong to neglect their children (Gupta *et al.,* 2021; Sayer and Gornick, 2011; Sullivan, 2013). This finding is also true in other countries, where women are more responsible for childcare than men, even if they are also involved in career making (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016; Anita *et al.*, 2020;

Collins *et al.*, 2021; Delina and Prabhakara Raya, 2013; Emslie and Hunt, 2009; Goldscheider *et al.*, 2015; Hochschild and Machung, 2012). In this respect, the present study's findings are in line with findings from other countries.

Before focusing on the actual experiences of employees, the reader is reminded that by drawing on a sample of public sector workers working in an educational organisation, the results will be specific for this professional field. Internationally, as well as in the UAE, education is seen as a feminine profession (Dickson and Le Roux, 2013), associated with helping children develop, making a contribution, showing altruism, caring and nurturing (Han, Borgonovi, and Guerriero, 2020; Lindgreen *et al.*, 2022; Sabbe and Aelterman, 2007). It is suggested that having security and time for family are key motivators when choosing to work in the sector (Han, Borgonovi, and Guerriero, 2020). While internationally, salaries within the field of education tend to be relatively low compared to other professions that require similar educational qualifications, in the UAE education is a highly valued professional field and offers a relatively good salary. These factors may explain why the working women in the present study worked fewer hours than their spouses and men in general, despite their full-time employment status. The shorter working hours may also explain why men in the sample worked about the same number of hours compared to their spouses. Women also reported salaries similar to those of their spouses, which suggests that for them working in the education sector provides good career opportunities. Thus, the education sector provides women in the UAE the opportunity to work in a valued field, where salaries are relatively high, and the job is accepted as role-congruent (Yahya, 2022). Despite these considerations, women in the sample were more responsible for domestic labour and childcare compared to their spouses, which aligns with gender roles in the UAE.

The findings further show that the men in this working sample reported earning higher salaries than their spouses. At one extreme, this may reflect the possibility that Emirati men generally do not like or want women to achieve more than they do (Maitner and Henry, 2018). As such, the salary difference may be explained by men opting for partners with a lower working position and lower salary than themselves. At the other extreme, men opting to work in education, as a predominantly feminine profession, is incongruent with gender roles. As such, the salaries reported by the men in this sample may not be due to them striving for a higher salary or choosing spouses with a lower salary, but rather could be a reflection of the tendency in UAE society to reward men with larger salaries than women (Balooshi and Abdalla, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2022). Even though the difference in salaries for men and women seems to be slightly smaller in the educational sector (i.e., 6% versus 7% in other sectors), men in the sector still tend to earn more than women (Salary explorer, 2023).

The men in this working sample also reported that they carried out as much housework as their spouses. However, compared to their spouses they reported that they carried out 8.80 hours less childcare a week. Women, on the other hand, reported carrying out significantly more childcare than their spouses: 35.62 hours more a week. Thus, it can be tentatively concluded that men working in education showed more caring characteristics and gender equality in their relationships than the 'average' UAE man. This conclusion is based on the recognition that gender differences in choices and life outcomes exist globally. It is important to acknowledge, however, that there is considerable variation in how individual couples divide work and experience gender (in)equality (Bleske-Rechek and Gunseor, 2022; Daminger, 2020).

8.5 Attainment of Life Goals (H6)

Goal congruity theory (as part of social role theory) holds that individuals' decisions to engage in roles are affected by the social norms and customs that are internalised on the one hand, and determined by the possibilities perceived by others on the other hand (Diekman *et al.*, 2017). Based on this theory, it had been hypothesised that females would regard communal life goals as more attainable and agentic life goals as less attainable, and that this would explain gender differences in life outcomes. The present study's findings were, however, unable to provide support for the theory. For the actual selves, no gender differences were found in life goal attainability among the employed participants. This finding might be explained by the selection of participants who shared the same profession, with similar work environments and possibilities. Also contradicting the theory, it was found in the future selves' part of the study that women *overall* were more optimistic about the attainment of life goals than men, including security at work, which is considered to be an agentic life goal. Yet, it should be noted that security at work was more strongly associated with communal gender roles than with agency, which seems to reveal that security attainment actually relates to matters such as being able to take better care of their family and/or having a positive social working climate. In this sense, security at work may have been more a communal life goal than an agentic life goal. This may explain why women were more optimistic about security at work than males.

It was further found that while women on average were more communal, agentic roles were *not* associated with gender (neither among the students, nor among the employees). This is in line with international findings which suggest that agency, but not communality, seems to have become more gender-equal worldwide (e.g., Croft *et al.*, 2014; Eagly and Wood, 1999). It had been expected that this finding would be different in the UAE because, compared to Western countries, the UAE has more traditional gender role

patterns. While gender differences in agency may still exist (in the UAE and in other countries) because of social norms and because of biological differences (such as more testosterone in males) (Westhuizen *et al.*, 2017), these differences could relate to more extreme forms of agency that are socially undesirable and usually not measured with self-report surveys (e.g., arrogance and egoism; Gartzia, 2021). For socially accepted forms of agency, the social meaning of agency in a society seems to change from being seen as a typically male value to a value associated with work and certain organisational cultures or job positions (e.g., being a manager) (Gartzia, 2021).

These explanations provided here fit within a social constructivist approach, where it is assumed that human development is shaped by the social context, and knowledge and understanding are constructed by humans. The social constructivist approach is also used in the definition of gender in the social role theory that was used in this study. In contrast to biological sex, gender is not biologically determined, but rather constructed through social interactions, cultural norms, and societal expectations. As explained by Sprague (2001), 'from a social constructionist perspective, gender is not an internalised personality structure as much as it is a social fiction we work to maintain through our everyday social practices' (p. 594).

In the search for objective, generalisable findings and causal relationships, gender studies scholars have often switched to a positivist methodology, despite this underlying social constructivist assumption (Reiter, 2014). This positivist approach has been tremendously useful in bringing attention to global gender issues, for example, by documenting gender differences in health, education, economy and politics worldwide (particularly the Global Gender Gap Reports that have been published annually since 2006). While the present study also followed a positivist methodology aiming to reach objective and generalisable conclusions, it is acknowledged that this perspective was particularly

powerful for the first part of the study, which addressed gender differences in the UAE, but the capacity for a more nuanced and culturally appropriate model was somewhat limited.

8.6 Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes (H7, H8, H9)

Following the affordances and motives model of Diekman *et al.* (2020), it had been hypothesised that perceived life goal attainment of communal goals would be associated with outcomes prioritising home over work. In contrast, agentic life goals were associated with prioritising work over home. Furthermore, it was posited that the effects of life goal attainability on life outcomes would be moderated by the extent to which individuals adhered to communal and agentic values, leaving open the possibility that men and women do not necessarily (fully) internalise the gender roles of society. The results were different for students and for employees and will be discussed in the following subsections.

8.6.1 Student Future Selves, Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes

For the students' future selves, neither the expected paths from life goal attainment to life outcomes, nor the moderation of this path by communality or agency, were confirmed. It was only when gender, communality and agency were controlled that a negative effect between security at work and housework and a positive effect between relationships and housework were found. This finding suggests that, in the context of work-life balance, housework is the first to suffer when work is given priority. A relationship orientation can sometimes help in carrying out the often less-desired domestic chores; however, these relationships can be overruled by other factors associated with gender, agency and communality. The fact that this relationship was only found when the other factors were controlled for, as well as the lack of further associations between life goal attainability and life outcomes, strongly suggests that the meaning individuals attach to the life goals and/or outcomes are less straightforward than what was originally assumed. This also became clear from the finding that work security was more strongly associated with communal

gender roles than with agency, as was mentioned in the previous section 8.5. This suggests that people had interpretations of this life goal that could include personal, but also (and even more so) social/other benefits.

This idea that there may be different meanings attached to the same life goals fits well with goal systems theory (Kruglanski et al. 2002). This theory acknowledges the complexity of the mental models associated with goals, which may explain the present study's findings from a social-constructivist perspective. Goal systems theory holds that human behaviour is driven by goals that are represented by cognitive constructs, which can have an architecture of sub-goals and mental models of means of achievement (Kruglanski *et al.,* 2023). *Equifinality* and *multi-finality* are two processes defined by this theory that might help explain the lack of significant associations between life goal attainment and life outcomes. *Equifinality* refers to the 'all roads leading to Rome' aphorism (Kruglanski *et al.,* 2023, p. 3). According to this principle, similar outcomes may be obtained even though individuals have different reasons for obtaining them. For example, some individuals may feel that it will be likely that they attain positive relationships in the future and envision themselves having a good relationship with their children, therefore happily spending many hours taking care of them. Other individuals will instead have a gloomier view on goal attainment regarding relationships, feeling it will be difficult to earn the respect of their spouses or establish a close bond with their children. They too can expect they will spend many hours taking care of the children, but for different reasons. For example, they may think their partners will feel it is their job and they will need to fully commit themselves to raising their children, which in their eyes will be a difficult job.

Multi-finality, on the other hand, refers to different outcomes resulting from the same circumstances/causes (Kruglanski *et al.,* 2023). For example, for one person, striving to attain a good work-life balance may mean finding a partner who will be good with

children and having one day off per week to be with their children. For another person, it may mean staying at home in order to take care of the children. Similarly, establishing good relationships with others for one person can refer to feeling respected and equal to their spouse (which can include career making), while for another person it may focus on building a strong bond with their children (which would mean prioritising time with the over career).

Multi-finality is especially likely in the UAE. The reason is that the UAE is a relatively young country that has experienced several major economic phases (Al-Sayegh, 2001). These changes make it harder for young adults to rely on established patterns when translating more abstract goals into concrete life outcomes. Due to Emiratisation, young people might feel there are different paths open to them when compared to how their parents and grandparents structured their time and used their ideals to develop a certain work-life balance. As already discussed, this can mean, for example, that some men will opt for the previously not so common option to work less (or even not at all), and for some women to rely on others to carry out housework.

However, that is not to say that all options are open: desired and possible outcomes are still restricted by religious and cultural obligations. For example, women will generally feel they need to prioritise their obligations with respect to their family, and career will be seen as a secondary responsibility (Yahya, 2022). Still, due to government stimulations to encourage Emiratis to pursue careers and work, there is a slowly changing climate in the UAE. Yahya (2022) investigated how female teachers in the UAE perceived post-graduate degree obtainment. He found that for some of these teachers, continued education had been perceived as a path that could foster a career, which could be a way to see the attainment of security at work goal translated into a higher-than-expected career. Other teachers had felt that the attainment of the security at work goal would be possible because of their

choice of a career in the education sector, a profession encouraged by Islam (Yahya, 2022). In this latter case, women who feel they have attained security at work may not have focused on higher salaries, for example, but focused on shorter working hours instead. This is an example of how similar estimates of goal attainment could result in different outcome expectations. In conclusion, integrating goal systems theory into goal congruity theory makes the model more dynamic, allowing for more detailed and contextual expectations for gendered perceptions and future expectations.

8.6.2 Employees' Actual Selves Life Goal Attainability and Life Outcomes

For employees, some specific relationships between life goal attainment and life outcomes were found. These relationships may have occurred because the participants in the employee sample all worked within the educational sector. The specific contextual characteristics of this sector may have made the attainment of life goals for them a more realistic present and near-future experience. After all, for many, they were already in a stage of life where certain objectives were accomplished (e.g., working, having a partner, having children etc.). While social role theory provides some potential theoretical explanations for the findings regarding the employee sample, these findings can also be complemented with more contextual understanding and the possibility of equifinality and multi-finality explanations (see 8.6.1 for a fuller discussion).

The findings showed that the positive relationship between work-life goal attainment and salary was moderated by agency in the sense that work-life goals were negatively associated with salary. However, this effect was weaker for higher levels of agency. The negative relationship between work-life goal attainment and salary was as hypothesised and suggests that individuals will not prioritise higher salaries if their primary goal is to focus on a healthy balance between work and home. The fact that this effect was weaker for individuals high on agency may be explained by a floor effect: it was found that

highly agentic individuals reported low salaries overall. Following role congruity theory, this would suggest that higher levels of agency may be penalised in the field of education because highly agentic behaviours violate the values of nurturing and altruism that are considered to be important (Han, Borgonovi, and Guerriero, 2020; Lindgreen *et al.*, 2022; Sabbe and Aelterman, 2007). This may be true for women in particular, since there was a stronger negative association between agency and salary for women compared to men. As noted earlier, Yahya (2022) found that education in the UAE is a professional field that is seen as appropriate for women, which corresponds to a religious belief that it is appropriate for women to educate. From the perspective of role congruity, the stereotypical roles ascribed to educational professions can result in reinforcement of these roles and sanctioning of role inconstant behaviours (Croft *et al.*, 2020; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky, 1992; Heilman *et al*., 2004; Lyness and Heilman, 2006; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, and Phelan, 2012).

Agency also had a moderating effect on the relationship goal attainment and salary. Unexpectedly, it was found that relationship goal attainment was more strongly positively associated with salary for low agentic individuals, but more strongly negatively associated for high agentic individuals. While a negative relationship had been expected between relationship goals and salary, it would seem that the previously described values in this educational setting created a context where it was *potentially* an appreciated characteristic to prioritise positive relationships, which accordingly was rewarded with higher wages. Indeed, it is noteworthy that being respected by co-workers in the student sample was a facet of the category security at work, while it belonged to relationship goal attainment for the employees. The relationship is considered as a *potential* one because relationship goal attainment was only associated with higher salaries for low agentic individuals, but not for highly agentic individuals. For the latter group, it was instead found that while they tended

to have relatively low salaries, highly agentic individuals who reported *low* relationship goal attainment had somewhat higher salaries. This is an example of multi-finality that seems to be explained by different definitions of positive relationships among high and low agentic people. Highly agentic people are more focused on the self, showing dominance and competitiveness. As such, they may feel they have obtained their relationship goals when they are in control of others (Eagly *et al.*, 2019; Folberg, Kercher, and Ryan, 2019). This perspective would be in violation of the altruistic and nurturing values of the educational field. If highly agentic individuals do not perceive relationship goals as attainable, it may mean they are *not* dominating others and therefore they will *not* be penalised for their agency (which stays more covert). For low agentic individuals, the attainment of relationship goals was likely to be reflected in a prosocial focus towards others, which would be appreciated in the educational field.

The same line of reasoning can be used to explain the moderating effect of communality on the positive relationship between relationship goal attainment and salary. This relationship was stronger among individuals displaying higher communality but was not significant for low to medium communal individuals (and was even in the negative direction for the latter). Highly communal individuals focus on the benefit of others from a prosocial or altruistic stance and on collaborating with others (Brown *et al.*, 2015ab; Diekman *et al.*, 2020; Fuesting, and Diekman, 2017). Their perspectives about relationship goal attainment will be in full congruence with the interpersonal values that are important in the educational sector, which explains why highly communal people who perceive relationship goals as attainable will be rewarded with higher salaries in this sector (showing full role congruence with the educational profession's norms). This also explains why communality was positively associated with higher salaries for men: their gender-incongruent behaviour in this particular context would seem to be appreciated. This finding

is perhaps especially relevant to the UAE context, where there is a shortage of male educators and where especially good and passionate male teachers can expect to earn high salaries in order to be attracted to and retained in the sector (The National, 2016).

Finally, it was also found that there was a positive association between career goal attainment and salaries. This association was moderated by agency, where high levels of agency strengthened this relationship. However, the relationship weakened and seemed to even become non-existent at lower levels of agency. The career goal attainment measure included items related to enjoying your job, feeling financially secure and earning a good salary. The findings would suggest that perceptions of career goal attainment were highly subjective, where high agentic individuals may have focused more on earning a good salary than on job enjoyment compared to low agentic individuals. As was already explained, agency was negatively associated with salary, meaning that low agentic people tended to have high salaries. This was also true for low agency individuals who reported that career goals were difficult to attain. As such, it is possible that low agentic individuals who reported low career goal attainment were those who perhaps found it difficult to experience their work as pleasurable. These feelings can be caused by a range of factors and, as such, seem less agentic compared to salary goals.

These explanations of the moderation effects are consistent with the idea of multi-finality; similar estimates of life goal attainability have different associations with life outcomes. The explanations of the effects of agency and communality in this study are context-specific and different findings could be obtained when focusing on other professional fields. Social constructivism suggests that there is subjectivity in the meaning of life goal attainability, which depends on the agentic and communal goals of individuals, as well as other personal traits that were not assessed in the present study. This suggestion is supported by the finding that neither work-life balance nor career goal attainability were

found to be related to agency or communal goals, and that relationship goal attainability showed a positive association with both, although it was stronger for communal goals.

Subjectivity also would explain the findings in the employee sample for childcare and housework. For both outcomes, it was found that there was a complex relationship with relationship goal attainment, where communality functioned as a moderator, changing the direction of the effect. More precisely, while it had been expected that relationship goals would be associated with more childcare and housework hours, the opposite was found for individuals with low to medium communality. For high communality, the effect was in the positive direction. It is acknowledged that self-reports of relationship goal attainment may have very different meanings for different people. After all, relationship goal attainment included items about children, spouses, and co-workers and can reflect what the participants hope for or believe versus what is actually happening in their relationships with others. Highly communal individuals are strongly focused on others. For them, spending a lot of time at home and with their children is an important aspect of their relationship goal evaluations. This would suggest that being altruistic and focused on the needs of others may help highly communal individuals at work, but also at home in establishing positive bonds with their children and/or spouse. On the other hand, for people who are less communal, it may be true that spending more time at home and taking care of housework and children, means they experience more often negative interactions with their spouse and/or children. This negativity is reflected in their more negative perceptions of relationship goal attainment. Contributions to negative perceptions of relationship goal attainability may also stem from doing more housework than the other party in a relationship; labour that might be perceived as less valuable.

The expected positive relationship between work-life goal attainment and childcare was confirmed. However, in contrast to expectations, this relationship was moderated by

agency with higher levels of agency strengthening the association. One possible explanation is that parents sometimes draw the distinction between quantity and quality when it comes to childcare. While this topic has not yet received a lot of attention in the UAE, one study conducted there suggested that there are three groups of parents (Snyder, 2007). The first group, structured-planning parents, see quality time as time for special family activities that are not part of normal routines and mostly take place during weekends or vacations (e.g., going to a museum). These parents feel the hectic nature of work and school makes it hard to relax and enjoy time together. The solution for this group of parents is to actively create these quality moments. The second group, child-centred parents, see quality time as moments of communication and bonding. They also feel there is little time to spend with each other due to school, work and responsibilities in the home, but compensate by having heart-to-heart talks during tasks. For example, a parent might have an intimate talk with their child while shopping for groceries together or show emotional support when going to a child's school event. The third group, time-available parents, feel that all time spent together is quality time. They feel the focus on quality versus quantity is artificial. For time-available parents, it is the time spent at home with the family that counts, even if parents and children are not interacting with each other. For example, household members may be in different rooms, doing different things (e.g., the parent doing household chores and the child doing their schoolwork).

It is unclear whether these three groups of parents identified by Snyder (2007) in the UAE can be found in other cultures. However, Snyder's findings do suggest that hours spent taking care of children can have different meanings for different people. In the typology found in the United States, for example, child-centred parents seem to be less focused on the actual time they spend taking care of the children; for them, sharing emotions and experiences is what counts. This belief could be connected to lower levels of

agency, with these parents being less focused on the number of hours spent caring for children. In addition, they may also avoid trying to dominate how time is spent. Rather, they profit from the opportunity to talk with children, which would weaken the association between time spent with the children and perceptions of work-life goal attainability. Thus, for these parents feeling close to their children, rather than spending time with them, impacts how they experience their work-life balance (Snyder, 2007).

These lines of thought, and the overall finding that hours spent on childcare and work-life goal attainment were positively associated in the UAE, suggest that quality-time and alternatives for childcare requires more research. Parents can worry about the effect of pursuing a career on children, especially when it concerns mothers. For example, in a study among married Emirati women pursuing the Bachelor of Education teaching degree, one mother expressed: 'Because of the pressure, I became careless as a mother and wife. I feel depressed because my son's achievement in Math differed negatively from when I used to teach him' (Saqr, Tennant and Springer, 2014, p.7). As already discussed, in the UAE domestic workers are often used to carry out work in the home; research shows that these workers are mainly hired to do household chores (92%) rather than to look after the children (8%) (Roumani, 2005).

However, in practice, if parents both work it can happen that the domestic worker does become responsible for childcare, even though they may be officially hired to do housework (Baker, 2016; Roumani, 2005). It is suggested that this situation can be damaging for children (Roumani, 2005) largely because domestic workers not only lack qualifications in childcare, but also because they are not placed in the position to provide warm and secure parenting. Instead, their position is one of obedience and doing as they are told, where there is little possibility of following emotions, being flexible, showing love and responding adaptively to the disobedient behaviour of the children. It is, therefore,

suggested that parents do not rely on what the domestic worker is offering. Instead they use more expensive, but also more professional, forms of childcare (e.g., nurseries) and invest in quality time with their children, understanding that childcare provided by others can support child-development, but does not replace the attachment relationship between parents and children (Baker, 2016; Roumani, 2005). Further facilitating these developments and providing information about the difference between quantity and quality time may also help Emiratis feel better about the attainability of a positive work-life balance despite working.

8.7 *'Wasta'* and Network-Oriented External Locus of Control (H10, H11)

The present study further considered whether the association between gender and salary was moderated by *wasta*-related variables. Previous studies have suggested that *wasta* can be used to obtain better career opportunities, including higher salaries (Metcalfe, 2006; Ramady, 2005; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011; Whiteoak *et al.*, 2006). However, the results of the present study failed to support assumptions that men would increase their gender-related advantages in this respect through *wasta*. There are several potential explanations for the lack of support for these hypotheses. Separate explanations will be provided for the student and employee results because different *wasta*-related measures were used among the two samples. For both, however, it is relevant to keep in mind that while some participants may have positive perceptions of *wasta*, others might perceive *wasta* as unfair, and as something that is used by some in ways that limit their ability to obtain positive outcomes (Abalkhail and Allan, 2015; Baranik and Wright, 2018; Cunningham and Sarayah, 1993). As a result, some individuals will prefer using strategies other than *wasta* for their career advancement.

8.7.1 Students' Intention to Use Wasta in the Future

In the student study, participants were asked whether they intended to use *wasta* to assist in the attainment of their career goals. The findings showed that this intention to use *wasta* was somewhat higher among male compared to female students. This higher stated intention by men may stem from both an awareness that *wasta* can help male careers and that women do not benefit from *wasta* in the same ways as men (Bailey, 2012; Gold and Naufal, 2012). However, while it had been expected that the use of *wasta* would result in higher salary expectations for men (thereby increasing gender inequality regarding salary), this was not the case. There are at least three explanations for this unexpected finding, all of which stem from an unwillingness on the part of an individual to report an intention to use *wasta* if they do not expect it will help them to gain a higher salary.

First, it is possible that there was equifinality associated with the salary expectations in the reports of the intention to use *wasta*. Some individuals may have thought that they would be successful in their future and would use *wasta* to obtain even higher salaries than they could earn without using it. Other individuals, however, may have felt that it would be very difficult to obtain a good salary in the future (e.g., because they were not doing well in their studies or because they were opting for a professional field with poor salary prospects). These individuals may have reported an intention to use *wasta because* they had low salary expectations and believed it would be a necessity. In short, different reasons may have resulted in the same report of intention to use *wasta*.

Second, it is possible that while there were individuals who intended to use *wasta*, there were also individuals who would rather not use it, thinking they would need it to obtain a good salary. The initiatives to motivate Emiratis to participate in the work force, including offering high salaries, may mean that *wasta* is becoming less important for

careers and may explain the lack of association found between intention to use *wasta* and salary expectations. A very recent qualitative study about *wasta* in Lebanon supports this assumption (Helal *et al.,* 2023). In this study, people were interviewed about reasons to use *wasta*. In these interviews *wasta* was used due to elevated poverty in the country: people felt it was a necessary form of corruption, used to gain employment for survival purposes (Helal *et al.*, 2023). Currently, the UAE unlike Lebanon, does not have the same economic issues and so the use of *wasta* is less of a necessity, though nonetheless can offer advantages to those who use it.

Third, it is possible that because of the negative connotations of *wasta* which, as explained, can be perceived as unfair or corrupt, people may not have answered the question about their intentions truthfully. In addition, while individuals may not have intended to lie, they may have genuinely felt that their intentions were not really associated with *wasta*. For example, people intending to work in the family business may believe they will work just as hard as other employees and, therefore believe that a higher salary will be due to their contribution, rather than *wasta*. Yet, others might regard this situation as a type of *wasta* because the opportunity to work in the family business is a way of using social connections. In general, people tend to unconsciously deny behaviour that they find unethical, even though they show or intend to show such behaviours (De Klerk, 2017). In this regard, self-serving deceptions are used to convince themselves that acts are justified and acceptable (De Klerk, 2017).

8.7.2 Employees' Experience of Network-Oriented External Locus of Control

In the case of the employed participants, it had been expected that there would be gender and network effects on salary expectations and that men reporting higher network-oriented external locus of control would report higher salaries. Instead, these effects were only evident for a low to average network-oriented locus of control. This completely unexpected

finding might again be related to the moral disapproval of *wasta*. Not having achieved a higher salary may lead these men to think that others have been more successful precisely because they used *wasta*. This is because participants did not report about whether they had used their network, but rather responded to whether they found this to be effective in general (e.g., 'When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know is more important than what you know'). In short, the unexpected association in the opposite direction may be explained where lower salaries obtained by men (to a level like that of women) affect their perceptions of how salary success can be obtained.

Just as students may not have validly reported their intentions to use *wasta*, this finding may have been caused by a self-serving deception. It is known from social-comparison theory that people who experience others obtaining more success can feel envy, also known as *social comparison jealousy* (Salovey and Rodin, 1984; Wenninger, Cheung and Chmielinski, 2021). Social comparison jealousy causes a sense of inferiority that an individual usually wants to reduce. One way of reducing this feeling is to view oneself as dissimilar from the person(s) of comparison and to feel hostile towards them, making the others to blame rather than one's own inabilities or inferiority (Wenninger et al., 2021). In this sense, if men with lower salaries attribute the salary success of others to *wasta* and see this as immoral, they may subsequently feel better about themselves; while they have not attained success regarding this life outcome, at least they have not used immoral ways to obtain success as others have. This may be particularly likely where the individual anchors the referent at 'people more successful than me' rather than at them personally.

Another possibility for this finding is that the perceptions of men with low salaries are accurate and that men who have obtained higher salaries have in fact used their social networks to do so. In this case, the same denial of unethical behaviour that was suggested when discussing the student findings (De Klerk, 2017) could explain why those men with

higher salaries reported a lower network-oriented external locus of control. After all, holding a network-oriented external locus of control for them would have meant accepting that their own success may have been obtained unfairly. For men with higher salaries, it could have been more comfortable to believe that salary success is explained by factors other than *wasta*, such as having more capabilities or working harder. This explanation assumes that the referent of men with higher salaries is them personally, rather than others who are less successful than them.

A further possibility is that network-oriented external attributions in the UAE represent a false belief in the educational sector. In this case, men who count on *wasta* to help them obtain a higher salary are instead 'punished' for their efforts to develop their career in this way. In all three of these explanations, the idea that *wasta* is morally disapproved of is present. While values around *wasta* are relevant to the UAE, these values could be different in other countries. *Wasta* provides an example of why certain values and/or culturally specific aspects of society should be included more generally in the theory to improve it.

8.8 Employment and Gender (H12)

The final hypothesis proposed that the effects of gender on life outcomes would be stronger among those not working full-time. This hypothesis was based on the fact that many Emiratis have the privilege of not having to work full-time. However, for most outcomes, no interactions were found between gender and employment status, suggesting that the expected effects of later employment status on the distributions of tasks in the marriage were more complex than had been expected.

The only outcome where the association with gender was affected by perceptions of future employment status was childcare. As expected, it was found that the effect of gender on childcare was stronger when expecting to work part-time than when expecting to work full-time. The results for the expected self-spouse differences further revealed that this effect was due to men expecting a larger difference between themselves and their spouses, with them carrying out even less childcare than their spouse when working part-time than when working full-time. Although it was not measured in the present study, men who expected to work part-time in the future probably expected that their spouse would not work at all or only part-time too, and thus have the time to take care of children. These men may have expected to work because they wanted more time for themselves while still having enough money. Women, on the other hand, may have expected that their partners in all situations would work full-time or more than they would themselves. In addition, as noted earlier, women seemed to value taking care of children and not feeling they should have others doing this labour.

However, an unexpected finding that emerged was that the effect of gender on childcare was not found to be significant for those who expected to stay at home. Men who expected to work part-time expected to do more childcare than men who expected to work full-time. In the student sample, few participants expected to stay at home and not work at all. In the UAE, 88% of Emirati men work and it is not common for men to opt out of the labour market (Conceição *et al.*, 2022). A desire to help take care of children may have been one reason why some men expected to stay at home (maybe expecting to start working later in life). This explanation would not have applied to housework, which is looked down upon. In contrast, it is acknowledged that the father can have a valuable role to play in childcare (Shaya and Khait, 2017). The men expecting not to work may have been less traditional, perhaps coming from wealthy families, which would explain why they could

postpone working or expect to be able to generate a passive income. This possibility is supported in the data, which showed that some men reported a salary for their future selves, even though they did not expect to work.

Alternatively, and in complete contrast to this first explanation, it could be that some men who did not expect to work instead had quite a disastrous prospect in terms of job opportunities and feared they would be unable to find employment. In this case, the higher reports of childcare may have been viewed by the participants as a way to at least help their spouses. In line with this suggestion was the finding that six men in the student sample did not expect to earn a salary; however, they did expect their spouse to have a salary. While these are contrasting explanations, both can be true for different men.

8.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, the results of the present study demonstrate that in the UAE gender differences in life outcomes not only exist, but also are expected by male and female students. Both men and women expect that men will have higher salaries and females will spend more time taking care of the children. Furthermore, the findings suggest that life outcomes are often relative within a relationship: when one person's responsibility for work, childcare or housework increases, the other person usually becomes less involved or responsible in that area. This suggestion is not only true in the UAE, but also is found worldwide and reflects the fact that couples need to find a balance between their various tasks and the time they have (Bühlmann, Elcheroth, and Tettamanti, 2010; Dema-Moreno and Díaz-Martínez, 2010; Schwiter and Baumgarten, 2017). The number of hours that both men and women spend on tasks is not a one-to-one, perfectly linear balance, but rather reflects an interdependency that increases when there are more relevant life

outcomes/responsibilities. For example, European research among heterosexual couples has shown that, before having children, couples can have a fairly equal distribution of responsibilities (Bühlmann, Elcheroth, and Tettamanti, 2010). However, once childcare becomes a new responsibility, an additional pressure is placed on the balance that needs to be managed (Bühlmann, Elcheroth, and Tettamanti, 2010). Often women take a larger part of this responsibility, but if men in the marriage for example have a 'daddy-day' (fathers having a 4-day work week instead of working full-time in order to take care of their children), this helps women to spend more hours at work (Schwiter & Baumgarten, 2017). In short, it is understandable that the same factors predicting how much responsibility individuals (expect to) take for work, income, childcare or housework are also relevant in predicting the self-spouse differences regarding these responsibilities.

Although the more complex models created to explain the specific UAE context did not confirm all the hypotheses, the findings have provided more insight into gender differences in the expectations of life outcomes for Emirati students and of actual outcomes among employees. The next chapter will discuss the contributions this research has made, as well as providing details of the study's limitations and directions for future research.

9 Conclusion

This research has provided rich insights into gender differences in the expectations of Emirati students in terms of life outcomes for themselves and their spouses, their gender role self-concepts, and the attainment of life goals. Using the possible selves framework, the study built on prior research that was previously undertaken in Western countries (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016) in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the dynamics and complexity of gender equality in a UAE context. The study utilised some experimentally manipulated hypothetical scenarios (which varied in terms of education and employment levels) to examine possible selves and future selves in order to better understand Emirati students' perceptions of their own futures and to gain some insight into possible reasons as to why so few Emiratis especially females are not entering the workforce. An employee sample was first considered to see how students' perceptions might correspond to the actual experiences of men and women who are currently in the workforce in the UAE. Furthermore, an extended model was suggested that was theoretically aligned to the UAE context.

In this concluding chapter, an overview of the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the study are provided. The limitations of the study are also discussed as are suggestions for potential future studies. Finally, the chapter ends with some concluding thoughts.

9.1 Study Contributions and Implications

9.1.1 Theoretical Contributions

This study responded to calls for more research to examine gender inequality and gender roles in non-Western countries and, more specifically, in the Arab region (Budhwar *et al.*, 2019; Doh *et al.*, 2021; by Kemp, 2021; Obioma *et al.*, 2022; Syed *et al.*, 2018). The

study found support for gender differences that have been found in other countries, with higher expectations for men with respect to work responsibilities and higher expectations for women with respect to their role in the home as outlined in the first finding. However, this study also demonstrates the importance of the cultural context when studying gender as, despite the similarities mentioned above, finding two highlighted that the expected gender differences in working hours and childcare were larger in the UAE compared to those found in Western studies. For example, as outlined in Appendix I, Spanish and American women expect more working hours than Emirati women and the difference between the expectations for self and spouse among the Emiratis was greater than the difference expected by the Emirati women. This difference helps improve the understanding of gender assumptions in this non-Western context (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017). As an extension to the work of Eagly, this study supports research on gender and social role theory by emphasising the importance of cultural context and highlights the necessity for culturally sensitive approaches and cross-cultural comparisons to fully understand the dynamics of gender roles in various global contexts

The present study also took national and cultural differences into account, including a focus on differences in gender role identification, *wasta* and other socio-cultural factors that are specific to the UAE. As a result, culturally specific findings that are relevant to the UAE emerged. The third finding postulated that the intention to use *wasta* was more strongly present among males; however, *wasta* did not moderate gender effects on outcome expectations. Furthermore, as mentioned in the fourth finding; life goal attainment did not affect future perspectives. This finding shows that the Western model of affordances and motives – a framework that is used to understand how individuals' goals and motivations align with their social roles and environments – cannot be emulated in the UAE. The UAE presents unique challenges and adapting this model to the UAE context would require

significant shifts in cultural attitudes, legal reforms, economic restructuring, and enhances institutional support to create an environment where both communal and agentic goals are equally accessible and valued for all genders. In addition, the UAE is a country where its nationals are privileged and do not have the same financial motivation to enter the workforce unlike in the West. This cannot be ignored when investigating the labour market in the UAE. The fifth finding in the study also shows that where gender roles are expected to be strongly present, Emirati women report more communal traits compared to men. Agency, on the other hand, as explained in the sixth finding, shows no gender difference. As argued in the previous chapter, this follows the global findings that agency seems to have become more gender-equal (e.g., Croft *et al.*, 2014; Eagly Alice and Wood, 1999) and is increasingly seen as a value related to professional roles and work positions rather than being gender-specific. In the UAE, the importance of agency in the workplace echoes this global shift, suggesting that professional environments may be promoting gender equality in terms of agency traits. Its social meaning in a society seems to change and becomes a value associated with work and job positions rather than gender (Gartzia, 2021). The study's findings highlight a noteworthy cultural dynamic in the UAE: while traditional gender roles still emphasise communal traits for women, the perception of agency is becoming more gender-equal, reflecting broader global trends towards gender neutrality in professional environments. The theoretical implication is that communal values, and perhaps also socially undesirable forms of agency (e.g., in the form of *wasta* in the present study) (Gartzia, 2021), should be taken into consideration when addressing gender differences in life outcomes.

Another finding, as outlined in the seventh finding, is that Emirati women had similar expectations compared to men about working full-time, part-time or staying at home. The one exception is more women expected to work part-time before children go to

school. These findings help improve the theoretical model of gendered perceptions and expectations with respect to life outcomes for the UAE and potentially other Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) populations. They show the importance of taking into account not just gender but also life circumstances. While Emirati men and women have comparable work expectations, life circumstances such as childcare significantly impact women's work choices. This nuanced understanding enhances theoretical models of gendered perceptions and expectations by highlighting the importance of considering both gender and life circumstances. These insights are crucial for developing policies and practices that support gender equality and accommodate the diverse needs of the workforce in the UAE and the broader MENA region. Future theoretical elaborations could use these findings to investigate the underlying gendered motivators for working more or less hours. In the case of women choosing to work part-time before the children go to school, it would seem that women wish and/or feel they should take care of the children.

In addition to the student sample, the present study also included a sample of employed public sector workers to better understand the gender inequality encountered in the workplace and to identify what gender differences exist for employed Emiratis in this context. This perspective, which had not been included in prior studies (e.g. the US and Spanish studies), helps elucidate differences between students' expectations about the future and employees' experiences of working. For example, while intention to use *wasta* was found to be irrelevant for student expectations, finding 8 illustrates that employees with lower salaries were more likely to have an external network-oriented locus of control suggests that *wasta* can be associated with life outcomes. This suggests that those on a lower salary believe that those on a higher salary have used *wasta* to achieve their professional position and salary. The results surrounding *wasta* were unexpected and warrant further attention to understand gender differences in career expectations in the

UAE. A theoretical explanation of the present findings might be that employees with lower salaries may think they are lacking *wasta*, as explained in the previous chapter. This idea needs further attention. What can be said based on the present study's results is that *wasta* indeed is a highly complex phenomenon, as was already argued by Al-Twal (2021). The most plausible explanation for the unexpected finding among the employees is found in reversed causal reasoning (that is from negative outcomes to attributing success to *wasta*) and suggests that theoretical models should take into account 'both sides of the coin'. As explained by the theoretical framework, *wasta* can help some people, yet this is experienced as unfair by those who cannot or do not want to rely on *wasta* (Abalkhail and Allan, 2016; Baranik and Wright, 2018; Cunningham and Sarayah, 1994). For theoretical elaborations, this means that specifications are needed to clearly define the moral reasoning around *wasta* (whether it is right or wrong), the availability of *wasta* for different individuals (including those from less wealthy backgrounds) and whether it concerns reasoning about *wasta* used by oneself or by others.

Furthermore, for the employee sample, as outlined in finding 9; communal and agentic traits affected how life goal attainment was associated with life outcomes. Agency strengthened the relationship between career goals and salaries, and weakened the negative relationship between work-life goal attainment and salaries. Relationship goals had a positive relationship for low agency, but a negative relationship with salary for highly agentic people. Communality strengthened the positive relationship between relationship goals and salaries. The impact of these findings, as explained in the previous chapter, is that within the educational setting there is a preference for traits typically considered more feminine, including a positive relationship focus. Employees in education may have entered this profession as they enjoy working with people and place high value on relations which influences their career choices. It can be concluded that the proposed models based

on the combination of social role theory, gender role theory and goal congruity theory, could not be fully explained. However, combining and integrating these theories still provided a contribution to theory (Makadok *et al.*, 2018; Fisher and Aguinis, 2017) by yielding more detailed insights. The tenth finding shows that life goal attainment did not explain gender differences in expected life outcomes, while demonstrating that gender roles have more complex, context-specific effects on the work-life balance of employees. The broader social role theory helps formulate tentative explanations by taking into consideration not just gender roles, but also professional roles. Goal congruity theory analyses how agentic and communal values could align with professional role expectations or contrast with them.

The influential contributions of Eagly's social role theory have greatly shaped contemporary research on gender and have been foundational. However, this study has highlighted the crucial role of social context and cultural diversity in understanding gender equality. Eagly's esteemed contributions primarily focus on the Western world (e.g., Eagly and Sczesny, 2019; Eagly and Wood, 2016; Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011), overlooking the importance of cultural and contextual diversity. Social role theory fails to acknowledge the limited choices facing women in the Middle East regarding career paths, employment locations, organizational preferences, and life decisions, which are often dictated by dominant male figures in their families. Additionally, the gender-segregated higher education system underscores the importance of social context when conducting research on social role theory. For example, despite acquiring a college degree, the findings in this study show that women's employment opportunities may remain restricted, particularly if their male relatives hold traditional views on gender roles (e.g., that the role of women is in the home). While Eagly's work has been pivotal in shaping current research, these findings bring the importance of social context to the forefront. The opinions of male

family members with regards the role of women in the home and outside the home determines the choices for their wife, sister or daughter. If the male family members have very traditional views of the role of women, then their options might be confined to the home despite having obtained a college degree. Being a degree holder does not necessarily open the door to employment for women. The students sampled in this research attended a gender segregated higher education institution. Many of the students may not have been permitted to attend third level if it was a mixed institution and the option to enter the workplace upon graduation may be a choice in the hands of male family members. While this may not be the case for all females, it is important to consider this as an explanation of the reduced number of females in the workplace. In the UAE, there are a lot of similarities with the western world but the uniqueness of society in the UAE makes it a distinctive society to study. The role of women within the extended family holds significant importance for both men and women in this context and it is an important consideration when researching social roles.

Likewise, while Diekman, in her highly influential research on life goals, does examine different cultures (e.g. Diekman et al., 2020), in general, non-Western contexts have not featured in any of the research on goal congruity. The present findings clearly suggest that the life goals of women in the UAE cannot be compared to those of western women. There are many reasons for these findings. Firstly, as described in Chapter 2, Emirati women do not have the same financial motivation as western women to work. For western women, working is necessary to ensure financial stability and to enable women to support their families, get a mortgage and to survive. However, due to the generous financial support from the UAE Government such as free housing, interest free loans and free education, earning money is often not considered as a motivator or life goal. The life goals found in this study did not include financial goals and it was found that women

expected to earn lower salaries than men, which is explained by the role of men in society as they are seen as the main breadwinner in families. These factors must all be considered when studying life goals in a Middle Eastern context.

9.1.2 Methodological Contributions

The first methodological contribution made by this study is that by transferring the possible selves framework to the context of the UAE, a cross-cultural use of a Western framework is implemented (Berg and Boyd, 2022). The use of the already developed methodology allows for a more direct comparison with the findings in the US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) and in Spain (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). The use of the same framework in the UAE suggests that the framework which had only been used until now in the West can be used in other contexts. Hopefully, this will inspire other researchers to use the framework in other Middle Eastern contexts, at least in discovering the expectations of students' possible and future selves. As argued above, adapting the models within this methodology in order to understand the more culturally specific processes underlying these expectations proved quite difficult. In the future, more variables may have to be added or other methodologies may have to be adopted first (e.g., qualitative research to better understand underlying motives for expectations). That said, the findings reported in the first findings chapter can help researchers in future studies to make comparisons between different countries. The findings can also facilitate comparisons if future studies are carried out in the UAE with the aim to investigate whether expectations have changed (Berg and Boyd, 2022). These comparisons can be made in the same way that the present study does with the Western studies (see Appendix I).

The second methodological contribution was having the two perspectives (self and spouse) in relation to how the differences between women and men were investigated, which helped gain a deeper understanding of future expectations. The statistical approach

chosen was new; it specifically focused on the differences in the scores of the self and the spouse regarding how each individual thought about the division of the housework, childcare and work (salary or hours). By subtracting the values reported for the (future) spouse from those of the values reported for the self, it was possible to understand the balance or distribution of responsibilities in a (future) partnership. This helped gain insight into the apparent similarity found between the expected working hours of men and women in the possible selves scenario. While women reported working about as many hours as men, the self-spouse differences revealed that women expected their husbands would work even more hours than they would. Furthermore, the use of the option that others would take care of certain responsibilities was also a useful consideration given the cultural context and heavy reliance on domestic servants in the UAE context. This addition provided insight into how people felt about the responsibilities associated with each role and, in particular, showed that young women expected that others (but not their spouses) would carry out housework. As a result, women in the pursuit of work-life balance could work more. On the other hand, women felt differently about childcare, which they expected would be more their responsibility compared to their spouses. In addition, women did not feel that childcare was something that others could take over. These additional approaches can be used by future researchers to examine the gender differences expected by individuals within their relationships.

A third methodological contribution made by the present study relates to the measurement of *wasta* related variables. Among the employed sample, the subjective effect of *wasta* in obtaining job success was measured using Likert-scale items from an existing scale (Spector, 1988). While normally these items were used as part of a larger scale to measure external locus of control in general, in the present study only those items that related to the attribution of job success to the use of social networking were selected. This

scale was found to be internally consistent. The use of a quantifiable scale of thinking about *wasta* (as opposed to staying within the previously used qualitative, descriptive assessment) has the advantage of allowing for measuring the strength of relationships with other variables. For example, in the present study it was found that attributing job success to the use of social networking was not associated with communal traits, but rather was positively associated with agentic traits. This finding supports the idea that success is made by people who are focused on self-assertion and independence. This approach extends the ways in which thoughts about *wasta* can be measured and findings can help advance insights regarding how *wasta* is experienced in the UAE.

Finally, attention was paid to the possibility that culture and life stage may affect the factor structure of life goal attainment (Marsh *et al.*, 2014). In the present study, the factor structures found were not completely similar to the factor structures previously reported in other studies (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016; Killeen, Lopez-Zafra, and Eagly, 2006), nor were they completely the same for students and employees. This finding is important because using scales that reflect the constructs found in a specific cultural context increases the validity of research (Marsh *et al.*, 2014). Adopting the factor structures (and items) found in prior research would therefore have artificially fitted them to the data but may have yielded inaccurate and meaningless findings.

9.1.3 Practical Contributions

With respect to practical contributions, this research has provided several insights that can be taken into consideration by policymakers and employers. For policymakers, it is relevant to know that female students do not expect to work less than males in the future, which means that more women can be expected to be in the workforce in the near future. However, there was the expectation among more women that they would work part-time before children would go to school. Policymakers who wish to increase the participation of women

in the workforce might think about ways to help women to return to full-time jobs once children go to school or make other childcare options more attractive. These options might include nursery and childcare centres, but also childcare provided within the family. Childcare within the family is very common in the UAE as many families live within the same compound making childcare by other female relatives more convenient.

The finding that women expected to work part-time more than men when children were not yet going to school corresponds with international findings that show the largest gender inequalities with respect to childcare (Barroso, 2021; Gatrell *et al.*, 2013; Niemistö *et al.*, 2021; Parker, 2015). It is questionable whether a solution in line with the GRIP (Gender Roles Inhibiting Prosociality) model suggested for Western cultures will apply equally well in the UAE. Under this model, gender equality is promoted by raising the status of communal behaviours and fostering a more equal division of labour between men and women (Croft *et al.*, 2021). The UAE has recently started to develop initiatives under the theme of gender equality, but it also has a very different cultural context, including stronger and different religious values (Alibeli, 2015; El Feki *et al.*, 2017; Mostafa, 2005; Neal, Finlay and Tansey, 2005; Samier, 2015; Sikdar and Mitra, 2012). Indeed, as explained in Chapter 3, research shows that benevolent sexism is significantly higher in the UAE (Maitner and Henry, 2018). It is possible that Emirati women will be more easily attracted to the workforce if acceptable options for childcare are provided. For example, in some European countries, there is ongoing debate about whether childcare is desired and, if so, how childcare by grandparents can be stimulated with financial or other incentives (Cassidy, 2019; Thomese and Liefbroer, 2013; UK Government, 2012). In a collectivistic country such as the UAE, this might be a better fit with the culture and easier to encourage.

In addition, there is a lack of female role models in the UAE. Role models in media are important due to the lack of female role models within women's families; role models

who demonstrate the types of career paths that are achievable for women in the UAE (Howe-Walsh *et al.*, 2020; Kemp, 2013; Shaya and Abu Khait, 2017). Given the strong suggestion from the findings of the current study that it might be mostly women with higher education who enter the workforce, the current efforts by the government to stimulate change seem to be effective. However, other stimulants would include the more established presence of role-models who are women with lower levels of education and who have successfully entered the workforce. The UAE is dealing with a human capital challenge, given that its public sector is overstaffed with a predominately local workforce that cannot accommodate all new national labour market entrants (e.g., Alfarhan and Al-Busaidi, 2018). This challenge is a key domestic socio-political concern, one that might be mitigated if more women entered the workforce in the future. Initiatives to attract women should therefore be primarily focused on the private sector.

For employers, the higher expectations for women to take care of children can be met by offering more flexible work arrangements or family-friendly benefits to attract more women to join the workforce. In addition, it is important to understand that both men and women can consider working part-time. If an employer is willing to provide this opportunity, this might create a more attractive workplace for men and women given the demands placed on families and the desire for greater work-life balance. With respect to pay gaps, the finding that lower salaries are expected for women among both men and women is relevant. As women can bring many benefits to the labour force, employers need to be willing to pay equal salaries for work of equal value and this will need to be clearly publicised. The fact that women in the study were, on average, found to have more communal traits than men means that they can contribute immensely to the social fabric of work environments (Lagarde and Ostry, 2018; United Nations Women, 2023). Communal traits are strongly associated with cooperation, teamwork, and several aspects of leadership

(e.g., servant leadership), which are increasingly associated with positive organisational functioning (Haslam, Reicher and Platow, 2010). The findings are also somewhat consistent with evidence suggesting that men are overwhelmingly lacking in communion (Gartzia, 2022). This would suggest that organisations need to identify gender-focused initiatives that will encourage the development and strengthening of this trait among men.

In order to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by the year 2030 (sustainability Goal 5), the study's findings point mostly towards the gendered expectations discussed above. Life goal attainment was not associated with the future life outcome expectation, nor did intentions to use *wasta* influence life outcome expectations. However, more research is necessary, particularly regarding *wasta,* because there were clear signs that some (i.e., those with low salaries) felt that others achieve success by using their networks and that *wasta* is less available for women.

9.2 Study Limitations

A number of limitations to the study need to be acknowledged and taken into consideration for future research. First, the study was cross-sectional, and the variables were measured using self-report surveys. Despite this limitation, the use of self-report is quite typical in this field. In addition, perceptions, expectations and intentions to behave in a certain way are within person variables that are arguably only measurable through self-report (Chan, 2009). Nevertheless, the findings may be further substantiated in future studies that use other informants, such as peer-reports of communal and agentic values. A further shortcoming of self-report surveys is that they heighten the potential for common method bias and also limit the extent to which assumptions about causality can be made. A number of measures were taken to reduce common method bias. For example, Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Posakoff's (2012) recommendation to use methodological separation was followed. By administering the surveys of possible and future selves on separate days, there

was temporal separation of these constructs which can help to lessen the influence of response inclinations and memory effects. Furthermore, because Likert scales were used for both life goal attainability and gender role self-perceptions, separate headings and introductions were applied to clearly signal they were different scales, measuring different concepts. Finally, it was ensured that the participants understood that their replies would be kept anonymous, that they were given adequate time, and that they would not become fatigued.

Second, the findings from this study were compared with two previous studies that had been carried out in Western countries, yet these comparisons were limited in multiple ways. The Western studies were carried out some years ago and so more recent studies could yield findings that are somewhat different. Furthermore, as marriages take place at an earlier age in the UAE, there were more women in the UAE student sample who were married compared to the Western studies. While female education is relatively high in the UAE, and indeed most men and women in the present study expected to obtain a Master's degree within five years of completing the survey, expectations about obtaining a higher level of education were even higher in the Spanish study (see Appendix I). These differences may form or suggest additional alternative explanations for differences found between the present study and the Western study that may or may not be attributed to cultural differences.

Third, an important limitation of the present study relates to the samples chosen. For example, the employee sample consisted of employees within the education sector only. While this population provided valuable insights into findings for women within a gender-role consistent profession, future research might consider samples drawn from other, typically male-dominated professions for comparison. It would be interesting to see if the same patterns are found, and if communality and agency have similar or different

impacts compared to this study. While previous studies have also considered university students, this focus limits the generalisability of the study results. For example, 77% of Emirati women enrol in higher education (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates, 2022), which leaves a sizable pool of women (23%) about which there is little known. In addition, in the present study an equal percentage of male and female students participated, while in the general population there are more female students than male. A further limitation is that the study involved samples drawn from one Emirate in the UAE and from two institutions. Drawing on samples from all Emirates, as well as from public and private institutions and organisations, would make the findings even more generalisable to a UAE context.

A fourth limitation is the use of only agency and communal values as gendered values in the present study. Although these values are internationally studied, it remains uncertain whether there might be other (culturally) specific values associated with men and women in the UAE. In addition, while the internal consistency of the agency measure was sufficient for the student sample, it was poor for the employee sample. This may mean that some of the items had somewhat different meanings among this population and may not fully reflect the same underlying agency construct. Furthermore, as already discussed, it may also be necessary to measure forms of agency that are less socially accepted to better capture where gender differences may still exist.

A fifth limitation was the sample size. While it was sufficiently large to test the general gender differences, it is acknowledged that the models presented in the second results chapter included many interactions. For this reason, effects may have not been detected in the present study. The reader is informed that analyses involving different orderings of the variables in the model revealed no different results.

A sixth and final limitation is that the study rationales were derived from mostly social theories, neglecting biological factors. Biological underpinnings of gender differences have been largely overlooked in gender theories because social factors are perceived to be more changeable through policy interventions and social reforms (Bleske-Rechek and Gunseor, 2022; Stern and Madison, 2022). Although this viewpoint holds some validity, it can be argued that addressing gender inequality more effectively requires expanding the theoretical framework to explicitly include interests, preferences, and personality, which are developed through the interplay between biological and environmental factors (Bleske-Rechek and Gunseor, 2022; Stern and Madison, 2022). For example, by expanding the theoretical framework, it becomes possible to better identify which women are more likely to choose male-dominated careers, such as those in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM), and which men are more inclined to choose female-dominated professions, such as those in Education (Cimpian, Kim, and McDermott, 2020; Rohrmann and Emilsen, 2015). This information can then be used to attract and encourage individuals towards these respective fields. Rather than implementing broad campaigns that assume all individuals can be equally convinced to choose non-gender-conforming careers, targeted interventions can prove to be more efficient and impactful (Rohrmann and Emilsen, 2015; Stern and Madison, 2022). In summary, there is a need to extend gender theories to incorporate greater attention to biological factors and to acknowledge the heterogeneity within gender differences.

9.3 Directions for Future Research

This study's findings suggest that the application of theoretical frameworks regarding gender in a UAE context will need to take into account the privileged position of Emirati in the UAE, particularly as many of them can decide not to work and/or to pay for assistance within their households (Waxin, Kumra and Zhao, 2020). The findings also highlight the

importance of considering whether a profession is male or female dominated. These considerations suggest that the standard model of gender role compliance, and specifically the model of affordances and motives as suggested by Diekman, Joshi, and Benson-Greenwald (2020), did not seem to hold in the UAE context. Future studies aimed to further develop gender theories for the UAE should expand this work by studying what women and men feel is not only possible, but also appropriate, and verifying how different work settings may hold values and norms that are generally considered to be more female (e.g., empathy, nurturing) or male (e.g., leadership, assertiveness).

With respect to *wasta*, the present study had formed hypotheses that were both theoretically and empirically supported by previous study findings, but that still seem to be too simplistic. The fact that males reported a stronger intention to use *wasta* for direct career benefits was in line with previous findings (Bailey, 2012; Gold and Naufal, 2012; Omair, 2010). However, the results seemed to indicate that the measurement of *wasta*-related variables needs further clarification to take into account that it may make a difference to the participant if *wasta* is available to them, what their moral thoughts about *wasta* are, and whether a person is using *wasta* or others are using it (Alsarhan and Valax, 2021; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011). It is recommended that the Delphi method, for example, could be used to include expert opinion in the further development of a scale to measure *wasta*-related variables. *Wasta* is still considered a taboo topic and people who rely on do not want to admit they have relied on *wasta* and companies to do want to admit that *wasta* is still being used as a form of recruitment within their organisation. This was evident in the organisation that was used for this research requesting any mention of *wasta* to be removed before the study received ethical approval.

While the factors that emerged for the life goal attainment scales were slightly different from the Western studies, and also for the student versus employed samples, they

were easily interpretable. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to further develop measures regarding gender-associated and life-outcome associated constructs, specifically to further verify their validity in this context. In this respect, it would be worthwhile to check what traits are seen as typically male or female in Arab cultures. While the present study was able to measure communal and agentic traits, it is actually not well established if these are the best descriptions or indicators of male and female traits in Arab cultures.

Finally, with respect to the practical implications discussed, it will be important for future studies to verify what effects new policies and interventions may have on fostering Emiratisation and decreasing gender inequality. The present study has provided some informative results that increase understanding about the issue, but that is only a first step towards the development of long-lasting change.

9.4 Conclusion

This study aimed to gain an understanding of gender differences in Emirati students' perceptions and expectations of life outcomes for themselves and their spouses, gender role self-concept, and attainment of life goals by employing the possible selves framework, which had previously been adopted in Western contexts only (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). While there are worldwide concerns about gender inequality, these concerns vary in their severity. Gender role expectations are shaped by cultural, social, legal, and economic systems. The motivation for the present study was to respond to a call for research on gender inequalities in non-Western countries. More specifically, it was deemed important because of the unique labour market situation in the UAE, where gender inequality is seen as a barrier for Emiratisation.

From the literature it was found that women in the UAE suffer the burden of being seen as the primary caregivers and shoulder the brunt of housework and childcare, which

seems to negatively impact Emirati women's ability to achieve a fair work-life balance. The culture of the UAE was described as having traditional gender norms, although a higher level of education for women was greatly encouraged and achieved. The expectation was that gender gaps would be pronounced in this culture. Furthermore, from the inclusion of theoretical understandings from social role theory and the specific cultural context, some more complex model specifications were proposed. More specifically, it was expected that gender differences among life outcomes regarding students' future selves and employees' actual selves would be explained by women feeling that communal life goals would be more attainable and men feeling that agentic life goals would be more attainable. Furthermore, it was posited that these mediating effects would be strengthened by the presence of communal and agentic traits. It was taken into consideration that expected employment (i.e., working full-time or not) would moderate the gender effects. It was also expected that intention to use *wasta* would moderate the gender effect on future life outcomes and that attributions of career success due to social network presence would moderate the gender effect among the employed sample.

From the positivism paradigm, a quantitative approach was chosen. In a student population, participants were asked about their life outcome expectations under hypothesised scenarios (possible selves) and the scenarios and life outcomes they expected to be most likely for themselves (future selves). Furthermore, 'actual' selves were assessed among a sample of employees working in an educational setting. The expected gender differences were largely supported. However, while it was expected that women would report smaller gender differences compared to men, this was not the case. It was found that women had more positive expectations of life goals attainment, but this did not predict life outcome expectations in any way. On the other hand, among the employed participants, life goals attainment did not differ by gender. Additionally, neither intention to use *wasta* nor

employment expectations change the effects of gender on future self-expectations. Among the employed participants, it was found being male had a positive effect on salary for low and moderate levels of network oriented external control perceptions. While moderation had been expected, the results suggest that rather than confirming that men achieve more career success if they use *wasta*, men who do not earn high salaries might feel that others have achieved more career success because of using *wasta*.

It is concluded that the present study has provided more insight into the culturally specific gendered student perceptions of the nearby future expectations in terms of life outcomes, as well as the actual selves of employees in the educational sector. Besides these insights, the study can be a further catalyst of the possible selves framework in future studies, particularly in the adoption of a culturally sensitive approach. Finally, the findings can be used to further develop and investigate how gender equality and Emiratisation in the UAE can be stimulated. This is an important practical implication of the study that would give rise to positive benefits for Emirati women and men, as well as for the economic development of the UAE.

10. References

Aarthi, S.V. and Sahu, M. (2021), 'Migration policy in the gulf cooperation Council (GCC) states: A critical analysis', *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 8(4), pp. 410–434. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/23477989211028748

Abalkhail, J.M. and Allan, B. (2015) 'Women's career advancement: mentoring and networking in Saudi Arabia and the UK', *Human Resource Development International*, 18(2), pp.153–168. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2015.1026548

Abdalla, I.A. (1996) 'Attitudes towards women in the Arabian Gulf region', *Women in Management Review*, 11(1), pp. 29–39. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/09649429610109271

Abu Dhabi's Department of Education and Knowledge. (2022). *Education System.* Available at: https://www.adek.gov.ae/ (Accessed 9 May 2023).

Abu Elanain, H. M. (2010) 'Work locus of control and interactional justice as mediators of the relationship between openness to experience and organizational citizenship behavior', *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 17(2), 170–192. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13527601011038732

Aguinis, H., Edwards, J. R., and Bradley, K. J. (2017) 'Improving our understanding of moderation and mediation in strategic management research', *Organizational Research Methods*, *20*(4), pp. 665–685. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428115627498

Akerlof, G.A. and Kranton, R.E. (2000) 'Economics and identity', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(3), pp. 715–753. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1162/003355300554881

Aladwan, K., Bhanugopan, R. and Fish, A. (2014) 'Managing human resources in Jordanian organizations: challenges and prospects', *International Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Finance and Management,* 7(1), pp. 126–138. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IMEFM-09-2013-0104

Al-Ali, J. (2008) 'Structural barriers to Emiratisation: Analysis and policy recommendations' [PhD Dissertation, Victoria University]. Available at: https://vuir.vu.edu.au/15483/1/al_ali.pdf (Accessed: 2 December 2022)

Al-Asfour, A., *et al.* (2017). 'Saudi women's work challenges and barriers to career advancement', *Career Development International*, 22(2), pp. 184–199. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-11-2016-0200

Alayan, S. and Yair, G. (2010) 'The cultural inertia of the habitus: gendered narrations of agency amongst educated female Palestinians in Israel', *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(5), pp. 831–850. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920903165629

Aldossari, M. and Robertson, M. (2016) 'The role of wasta in repatriates' perceptions of a breach to the psychological contract: A Saudi Arabian case study', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 27(16), pp. 1854–1873. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2015.1088561

Alharahsheh, H.H. and Pius, A. (2020) 'A review of key paradigms: Positivism VS interpretivism', *Global Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(3), pp. 39–43. Available at: https://doi.org/10.36348/gajhss.2020.v02i03.001

Al Hourani, M.A.K. (2023) 'Gendered Interaction and Practices of Intimacy Among Emirati Young Spouses: Exploring the Experiences of Wives', *Sociological Research Online* (published online ahead of print 1 February). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/13607804221148836

Alhussan, F.B., Al-Husan, F.B. and Alhesan, L. (2015) 'The benefits of wasta network: The Arab Middle East region', *31st IMP Conference.* Available at: https://www.impgroup.org/uploads/papers/8555.pdf (Accessed 4 May 2023).

Ali, S. and Weir, D. (2020) 'Wasta: Advancing a Holistic Model to Bridge the Micro-Macro Divide', *Management and Organization Review*, 16(3), pp. 657–685. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/mor.2020.27

Alibeli, M.A. (2015) 'Gender and Attitudes toward Women in the United Arab Emirates', *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 14(1–2), pp. 109–125. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1163/15691497-12341335.

Allen, D.G., Weeks, K.P. and Moffitt, K.R. (2005) 'Turnover intentions and voluntary turnover: the moderating roles of self-monitoring, locus of control, proactive personality, and risk aversion', *Journal of applied psychology*, 90(5), pp. 980–990. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.5.980

Allison, R. and Ralston, M. (2018) 'Gender, Anticipated Family Formation, and Graduate School Expectations Among Undergraduates', *Sociological Forum*, 33(1), pp. 95–117. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12400

Almarabta, S. and Ridge, R. (2021) 'What the UAE population thinks of aging and aged care', *Sheikh Saud Bin Saor Al Qasimi Foundation for Policy Research*. Available at: https://f.hubspotusercontent10.net/hubfs/5081768/Aged%20Care%20Report%20.pdf?hsC

taTracking=754c1c40-a16d-4288-8519-7ae42a1f615c%7C39210993-569a-4e51-884e-b627c8f61913 (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Al Murshidia, G. and Al Riyamib, R. (2020) ‘Emiratisation policy: Factors affecting job satisfaction and intentions to continue jobs in the public sector’, *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 14(1), pp. 1043–1057. Available at: https://www.ijicc.net/images/Vol_14/Iss_1/14193_Murshidi_2020_E_R.pdf (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Al-Mutawa, R. (2020) ‘I Want to be a Leader, But Men Are Better Than Women in Leadership Positions: State Feminism and Legitimizing Myths in the United Arab Emirates’, *Hawwa*, 18(1), pp. 31–50. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341369

Alsarhan, F., *et al.* (2021) ‘Impact of gender on use of wasta among human resources management practitioners’, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 63(2), pp.131–143. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.22186

Alsarhan, F. and Valax, M. (2021) ‘Conceptualization of wasta and its main consequences on human resource management’, *International Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Finance and Management*, 14(1), pp. 114–127. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IMEFM-02-2019-0072

Alsarhan, F. (2022) ‘A change management roadmap for wasta-free managerial practices in Arab organizations’, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 64(6), pp. 665–674. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.22301

Al-Sayegh, F., (2001) ‘Domestic politics in the United Arab Emirates: Social and economic policies, 1990–2000’, in Kechichian, J. A. (ed.) *Iran, Iraq, and the Arab Gulf*

States. Palgrave Macmillan, New York., pp.161–175. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-63443-9_10

Al-Tarrah, Ali (2010) ‘Women in the development of Kuwait’, *Digest of Middle East Studies,* 2, pp. 1–33. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1949-3606.2002.tb00455.x

Al-Twal, A. (2021) ‘Narrative inquiry: A proposed methodology for Wasta research’, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 63(4), pp. 517–521. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.22200

Al-Twal, A. and Aladwan, K. (2020) ‘Graduating students’ standpoints on Wasta as a ‘gateway’ to employment: motives and influences’, *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 29(3), pp. 755–768. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOA-04-2020-2139

Álvarez, B. and Miles, D. (2003) ‘Gender effect on housework allocation: Evidence from Spanish two-earner couples’, *Journal of Population Economics*, 16, pp. 227–242. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s001480200126

Al-Waqfi, M.A. and Abdalla Al-Faki, I. (2015) ‘Gender-based differences in employment conditions of local and expatriate workers in the GCC context: Empirical evidence from the United Arab Emirates’, *International Journal of Manpower*, 36(3), pp.397–415. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-10-2013-0236

Alwerthan, T.A., Swanson, D.P. and Rogge, R.D. (2018) ‘It's better to give than to receive: Psychological need satisfaction mediating links between wasta (favouritism) and individuals' psychological distress’, *International Journal of Psychology*, 53, pp.11–20. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12419

Anglim, J. *et al.* (2017) 'Comparing job applicants to non-applicants using an item-level bifactor model on the HEXACO personality inventory', *European Journal of Personality*, 31, pp. 669–684. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/per.2120

Asparouhov, T. and Muthén, B. (2009) 'Exploratory structural equation modeling' *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 16(3), pp.397–438. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10705510903008204

Assi, R. and Marcati, C. (2020) 'Women at work: Job opportunities in the Middle East set to double with the Fourth Industrial Revolution', McKinsey. Available at: https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/featured%20insights/middle%20east%20and%20africa/women%20at%20work%20in%20the%20middle%20east/women-at-work-in-the-middle-east.pdf (Accessed: 22 August 2023).

Austin, J.T. and Vancouver, J.B. (1996) 'Goal constructs in psychology: Structure, process, and content', *Psychological Bulletin*, 120(3), pp. 338–375. Available at: https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0033-2909.120.3.338

Bailey, D. C. (2012) 'Women and Wasta: The Use of Focus Groups for Understanding Social Capital and Middle Eastern Women', *Qualitative Report*, 17(65), pp. 1–18. Available at: https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ982096.pdf

Baker, M.J. and Jacobsen, J.P. (2007) 'Marriage, specialization, and the gender division of labor', *Journal of Labor Economics*, 25(4), pp. 763–793. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1086/522907

Bandura, A. *et al.* (2001) 'Self-efficacy beliefs as shapers of children's aspirations and career trajectories', *Child Development*, 72(1), pp. 187–206. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00273

Bano, Z., Kausar, N. and Riaz, S. (2020) 'Work locus of control as the determinant of work life balance and job satisfaction in Gazetted administrative offices', *Pakistan Armed Forces Medical Journal*, 70(1), pp. 190–94. Available at: https://pafmj.org/index.php/PAFMJ/article/view/3961 (Accessed 4 May 2023).

Baranik, L.E. and Wright, N. (2018) 'Wasta and Objective Career Success: Evidence from Five Arab Countries', *Academy of Management Proceedings,* 1, Article 18331. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5465/AMBPP.2018.18331abstract

Bar-Haim, E., *et al.* (2023) 'The persistence of the gender earnings gap: Cohort trends and the role of education in twelve countries', *Social Indicators Research*, 165(3), pp. 821–841. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-022-03029-x

Barnett, A., Yandle, B. and Naufal, G. (2013). 'Regulation, trust, and cronyism in Middle Eastern societies: The simple economics of 'wasta'', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 44, pp. 41–46. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2013.02.004

Barroso, A. (2021) 'For American couples, gender gaps in sharing household responsibilities persist amid pandemic', *Pew Research Center*. Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/01/25/for-american-couples-gender-gaps-in-sharing-household-responsibilities-persist-amid-pandemic/ (Accessed: 20 February 2023).

Bartlett, M.S. (1954) 'A note on the multiplying factors for various χ 2 approximations' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series B (Methodological)*, 16(20), pp.296–298. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2984057

Barth, J.M. *et al.* (2015) 'Untangling life goals and occupational stereotypes in men's and women's career interest', *Sex Roles*, 73, pp. 502–518. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0537-2

Beach, C.M., Finnie, R. and Gray, D. (2003) 'Earnings variability and earnings instability of women and men in Canada: How do the 1990s compare to the 1980s?', *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de Politiques*, pp. S41–S63. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3552276

Beasley, S.T. *et al.* (2021) ''Other Fields Are More Lucrative and Sexy': A Qualitative Examination of the Low Number of Men in Psychology', *Journal of Career Development*, 48(2), pp. 182–196. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845319838054

Begeny, C. T. *et al.* (2020) 'In some professions, women have become well represented, yet gender bias persists—Perpetuated by those who think it is not happening'. *Science Advances*, 6(26), eaba7814. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aba7814

Behar, A. (2015) 'Comparing the Employment-Output Elasticities of Expatriates and Nationals in the Gulf Cooperation Council', *IMF Working Papers 2015/191, International Monetary Fund*. Available at: https://ideas.repec.org/p/imf/imfwpa/2015-191.html (Accessed: 8 June 2023).

Bell, E., Bryman, A. and Harley, B. (2022) *Business Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.

Bem, S.L., (1974) 'The measurement of psychological androgyny', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), pp.155–162. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/h0036215

Bennett, D. and Male, S.A. (2017) 'An Australian study of possible selves perceived by undergraduate engineering students', *European Journal of Engineering Education, 42*(6), pp. 603–617. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/03043797.2016.1208149

Benton, T. and Craib, I. (2023) *Philosophy of social science: The philosophical foundations of social thought*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Berger, R. *et al.* (2015) 'Analyzing business-to-business relationships in an Arab context', *Journal of World Business*, 50(3), pp. 454–464. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2014.08.004

Bergh, D. *et al.* (2022), What constitutes a methodological contribution? *Journal of Management*, *48*(7), pp. 1835–1848. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063221088235

Beugelsdijk, S. and Van Schaik, T. (2005) 'Differences in social capital between 54 Western European regions', *Regional Studies*, 39(8), pp. 1053–1064. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00343400500328040

Bird, C.E. (1999) 'Gender, household labor, and psychological distress: The impact of the amount and division of housework', *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 40, pp. 32–45. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2676377

Bird, D.W. and O'Connell, J.F. (2006) 'Behavioral ecology and archaeology', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 14, pp.143–188. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10814-006-9003-6

Bitterly, T.B. *et al.* (2014) 'Dueling with desire: a synthesis of past research on want/should

conflict', *SSRN (February 28, 2014)*. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2403021

Bleidorn, W. (2009) 'Linking personality states, current social roles and major life goals', *European Journal of Personality*, 23(6), pp. 509–530. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/per.731

Block, K. *et al.* (2018) 'Early Gender Differences in Core Values Predict Anticipated Family Versus Career Orientation', *Psychological Science*, 29(9), pp. 1540–1547. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797618776942

Block, K. *et al.* (2019) 'Do people care if men don't care about caring? The asymmetry in support for changing gender roles', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 83, pp. 112–131. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.03.013

Block, K., Croft, A. and Schmader, T. (2018) 'Worth less?: Why men (and women) devalue care-oriented careers', *Frontiers in Psychology*, Article 1353. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01353

Bordens, K.S. and Abbott, B.B. (2011) *Research design and methods: A process approach* (8th ed.). NY: McGraw-Hill.

Bosson, J.K. *et al.* (2012) 'American men's and women's beliefs about gender discrimination: For men, it's not quite a zero-sum game', *Masculinities & Social Change*, 1(3), pp. 210–239. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4471/mcs.2012.14

Boucher, K. L., Fuesting, M. A., Diekman, A. B., & Murphy, M. C. (2017) 'Can I work with and help others in this field? How communal goals influence interest and participation in stem fields', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8, Article 901. Available at: https://doi.org10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00901

Bourke, E. and Hymers, S. H. (2021) 'How is Dubai's strategic location serving start-ups', *Euronews.* Available at: https://www.euronews.com/2021/12/08/how-is-dubai-s-strategic-location-serving-start-ups

Boyd, R. and Richerson, P.J. (2005) *The origin and evolution of cultures*. Oxford University Press.

Breakwell, G.M, Smith, J.A. and Wright, D.B. (2012) *Research methods in psychology* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Broadbridge, A. (2010) 'Social capital, gender and careers: evidence from retail senior managers', *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal,* 29(8), pp. 815–834. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/02610151011089546

Brown, E.R. and Diekman, A.B. (2010) 'What will I be? Exploring gender differences in near and distant possible selves', *Sex Roles*, 63, pp. 568–579. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9827-x

Brown, E. R. *et al.* (2015a) 'From bench to bedside: A communal utility value intervention to enhance students' biomedical science motivation', *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 107(4), pp. 1116–1135.Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000033

Brown, E.R., *et al.* (2015b) 'Closing the communal gap: The importance of communal affordances in science career motivation', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45(12), pp. 662–673. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12327

Brown, B. and True, D. (2021a) 'The New UAE Labor Law—What You Need to Know', *Strategic Human Resource Management.* Available at: https://www.shrm.org/resourcesandtools/hr-topics/global-hr/pages/new-uae-labor-law.aspx (Accessed: 6 June 2023).

Brown, B. and True, D. (2021b) 'Revolution or evolution?', *Law Focus.* Available at: https://www.addleshawgoddard.com/globalassets/international/uae/lmhra_2021.pdf (Accessed 13 September 2022).

Brunstein, J.C. (1993) 'Personal goals and subjective well-being: A longitudinal study', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 65(5), pp. 1061–1070. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.5.1061

Budhwar, P. *et al.* (2019) 'The state of HRM in the Middle East: Challenges and future research agenda', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 36(4), pp. 905–933. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10490-018-9587-7.

Budhwar, P.S. and Mellahi, K. eds. (2016). *Handbook of human resource management in the Middle East*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burden-Leahy, S.M. (2009). 'Globalisation and education in the postcolonial world: The conundrum of the higher education system of the United Arab Emirates', *Comparative Education*, 45(4), pp.525–544. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060903391578

Buzmaniuk, S. (2023). Gender equality in Europe: a still imperfect model in the world. *European Issues*, 659, pp. 1-7. Available at: https://eurocid.mne.gov.pt/sites/default/files/repository/content/event/37986/documents/gender-equality-europea-still-imperfect-model-world.pdf

Campbell, S. *et al.* (2020) 'Purposive sampling: complex or simple? Research case examples', *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 25(8), pp. 652–661. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987120927206

Caporael, L.R. (2001) ‘Evolutionary psychology: Toward a unifying theory and a hybrid science’, *Annual review of psychology*, 52(1), pp. 607–628. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.607

Carli, L.L. (2020) ‘Women, gender equality and COVID-19’, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 35(7/8), pp.647–655. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-07-2020-0236

Carlson, N. R., Martin, G. N. and Buskist, W. (2004) *Psychology* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Carver, C.S. and Scheier, M.F. (2008) ‘Feedback processes in the simultaneous regulation of action and affect’, in Shah, J.Y. and Gardner, W.L. (Eds.) *Handbook of motivation science*. Guilford Press, pp.308–324.

Cassidy, A. (2019) *Comment: Why the ‘granny grant’ was never going to ease the burden of childcare on parents.* Available at: https://www.image.ie/editorial/comment-granny-grant-never-going-ease-burden-childcare-parents-156949 (Accessed 10 May 2023).

Ceci, S.J., Williams, W.M. and Barnett, S.M. (2009) ‘Women's underrepresentation in science: sociocultural and biological considerations’, *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(2), p. 218–261. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014412

Cejka, M.A. and Eagly, A.H. (1999) ‘Gender-stereotypic images of occupations correspond to the sex segregation of employment’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(4), pp. 413–423. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025004002

Charles, M. and Bradley, K. (2009) 'Indulging our gendered selves? Sex segregation by field of study in 44 countries', *American Journal of Sociology*, 114(4), pp. 924–976. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1086/595942

Charrad, M.M. (2011) 'Gender in the Middle East: Islam, state, agency', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37, pp. 417–437. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102554

Chesley, N. (2011) 'Stay-at-home fathers and breadwinning mothers: Gender, couple dynamics, and social change', *Gender & Society*, 25(5), pp. 642–664. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243211417433

Chisholm-Burns, M.A. *et al.* (2017) 'Women in leadership and the bewildering glass ceiling', *American Journal of Health-System Pharmacy*, 74(5), pp. 312–324. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2146/ajhp160930

Choi, S. (2019) 'Breaking through the glass ceiling: Social capital matters for women's career success?', *International Public Management Journal*, 22(2), pp. 295–320. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10967494.2018.1425225

Cialdini, R.B. and Trost, M.R. (1998) 'Social influence: Social norms, conformity and compliance', in D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, and G. Lindzey (Eds.) *The handbook of social psychology*. McGraw-Hill, pp. 151–192.

Cislaghi, B., and Heise, L. (2020). 'Gender norms and social norms: differences, similarities and why they matter in prevention science', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 42(2), pp. 407–422. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13008

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2009) *Research methods in education* (6th Ed.). London: Routledge.

Cohn, D., Livingstone, G. and Wang, W. (2014) 'Stay-at-home mothers by demographic group', *Pew Research Centre.* Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2014/04/08/chapter-2-stay-at-home-mothers-by-demographic-group/ (Accessed 27 April 2017).

Collins, C. *et al.* (2021) 'COVID-19 and the gender gap in work hours', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 28(S1), pp. 101–112. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12506

Comte, A. (1853) *Système de politique positive; ou, Traité de sociologie instituant la religion de l'humanité: Dynamique sociale* (Vol. 3). L. Mathias.

Conway, M., Pizzamiglio, M.T. and Mount, L. (1996) 'Status, communality, and agency: implications for stereotypes of gender and other groups', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), pp.25–38. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.1.25

Conceição, P. *et al.* (2019) ' Human development report: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today', *Human Development Reports*. Available at: https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2019 (Accessed 3 February 2023).

Conceição, P. *et al.* (2020) Human development report: The next frontier, *Human Development Reports*. Available at: https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2020 (Accessed: 3 February 2023).

Conceição, P. *et al.* (2022) 'Human development report 2021/2022: Uncertain times, unsettles lives', *Human Development Reports*. Available at: https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/global-report-document/hdr2021-22pdf_1.pdf (Accessed: 3 February 2023).

Cookman, L. (2018) 'UAE ranks highest for gender equality in GCC, says Human Development Report', *The National News,* 5. Available at: https://www.thenationalnews.com/uae/uae-ranks-highest-for-gender-equality-in-gcc-says-human-development-report-1.737261 (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Croft, A., *et al.* (2014) 'The second shift reflected in the second generation: Do parents' gender roles at home predict children's aspirations?' *Psychological Science*, 25(7), pp.1418–1428. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797614533968

Croft, A. *et al.* (2020) 'Breadwinner Seeks Bottle Warmer: How Women's Future Aspirations and Expectations Predict Their Current Mate Preferences', *Sex Roles*, 82(11–12), pp. 633–643. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01080-6.

Croft, A. *et al.* (2021) 'Loosening the GRIP (Gender Roles Inhibiting Prosociality) to Promote Gender Equality', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 25(1), pp. 66–92. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320964615

Croft, A., Schmader, T. and Block, K. (2015) 'An Underexamined Inequality: Cultural and Psychological Barriers to Men's Engagement With Communal Roles', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 19(4), pp. 343–370. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868314564789

Croft, A., Schmader, T. and Block, K. (2019) 'Life in the Balance: Are Women's Possible Selves Constrained by Men's Domestic Involvement?', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 45(5), pp. 808–823. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218797294.

Cross, S. and Markus, H. (1991) 'Possible Selves across the Life Span', *Human Development*, 34(4), pp. 230–255. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26767303

Cross, S.E. and Markus, H.R. (1994) 'Self-schemas, possible selves, and competent performance', *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 86(3), pp. 423–438. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.86.3.423.

Crossan, F. (2003) 'Research philosophy: Towards an understanding', *Nurse Researcher,* 11(1), pp. 46-55. Available at: https://doi.org/10.7748/nr2003.10.11.1.46.c5914

Cuervo-Cazurra, A., Newburry, W. and Park, S.H. (2016) *Emerging market multinationals: Managing operational challenges for sustained international growth*. Cambridge University Press.

Cunningham, R.B., and Sarayrah, Y.K. (1993) *Wasta: The Hidden Force in Middle Eastern Society*. Praegar: Westport, Connecticut.

Daleure, G. (2019) 'Holistic sustainability policies: Preserving local cultural identity in the UAE in the face of globalisation', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 65(3), pp.749–768. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0019556119844580

Dark-Freudeman, A. and West, R.L. (2016) 'Possible Selves and Self-Regulatory Beliefs: Exploring the Relationship Between Health Selves, Health Efficacy, and Psychological Well-Being', *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 82(2–3), pp. 139–165. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0091415015627666

Davison, C.J. (2020) *Engagement in learning: Supporting female students at a UAE University (*Doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Available at: https://prism.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/112285 (Accessed 8 May 2023).

Deaux, K., & LaFrance, M. (1998) 'Gender', in D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 1), Boston: McGraw-Hill, pp. 788–827.

Demetriou, C., Ozer, B.U. and Essau, C.A. (2015) ‘Self-Report Questionnaires’, in *The Encyclopedia of Clinical Psychology*. John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, pp. 1–6. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118625392.wbecp507

Deng, W., Rosenblatt, A. K., Talhelm, T., & Putnam, A. L.(2023) ‘People from the US and China think about their personal and collective future differently’, *Memory & Cognition,* 51(1), pp. 87-100. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-022-01344-9

Dernberger, B.N. and Pepin, J.R. (2020) ‘Gender Flexibility, but not Equality: Young Adults’ Division of Labor Preferences’, *Sociological Science*, 7, pp. 36–56. Available at: https://doi.org/10.15195/v7.a2.

Dicke, A.L., Safavian, N. and Eccles, J.S., (2019) ‘Traditional gender role beliefs and career attainment in STEM: A gendered story?’ *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, Article 1053. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01053

Dickson, M., and Le Roux, J. (2013) ‘Feminising Schools in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, UAE: Cause for Concern!’, *Journal of Educational and Psychological Studies*, 193(1002), pp. 1–24. Available at: https://doi.org/10.24200/jeps.vol7iss4pp525-536

Diekman, A.B. *et al.* (2010) ‘Seeking Congruity Between Goals and Roles: A New Look at Why Women Opt Out of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Careers’, *Psychological Science*, 21(8), pp. 1051–1057. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610377342

Diekman, A.B. *et al.* (2011) ‘Malleability in communal goals and beliefs influences attraction to stem careers: evidence for a goal congruity perspective’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(5), pp. 902 –918. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025199

Diekman, A.B. *et al.* (2017) ‘A Goal Congruity Model of Role Entry, Engagement, and Exit: Understanding Communal Goal Processes in STEM Gender Gaps’, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 21(2), pp. 142–175. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868316642141

Diekman, A.B. *et al.* (2021) ‘Roots, Barriers, and Scaffolds: Integrating Developmental and Structural Insights to Understand Gender Disparities in Political Leadership’, *Psychological Inquiry*, 32(2), pp. 77–82. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1047840X.2021.1930752.

Diekman, A.B. and Eagly, A.H. (2000) ‘Stereotypes as Dynamic Constructs: Women and Men of the Past, Present, and Future’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(10), pp. 1171–1188. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167200262001.

Diekman, A.B., Joshi, M.P. and Benson-Greenwald, T.M. (2020) ‘Goal congruity theory: Navigating the social structure to fulfill goals’, in *Advances in experimental social psychology*. San Diego, CA, US: Elsevier Academic Press (Advances in experimental social psychology), pp. 189–244.

Dillman, D.A. (2020) ‘Asking the Right Questions in the Right Way: Six Needed Changes in Questionnaire Evaluation and Testing Methods’, in *Advances in Questionnaire Design, Development, Evaluation and Testing*. John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, pp. 25–45. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119263685.ch2

DiStefano, C., Zhu, M. and Mîndrilã, D. (2009) ‘Understanding and Using Factor Scores: Considerations for the Applied Researcher’, *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*, 14(20), Article 20. Available at: https://doi.org/10.7275/DA8T-4G52

Doh, J., Budhwar, P. and Wood, G. (2021) ‘Long-term energy transitions and international business: Concepts, theory, methods, and a research agenda’, *Journal of*

International Business Studies, 52(5), pp. 951–970. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1057/s41267-021-00405-6.

Dsilva, J., Locke, J. and Ng, P.Y., (2023) 'United Arab Emirates: The Family Business of the Shehada Brothers', in Birdthistle, N. and Hales, R. (Ed.) *Attaining the 2030 Sustainable Development Goal of Sustainable Cities and Communities* (pp. 79–89). Emerald Publishing Limited. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-80455-836-220231006

Eagly, A. H. (1987) *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Eagly, A.H. *et al.* (2004) 'Gender gaps in sociopolitical attitudes: a social psychological analysis', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(6), pp.796–816. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.6.796

Eagly, A.H. *et al.* (2020) 'Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of U.S. public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018.', *American Psychologist*, 75(3), pp. 301–315. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000494

Eagly, A.H. and Heilman, M.E. (2016) 'Gender and leadership: Introduction to the special issue', *The Leadership Quarterly*, 27(3), pp. 349–353. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2016.04.002.

Eagly, A.H. and Karau, S.J. (2002) 'Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders', *Psychological Review*, 109(3), pp. 573–598. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295x.109.3.573

Eagly, A.H., Makhijani, M.G. and Klonsky, B.G. (1992) 'Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis', *Psychological Bulletin*, 111(1), pp. 3–22. Available at: https://psycnet.apa.org/buy/1992-16290-001 (Accessed 1 May 2023).

Eagly, A.H. and Mladinic, A. (1994) 'Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes, and judgments of competence', *European Review of Social Psychology*, 5(1), pp. 1–35. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779543000002

Eagly, A. H., *et al.* (2020) 'Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of U.S. public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018', *American Psychologist*, 75(3), pp. 301–315. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000494

Eagly, A.H. and Sczesny, S. (2019) 'Editorial: Gender Roles in the Future? Theoretical Foundations and Future Research Directions', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, Article 1965. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01965

Eagly, A.H. and Steffen, V.J. (1984) 'Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(4), pp. 735–754. Available at: http://gribouts.free.fr/psycho/menace%20du%20st%E9r%E9o/eagly-roles%20sociaux.pdf (Accesses 30 April 2023).

Eagly, Alice H. and Wood, W. (1999) 'The origins of sex differences in human behavior: Evolved dispositions versus social roles', *American Psychologist*, 54(6), pp. 408–423. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.54.6.408.

Eagly, A.H. and Wood, W. (2012) 'Social role theory', in Van Lange, P.A., Higgins, E.T. and Kruglanski, A.W. (Eds) *Handbook of theories of social psychology*, pp. 458–476.

Eagly, A.H. and Wood, W. (2016) 'Social Role Theory of Sex Differences', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, American Cancer Society, pp. 1–3. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss183 (Accessed 30 April 2023).

Eagly, A.H., Wood, W. and Diekman, A.B. (2000) 'Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal', in Eckes, T. and Trautner, H.M. (Eds.) *The developmental social psychology of gender*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, pp. 123–174.

Eagly, A.H., Wood, W. and Johannesen-Schmidt, M.C. (2004) 'Social Role Theory of Sex Differences and Similarities: Implications for the Partner Preferences of Women and Men', in A. H. Eagly, A. E. Beall, and R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The psychology of gender*. The Guilford Press, pp. 269–295.

Easterby-Smith, M.T. and Thorpe, R. (2002) *Management research: An introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

Edmonds, W.A. and Kennedy, T.D. (2016) *An applied guide to research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods*. Sage Publications.

Elass, K. (2024) 'Male and female selection effects on gender wage gaps in three countries', *Labour Economics*, 87, Article 102506. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2024.102506

El Feki, S., Heilman, B. and Barker, G., Eds. (2017) 'Understanding Masculinities: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) – Middle East and North Africa', *Cairo and Washington, D.C.: UN Women and Promundo-US*. Available at:
https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/810/MESA%20erkeklik%20rapor%20

IMAGESMENA-2017-FULL-Final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (Accessed: 10 December 2022).

Ellingsæter, A.L. (2013) 'Scandinavian welfare states and gender (de) segregation: Recent trends and processes', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 34(3), pp. 501–518. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X13491616

Elliot, A.J. and Niesta, D. (2009) 'Goals in the context of the hierarchical model of approach-avoidance motivation', in G. B. Moskowitz & H. Grant (Eds.) *The psychology of goals*. Guilford Press, pp. 56–76.

El-Sanabary, N.A.G.A.T. (1994) 'Female education in Saudi Arabia and the reproduction of gender division', *Gender and Education*, 6(2), pp. 141–150. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0954025940060204

Embassy of the United Arab Emirates Washington, DC. (2022) *Women in the UAE.* Available at: https://www.uae-embassy.org/discover-uae/society/women-in-the-uae (Accessed: 25 April 2023).

Emmons, R.A. (2005) 'Striving for the sacred: Personal goals, life meaning, and religion', *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(4), pp. 731–745. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00429.x

England, P., Levine, A. and Mishel, E. (2020) 'Progress toward gender equality in the United States has slowed or stalled', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(13), pp. 6990–6997. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1918891117

Erikson, M.G. (2007) 'The Meaning of the Future: Toward a More Specific Definition of Possible Selves', *Review of General Psychology*, 11(4), pp. 348–358. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.11.4.348

Evans, M. (2003) *Gender and social theory*. Phildelphia, PA: Open University Press. Available at: http://capitadiscovery.co.uk/dcu/items/375790 (Accessed: 18 October 2020).

Fairchild, A.J. and MacKinnon, D.P. (2009) 'A general model for testing mediation and moderation effects', *Prevention science*, 10, pp. 87–99. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007%2Fs11121-008-0109-6

Fan, W., *et al.* (2012) 'Personality traits, vocational interests, and career exploration: A cross-cultural comparison between American and Hong Kong students'. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *20*(1), pp.105–119. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072711417167

Ferguson, M., Katrak, K.H. and Miner, V. (2014) 'Feminism and antifeminism: From civil rights to culture wars', in Clark,V., Garner, S. N., Higonnet, M. and Katrak. K. (Eds.) *Antifeminism in the Academy*. Routledge, pp. 35–66.

Fetterolf, J.C. and Eagly, A.H. (2011) 'Do young women expect gender equality in their future lives? An answer from a possible selves experiment', *Sex Roles*, 65(1–2), pp. 83–93. Available at: https://doi.org/0.1007/s11199-011-9981-9.

Field, A. (2018) *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics.* Sage Publications.

Fischer, J., and Anderson, V. N. (2012) 'Gender role attitudes and characteristics of stay-at-home and employed fathers', *Psychology of Men & Masculinity,* 13(1), pp. 16–31. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024359

Fiske, S.T. *et al.* (2002) 'A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition'. *Journal of*

Personality and Social Psychology, 82(6), pp. 878–902. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Folberg, A.M. (2020) 'Global Perspectives on Women and Work', *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(3), pp. 464–483. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12396

Folberg, A.M., Kercher, K. and Ryan, C.S. (2020) 'The hidden role of dominance in career interests: A bifactor analysis of agentic and communal goal orientations', *Sex Roles*, 83, pp.193–210. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01104-1

Forster, N, Ebrahim, A. and Ibrahim, N. (2014) 'An exploratory study of work-life balance and workfamily conflicts in the United Arab Emirates', *Skyline Business Journal,* 9(1), pp. 34–42. Available at: https://www.skylineuniversity.ac.ae/images/journal/Business-Journal-Final2013-2014.pdf#page=38 (Accessed 4 May 2023).

Fortin, N.M. and Huberman, M. (2002) 'Occupational Gender Segregation: Public Policies and Economic Forces: Introduction and Overview', *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de politiques*, pp. S1–S10. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3552341

Freeney, Y., van der Werff, L. and Collings, D. (2022) 'I left Venus and came back to Mars: Temporal focus congruence in dyadic relationships following maternity leave', *Organisation Science,* 33(5), pp. 1773–1793. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2021.1508

Frisco, M.L. and Williams, K. (2003) 'Perceived housework equity, marital happiness, and divorce in dual-earner households', *Journal of Family Issues*, 24(1), pp. 51–73. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X02238520

Froehlich, L. *et al.* (2020) 'Gender at Work Across Nations: Men and Women Working in Male-Dominated and Female-Dominated Occupations are Differentially Associated with Agency and Communion', *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(3), pp. 484–511. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12390

Fulcher, M., Dinella, L.M. and Weisgram, E.S. (2015) 'Constructing a feminist reorganization of the heterosexual breadwinner/caregiver family model: College students' plans for their own future families', *Sex Roles*, *73*, pp.174–186. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0487-8

Gartzia, L. (2022) 'Self and other reported workplace traits: A communal gap of men across occupations', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *52*(8), pp. 568–587. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12848

Gartzia, L. and Fetterolf, J.C. (2016) 'What division of labor do university students expect in their future lives? Divergences and Communalities of Female and Male Students', *Sex Roles*, 74(3–4), pp. 121–135. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0532-7.

Gatrell, C.J. *et al.* (2013) 'Work–Life Balance and Parenthood: A Comparative Review of Definitions, Equity and Enrichment*', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 15(3), pp. 300–316. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2370.2012.00341.x.

Gender Balance Council. (2022). Establishment of UAE Gender Balance Council. UNESCO. Available at: https://en.unesco.org/creativity/policy-monitoring-platform/establishment-uae-gender-balance (Accessed 11 November 2022).

Gerhart, B. and Rynes, S. (1991) 'Determinants and consequences of salary negotiations by male and female MBA graduates', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(2), pp. 256–262. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.76.2.256

Gerson, K. (2010) *The unfinished revolution: How a new generation is reshaping family, work, and gender in America.* Oxford University Press; Oxford, U.K.

Ghasemi, A. (2020) 'Negotiating challenges and aspirations in a gendered work environment: The voices of women working in the Iranian broadcasting media', *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(3), pp. 577–603. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12397

Gilbert, D.T. and Malone, P.S. (1995) 'The correspondence bias', *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(1), pp. 21–38. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.1.21

Gimenez-Nadal, J.I. and Sevilla, A. (2012) 'Trends in time allocation: A cross-country analysis', *European Economic Review*, 56(6), pp. 1338–1359. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2012.02.011

Glauser, W. (2018) 'Why are women still earning less than men in medicine?' *Canadian Medical Association Journal,* 21, pp. E664–E665. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.109-5576

Glick, P. *et al.* (1997) 'The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23(12), pp. 1323–1334. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672972312009

Glick, P. and Fiske, S.T. (1996) 'The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), pp. 491–512. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491

Glick, P. *et al.* (2000) 'Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(5), pp. 763–775. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763

Glick, P. and Fiske, S.T. (2001) 'An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality'. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), pp.109–118. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109

Global Media Insight. (2023). *United Arab Emirates population statistics.* Available at: https://www.globalmediainsight.com/blog/uae-population-statistics/ (Accessed: 11 June 2023).

Glynn, S. J. (2018) 'Gender wage inequality; What we know and how we can fix it', *Washington Center for Equitable Growth.* Available at: https://equitablegrowth.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/040918-pay-inequality2.pdf

Gold, G.D. and Naufal, G.S. (2012) 'Wasta: The Other Invisible Hand: A Case Study of University Students in the Gulf', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 2(1), pp. 59–73. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/21534764.2012.686236

Gondal, A. Q., & Hatta, Z. (2024) 'Religion and Gender Studies: Examining the Intersection' *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, 5(1), pp. 302-310. Available at: https://doi.org/10.47205/jdss.2024(5-I)28

Gorski, P. S. (2013) 'What is critical realism? And why should you care?' *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 42(5), pp. 658–670. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306113499533

Grossman, M., & Wood, W. (1993) 'Sex differences in intensity of emotional experience: A social role interpretation', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 65(5), pp. 1010–1022. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.5.1010

Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) 'Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences', in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 191–215.

Haine, A. (2019) 'Financial independence main reason UAE women enter workforce', *NBusiness*. Available at: https://www.thenationalnews.com/business/money/financial-independence-main-reason-uae-women-enter-workforce-1.809853 (Accessed: 22 August 2023)

Haines, E. L., Deaux, K., and Lofaro, N. (2016) 'The times they are a-changing … or are they not? A comparison of gender stereotypes, 1983–2014', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40(3), pp. 353–363. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316634081

Hall, J. and Sammons, P., (2013) 'Mediation, moderation & interaction: Definitions, discrimination & (Some) means of testing', in Teo, T. (Ed.) *Handbook of quantitative methods for educational research*. Springer Science & Business Media, pp. 267–286.

Hameed, I., *et al.* (2016) 'Science, technology and innovation through entrepreneurship education in the United Arab Emirates (UAE)', *Sustainability*, 8(12), Article 1280. Available at: https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/8/12/1280/pdf

Hamel, I. and Dexter, G A. (2021) 'UAE: The sky is the limit for gender reform', *World Banks Blogs*. Available at: https://blogs.worldbank.org/arabvoices/gender-reforms-united-arab-emirates (Accessed: 11 October 2022).

Han, S.W., Borgonovi, F. and Guerriero, S. (2020) 'Why don't more boys want to become teachers? The effect of a gendered profession on students' career expectations', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 103, p.101645. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2020.101645

Harbi, S.A., Thursfield, D. and Bright, D. (2017) ‘Culture, Wasta and perceptions of performance appraisal in Saudi Arabia’, *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 28(19), pp. 2792–2810.

Harrison, N. (2018) ‘Using the Lens of ‘Possible Selves’ to Explore Access to Higher Education: A New Conceptual Model for Practice, Policy, and Research’, *Social Sciences*, 7(10), p. 209. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7100209

Hashim, I., (1999) ‘Reconciling Islam and feminism’, *Gender & Development*, 7(1), pp.7–14. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/741922938

Haslam, S.A. and McGarty, C. (2018) *Research methods and statistics in psychology*. Sage Publications.

Haslam, S.A., Reicher, S.D., and Platow, M.J. (2010) *The new psychology of leadership: Identity, influence and power*. Psychology Press.

Hassan, A.I., Baharom, M.N. and Abdul Mutalib, R. (2017) ‘Social capital and career advancement of female academic staff in Nigerian universities’, *Journal of Management Development*, 36(4), pp. 525–541. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/JMD-05-2016-0069

Hayes, A.F. and Rockwood, N.J. (2017) ‘Regression-based statistical mediation and moderation analysis in clinical research: Observations, recommendations, and implementation’, *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 98, pp. 39–57. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2016.11.001

Hegewisch, A. and Hartmann, H. (2014) ‘Occupational segregation and the gender wage gap: A job half done’, Institute for Women’s Policy Research. Available at: https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/C419.pdf (Accessed 27 April 2023).

Heilman, M.E. *et al.* (2004) 'Penalties for success: reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(3), pp.416–427. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.3.416

Henrich, J. and McElreath, R. (2003) 'The evolution of cultural evolution', *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 12(3), pp. 123–135. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.10110

Hesketh, A. and Williams, J.B. (2021). 'Public policy on gender equality in the United Arab Emirates: a critical appraisal', *International Journal of Sustainable Society*, 13(4), pp. 254–272. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1504/IJSSOC.2021.121617

Higher College of Technology. (2022). About HCT. Available at: https://hct.ac.ae/en/about-hct/ (Accessed 8 May 2023).

Hiver, P. (2013) 'The interplay of possible language teacher selves in professional development choices', *Language Teaching Research*, 17(2), pp. 210–227. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168813475944

Hodgson, S. (2014) 'Women's status in the labor market: Canada versus the UAE', *Middle East Journal of Business*, 9(1), pp. 18–23. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5742/MEJB.2014.91370

Hofstede, G. (2001) *Culture's Consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Hogue, M., DuBois, C.L.Z. and Fox-Cardamone, L. (2010) 'Gender Differences in Pay Expectations: The Roles of Job Intention and Self-View', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34(2), pp. 215–227. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01563.x

Horowitz, J. M., Parker, K., and Stepler, R. (2017) 'Wide partisan gaps in US over how far the country has come on gender equality', *Pew Research Center*. Available at: http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2017/10/14115221/Gender-Equality-Report-FINAL-10.18.pdf (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Howard, G.S. (1994) 'Why do people say nasty things about self-reports?' *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, pp. 399–404. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2488212

Howe-Walsh, L. *et al.* (2020) 'Exploring career choices of Emirati women in the technology sector', *Journal of Organizational Effectiveness: People and Performance*, 7(1), pp. 96–114. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/JOEPP-01-2020-0007.

Hudson, S. K. T., & Ghani, A. (2024) 'Sexual orientation and race intersectionally reduce the perceived gendered nature of normative stereotypes in the United States. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 48(1), pp. 56-79. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843231187851

Hughes, J.A. *et al.* (1997) 'The Production of Order and the Order of Production: Possibilities for Distributed Organisations, Work and Technology in the Print Industry', *Proceedings of the Fifth European Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*. Springer Netherlands, pp. 1–16. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7372-6_1

Hutchings, K. and Weir, D. (2006) 'Guanxi and wasta: A comparison', *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 48(1), pp. 141–156. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.20090

Iles, P., Almhedie, A. and Baruch, Y. (2012) 'Managing HR in the Middle East: Challenges in the public sector', *Public Personnel Management*, 41(3), pp. 465–492.

Available at:

https://doi.org/10.1177/009102601204100305

Inglehart, R. F. (2020). Giving up on god: the global decline of religion. *Foreign Affaires*, *99*, p. 110. Available at: https://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/fora99§ion=123 (Accessed: 4 February 2023).

Isaga, N. (2018) 'Start-up motives and challenges facing female entrepreneurs in Tanzania. International', *Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship,* 11(2), pp. 102–119. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-02-2018-0010

Issa, N.A., *et al.* (2022) 'The asset management review: United Arab Emirates', *The Law Reviews*, sept. Available at: https://thelawreviews.co.uk/title/the-asset-management-review/united-arab-emirates (Accessed: August 17 2023).

Iyengar, S. S., Lepper, M. R. and Ross, L. (1999) 'Independence from whom? Interdependence with whom? Cultural perspectives on ingroups versus outgroups', in D. Miller & D. Prentice (Eds.) *Cultural divides: Understanding and overcoming group conflict*. New York: Sage pp. 273–301.

Jabeen, F., Friesen, H.L. and Ghoudi, K. (2018) 'Quality of work life of Emirati women and its influence on job satisfaction and turnover intention: Evidence from the UAE', *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 31(2), pp. 352–370. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/JOCM-01-2017-0016

Jamali, D. (2005) 'Changing management paradigms: implications for educational institutions', *Journal of Management Development*, 24(2), pp.104–115. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/02621710510579473

James, W. (2001) ‘What pragmatism means’ in Delbanco, A. (Ed.) *Writing New England: An Anthology from the Puritans to the Present*. Harvard University Press, pp. 80–93.

Jasko, K. *et al.* (2020) ‘The STEM Graduate: Immediately after Graduation, Men and Women Already Differ in Job Outcomes, Attributions for Success, and Desired Job Characteristics’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 76. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12392

Jawaid, N., LoMonaco, J. and Bollegala, N., (2021) ‘The under-representation of canadian women in gastroenterology from residency to leadership’, *Journal of the Canadian Association of Gastroenterology*, 4(6), pp. 251–256. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/jcag/gwab020

Jones, M.G., Howe, A. and Rua, M.J. (2000) ‘Gender differences in students' experiences, interests, and attitudes toward science and scientists’, *Science Education*, 84(2), pp. 180–192. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-237X(200003)84:2%3C180::AID-SCE3%3E3.0.CO;2-X

Jones, J. (2020) ‘5 Facts about the state of the gender pay gap’ US Department of Labour. Available at: https://blog.dol.gov/2021/03/19/5-facts-about-the-state-of-the-gender-pay-gap (Accessed 27 April 2023).

Kabbani, N. and Mimoune, N. B. (2021) ‘Economic diversification in the Gulf: Time to redouble efforts’. Brookings. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/research/economic-diversification-in-the-gulf-time-to-redouble-efforts/ (Accessed: 6 June 2023).

Kaiser, H.F. (1974) ‘An index of factorial simplicity’, *Psychometrika*, 39(1), pp.31–36. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02291575

Kavanagh, S. A., Haintz, G. L., McKenzie, H., Ong, T., & Adeleye, F. O. (2023) 'Gender Theory and Global Public Health', *In Handbook of Social Sciences and Global Public Health*, pp. 291-311. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Kelly S. (2010) 'Qualitative interviewing techniques and styles', in: Bourgeault I, Dingwall R, de Vries R. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Methods in Health Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446268247

Kemp, L.J. (2013) 'Progress in female education and employment in the United Arab Emirates towards Millennium Development Goal (3): gender equality', *Foresight*, 15(4), pp. 264–277. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/FS-02-2012-0007.

Kennetz, K. and K. S. Carroll (2018) 'Language threat in the United Arab Emirates? Unpacking domains of language use', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 254, pp. 165–84. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/37789995/Language_threat_in_the_United_Arab_Emirates_Unpacking_domains_of_language_use (Accessed 8 May 2023).

Kenny, D.A. (2008) 'Reflections on mediation', *Organizational Research Methods*, 11(2), pp. 353–358. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428107308978

Kerr, S. (2020) 'UAE introduces secular-leaning reforms to reassure expats' *Financial Times, November 8*. Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/104d32f2-5d49-4046-af73-d8df571eeeb1 (Accessed: 15 September 2022).

Keusch F. (2015) 'Why do people participate in web surveys? Applying survey participation theory to Internet survey data collection', *Management Review Quarterly*, 65(3), pp. 183–216. Available at: https://doi.org/1.1007/s11301-014-011

Khakhar, P. and Rammal, H.G. (2013) ‘Culture and business networks: International business negotiations with Arab managers’, *International Business Review*, 22(3), pp. 578–590. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2012.08.002

Khassawneh, O. and Abaker, M.O.S.M. (2022) ‘Human Resource Management in the United Arab Emirates: Towards a Better Understanding’, in Adisa, T. A. and Mordi, C. (Eds.) *HRM in the Global South: A Critical Perspective*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 103–128.

Killeen, L.A., López-Zafra, E. and Eagly, A.H. (2006) ‘Envisioning Oneself as a Leader: Comparisons of Women and Men in Spain and the United States’, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(3), pp. 312–322. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00299.x

Kincheloe, J.L. and Tobin, K. (2015) ‘The much exaggerated death of positivism’, in Tobin, K. and Steinberg, S.R. (Eds.) *Doing educational research*. Brill, pp. 15–32.

King, L.A., Richards, J.H. and Stemmerich, E. (1998) ‘Daily goals, life goals, and worst fears: Means, ends, and subjective well-being’, *Journal of Personality*, 66(5), pp. 713–744. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.00030

Kite, M.E., Deaux, K. and Haines, E.L. (2008) *Gender stereotypes*. Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Klasen, S. (2019) ‘What explains uneven female labor force participation levels and trends in developing countries?’, *The World Bank Research Observer*, 34(2), pp.161–197. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lkz005

Klugman, J. (2021) ‘Women’s rights–the state of play: How far have we come since the Beijing Declaration?’, in Vijeyarasa, R. (Ed.) *International Women's Rights Law and Gender Equality: Making the Law Work for Women*. Routledge, pp. 16–34.

Kretschmer, D., Lämmermann, K., & Leszczensky, L. (2024) ‘ How gendered religious norms contribute to the emerging gender gap in Muslim youths’ interreligious friendships’, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 98, Article 101919. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101919

Kropf, A. and Newbury-Smith, T.C. (2016) ‘Wasta as a form of social capital? An institutional perspective’, in Ramady, M. (Ed.) *The political economy of Wasta: Use and abuse of social capital networking*. Springer, pp. 3–21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-22201-1_1

Kruglanski, A.W. *et al.* (2014) ‘On motivational readiness’, *Psychological Review*, 121(3), pp. 367–388. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037013

Kunovich, S.L., Paxton, P. and Hughes, M.M. (2007) ‘Gender in politics’, *The Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, pp. 264–283. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131651

Lachance-Grzela, M. and Bouchard, G. (2010) ‘Why do women do the lion’s share of housework? A decade of research’, *Sex Roles*, 63, pp. 767–780. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9797-z

Lagarde, C. and Ostry, J. D. (2018) ‘Economic gains from gender inclusion: Even greater than you thought’, *IMF Blog.* Available at: https://www.imf.org/en/Blogs/Articles/2018/11/28/blog-economic-gains-from-gender-inclusion-even-greater-than-you-thought (Accesses on: 8 June 2023)

Laland, K.N., Odling-Smee, J. and Myles, S. (2010) 'How culture shaped the human genome: bringing genetics and the human sciences together', *Nature Reviews Genetics*, 11(2), pp.137–148. Available at: https://www.nature.com/articles/nrg2734 (Accessed 1 May 2023).

Lambert, L. *et al.* (2022) 'Conceptions of Happiness Matter: Relationships between Fear and Fragility of Happiness and Mental and Physical Wellbeing', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 23. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-021-00413-1

Lee, I.C., Pratto, F. and Johnson, B.T. (2011). Intergroup consensus/disagreement in support of group-based hierarchy: an examination of socio-structural and psycho-cultural factors. *Psychological bulletin*, 137(6), p.1029–1064. Available at: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3205474/

Lickliter, R. and Honeycutt, H. (2003) 'Developmental dynamics: toward a biologically plausible evolutionary psychology', *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(6), pp.819–835. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.6.819

Lim, H.L. (2014) 'Managing young professional talent in the UAE: work motivators and gender differences', *International Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences*, 3(12), pp. 874–882. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Hwee-Lim-3/publication/320728178_Managing_young_professional_talent_in_the_UAE_Work_motivators_and_gender_differences/links/59f8140d0f7e9b553ebefe1c/Managing-young-professional-talent-in-the-UAE-Work-motivators-and-gender-differences.pdf (Accessed: 19 June 2023).

Lindgreen, A. *et al.* (2022) 'Teaching: How to ensure quality teaching, and how to recognize teaching qualifications', *Industrial Marketing Management*, 100, pp. A1–A5. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.indmarman.2021.11.008

Linehan, M., Scullion, H., and Walsh, J. S. (2001) 'Barriers to women's participation in international management', *European Business Review,* 13(1), 10–19. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/09555340110366444

Liu, M. and Wronski, L. (2018) 'Examining Completion Rates in Web Surveys via Over 25,000 Real-World Surveys', *Social Science Computer Review*, 36(1), pp. 116–124. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439317695581

Locke, E.A. and Latham, G.P. (1990) *A theory of goal setting & task performance*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Lu, L. *et al.* (2000) 'Managerial stress, locus of control, and job strain in Taiwan and UK: A comparative study', *International Journal of Stress Management*, 7(3), pp. 209–226. Available at: http://web.ba.ntu.edu.tw/luolu/managerial%20stress,%20locus%20of%20control%20and%20job%20strain%20in%20taiwan%20and%20uk-%20a%20comparative%20study.pdf (Accessed 4 May 2023).

Lyness, K.S. and Grotto, A.R. (2018) 'Women and leadership in the United States: Are we closing the gender gap?' *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 5, pp. 227–265. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-032117-104739

Lyness, K.S. and Heilman, M.E. (2006) 'When fit is fundamental: performance evaluations and promotions of upper-level female and male managers', *Journal of*

Applied Psychology, 91(4), pp.777–785. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.4.777 .

Lyonette, C. (2015) ‘Part-time work, work–life balance and gender equality’, *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 37(3), pp. 321–333. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09649069.2015.1081225

Maitner, A.T. and Henry, P.J. (2018) ‘Ambivalent sexism in the United Arab Emirates: Quantifying gender attitudes in a rapidly modernizing society’, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 21(5), pp. 831–843. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430217740433

Malinowska, A., (2020). ‘Waves of Feminism’, *The international encyclopedia of gender, media, and communication*, 1, pp.1–7. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/download/66702795/waves_of_feminism_2_.pdf (Accessed: 23 January 2023).

Malit Jr, F.T., and Al Youha, A. (2013) ‘Labor migration in the United Arab Emirates: Challenges and responses’, *Migration Information Source.* Available at: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/labor-migration-united-arab-emirates-challenges-and-responses (Accessed: 6 June 2023).

Malit Jr, F.T., Awad, M.A. and Alexander, K. (2018) ‘The “Khadama Dependency Syndrome”: Determinants and prospects for the future of domestic work demand in the United Arab Emirates’ *Arabian Humanities. Revue internationale d’archéologie et de sciences sociales sur la péninsule Arabique/International Journal of Archaeology and Social Sciences in the Arabian Peninsula*, 10. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4000/cy.3695

Marktanner, M and Wilson, M. (2015) ‘The economic cost of wasta in the Arab World: An empirical approach’, in Ramady, M. A. (Ed.) *The Political Economy of Wasta: Use and Abuse of Social Capital Networking*, Springer Link, pp.79–94.

Markus, H. and Nurius, P. (1986) ‘Possible selves’, *American Psychologist*, 41(9), pp. 954–969. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.41.9.954

Marsh, H.W. *et al.* (2014) ‘Exploratory structural equation modeling: An integration of the best features of exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis’, *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 10, pp. 85–110. Available at: https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032813-153700 (Accesses 8 May 2023).

Marsh, H. W., *et al.* (2014) ‘Exploratory structural equation modeling: An integration of the best features of exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis’, *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 10, pp. 85–110. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032813-153700

Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R.D. and Lamb, M.E. (2000) ‘Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond’, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), pp. 1173–1191. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.01173.x

Martinez, A. and Christnacht, C. (2021) ‘Women making gains in STEM occupations but still underrepresented’, *The United States Census Bureau*. Available at: https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2021/01/women-makinggains-in-stem-occupations-but-stillunderrepresented.html (Accessed: 6 January 2023).

Martos, T. and Kopp, M.S. (2012) ‘Life Goals and Well-Being: Does Financial Status Matter? Evidence from a Representative Hungarian Sample’, *Social Indicators Research*, 105(3), pp. 561–568. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-011-9788-7

Mastari, L., Spruyt, B. and Siongers, J. (2021) 'Preadolescents' Stereotypical Occupational Preferences: a Matter of Competence or Culture?', *Child Indicators Research,* 14, pp. 1199–1225. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-021-09802-7

Matherly, L.L. and Hodgson, S. (2014) 'Implementing employment quotas to develop human resource capital: a comparison of Oman and the UAE', *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, 2(7), pp.75–90. Available at: https://www.ijlass.org/data/frontImages/gallery/Vol._2_No._7/8.pdf

McConnon, A., Midgette, A.J. and Conry-Murray, C. (2021) 'Mother Like Mothers and Work Like Fathers: U.S. Heterosexual College Students' Assumptions About Who Should Meet Childcare and Housework Demands', *Sex Roles*, pp. 1–18. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-021-01252-3

McHale, B. (2012) 'Postmodernism and experiment', in Bray, J., Gibbons, A. and McHale, B. (Eds.) *The Routledge companion to experimental literature*. Routledge, pp. 157–169.

McNeish, D. and Wolf, M.G. (2020) 'Thinking twice about sum scores', *Behavior Research Methods*, 52, pp. 2287–2305. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-020-01398-0

Metcalfe, B.D. (2006) 'Exploring cultural dimensions of gender and management in the Middle East', *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 48(1), pp. 93–107. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.20087

Metle, M.A.K. (2002), 'The influence of traditional culture on attitudes towards work among Kuwaiti women employees in the public sector', *Women in Management Review*, 17(6), pp. 245–261. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420210441905

Metz, I. and Tharenou, P. (2001) 'Women's career advancement: The relative contribution of human and social capital', *Group & Organization Management*, 26(3), pp. 312–342. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601101263005

Midgette, A.J. (2020) 'Chinese and South Korean Families' Conceptualizations of a Fair Household Labor Distribution', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(4), pp. 1358–1377. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12673

Miller, A.J. and Carlson, D.L. (2016) 'Great expectations? Working-and middle-class cohabitors' expected and actual divisions of housework', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78(2), pp. 346–363. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12276

Ministry of State for Federal National Council Affairs. (2008) *Women in the United Arab Emirates: A portrait of progress*. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/lib-docs/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session3/AE/UPR_UAE_ANNEX3_E.pdf (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Mobaraki, A.E.H. and Soderfeldt, B. (2010) 'Gender inequity in Saudi Arabia and its role in public health', *EMHJ-Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal,* 16(1), 113–118. Available at: https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/117827

Mohajan, H. (2022) 'Four Waves of Feminism: A Blessing for Global Humanity', *Munich Personal RePEC Archive.* Available at: https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/114328/1/MPRA_paper_114328.pdf (Accessed 27 April 2023).

Mohamed, A.A. and Hamdy, H. (2008) 'The Stigma of wasta. The Effect of Wasta on Perceived Competence and Morality', *German University in Cairo Faculty on Management Technology, Working Paper*, (5), pp.1–9. Available at:

https://mgt.guc.edu.eg/wpapers/005mohamed_hamdy2008.pdf (Accessed: 22 April 2022).

Mohamed, A.A. and Mohamad, M.S. (2011) ‘The effect of wasta on perceived competence and morality in Egypt’, *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 18(4), pp. 412–425. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/13527601111179492/full/html

Mölders, S. *et al.* (2018) ‘Support for quotas for women in leadership: The influence of gender stereotypes’, *Human Resource Management*, 57(4), pp. 869–882. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.21882

Morgan, J. and Buice, M. (2013), ‘Latin American attitudes toward women in politics: The influence of elite cues, female advancement, and individual characteristics’, *American Political Science Review*, 107(4), pp. 644–662. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000385

Moss-Racusin, C.A. (2014). ‘Male backlash: Penalties for men who violate gender stereotypes’ in Burke, R.J. and Major, D.A. *Gender in organizations*. Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 247–269. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781955703.00021

Moss-Racusin, C.A. and Rudman, L.A. (2010) ‘Disruptions in women's self-promotion: The backlash avoidance model’, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34(2), pp.186–202. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01561.x

Mostafa, M.M. (2005) ‘Attitudes towards women managers in theUnited Arab Emirates: The effects of patriarchy, age, and sex differences’, *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 20(6), pp. 522–540. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940510615451

Mufuka, K. (2023) ‘Gender, faith, and education: A study of five Muslim women in the United Arab Emirates as they struggled to overcome gender social and religious prejudices’, *International Journal of Medical Sociology and Anthropology*, 13(1), pp. 1–11. Available at: https://www.internationalscholarsjournals.com/articles/gender-faith-and-education-a-study-of-five-muslim-women-in-the-united-arab-emirates-as-they-struggled-to-overcome-gender.pdf (Accessed 30 April 2023).

Murru, E.C. and Ginis, K.A.M. (2010) ‘Imagining the possibilities: The effects of a possible selves intervention on self-regulatory efficacy and exercise behavior’ *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 32(4), pp.537–554. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.32.4.537

Muthén, L.K. and Muthén, B.O. (2021). *Mplus version 8.7* (Software).

Naja, Y. and Crossley, N. (2021) ‘UAE: New labour law will take effect on 2 February 2022. *DLA Piper.* Available at: https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=64761cfe-c581-456f-8826-533ad420098d (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Naguib, R. (2024) ‘Epilogue—Epistemic Healing: Reclaiming Women’s Empowerment in Islamic Sources’, *Women’s Empowerment and Public Policy in the Arab Gulf States*, 11, 201-210. Available at: https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/86968/1/978-981-99-6006-4.pdf#page=210

Neal, M., Finlay, J. and Tansey, R. (2005) “My father knows the Minister”: A comparative study of Arab women's attitudes towards leadership authority’, *Women in Management Review* 20(7), pp. 478–497. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420510624729

Ng, T.W., Sorensen, K.L. and Eby, L.T. (2006) 'Locus of control at work: a meta-analysis', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27(8), pp. 1057–1087. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/job.416

Niemistö, C. *et al.* (2021) 'Motherhood 2.0: slow progress for career women and motherhood within the 'Finnish dream', *Work, Employment and Society*, 35(4), pp.696–715. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017020987392

Obioma, I.F. *et al.* (2022) 'Gendered share of housework and the COVID-19 pandemic: Examining self-ratings and speculation of others in Germany, India, Nigeria, and South Africa', *Journal of Social Issues*. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12507

Obioma, I.F., Hentschel, T. and Hernandez Bark, A.S. (2022) 'Gender stereotypes and self-characterizations in Germany and Nigeria: A cross-cultural comparison', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 52(8), pp.764–780. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12801

Olimat, M. (2013). *Arab Spring and Arab women: Challenges and opportunities.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Oluwafemi, O. M. (2019) 'The stance of Islam and Christianity on gender equality', *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Sciences,* 3(8), pp. 133–138. Available at: https://www.rsisinternational.org/journals/ijriss/Digital-Library/volume-3-issue-8/133-138.pdf (Accessed: 22 June 2023).

Omair, K. (2010) 'Typology of career development for Arab women managers in the United Arab Emirates', *Career Development International*, 15(2), pp.121–143. Available at: https://jyx.jyu.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/36974/9789513944919.pdf#page=78 (Accessed: 14 August 2023).

Ottsen, C.L. and Berntsen, D. (2014) ‘The cultural life script of Qatar and across cultures: Effects of gender and religion’, *Memory*, 22(4), pp.390–407. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2013.795598

Palinkas, L.A, *et al.* (2015) ‘Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research’, *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 42, pp. 533–544. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y

Park, Y.S., Konge, L. and Artino, A. (2020) ‘The Positivism Paradigm of Research’, *Academic Medicine*, 95, pp. 690–694. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0000000000003093

Park, B., Smith, J.A. and Correll, J (2008) ‘‘Having it all’ or ‘doing it all’? Perceived trait attributes and behavioral obligations as a function of workload, parenthood, and gender’, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(7), pp. 1156–1164. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.535

Parker, R. (2015) *Change and continuity in children's services*. Policy Press.

Parker, K., Fry, R. and Arditi, T. (2023) ‘In a growing share of US marriages, husbands and wives earn about the same’, Pew Research Center. Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2023/04/Breadwinner-wives-full-report-FINAL.pdf (Accessed 27 April 2023).

Pedulla, D.S. and Thébaud, S. (2015) ‘Can we finish the revolution? Gender, work-family ideals, and institutional constraint’, *American Sociological Review*, 80(1), pp. 116–139. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414564008

Peters, H. E., Adelstein, S. and Abare, R. (2019)' Empowerment in low-income countries: What we have learned by reviewing the evidence', *Urban Institute*. Available at: https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/gender-norms-and-womens-economic-empowerment-low-income-countries-what-we-learned-reviewing-evidence (Accessed: 8 June 2023).

Pew Research Centre. (2015) *The American family today.* Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2015/12/17/1-the-american-family-today/ (Accessed: 27 April 2023).

Political adjective', Collins English Dictionary. Available at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/political (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

Podsakoff, P.M., MacKenzie, S.B. and Podsakoff, N.P. (2012) 'Sources of method bias in social science research and recommendations on how to control it', *Annual review of psychology*, 63, pp. 539–569. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-120710-100452

Pöhlmann, K. (2001) 'Agency-and communion-orientation in life goals: Impacts on goal pursuit strategies and psychological well-being', in P. Schmuck and K. M. Sheldon (Eds.) *Life goals and well-being: Towards a positive psychology of human striving*. Hogrefe & Huber Publishers, pp. 68–84.

Pomaki, G., Karoly, P. and Maes, S., 2009. 'Linking goal progress to subjective well-being at work: The moderating role of goal-related self-efficacy and attainability', *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 14(2), pp. 206–218. Available at: https://10.1037/a0014605

Popper, K. (1959) *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London and New York: Routledge.

Powell, J. (2007) *Postmodernism for beginners*. Red Wheel/Weiser.

Prentice, D.A. and Carranza, E. (2002), 'What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(4), pp. 269–281. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.t01-1-00066

Prentice, D.A. and Miller, D.T. (2006) 'Essentializing differences between women and men', *Psychological Science*, 17(2), pp. 129–135. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01675.x

PricewaterhouseCoopers (2022) *MENA women in work survey 20223: Young women, powerful ambitions.* Available at: https://www.pwc.com/m1/en/publications/images-new/woman-in-work/mena-women-in-work-survey-2022.pdf (Accessed: 22 August 2023).

Pringle, J.K. and Ryan, I., (2015) 'Understanding context in diversity management: a multi-level analysis', *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 34(6), pp. 470–482. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-05-2015-0031

Pudney, H. (2017) 'Sheikha Fatima says gender equality goes across all areas of life', *Emirates Women.* Available at: https://emirateswoman.com/sheikha-fatima-says-gender-equality-goes-across-all-areas-of-life/ (Accessed: 24 April, 2023).

Rahi, S. (2017) 'Research design and methods: A systematic review of research paradigms, sampling issues and instruments development', *International Journal of Economics & Management Sciences*, 6(2), pp. 1–5. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4172/2162-6359.1000403

Rhahla, H. (2012) 'Discrepancies in public and private sector pay in Jordan, Qatar and the UAE'. *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies*. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12653

Rahman, M.S. (2016) 'The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language 'Testing and Assessment' Research: A Literature Review', *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), p. 102. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v6n1p102

Ramady, M.A. ed. (2016). *The political economy of wasta: Use and abuse of social capital networking* (p. vii). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Rampton, M. (2015). 'Four waves of feminism', *Pacific University Oregon*, 25, pp. 1–10. Available at: http://gdelaurier.pbworks.com/w/file/fetch/134554611/Four%20Waves%20of%20Feminism%20_%20Pacific%20University.pdf (Accessed 27 April 2023).

Renk, K., *et al.* (2003) 'Mothers, fathers, gender role, and time parents spend with their children', *Sex Roles*, 48, pp. 305–315. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022934412910

Revilla, M. and Höhne, J.K. (2020) 'How long do respondents think online surveys should be? New evidence from two online panels in Germany', *International Journal of Market Research*, *62*(5), pp. 538–545. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1470785320943049

Revilla, M. and Ochoa, C. (2017) 'Ideal and maximum length for a web survey', *International Journal of Market Research*, 59(5), pp. 557–565. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2501/IJMR-2017-039

Robins, R.W., Tracy, J.L. and Sherman, J.W. (2007) 'What kinds of methods do personality psychologists use', in Robins, R. W., Fraley, R. C., and Krueger, R. F. (Eds.) *Handbook of research methods in personality psychology*. The Guilford Press, pp. 673–678.

Ross, L. (2018) 'From the fundamental attribution error to the truly fundamental attribution error and beyond: My research journey', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 13(6), pp.750–769. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691618769855

Rossier, J., Dahourou, D. and McCrae, R.R. (2005) 'Structural and mean-level analyses of the five-factor model and locus of control: Further evidence from Africa', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(2), pp. 227–246. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022104272903

Rotter, J.B. (1966) 'Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement', *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 80(1), pp. 1–28. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/h0092976

Rubery, J. and Koukiadaki, A. (2016) 'Closing the gender pay gap: a review of the issues, policy mechanisms and international evidence', International Labour Organization. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_540889/lang--en/index.htm (Accessed: 12 November 2022).

Rudman, L.A. and Glick, P. (1999) 'Feminized management and backlash toward agentic women: the hidden costs to women of a kinder, gentler image of middle managers', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(5), pp. 1004–1010. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.77.5.1004

Rudman, L.A., and Mescher, M. (2013) ‘Penalizing men who request a family leave: Is flexibility stigma a femininity stigma?’, *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2), pp. 322–340. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12017

Rudman, L.A. *et al.* (2012) ‘Reactions to vanguards: Advances in backlash theory’, in Devine, P., and Plant, A. (Eds.) *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 45). Academic Press. pp. 167–227.

Ruel, E. (2019) *100 Questions (and Answers) About Survey Research*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781506348803

Rushing, C. and Powell, L. (2015) ‘Family dynamics of the stay-at-home father and working mother relationship’, *American Journal of Men's Health*, 9(5), pp. 410–420. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988314549414

Rushing, C. and Sparks, M. (2017) ‘The Mother’s Perspective: Factors Considered When Choosing to Enter a Stay-at-Home Father and Working Mother Relationship’, *American Journal of Men’s Health*, 11(4), pp. 1260–1268. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988317693347

Ruvolo, A.P. and Markus, H.R. (1992) ‘Possible Selves and Performance: The Power of Self-Relevant Imagery’, *Social Cognition*, 10(1), pp. 95–124. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1521/soco.1992.10.1.95

Sabbe, E. and Aelterman, A. (2007) ‘Gender in teaching: A literature review’, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 13(5), pp.521–538. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600701561729

Sabri, H.A. (2011) ‘Beyond Arab spring: Societal context and prospects for a new paradigm of Arab management’, *Journal of Social and Development Sciences*, 2(5), pp. 214–222. Available at: https://doi.org/10.22610/jsds.v2i5.671

Samier, E. (2015) ‘Emirati women's higher educational leadership formation under globalisation: Culture, religion, politics, and the dialectics of modernisation’, *Gender and Education*, 27(3), pp. 239–254. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2015.1028901

Santiago, J.H. and Tarantino, S.J. (2002) ‘Individualism and collectivism: Cultural orientation in locus of control and moral attribution under conditions of social change’, *Psychological Reports*, 91(3_suppl), pp. 1155–1168. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.2002.91.3f.1155

Sarker, A.E. and Rahman, M.H. (2020) ‘Social engineering and Emiratization in the United Arab Emirates’, *Public Administration and Policy*, 23(2), pp.173–186. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/PAP-02-2020-0009/full/html

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2019) *Research Methods for Business Students* (8th ed.), Pearson, Harlow.

Savina, E. (2013) ‘Perceived control over personal goals in Russian and American college students’, *International Journal of Psychology*, 48(4), pp.551–562. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/00207594.2012.690522

Schlegel, R.J. *et al.* (2019) ‘Making in the classroom: Longitudinal evidence of increases in self-efficacy and STEM possible selves over time’, *Computers and Education*, *142,* Article 103637. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2019.103637

Schmitt, N. (1994) 'Method bias: The importance of theory and measurement', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, pp. 393–398. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2488211

Schmuck, P., Kasser, T. and Ryan, R.M. (2000) 'Intrinsic and extrinsic goals: Their structure and relationship to well-being in German and US college students', *Social Indicators Research*, pp. 225–241. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/27522456

Schvaneveldt, P.L., Kerpelman, J.L. and Schvaneveldt, J. (2005) 'Generational and Cultural Changes in Family Life in the United Arab Emirates: A Comparison of Mothers and Daughters', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 36(1), pp. 77–91. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.36.1.77.

Seginer, R. (1988) 'Adolescents' orientation toward the future: Sex role differentiation in a sociocultural context', *Sex Roles*, 18, pp. 739–757. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288058

Selvarajan, T.T., Slattery, J. and Stringer, D.Y. (2015) 'Relationship between gender and work-related attitudes: a study of temporary agency employees', *Journal of Business Research*, 68(9), pp. 1919–1927. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.01.001

Sendra-Pons, P. *et al.* (2022) 'Cross-country differences in drivers of female necessity entrepreneurship', *Service Business*, *16*(4), pp. 971–989. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11628-021-00470-9

Shaalan, A. *et al.* (2021) 'Arab networking and relationship marketing: Is there a need for both?' *Journal of Business & Industrial Marketing*, 36(10), pp. 1793–1805. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/JBIM-02-2020-0110

Shallal, M. (2011) ‘Job Satisfaction among Women in the United Arab Emirates’, *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 12(3), Article 8. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol12/iss3/8 (Accessed 30 April 2023).

Sharma, H. (2022) ‘How short or long should be a questionnaire for any research? Researchers’ dilemma in deciding the appropriate questionnaire length’, *Saudi Journal of Anaesthesia*, *16*(1), pp. 65–68. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4103%2Fsja.sja_163_21

Shaya, N. and Abu Khait, R. (2017) ‘Feminizing leadership in the Middle East: Emirati women empowerment and leadership style’, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 32(8), pp. 590–608. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-07-2016-0143

Sheerin, C. and Linehan, M. (2018) ‘Gender performativity and hegemonic masculinity in investment management’, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-10-2017-0122

Sheldon, K. M., and Cooper, M. L. (2008) ‘Goal striving within agentic and communal roles: Separate but functionally similar pathways to enhanced well-being’, *Journal of Personality*, 76(3), 415–448. Available at: https//doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00491.x

Sikdar, A. and Mitra, S. (2012) ‘Gender-role stereotypes: perception and practice of leadership in the Middle East’, *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues,* 5(3), pp. 146–162. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/17537981211265534

Slak Valek, N. and Picherit-Duthler, G. (2021) ‘Pushing for Gender Equality in Advertising: Gender Role Stereotypes in the United Arab Emirates’, *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 33(5), pp. 512–525. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530.2020.1820417

Smith, G. A. (2021) 'About three-in-ten US adults are now religiously unaffiliated', *Pew Research Center*. Available at: https://www.apostolicplanning.com/s/Religious-affiliation-in-the-United-States-2021.pdf (Accessed: 6 January 2023).

Sousa, F.J. (2010) 'Metatheories in research: positivism, postmodernism, and critical realism', in Woodside, A.G. (Ed.) *Organizational Culture, Business-to-Business Relationships, and Interfirm Networks (Advances in Business Marketing and Purchasing, Vol. 16),* Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Bingley, pp. 455–503. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/S1069-0964(2010)0000016012

Spector, P.E. (1988) 'Development of the work locus of control scale', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 61(4), pp. 335–340. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8325.1988.tb00470.x

Spector, P. E. (1994) 'Using self-report questionnaires in OB research: A comment on the use of a controversial method', *Journal of Organizational Behavior,* 15*,* pp. 385–392. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/job.4030150503

Spector, P. E. (2006) 'Method Variance in Organizational Research: Truth or Urban Legend?', *Organizational Research Methods,* 9, pp. 221–232. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428105284955

Speklé, R. and Widener, S. (2018) 'Challenging Issues in Survey Research: Discussion and Suggestions', *Journal of Management Accounting Research*, 30(2), pp. 3–21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2308/JMAR-51860

Spence, J. T. (1985) 'Gender identity and its implications for the concepts of masculinity and femininity', In Sonderregger T. B. (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Psychology and gender* (Vol. 32, pp. 59–96) Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Spence, J.T. and Buckner, C.E. (2000) ‘Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes, and sexist attitudes What do they signify?’ *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24(1), pp. 44–62. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2000.tb01021.x

Steca, P. *et al.* (2016) ‘The effects of short-term personal goals on subjective well-being’, *Journal of Happiness Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Subjective Well-Being,* 17(4), 1435–1450. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-015-9651-7

Stefanidis, A., Banai, M., & Dagher, G. K. (2023) ‘Socio-cultural capital in the Arab workplace: Wasta as a moderator of ethical idealism and work engagement’, *Employee Relations: The International Journal*, 45(1), pp. 21-44. https://doi.org/10.1108/ER-05-2021-0227

Stoet, G. and Geary, D.C. (2018) ‘The gender-equality paradox in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics education’, *Psychological Science*, 29(4), pp. 581–593. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797617741719

Stout, J.G. and Dasgupta, N. (2011) ‘When he doesn’t mean you: Gender-exclusive language as ostracism’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37(6), pp.757–769. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211406434

Su, R., Rounds, J. and Armstrong, P.I. (2009) ‘Men and things, women and people: a meta-analysis of sex differences in interests’, *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(6), pp.859 –884. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017364

Sultan, N., van de Bunt-Kokhuis, S., Davidson, C., Sentini, A. and Weir, D. (2012) ‘E-Learning in the Arab Gulf: responding to the changing world of education’, *The GCC Economies: Stepping Up To Future Challenges*, pp. 33–48. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-1611-1_4

Syed, J., Ali, F., and Hennekam, S. (2018) 'Gender equality in employment in Saudi Arabia: a relational perspective', *Career Development International*, 23(2), pp. 163–177. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-07-2017-0126

Syrda, J. (2023) 'Gendered housework: Spousal relative income, parenthood and traditional gender identity norms', *Work, Employment and Society*, 37(3), pp. 794-813. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/09500170211069780

Ta'Amnha, M., Sayce, S. and Tregaskis, O. (2016) 'Wasta in the Jordanian context', in Budhwar, P.S. and Mellahi, K. (Eds.) *Handbook of human resource management in the Middle East*. Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 393–411. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4337/9781784719524.00032

Tahseen Consulting (2015) *Female labor market participation.* Available at: http://tahseen.ae/blog/?tag=female-labor-market-participation (Accessed 8 May 2023).

Thijs, P. *et al.* (2019). The rise in support for gender egalitarianism in the Netherlands, 1979-2006: The roles of educational expansion, secularization, and female labor force participation. *Sex Roles*, 81, pp. 594–609. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-1015-z

Thomese, F., and Liefbroer, A. C. (2013) 'Child care and child births: The role of grandparents in the Netherlands', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 75(2), pp. 403–421. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12005

Tipu, S.A.A. and Sarker, A.E., 2020. Developing an integrative dynamic framework of indigenous entrepreneurship: The case of United Arab Emirates. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 43(5), pp. 441–451. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2019.1672184

Tlaiss, H. and Kauser, S. (2011) 'The importance of wasta in the career success of Middle Eastern managers', *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 35(5), pp. 467–486. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/03090591111138026

Tobin, S. (2017) 'What causes gender gaps in the labour market?', *International Labour Organization.* Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_566891/lang--en/index.htm (Accessed: 8 June 2023).

Tourangeau, R and Smith, T.W. (1996) 'Asking sensitive questions: The impact of data collection mode, Question format, and question context', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(2), pp. 275–304. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1086/297751

UK Government. (2022) *Beis: gender pay gap report; Transparency Data*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/beis-gender-pay-gap-report-and-data-2022/beis-gender-pay-gap-report-2022-html (Accessed: 27 April 2023).

UK Government. (2012) *National Insurance credits*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/national-insurance-credits/eligibility (Accessed: 27 April 2023).

United Arab Emirates Constitution (2004). Chapter one. The Union, its fundamental constituents and aims: Article 16. Available at: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/United_Arab_Emirates_2004?lang=en (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

United Arab Emirates Government. (2020). 'Justice and safety as per the Constitution', Available at: https://u.ae/en/information-and-services/justice-safety-and-the-law/justice-and-safety-as-per-the-constitution (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

United Arab Emirates Government. (2021). ‘Vision 2021 and Emiratisation’, Available at: https://u.ae/en/information-and-services/jobs/vision-2021-and-emiratisation (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

United Arab Emirates Government. (2022). ‘Family Protection Policy’, Available at: https://u.ae/en/about-the-uae/strategies-initiatives-and-awards/policies/social-affairs/family-protection-policy#:~:text=The%20Family%20Protection%20Policy%20caters,people%20who%20survived%20domestic%20violence. (Accessed: 24 April 2023).

United Nations. (2022) *The gender snapshot 2022*. Available at: https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/gender-snapshot/2022/ (Accessed: 27 April 2023).

United Nations Development Program. (2022) ‘Gender equality strategy 2022-2025’, *UNDP Global*. Available at: https://genderequalitystrategy.undp.org/ (Accessed: 8 June 2022).

United Nations Women. (2023) Empowering women, protecting the earth. Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/feature-story/2023/04/empowering-women-protecting-the-earth (Accessed: 11 June 2023).

US Census. (2022) *Educational attainment in the United States: 2021*. Available at: https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2021/demo/educational-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html (Accessed: 27 April 2023).

Ugwu, C. E., Ikeanyibe, O. M., Izueke, E., and Udenze, C. (2021) ‘Female Labour Dominance in Petrol Pump Stations in the South-Eastern States of Nigeria’, *African Journal of Business and Economic Research*, 16(2), p. 207. Available at: https://hdl.handle.net/10520/ejc-aa_ajber-v16-n2-a10 (Accessed 1 May 2023).

Uunk, W. (2015), 'Does the cultural context matter? The effect of a country's gender-role attitudes on female labor supply', *European Societies*, *17*(2), pp. 176–198. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2014.995772

Vandello, J.A. and Bosson, J.K. (2013) 'Hard won and easily lost: A review and synthesis of theory and research on precarious manhood', *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 14(2), pp. 101–113. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029826

Van Grootel, S. *et al.* (2018) 'Uncovering Pluralistic Ignorance to Change Men's Communal Self-descriptions, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intentions', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, pp. 1344–1344. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01344

Velez-Calle, A., Robledo-Ardila, C. and Rodriguez-Rios, J.D. (2015) 'On the influence of interpersonal relations on business practices in Latin America: A comparison with the Chinese guanxi and the Arab Wasta', *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 57(4), pp. 281–293. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.21669

Walliman, N. (2006) *Social research methods.* Sage Publications.

Wang, L., and Lv, M. (2017). 'Internal-External Locus of Control Scale', *Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences, 1–4.* Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-28099-8_41-1

Wängnerud, L. (2009) 'Women in parliaments: Descriptive and substantive representation'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, pp. 51–69. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.123839

Ward, P. *et al.* (2012) 'Paper/Pencil Versus Online Data Collection: An exploratory study', *Journal of Leisure Research,* 44(4), pp. 507–530. Available at: https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract/20123411903 (Accessed 8 May 2023).

Waxin, M.-F. *et al.* (2018) 'Workforce localization in the UAE: Recruitment and selection challenges and practices in private and public organizations', *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 52(4), pp. 99–113. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1353/jda.2018.0054.

Waxin, M.F., Kumra, S. and Zhao, F. (2020). 'Workforce localization in the Arab Gulf countries: how do organizations socialize the members of a powerful minority?' *Sustainability*, 12(14), p. 5847. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/su12145847

Weisz, J.R., Rothbaum, F.M. and Blackburn, T.C. (1984) 'Standing out and standing in: The psychology of control in America and Japan', *American Psychologist*, 39(9), pp. 955–969. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.39.9.955 .

Whiteoak, J.W., Crawford, N.G. and Mapstone, R.H. (2006) 'Impact of gender and generational differences in work values and attitudes in an Arab culture', *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 48(1), pp. 77–91. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.20086

Wilkie, J.R., Ferree, M.M. and Ratcliff, K.S. (1998) 'Gender and fairness: Marital satisfaction in two-earner couples', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60(3), pp. 577–594. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/353530

Williams, J.E. and Best, D.L. (1990). *Measuring sex stereotypes: A multination study, Rev*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Winterhalder, B. and Smith, E.A. (2000) 'Analyzing adaptive strategies: Human behavioral ecology at twenty-five', *Evolutionary Anthropology*, 9(2), pp. 51–72. Available at: https://escholarship.org/content/qt9h31x5p6/qt9h31x5p6.pdf (Accessed 1 May 2023).

Witt, M.G. and Wood, W. (2010) 'Self-regulation of gendered behavior in everyday life', *Sex Roles*, 62, pp. 635–646. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9761-y

Wonch Hill, P. *et al.* (2017) 'Science possible selves and the desire to be a scientist: Mindsets, gender bias, and confidence during early adolescence', *Social Sciences*, 6(2), p. 55–81. Available from: https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci6020055

Wood, W. *et al.* (1997) 'Conformity to sex-typed norms, affect, and the self-concept', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(3), pp. 523–535. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.73.3.523.

Wood, W. and Eagly, A. H. (2010) 'Gender', in S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, and G. Lindzey (Eds.) *Handbook of social psychology*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc, pp. 629–667. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470561119.socpsy001017

Wood and Eagly, A.H. (2012) 'Biosocial Construction of Sex Differences and Similarities in Behavior', in Olson, J.M. and Zanna, M.P. (Eds.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Elsevier, pp. 55–123. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-394281-4.00002-7

Wood, W. and Eagly, A.H. (2015) 'Two Traditions of Research on Gender Identity', *Sex Roles*, 73(11–12), pp. 461–473. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0480-2.

World Bank. (2020). Labor force participation rate – United Arab Emirates. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS?locations=AE (Accessed: 13 January 2023).

World Bank (2021) *Women, Business and the Law 2021*. The World Bank. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1652-9

World Economic Forum. (2016) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.' Available at: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF_Global_Gender_Gap_Report_2016.pdf (Accessed: 4 February 2023)

World Economic Forum. (2022) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2022.' Available at: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf (Accessed: 4 February 2023)

Wrosch, C., Scheier, M. F., Carver, C. S., and Schulz, R. (2003) 'The importance of goal disengagement in adaptive self-regulation: When giving up is beneficial', *Self and Identity*, 2(1), pp. 1–20. Available at: https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1080/15298860309021

Yalcinkaya, S.N. and Adams, G. (2020), 'A cultural psychological model of cross-national variation in gender gaps in STEM participation', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 24(4), pp. 345–370. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320947005

Yan, J., Schoppe-Sullivan, S.J. and Kamp Dush, C.M. (2018) 'Maternal coparenting attitudes and toddler adjustment: moderated mediation through father's positive engagement', *Parenting*, 18(2), pp. 67–85. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/15295192.2018.1444130

Yang, N. *et al.* (2000) 'Sources of work-family conflict: A Sino-US comparison of the effects of work and family demands', *Academy of Management Journal*, 43(1), pp. 113–123. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5465/1556390

Younis, H., Elsharnouby, T., & Elbanna, S. (2024) ' Controversial debates about workforce nationalisation: Perspectives from the Qatari higher education industry', *Human Resource Development International,* 27(1), pp. 58-82. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2023.2217734

Zeffane, R. and Kemp, L.(2020) 'Emiratization: Benefits and challenges of strategic and radical change in the United Arab Emirates', in Dundon, T. and Wilkinson, A. (Eds) *Case studies in work, employment and human resource management* (pp. 245–253). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Zhu, N. and Chang, L. (2019) 'Evolved but not fixed: A life history account of gender roles and gender inequality', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, Article 1709. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01709

Zosuls, K.M. *et al.* (2011) 'Gender development research in sex roles: Historical trends and future directions', *Sex Roles*, 64, pp. 826–842. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007%2Fs11199-010-9902-3

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Student Study Ethical Clearance from Higher Education Institute

February 17, 2016

From: Dr. Matthew A. Robby, Chair
HCT Applied Research Ethics Panel
matt.robby@hct.ac.ae

To: Ann Collins, Faculty Business Administration
ABU Dhabi Women's College

HCT Ethical Clearance/Project Approval

The research project *"Views of Emirati students: Possible selves and future selves"* has been evaluated by the HCT Applied Research Ethical Panel (HCT-AREP) based on the Standards for Protection of Human Subjects and HCT Policies and Guidelines.

For your Dublin City University, Ireland research project, the HCT-AREP finds that your design, instruments, and procedures are culturally appropriate and comply with required ethical standards and HCT Policies and Guidelines. The project is found to contain no risk beyond minimal.

We are pleased to inform you that your research project has therefore received full ethical clearance and it is approved. Your project can proceed in the HCT based on the protocol described. A copy of this letter will be kept on file and the project monitored consistent with HCT policies.

Congratulations regarding receiving ethical clearance on your project. We wish you the best of luck with this applied research! Please feel free to contact the HCT-AREP if you need any assistance.

Thanks and best regards,

Chair – HCT Applied Research Ethics Panel

Dr. Matthew A. Robby
UNESCO Chair in Applied Research in Education
HIGHER COLLEGES OF TECHNOLOGY -
SHARJAH COLLEGES

P.O. Box 7947
Sharjah, United Arab Emirates
tel +9716 5054 540
mobile +971 56 222 7458
website http://shct.hct.ac.ae

CC: Dr. Yahya Al Ansari, College Director
Chair – Applied Research Committee

HCT-AREP: February 17, 2016

APPENDIX B: Student Study Ethical Clearance from DCU Research Ethics Committee

Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

Ann Maginn
DCU Business School

25th April 2016

REC Reference: **DCUREC/2016/076**

Proposal Title: **A View of Emirati Students' Possible Selves and Future Selves**

Applicant(s): **Ann Maginn & Prof. Edel Conway**

Dear Ann,

This research proposal qualifies under our Notification Procedure, as a low risk social research project. Therefore, the DCU Research Ethics Committee approves this project.

Materials used to recruit participants should state that ethical approval for this project has been obtained from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee.

Should substantial modifications to the research protocol be required at a later stage, a further amendment submission should be made to the REC.

Yours sincerely,

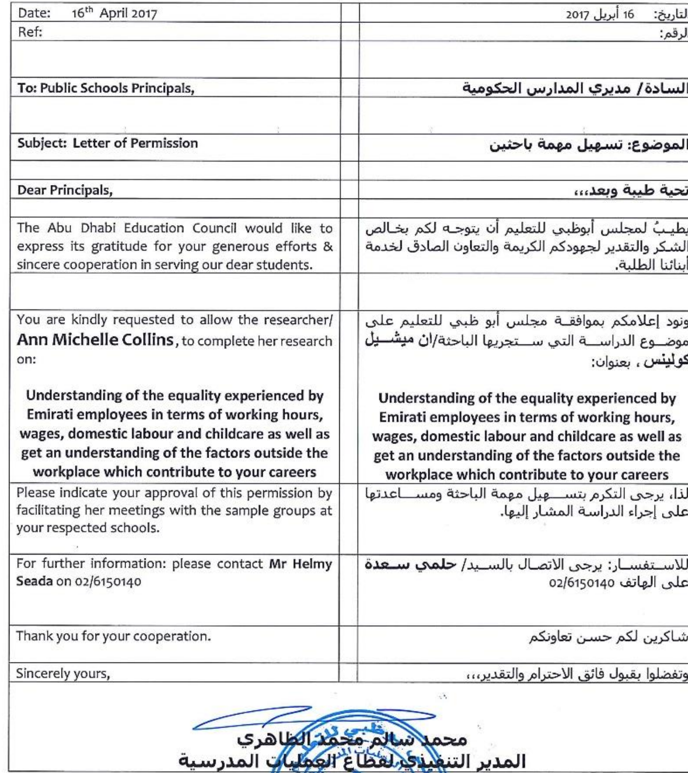
Dr Dónal O'Mathúna
Chairperson
DCU Research Ethics Committee

Taighde & Nuálaíocht Tacaíocht
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath,
Baile Átha Cliath, Éire

Research & Innovation Support
Dublin City University,
Dublin 9, Ireland

T +353 1 700 8000
F +353 1 700 8002
E research@dcu.ie
www.dcu.ie

APPENDIX C: Employee Study Ethical Clearance from Organisation



Date: 16th April 2017	التاريخ: 16 أبريل 2017
Ref:	الرقم:
To: Public Schools Principals,	**السادة/ مديري المدارس الحكومية**
Subject: Letter of Permission	**الموضوع: تسهيل مهمة باحثين**
Dear Principals,	**تحية طيبة وبعد،،،**
The Abu Dhabi Education Council would like to express its gratitude for your generous efforts & sincere cooperation in serving our dear students.	يطيبُ لمجلس أبوظبي للتعليم أن يتوجه لكم بخالص الشكر والتقدير لجهودكم الكريمة والتعاون الصادق لخدمة أبنائنا الطلبة.
You are kindly requested to allow the researcher/ **Ann Michelle Collins**, to complete her research on: **Understanding of the equality experienced by Emirati employees in terms of working hours, wages, domestic labour and childcare as well as get an understanding of the factors outside the workplace which contribute to your careers**	ونود إعلامكم بموافقة مجلس أبو ظبي للتعليم على موضوع الدراسة التي ستجريها الباحثة/**ان ميشيل كولينس** ، بعنوان: **Understanding of the equality experienced by Emirati employees in terms of working hours, wages, domestic labour and childcare as well as get an understanding of the factors outside the workplace which contribute to your careers**
Please indicate your approval of this permission by facilitating her meetings with the sample groups at your respected schools.	لذا، يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة الباحثة ومساعدتها على إجراء الدراسة المشار إليها.
For further information: please contact **Mr Helmy Seada** on 02/6150140	للاستفسار: يرجى الاتصال بالسيد/ **حلمي سعدة** على الهاتف 02/6150140
Thank you for your cooperation.	شاكرين لكم حسن تعاونكم
Sincerely yours,	وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير،،،

محمد سالم محمد الظاهري
المدير التنفيذي لقطاع العمليات المدرسية

صندوق بريد:٣٦٠٠٥، أبوظبي – إ.ع.م، هاتف:٠٠٠٠ ٦١٥ ٢ ٩٧١+، فاكس:٠٦٠٢ ٦١٥ ٢ ٩٧١+، البريد الإلكتروني:info@adec.ac.ae
P.O.Box. 36005, Abu Dhabi - U.A.E., Tel: +971 2 615 0000, Fax: +971 2 615 0602, Email: info@adec.ac.ae

APPENDIX D: Employee Study Ethical Clearance from DCU Research Ethics Committee

Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

Ms Ann Maginn-Collins
DCU Business School

20 April 2017

REC Reference:	**DCUREC/2017/047**
Proposal Title:	**An investigation into the future life expectations of male and female Emirati Students and Employees**
Applicant(s):	**Ms Ann Maginn-Collins, Professor Edel Conway**

Dear Ann,

This research proposal qualifies under our Notification Procedure, as a low risk social research project. Therefore, the DCU Research Ethics Committee approves this project.

Materials used to recruit participants should state that ethical approval for this project has been obtained from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee.

Should substantial modifications to the research protocol be required at a later stage, a further amendment submission should be made to the REC.

Yours sincerely,

Dónal O'Gorman

Dr Dónal O'Gorman
Chairperson
DCU Research Ethics Committee

Taighde & Nuálaíocht Tacaíocht
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath,
Baile Átha Cliath, Éire

Research & Innovation Support
Dublin City University,
Dublin 9, Ireland

T +353 1 700 8000
F +353 1 700 8002
E research@dcu.ie
www.dcu.ie

APPENDIX E: Plain Language Statement

Plain Language Statement

This survey forms part of a research study entitled "An investigation into the future life expectations of male and female Emirati Students and Employees" and forms part of my doctoral studies at Dublin City University, Ireland.

The broad purpose of the study is to get a better understanding of Emirati employees' perceptions of equality in terms of working hours, wages, domestic labour and childcare, as well as an understanding of the factors outside the workplace that influence individuals' career and life satisfaction. It is intended that such insights will help to identify ways to ensure the success of the Emiratisation process in place by the government and your organisation.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by completing the survey that follows. The survey seeks your views on your expectations regarding your work and life, your career satisfaction and your life satisfaction. The survey should take you no longer than 20 minutes to complete.

Before offering your consent to participate in the survey, it is important to note that participation in the study is entirely voluntary. All responses provided will remain strictly confidential and under no circumstances will individual responses be identified. Findings will only be reported for the entire sample of participants only, with differences considered between men and women in particular.

All data collected will be stored securely on my personal home computer and I will be the only person with password-protected access to your responses. The data will be destroyed within six months of the completion of my PhD.

While there are no foreseeable risks in your participation, you are under no obligation to do so. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any stage with absolutely no repercussions.

Should you have any questions relating to the research, please do not hesitate to contact me at anniemaginn@gmail.com

STUDENT SURVEY
2016

YOUR VIEWS *on*
YOUR POSSIBLE SELF

APPENDIX F: Possible Selves Survey

Dear Participant,

Welcome to this survey. My name is Ann and I am undertaking a research project as part of my doctoral studies at Dublin City University in Ireland.

Your consent to participate is required:

> The purpose of this research is to get an understanding of the future expectations of Emirati students before they enter the workforce. This research aims to assist in gaining a better understanding of student's future plans which will help to ensure the success of the Government's Emiratisation process.
>
> Your participation in this survey today should only take 20 minutes. There will be a second survey that will be distributed next week and it will also take approximately 20 minutes.
>
> Participation is voluntary and any responses you provide will remain confidential. There are no foreseeable risks in your participation. All data collected will be securely stored and I am the only person who has access to your responses.

If you change your mind about participating in this study at any stage during the survey, you can stop at any stage.

Are you willing to participate?

Yes

☐

No

☐

Thank you in advance for your participation. If you have any queries regarding the study please do not hesitate to email me at acollins@hct.ac.ae.

If participants have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:
The Secretary, Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee, c/o Research and Innovation Support, Dublin City University, Dublin 9. Tel 01-7008000, rec@dcu.ie or the HCT ethics committee at yalansaari@hct.ac.ae

Yours faithfully,

Ann Collins
PhD Scholar
DCU Business School
Dublin City University, Ireland

Section 1 – Your Possible Future

Please imagine that yourself 10 years from now. You are married and have a child in nursery. You have completed a degree in your chosen field, such as Masters or a Doctorate (PhD) and you are currently employed full-time.

Even if this scenario does not describe your future plans, please spend five minutes writing a paragraph describing what you think your life would be like if you were this person. What would you do on a typical day? (e.g., activities inside the home, activities outside the home, socialising, housework, cooking, etc.).

Section 2 – Feelings and Emotions

Imagining that you are the person just described (i.e., 10 years from now, married with a preschool child in nursery), please indicate to what extent you would be likely to experience each of the following different feelings and emotions in general. Read each word and then circle the appropriate answer.

	Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
1. Lonely	1	2	3	4	5
1. Dissatisfied with Self	1	2	3	4	5
2. Happy	1	2	3	4	5
3. Strong	1	2	3	4	5
4. Sad	1	2	3	4	5
5. Guilty	1	2	3	4	5

6. Cheerful	1	2	3	4	5
7. Proud	1	2	3	4	5
8. Blue	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
10. Joyful	1	2	3	4	5
11. Confident	1	2	3	4	5
12. Downhearted	1	2	3	4	5
13. Angry at Self	1	2	3	4	5
14. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
15. Bold	1	2	3	4	5
16. Upset	1	2	3	4	5
17. Disgusted with Self	1	2	3	4	5
18. Delighted	1	2	3	4	5
19. Fearless	1	2	3	4	5

Please continue to imagine your life 10 years from now, please answer the following questions about your possible life (i.e., employed full-time with Masters or Doctorate (PhD) Degree and you and your husband/wife have child in nursery).

1. How many hours a week would you work outside of the home? *(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 40 hours per week)* ____________ *Hours*

2. How much money would you make per month? *(The average salary for a male graduate is 22,000 AED and is 19,000 AED for female graduates)* _____________AED

3. How many hours a week would your husband/wife work outside of the home? *(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 40 hours per week)* ________ *Hours*

4. How much money would your husband/ wife make per month? *(The average salary for a male graduate is 22,000 AED and is 19,000 AED for a female graduate*
__________ AED

5. How would ***childcare*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

6. How would the ***housework*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse (Your husband or wife)	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

7. Listed below are some goals that people commonly have. Assuming that you are still that person 10 years from now, employed full-time with a Masters or a Doctorate and you and your husband/wife have a preschool child. If you were this person described, how likely would it be that you would achieve these goals at this stage of your life? Read each goal and then circle the appropriate answer.

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely
1. Being able to spend enough time with your children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
2. Feeling financially secure	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
3. Being respected by your peers	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
4. Being a good role model for your children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
5. Having a good relationship with your spouse	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
6. Balancing your time satisfactorily between work and home	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
7. Feeling comfortable in your job position	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

8. Having a good relationship with your friends	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
9. Achieving a high standard of living	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
10. Feeling equal to your spouse	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
11. Having a good relationship with your children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
12. Advancing in your profession	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
13. Having a good relationship with your co-workers	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
14. Developing a strong bond with your children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
15. Enjoying your job	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
16. Being respected by your spouse	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
17. Gaining a sense of power	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
18. Having an overall sense of security in your job	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
19. Earning a good salary	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
20. Being respected by your co-workers	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
21. Fostering independence in your children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
22. Being able to be present for your child's extra-curricular events	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Section 2 – Evaluation of Possible Future

1. Consider 10 years from now, being employed full-time with an advanced degree and you and your spouse have a preschool child. Think of all the positive aspects of this situation, while ignoring the negative aspects. Based on just these positive aspects, rate how positively you view this situation for your own future life.

Not at all Positive	Slightly Positive	Somewhat Positive	Quite Positive	Extremely Positive
1	2	3	4	5

2. Now, think of all the negative aspects of this life situation, while ignoring its positive aspects. Based on just these negative aspects, rate how negatively you view this situation for your own future life.

Not at all Negative	Slightly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Quite Negative	Extremely Negative
1	2	3	4	5

3. Overall, how positively or negatively do you view this situation for your own future life?

Strongly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Neutral	Somewhat Positive	Strongly Positive
1	2	3	4	5

4. How likely is it that the scenario you read would describe your own future life?

Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5

Section 3 – Next Steps

The second stage of this study will be done in one week's time. To maintain anonymity and to enable the two surveys to be matched, I would appreciate if you could please complete the details below. This information will be requested again in the second survey next week.

Please fill in the details below:

Please enter the date and month you were born in using the following format day/month/year e.g., 24/03	__/___
What are the last 4 numbers of your mobile number e.g., 050 1128154 would be 8154	

STUDENT SURVEY 2
2016

YOUR VIEWS *on*

YOUR FUTURE SELF

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey.

APPENDIX G: Future Selves Survey

Dear Participant,

Welcome to this survey. My name is Ann and I am undertaking a research project as part of my doctoral studies at Dublin City University in Ireland. This survey is the second part of the survey you completed last week.

Your consent to participate is required:

The purpose of this research is to get an understanding of the future expectations of Emirati students before they enter the workforce. This research aims to assist in gaining a better understanding of student's future plans which will help to ensure the success of the Emiratisation process in place by the government.

Your participation in this survey should only take 20 minutes.

Participation is voluntary and any responses you provide will remain confidential. There are no foreseeable risks in your participation. All data collected will be securely stored and I am the only person who has access to your responses.

If you change your mind about participating in this study at any stage during the survey, you can stop at any stage.

Are you willing to participate?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Thank you in advance for your participation. If you have any queries regarding the study, please do not hesitate to email me at acollins@hct.ac.ae.

If participants have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:
The Secretary, Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee, c/o Research and Innovation Support, Dublin City University, Dublin 9. Tel 01-7008000, rec@dcu.ie or the HCT ethics committee at yalansaari@hct.ac.ae

Yours faithfully,

Ann Collins
PhD Scholar
DCU Business School
Dublin City University, Ireland

Section 1 – Feelings and Emotions

Think about yourself and your own life. Please indicate to what extent you would be likely to experience each of the following different feelings and emotions in general. Read each word and then circle the appropriate answer.

	Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
1. Lonely	1	2	3	4	5
1. Dissatisfied with Self	1	2	3	4	5
2. Happy	1	2	3	4	5
3. Strong	1	2	3	4	5
4. Sad	1	2	3	4	5
5. Guilty	1	2	3	4	5
6. Cheerful	1	2	3	4	5
7. Proud	1	2	3	4	5
8. Blue	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
10. Joyful	1	2	3	4	5
11. Confident	1	2	3	4	5
12. Downhearted	1	2	3	4	5
13. Angry at Self	1	2	3	4	5
14. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
15. Bold	1	2	3	4	5
16. Upset	1	2	3	4	5
17. Disgusted with Self	1	2	3	4	5
18. Delighted	1	2	3	4	5
19. Fearless	1	2	3	4	5

Section 2 – Your Future Plans

Please answer the following questions about your own future life 10 years from now.

Please tick the response that corresponds most closely to your opinion.

1. Do you think you will be married?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Married Already
- ☐ Divorced

2. If no, do you expect to get married eventually?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

IF 'NO' Please proceed to Question 13

3. How many hours a week do you think your husband/wife will work outside of the home?

(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 35 hours per week)
_______ Hours

4. How much money do you expect your husband/ wife will earn per month? __________ AED

(The average salary for a male graduate is 32,000 AED and 25,000 AED for women)

5. How would the ***housework*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse	%
Others (housemaid, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

6. If you do think you will get married, do expect you will have children?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Already have children

IF 'NO' Please proceed to Question 13

7. If 'Yes', how many children would you ideally like to have? __________

8. If you **DO** expect to have children, which of the following reflects your employment plans in the years **BEFORE** your children attend school? (Please tick one option)

☐ Stay at home
☐ Employed part-time (Less than 20 hours per week)
☐ Employed full-time (35 hours per week)

IF you plan to 'Stay at home' and not work BEFORE your children attend school then please proceed to Question 14

9. If you **DO** expect to have children and to work, how much money do you expect you will earn per month **BEFORE** your children attend school? *(The average salary for a male graduate is 32,000 AED and 25,000 AED for women)* ____________AED

10. If you **DO** expect to have children, which of the following reflects your employment plans in the years **AFTER** your children attend school?

☐ Stay at home

☐ Employed part-time (Less than 20 hours per week) ☐ Employed full-time (35 hours per week)

IF you plan to 'Stay at home' and not work AFTER your children attend school then please proceed to Question 13

11. If you **DO** plan to work after having children, how much money do you expect you will earn per month? *(The average salary for a male graduate is 32,000 AED and 25,000 AED for women)*

____________AED

12. If you plan to have children, how would the ***childcare*** be accomplished? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Myself	%
Spouse	%
Others (nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

13. Do you plan to go to graduate or professional school to complete a Masters? (Please tick)

☐ Yes

☐ No

14. Below are some goals that people commonly have. Do you think that you will achieve these life goals in 5 years from now? Read each statement and then circle the appropriate answer.

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neither Likely nor unlikely	Likely	Very Likely
1. Being able to spend enough time with your children	1	2	3	4	5
2. Feeling financially secure	1	2	3	4	5
3. Being respected by your peers	1	2	3	4	5
4. Being a good role model for your children	1	2	3	4	5
5. Having a good relationship with your spouse	1	2	3	4	5
6. Balancing your time satisfactorily between work and home	1	2	3	4	5
7. Feeling comfortable in your job position	1	2	3	4	5
8. Having a good relationship with your friends	1	2	3	4	5
9. Achieving a high standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
10. Feeling equal to your spouse	1	2	3	4	5
11. Having a good relationship with your children	1	2	3	4	5
12. Advancing in your profession	1	2	3	4	5
13. Having a good relationship with your coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
14. Developing a strong bond with your children	1	2	3	4	5
15. Enjoying your job	1	2	3	4	5
16. Being respected by your spouse	1	2	3	4	5
17. Gaining a sense of power	1	2	3	4	5
18. Having an overall sense of security in your job	1	2	3	4	5
19. Earning a good salary	1	2	3	4	5
20. Being respected by your co-workers	1	2	3	4	5
21. Fostering independence in your children	1	2	3	4	5

22. Being able to be present for your child's extra-curricular events	1	2	3	4	5

Section 3 – You and Your Family

15. Your Personal Attributes

Please take a minute to think about **Yourself** and **your characteristics.** How characteristic are each of the following attributes of **You?** Please indicate your response using the following 1–5 scale:

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree
Competitive	1	2	3	4	5
Affectionate	1	2	3	4	5
Adventurous	1	2	3	4	5
Courageous	1	2	3	4	5
Kind	1	2	3	4	5
Sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5
Emotional	1	2	3	4	5
Daring	1	2	3	4	5
Sensitive	1	2	3	4	5
Gentle	1	2	3	4	5
Dominant	1	2	3	4	5
Supportive	1	2	3	4	5
Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5

About Your Family

Please tick Yes or No for the following questions.

16. Does your mother work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No, she is unemployed
- [ ] No, she passed away

17. If **NO**, did she ever work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

18. Does your father work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No, he is unemployed
- [ ] No, he passed away

19. If **NO**, did he ever work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

20. What level of education does your **mother** have? (Please tick highest one)

- [ ] No education (never went to school)
- [ ] Primary School
- [ ] High School
- [ ] College (Diploma or Bachelors)
- [ ] Advanced Degree (Masters or PhD)

21. What level of education does your **father** have? (Please tick highest one)

- [ ] No education (never went to school)
- [ ] Primary School
- [ ] High School
- [ ] College (Diploma or Bachelors)
- [ ] Advanced Degree (Masters or PhD

22. A role model is someone who you look up to or someone that you would like to be like in the future. It is someone that you admire and have respect for.

Do you have a role model? (Please tick)

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If NO, please go to Question 26

23. If **YES**, is your role model: (Please tick)

- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female

24. From the following list please specify who your role model is:

- [ ] Mother
- [ ] Father
- [ ] Sister
- [ ] Brother
- [ ] Husband
- [ ] Wife
- [ ] Friend
- [ ] Well known person in society
- [ ] Other. Please specify ______________________________

25. Please give some reasons for why you regard this person as your role model.

Your Views on Wasta

26. Which of the following best describes the family you belong to. **Please tick one**.

Most of my family are self-employed and work in their own business	
Most of my family work for the Public Sector in one of the Government organisations (e.g., Ministry)	
Most of my family are farmers, fishermen or Bedouin	
My family belong to one of the ruling Sheikh families in the UAE	

27. Do you plan to use *wasta* to assist you in your career goals?

☐ Yes

☐ No

28. How often do you use *wasta*?

☐ Never

☐ Sometimes

☐ Often

29. Would you like *wasta* to be used less in the work place?

☐ Yes
☐ No

30. Please read the following statements and indicate if you agree or disagree with each one:

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree
Wasta helps in all kinds of interactions	1	2	3	4	5
In order to get a really good job, friends or family members in high places are needed	1	2	3	4	5
To get recruited, *wasta* of the candidate is more important that the gender	1	2	3	4	5
When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know (*wasta)* is more important than what you know	1	2	3	4	5
Wasta is more important than your qualifications and work experience	1	2	3	4	5
Wasta is important in recruitment and selection	1	2	3	4	5
Wasta is unfair for those without connections	1	2	3	4	5

31. Some people feel that they have control over their own lives and the events and activities that influence their lives, while others believe that they have no control over their lives.

Please read the following statements and indicate if you agree or disagree with each one:

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree
In my life, good luck is more important than hard work or success	1	2	3	4	5
When I make plans, I am almost certain I can make them work	1	2	3	4	5
Every time I try to go ahead, something or somebody stops me	1	2	3	4	5
My plans hardly ever work out, so planning makes me unhappy	1	2	3	4	5
I do not have enough control over the direction my life is taking me	1	2	3	4	5
Chance and luck are very important for what happens in my life	1	2	3	4	5

Section 5 – Background Information

Please complete the following section which requests some biographical information. Please note that these details are for the purpose of identifying overall demographic trends.

No individual results will be seen by anyone but me, the researcher.

Please complete the following

Gender:

- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female

Age: ____________Years

Country you were born in: _____________________

Emirate you live in:

- [ ] Abu Dhabi
- [ ] Dubai
- [ ] Fujairah
- [ ] Sharjah
- [ ] Ajman
- [ ] Ras Al Khaimah
- [ ] Um Al Qain

What are you currently studying?

- [ ] IT
- [ ] Engineering
- [ ] Business
- [ ] Health and Wellness
- [ ] Education
- [ ] Other. Please specify______________________

Do you have children?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If yes, please state their ages

Child	Age
Child 1	
Child 2	
Child 3	
Child 4	
Child 5	
Others: please state	

Section 5 – Final Step

The information below is the same information you gave for survey 1 last week. To maintain anonymity and to enable the two surveys to be matched, I would appreciate if you could please complete the details again.

Please fill in the details below:

Please enter the date and month you were born in using the following format day/month/year e.g., 24/03	__/___
What are the last 4 numbers of your mobile number e.g., 050 1128154 would be 8154	

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey.

Employee SURVEY
2017

YOUR VIEWS *on* YOUR CAREER

APPENDIX H**:** Employee Survey

Dear Participant,

Welcome to this survey. My name is Ann and I am undertaking a research project entitled "An investigation into the future life expectations of male and female Emirati Students and Employees" as part of my doctoral studies at Dublin City University in Ireland. I would like to warmly invite you to participate in my research. In order to do so, your consent to participate is required.

The purpose of this research is to get an understanding of the equality experienced by Emirati employees in terms of working hours, wages, domestic labour and childcare, as well as get an understanding of the factors outside the workplace which influence your career. The study aims to get a better understanding of your expectations regarding your work and life, your career satisfaction and your life satisfaction. It is intended that such an understanding will help to ensure the success of the Emiratisation process in place by the government and your organisation.

Your participation in this survey should take no more than 20 minutes.

Participation is voluntary and any responses you provide will remain confidential. There are no foreseeable risks in your participation. All data collected will be securely stored and I am the only person who has access to your responses.

If you change your mind about participating in this study, you can stop completing the survey at any stage.

Are you willing to participate?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Thank you in advance for your participation. If you have any queries regarding the study, please do not hesitate to email me at acollins@hct.ac.ae.

If you have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:
The Secretary, Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee, c/o Research and Innovation Support, Dublin City University, Dublin 9. Tel 01-7008000, rec@dcu.ie

Yours faithfully,

Ann Collins
PhD Scholar
DCU Business School

Section 1 – Life Goals

Below are some goals that people commonly have. Please rate each life goal according to how likely it is that you will be able to achieve them. Read each goal carefully and circle the appropriate answer. If you feel that some goals are irrelevant for you, for example you never intend to have a spouse or to have children, then please use the "Not Applicable" category.

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Not Applicable
Being able to spend enough time with your children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feeling financially secure	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being respected by your peers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being a good role model for your children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Having a good relationship with your spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6
Balancing your time satisfactorily between work and home	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feeling comfortable in your job position	1	2	3	4	5	6
Having a good relationship with your friends	1	2	3	4	5	6
Achieving a high standard of living	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feeling equal to your spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6
Having a good relationship with your children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Advancing in your profession	1	2	3	4	5	6
Having a good relationship with your coworkers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Developing a strong bond with your children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Enjoying your job	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being respected by your spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gaining a sense of power	1	2	3	4	5	6
Having and overall sense of security in your job	1	2	3	4	5	6
Earning a good salary	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being respected by your co-workers	1	2	3	4	5	6

Fostering independence in your children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being able to be present for your child's extra-curricular events	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section 2 – Your Present Life and Your Future Plans

This section will invite you to answer questions on aspects of your life surrounding your home and work life.

1. Are you married?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If you are married, please go to Question 3.

2. If you are not married, do you plan to get married eventually?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If you do not plan to get married, please go to Question 16

3. How many hours a week does your husband/wife work outside of the home? *(The average full-time working week in the UAE is 40 hours per week)* _______ Hours

4. How much does your husband/wife earn per month? __________ AED

5. How is the ***housework*** accomplished in your home? Give percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Yourself	%
Your Spouse (Husband/Wife)	%

Others (housemaid, nanny, family etc.)	%
Total	**100%**

7. Do you have children?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If you do have children, please go to Question 9

8. If you do not have children, do you think you will have children in the future?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If you do not think you will have children in the future, please go to Section 3

9. Please state your children's ages

Child	Age
Child 1	
Child 2	
Child 3	
Child 4	
Child 5	
Child 6	
Child 7	
Child 8	
Child 9	
Child 10	

10. How many children would you ideally like to have? ___________

11. Which of the following best describes your employment status in the years **BEFORE** your first child attended (or will attend) school? (Please tick one option)

- ☐ Stay at home
- ☐ Work part-time
- ☐ Work full-time
- ☐ Was employed full-time then switched to part-time
- ☐ Was employed part-time then switched to full-time
- ☐ Was employed full-time then switched to staying at home
- ☐ Was employed part-time then switched to staying at home Self-
- ☐ employed

If you plan to stay at home, please go to Question 14

12. How much did you earn **BEFORE** your first child attended (or will attend) school? ____________AED

13. Which of the following reflects your employment plans in the years **AFTER** your children have completed their schooling?

- ☐ To stay at home
- ☐ To be employed part-time (less than 20 hours per
- ☐ week) To be employed full-time (35+ hours per week)

14. How is the ***childcare*** accomplished in your home? Give the percentage done by each of the following: (Total must add up to 100%)

Yourself	%
Your spouse (Husband or wife)	%
Others (Housemaid, nanny, family etc.)	%

Total	100%

Section 3 – You and Your Family

This section aims to get a better understanding of your personal attributes and to gain an insight into your family background.

Your Personal Attributes

Gender Role Self-Concept

Please take a minute to think about **Yourself** and **your attributes.** How characteristic are each of the following attributes for **You?** Please indicate your response using the following 1–5 scale:

5 – Characteristic
4 – Somewhat characteristic
3 – Neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic
2 – Somewhat uncharacteristic
1 – Not characteristic

Competitive	....	Daring	....
Affectionate	....	Sensitive	....
Adventurous	....	Gentle	....
Courageous	....	Dominant	....
Kind	....	Supportive	....
Sympathetic	....	Aggressive	....
Emotional	....		

About Your Family

1. Did your mother work while you were growing up?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If your mother did work while you were growing up, please go to Question 3.

2. If your mother did not work while you were growing up, did she ever work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

3. Did your father work while you were growing up?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If your father did work while you were growing up please go to Question 5

4. If your father did not work while you were growing up, did he ever work?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

5. What level of education does your mother have?

- [ ] No education (never went to school)
- [ ] Primary School
- [ ] High School
- [ ] College (Diploma or Bachelors)
- [ ] Advanced Degree (Masters or PhD)

6. What level of education does your father have?

- [ ] No education (never went to school)
- [ ] Primary School
- [ ] High School
- [ ] College (Diploma or Bachelors)
- [ ] Advanced Degree (Masters or PhD)

7. A role model is someone who you look up to or someone that you would like to be like in the future. Do you have a role model?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If you do not have a role model, please go to Section 4

8. Is your role model:

- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female

9. From the following list, please state who your Role Model is:

- [ ] Mother
- [ ] Father
- [ ] Sister
- [ ] Brother
- [ ] Husband
- [ ] Wife
- [ ] Friend ______________________________
- [ ] Well known person in society (Please State)
- [ ] Other (Please State)

____

10. Please give up to three reasons for why you regard this person as your role model

1.
2.

3.

Section 4 – Your Views on Wasta

This section asks you to offer your opinion on wasta and the role of wasta in society in the UAE.

1. Which of the following best describes the family you belong to. (Please tick one)

- ☐ Most of my family are self-employed and work in their own business
- ☐ Most of my family work for the Public Sector in one of the Government organisations (e.g., Ministry, Municipality)
- ☐ Most of my family are farmers, fisherman or Bedouin
- ☐ My family belong to one of the ruling Sheikh families in the UAE

2. Have you ever used wasta to assist you in meeting your careers goals?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

3. How often do you use wasta?

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Very Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

4. Would you like wasta to be used less in the work place?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Please read the statements below and respond by indicating to what extent you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know is more important that what you know.	1	2	3	4	5
To get recruited into managerial positions, who you know is more important for men than for women	1	2	3	4	5
To get training and development opportunities, who you know is more important for male managers than for female managers	1	2	3	4	5
To get promoted, who you know is more important for male managers than for female managers	1	2	3	4	5
To get recruited, wasta, or the connections, of the candidate is more important than the gender	1	2	3	4	5
To get promoted, wasta, or the connections, of the candidate is more important than the gender	1	2	3	4	5

Section 5 – Your views about jobs in general

The following statements concern your beliefs about jobs in general. They do not refer only to your present job.

Please read the statements and indicate to which extent you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
A job is what you make of it	1	2	3	4	5
On most jobs, people can pretty much accomplish whatever they set out to accomplish	1	2	3	4	5
If you know what you want out of a job, you can find a job that gives it to you	1	2	3	4	5
If employees are unhappy with a decision made by their bosses, they should do something about it	1	2	3	4	5
Getting the job you want is mostly a matter of luck	1	2	3	4	5
Making money is primarily a matter of good fortune	1	2	3	4	5
Most people are capable of doing their jobs well if they make the effort	1	2	3	4	5
In order to get a really good job, you need to have family members or friends in high places	1	2	3	4	5
Promotions are usually a matter of good fortune	1	2	3	4	5
When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know is more important than what you know	1	2	3	4	5
Promotions are given to employees who perform well on the job	1	2	3	4	5
To make a lot of money you have to know the right people	1	2	3	4	5
It takes a lot of luck to be an outstanding employee on most jobs	1	2	3	4	5
People who perform their jobs well generally get rewarded	1	2	3	4	5
Most employees have more influence on their supervisors than they think they do	1	2	3	4	5
The main difference between people who make a lot of money and people who make a little money is luck	1	2	3	4	5
To make a lot of money you need to be male	1	2	3	4	5

Section 6 – Your satisfaction with your current job

The following statements concern your satisfaction with your **current** job.

Please read the statements and indicate to which extent you are satisfied with each one or disagree with each one

	Not at all	Slightly	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Somewhat	Very Much
I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goals	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for income	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards meeting my goals for the development of new skills	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards meeting my goals for advancement	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards the success I have achieved in my career	1	2	3	4	5

Section 7 – Life Satisfaction

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

Please read the statements and indicate to which extent you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
In most ways my life is close to my ideal	1	2	3	4	5
The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	1	2	3	4	5
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	1	2	3	4	5

Section 7 – Your Feelings and Emotions

This section of the survey will ask you about your feelings and emotions.

Please indicate to what extent you experience each of the following different feelings and emotions in general.

	Very Slightly or Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Quite a bit	A Lot
Lonely	1	2	3	4	5
Dissatisfied with Self	1	2	3	4	5
Happy	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Guilty	1	2	3	4	5
Cheerful	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Depressed	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Joyful	1	2	3	4	5
Confident	1	2	3	4	5
Downhearted	1	2	3	4	5
Angry at Self	1	2	3	4	5
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Bold	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5

Disgusted with Self	1	2	3	4	5
Delighted	1	2	3	4	5
Fearless	1	2	3	4	5

Background Information

Please complete the following section which asks for further details about your background.

Please note that these details are for the purpose of identifying overall demographic trends. Individual result will be seen by anyone except me, the researcher.

All responses to these questions will be examined and reported in aggregate form only.

1. Gender:

☐ Male
☐ Female

2. Age: ____________Years

3. Nationality: _____________________

4. Emirate you live in: Abu Dhabi

☐ Dubai
☐ Fujairah
☐ Sharjah
☐ Ajman
☐ Ras Al Khaimah
☐ Um Al Qain
☐

5. What is your highest level of education?

- [ ] Primary School Certificate
- [ ] High School Certificate
- [ ] Diploma
- [ ] Bachelors
- [ ] Masters
- [ ] PhD

6. How many years have you been working in your current organisation?

____________Years _________ Months

7. What is your current position in the organisation?

____

8. Which best describes your current position?

- ☐ Senior Manager
- ☐ Middle Manager
- ☐ First Line Manager
- ☐ Technical/Professional
- ☐ Administrator

9. What is your current monthly salary?

____

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey.

Appendix I: Comparisons Between the UAE and US and the Spanish Studies

This appendix presents the comparison between the US study (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) and the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016) upon which the foundations for this research were based. Both the US and Spanish studies implemented the 'possible selves' framework among student samples. There are limitations regarding the comparability of the three studies as they were not carried out at the same time by the same researchers or with the same gender breakdown in terms of respondents. While a comparison between women from the Spanish and US samples was previously reported in Gartzia and Fetterolf (2016), the US sample (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) was comprised only of women. The Spanish sample, on the other hand, included both men and women respondents. Nonetheless, the comparison between the UAE, Spain and the US will reveal possible cross-cultural differences about anticipated housework and goal attainment (see Table 8.1). The present research contributes to the understanding of cross-cultural differences by including men, which facilitates a comparison with the Spanish sample. First the results of the expectations in the possible selves scenarios will be presented and then the expectations for the future self.

Expectations for possible self regarding employment and housework according to level of employment, education, and gender

The following analyses, which relate to participants' expectations based on their assigned possible self, were performed using a 3 × 2 × 2 ANOVA design (Employment × Education × Gender). Dependent variables were employment hours for self and for partner, own and spouses' housework, and own and spouse's share of childcare. Additional

multivariate analyses of variance with a 3 × 2 (Employment × Education) design were conducted for each gender.

Effect of employment for the possible selves

Table 1 displays mean, standard errors, and F-ratios for the effects of assumed employment for women and men separately, as well as for the total sample with both genders combined. Regarding their expected working hours for themselves, both men and women expected more working hours for themselves when working full-time level ($p < .001$). Therefore, the employment manipulation was effective, as participants viewed higher levels of employment as requiring more working hours. These results were in accordance with the Spanish (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016) and with the US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) studies.

There were no effects of assigned employment level on the expected working hours of a participant's partner ($p > .05$). However, while the Spanish and American women expected somewhat higher working hours for their partners, the Emirati women expected two to three times more working hours for their future spouse.

Table 1. Possible Selves: Effects of employment on own and spouses' employment hours (UAE, Spain, U.S.)

	Employment						Main effect		
	Full-time		Part-time		Unemployed				
Dependent variable	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*F*	*df*	η_p^2
UAE sample									
Own hours									
Women	33.66	0.72	18.63	0.56			403.82***	2, 203	.80
Men	38.66	0.62	22.58	0.66			1453.53***	2, 220	.93
Total	36.16	0.47	20.60	0.43			1458.48***	2, 423	.87
Partner hours									

Women	39.92	1.33	38.97	1.04	37.88	1.37	2.15	2, 203	.02
Men	14.71	1.14	10.51	1.23	14.20	1.12	2.17	2, 220	.02
Total	27.32	0.88	24.74	0.81	26.04	0.89	230.77	2, 423	.01
Spain sample									
Own hours									
Women	38.04	0.99	26.41	1.10			61.78***	1, 111	.36
Men	38.17	2.36	30.33	1.93			6.49*	1, 31	.17
Total	38.38	1.21	28.72	1.10			21.99***	1, 141	.14
Partner hours									
Women	36.69	1.12	38.16	1.26	40.33	1.31	2.23	2, 155	.02
Men	34.52	2.88	33.84	2.58	35.55	2.33	0.13	2, 50	.01
Total	36.15	1.07	36.97	1.13	38.84	1.14	1.52	2, 212	.01
US sample (women)									
Own hours	38.10	2.05	26.63	1.47			20.75***	1.70	.23
Partner hours	40.29	2.20	45.79	1.39	43.18	1.98	2.08	2.104	.04

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Housework

The findings are presented in Table 2. In the present study, similar to the Spanish (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016) and US (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011) studies, participants in general tended to carry out more housework if they worked less, although this effect did not reach significance for Emirati men. Then with respect to the spouse, men expected that working more would result in their spouse carrying out more of the housework ($p < .001$), which was also found in the Spanish and US studies. Then, similar to the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), Emirati women did not expect that working more would result in their spouse carrying out more of the housework, while US women did have this expectation (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011).

Childcare

In the present study, there were no differences in expectations regarding responsibility for childcare for women depending on their levels of employment ($p > .05$ for both genders;

Table 8.2). Women expected equal amounts of childcare from their spouses, regardless of their level of employment (p >.05; Table 8.2). In contrast, men expected higher levels of childcare from their future spouse with higher levels of their own employment (*p* <.001). However, in the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), participants of both genders anticipated more childcare for themselves with lower levels of employment (*p*<.001), which aligns with the US study (*p*< .001; Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011). In the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), both genders expected higher levels of childcare from their partners with higher levels of their own employment (*p*<.01). In the US sample (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011), expectations regarding partners providing childcare were also higher when respondents' own level of employment was higher (*p*< .001).

Table 2. Effects of employment on own and spouse's housework for the possible selves (UAE, Spain, U.S.)

	Employment						Main effect		
	Full-time		Part-time		Unemployed				
Dependent variable	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*F*	*df*	η_p^2
UAE sample									
Own housework									
Women	30.00	2.78	37.46	2.17	40.92	2.86	5.72**	2, 203	.05
Men	26.62	2.43	33.42	2.58	33.25	2.36	1.97	2, 216	.02
Total	28.31	1.85	35.44	1.69	37.09	1.85	6.46**	2, 419	.03
Partner housework									
Women	16.77	2.25	18.49	1.75	21.78	2.31	1.87	2, 203	.02
Men	44.12	1.96	40.30	2.08	32.68	1.91	6.91**	2, 217	.06
Total	30.45	1.49	29.39	1.36	27.23	1.50	1.21	2, 420	.01
Own childcare									
Women	48.70	2.27	50.75	1.77	52.14	2.33	.54	2, 203	.005
Men	35.52	1.98	34.97	2.10	39.94	1.93	2.05	2, 217	.02
Total	42.11	1.50	42.86	1.37	46.04	1.51	1.94	2, 420	.01
Partner childcare									
Women	25.08	1.93	29.80	1.51	28.65	1.98	2.19	2, 203	.02
Men	44.46	1.67	49.74	1.79	37.72	1.64	11.00***	2, 216	.09
Total	34.77	1.28	39.77	1.17	33.18	1.29	8,01***	2, 419	.04
Spain sample									
Own housework									
Women	37.39	2.14	43.73	2.31	54.86	2.41	14.83***	2, 162	.16
Men	33.25	4.57	42.14	4.04	57.48	3.71	9.20***	2, 53	.26
Total	35.37	2.47	43.45	2.27	56.19	2.17	20.95***	2, 216	.16

Partner housework									
Women	37.19	1.78	35.98	1.93	31.44	2.01	2.45	2, 162	.03
Men	38.10	3.83	42.12	3.37	29.44	3.04	4.08*	2, 54	.13
Total	37.82	2.06	39.28	1.89	30.62	1.78	6.38**	2, 217	.06
Own childcare									
Women	44.81	1.61	50.65	1.74	56.06	1.82	10.85***	2, 162	.12
Men	36.67	3.47	42.35	3.06	59.98	2.76	16.52***	2, 54	.38
Total	40.83	1.86	46.36	1.71	58.10	1.61	26.69***	2, 217	.20
Partner childcare									
Women	40.83	1.20	38.07	1.29	33.84	1.35	7.52**	2, 162	.09
Men	42.79	2.84	46.17	2.50	32.20	2.26	9.37***	2, 54	.26
Total	41.72	1.43	42.37	1.31	32.95	1.24	16.97***	2, 217	.14
US sample (women)									
Own housework	46.25	2.78	57.63	3.52	60.79	3.70	5.15**	2, 102	.09
Partner housework	36.53	2.63	26.25	2.42	20.39	2.47	10.36***	2, 106	.16
Own childcare	43.10	1.90	53.55	2.27	61.16	2.47	18.09***	2, 106	.25
Partner childcare	36.61	1.50	28.11	1.80	25.66	2.16	9.64***	2, 106	.16

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Effects of education for the possible selves

In the previous studies, less effects of education than of employment were found. While US women expected that they would have a somewhat lower responsibility over housework and childcare (Fetterolf and Eagly, 2011), Spanish participants' expectations for the self and the spouse were completely unrelated to educational level. In the present study, only an effect of education on expected working hours was found. With a higher level of education, both women and men expected to have higher working hours, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Effects of education on own and partner's employment hours, housework and childcare for the possible selves (UAE)

	Education				Main effect		
	Bachelor's degree		Master's/PhD degree				
Dependent variable	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*F*	*df*	η_p^2
UAE sample							
Own hours							
Women	16.52	0.56	18.334	0.54	4.05*	1, 203	.02
Men	19.73	0.48	21.09	0.54	5.05*	1, 220	.02

Total	18.13	0.37	19.72	0.38	8.86**	1, 423	.02

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Effects of gender for the possible selves life outcomes

As shown in Table 4, in the present study gender was a significant predictor for each of the life outcomes. Men expected to work three more hours per week than women expected they would work, while women expected three times longer employment hours for their partners than men expected for themselves (p<.001). These trends are in accordance with the trends found in the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), which also considered both men and women.

In terms of expectations regarding housework for both genders in the present study, women anticipated a 5% higher share of housework for themselves than for men (p< .05), while men expected twice as much housework for their spouses than did women (p< .001), as displayed in Table 4. The first finding was in accordance with the results of the Spanish sample (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016).

Finally, women expected to undertake a 14% greater share of childcare responsibility compared to men, while men expected their partners to provide 16% more childcare than did women, regardless of employment and education (p< .001). The first trend was also found in the Spanish study (F (1, 217) = 4.28, p = .040, η_p^2 = .02; Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016).

Table.4. Effects of gender on own and partner's employment hours, housework and childcare for the possible selves (UAE)

	Gender		
	Women	Men	Main effect

Dependent variable	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*F*	*df*	η_p^2
Own hours	17.43	0.39	20.41	0.36	31.27***	1, 423	.07
Partner hours	38.92	0.72	13.14	0.68	677.49***	1, 423	.62
Own housework	36.13	1.51	31.10	1.42	5.88*	1, 419	.01
Partner housework	19.01	1.22	39.03	1.15	142.45***	1, 420	.25
Own childcare	50.53	1.23	36.81	1.16	65.81***	1, 420	.14
Partner childcare	27.84	1.05	43.97	0.99	125.20***	1, 419	.23

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Future Selves

Gender differences in family plans before and after their future children start school

In the present study, similar percentages of men (84.5%) and women (80.8%) expected to have children in the future (β = .77, SE = .60, p = .199, OR = 2.17, 95% C.I. =.67, 7.04). However, in the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), more women (93.5%) than men (82.3%) expected to have children (β = −1.24, SE = .46, *p* = .008, OR = .29).

In the present study, fewer women than men expected to get married within five years of participating in the study (65.1% of women, 72.0% of men). This is different from the findings of the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), in which 83.3% of women and 71.2% of men expected to get married within five years (β = -.79, *SE* = .36, *p* = .028, OR = .45). This difference between the two studies may be because in the current study, more women than men were already married (24.4% of women, 20.9% of men).

Employment plans before children

In the UAE, women expected less intensive employment than men before their children started school, which is similar to the results found in the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016). However, it is important to note that in the Spanish study more women than men expected not to be employed when they had young children (9.4% of women, 1.9% of men).

However, among the UAE students, this percentage was higher and gender neutral (about 13%). The Spanish study did not ask respondents about their employment plans after children went to school, therefore, no further comparisons can be made

Marriage Plans

In the present study, fewer women than men expected to get married within five years (65.1% of women, 72.0% of men). This result is different from the result of the Spanish study (Gartzia and Fetterolf, 2016), in which 83.3% women and 71.2% of men expected to get married ($\beta = -.79$, SE = .36, $p = .028$, OR = .45). This difference between the two studies, can be explained by the fact that in the current study, more women than men were already married (24.4% of women, 20.9% of men).

Education plans

Finally, in the UAE sample, similar percentages of men (85.9%) and women (81.3%) expected to obtain a master's degree ($\beta = .34$, SE = .27, p = .206, OR = 1.41). This result is slightly lower than the results from the Spanish study, in which 93.4% of men and 98.8% of women expected to obtain advanced degrees ($\beta = -1.69$, SE = .89, p = .057, OR = .19).