

Non-Arab Immigration to Kuwait with Special Reference to Asian Immigrants

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Migration as a demographic phenomenon indicates different socio-economic and political features created at both the sending areas, as expressed by the push factors, and the receiving ones, as expressed by the pull factors. These factors have been discussed in many economic and population studies and it seems unnecessary to review them here. In this research, which focuses on the migratory movement of some non-Arab immigrants to Kuwait, it will be necessary to limit the discussion to certain aspects of these movements, the major pull effects causing them, as well as to highlight some of their socio-economic impacts.

Starting from the second half of this century, Kuwait witnessed a quick economic growth resulting from the sudden and continuous increase in oil revenues from K.D. 75,000 in 1946 to K.D. 25,86,515,000 in 1974¹. This led to a large increase in public expenditures and extended credit facilities to cover different branches of the private sector; it also raised the standard of living in the country to a first class level among all other Gulf city states and other countries of the world.

Prior to the discovery of oil, the economy of Kuwait represented persistent commercial and trading activity between big towns, as well as some fishing, ship-building and pearling activities. These activities used to be carried out by the indigenous population as a result of the experience they developed over hundreds of years.

After the oil boom and the increase in its revenues, the government started ambitious social and economic development programmes which needed a large labour force ranging from technical to administrative skills to execute these programmes. However, the indigenous population, with its small size, limited level of education, couldn't meet the needs for professionals, technicians and labourers. As a consequence, the government emphasized importation of skilled foreign labourers to conduct its programmes. Less skilled foreign labourers were also needed to meet long and short term demands in both the public and private sectors.

This urgent need for foreign labourers attracted large numbers of foreign immigrants especially after the increase in OPEC oil prices in 1973.

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These migratory movements however, were unorganized and unplanned due to lack of efficient administrative and organizational systems. These immigrants represented different Arab and non-Arab nationals with different cultures and traditions. Although they satisfied the country's demand for labour, they generated a new socio-economic impact on the Kuwaiti community and in turn were significantly affected by the local socio-economic structure.

Reasons for this Research

Although much research has been conducted on foreign migration to Kuwait, little attention was given to the non-Arab part of it which still plays a significant role in the country's economy, especially after 1978 when the policy of importing these groups of immigrants began to assume a regular basis.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the importance of these immigrants, their impact, contribution to the labour force, and future trends, since it has been estimated that they will play a significant role in the economy till the year 2000 and will constitute about 60 percent of the total labour force in the country by that time. ²

Further more, due to the unique nature of the migrations to Kuwait, regarding their numbers, nationalities and consequently the ranging impact they exert on the community, the objective is to analyse the role of different national groups in migration. In this context, the paper discusses the role of the non-Arab portion in the migratory movements, concentrating on the Iranian, Pakistani and Indian immigrants, their socio-economic characteristics, share in net migration and contribution to the labour force.

In this connection, the first part of this paper presents a general outline of net foreign stock in the country and its non-Arab element.

The second part concentrates, in detail, on the role played by the three previously mentioned national groups.

It is worth mentioning here that this sample, represented by the three national groups - namely, the Iranians, Pakistanis and Indians has been chosen for three reasons: first, they constitute 90 percent of the total non-Arab immigrant population, second, their residency periods in Kuwait are relatively longer (the average residency period among the Pakistanis reaches 6.5 years), and third, they are known to have earlier contacts with the Kuwaitis and are geographically nearer.

Definition of Terms

In this paper, foreign stock is defined as non-Kuwaiti. Study population is defined as the three national groups under study; namely, the Pakistanis, Indians and Iranians. Migratory movement is defined as the inflow of foreign migrants to Kuwait.

Foreign Stock of Kuwait

One of the major aspects of foreign immigrants to Kuwait is that they represent a diversity of ethnic groups with different socio-economic structures. In spite of this, social interaction with the local community is limited; and the Kuwaitis outnumbered by these foreigners have been most inclined to preserve their identity and social character in a sort of dualism in the country's socio-economic structure.

As is the case in the Gulf city states, migrants in Kuwait constitute the majority of the population, while the portion engaged in economic activity outnumber the nationals. Arab migrants predominate among the total foreign stock of Kuwait, while non-Arabs amounted to 100,000 out of a total population of 522,000 immigrants in 1975, and contributed significantly to the country's labour force especially in the housing and construction sectors. Due to the language and literacy barriers most of the non-Arab migrants are concentrated in this sector, where the demand is high and no special skill is needed. In terms of numbers, the Iranians represented 20 percent of the labour force in this sector, while in the service sector which comes next, foreign migrants represented 22 percent of the total labour force in 1975. The government is the major employer; and the labour engaged in different parts of the public sector amounted to 42 percent of the total actual labour force. Foreign labour in the public sector constitutes 49 percent of the total. In 1957 total foreign labour constituted 59 percent, which is nearly two-thirds of the total labour force in 1975.

The immigrants contribution to the labour force is greatly determined by the age structure and sex ratio of the foreign stock of Kuwait. In this respect, the sex ratio among the foreign stock is greater than that of the Kuwaitis. In 1965 the sex ratio among immigrants was 236 males for every 100 females, which decreased to 166 and 142 in 1970 and 1975 respectively. Among Kuwaitis, the ratio was 105, 102 and 100 females, which decreased to 166 and 142 in 1970 and 1975 respectively. Thus, this increase in sex ratio among the foreigners indicates their high contribution to the labour force. On the other hand, the decreasing trend shows that the foreign stock is continuously adapting itself to the

local socio-economic structure and becoming a part of the Kuwaiti community.

Regarding age structure, the proportion of foreigners in age group 0-15 years is far less if compared with the working age 15-59. At the same time, foreigners over 60 years were very few.

Comparing these characteristics with those of Kuwaiti nationals in the 1965 and 1975 census, one observes that Kuwaitis in the age group 0-14 constituted approximately 50 percent of the Kuwaiti national in both the 1965 and 1975 census while immigrants in the same age group constituted 28 and 40 percent in both census.

On the other hand, the working age population (15-59) among Kuwaitis amounted to 46 percent in the two census periods, while among immigrants, it constituted 70 and 59 percent in the two census periods-1965 and 1975 respectively. However, the older age group, 60 years and over, which represents an economic burden on the working group, is higher among Kuwaitis and constituted 4.8 percent in 1965; then decreased to 3.8 percent in 1975. Among the foreigners, the older age group amounted to 1.3 and 1.6 percent in the two census periods⁵. This age structure among the immigrants is expected because it is natural that adults in age group 15-59 migrate while the population in age groups 0-14 and 60 and over have little tendency to leave their home countries and thus contribute little to net migration.

The high sex ratio among foreigners is also very natural, especially in a conservative community like Kuwait, where the role played by females has been very limited. The ratio, however, is continuously decreasing due to the rapid modernization of Kuwait, the change in the country's socio-economic structure, and the continuous improvement in the living standard. These changes in the Kuwaiti community are clearly reflected in residency periods, family size, sex ratio, and age structure.⁶.

Among the major determinants of migration to Kuwait is the increase in oil revenues after 1973. OPEC prices created new economic opportunities which in turn attracted a lot of migrants within a relatively short period.

The oil boom has had two results; one has been an increase in government revenues, and the second has been the increase in government expenditure and development investments.

In this respect, the oil share of the total government revenues increased to 84 percent in 1967/68 and to 98 percent in 1975/76 which

amounted to 312,808 then to 2,191,926,000 in 1967/68 and 1975/76 respectively.

This increase in oil revenues was accompanied by a rapid increase in government expenditure from 415,710,000 K.D. in 1972/75 to 1,095,845,000 in 1975/76. There is also a relation between oil revenues and migration; between 1953 and 1975 oil revenues increased from 60 million K.D. to 2170 million K.D., between 1957 and 1975, immigrants increased from 92,851 to 522,749 persons ⁷.

During these periods starting from 1957 to 1978 the country witnessed significant activity in the field of physical planning which was reflected in the construction sector, which absorbed the majority of these migrants.⁸

Social Characteristics of Foreign Stock in Kuwait.

The social characteristics of any population can be derived from the age and sex structure, population size and composition. These characteristics affect, and are affected by labour force magnitude, dependency burden occupations and levels of education.

In this connection, one can draw a broad outline of the social characteristics of the foreign population in Kuwait and the main differences between the Arab and non-Arab immigrant changes in foreign stock.

The size and volume of net migration to Kuwait indicate variation from year to year. Such variation may show longer term trends as well as random changes, and therefore it should be interpreted with caution.

The two components of the foreign stock in Kuwait, namely the Arab and non-Arab immigrants, have shown a rapid increase during the last 18 years. During this period the non-Arab migration increased to 243 percent which is less than one half of the total increase in Arab migration, which amounted to 570 percent during the same period. In terms of absolute figures, this increase between 1957 and 1975 ranged from 30,000 persons to 103,500 persons among the non-Arabs, and from 63,600 to 319,187 persons among the Arab immigrants for the same period.

Following the path of change in the two categories of migration during different census periods, one notices that the non-Arab migration shows a fluctuating increase which reached 26 percent during the period 1957-1961,

then increased to 35% in the period 1961-1965. Then it showed a decrease to 24% in the third period, 1965-1970; and again increased to 32 percent in the fourth period, 1970-1975. Comparing this with the percentage increase in the Arab migration during the same periods, one notices a fluctuating decrease which amounted to 94,35,66 and 34 percent during the same period respectively. This however does not mean that the absolute figures are decreasing; on the contrary, they are increasing.

Sex Ratio

Another difference in the social composition of the two categories of migration demonstrates itself in the sex structure (number of the males per 100 females). In this respect, the non-Arab immigrants show a relatively higher sex ratio. However, a gradual decrease in this ratio is observed among both Arab and non-Arab immigrants, especially after 1957. With linguistic and cultural barriers as well as other problems like types of jobs available and expensive housing, one notices that non-Arab immigrants have little tendency to bring their families with them or to establish one in Kuwait. This situation is markedly observed among the Iranians whose sex ratio is comparatively high and amounted to 1200 males/100 females. Among the non-Arabs, this ratio amounted to 540 in 1957, which decreased to 399, 308 and 206 in 1961, 1970 and 1975 respectively. This simultaneous decrease in sex ratio is attributed to the change in sex structure among the Indian immigrants, which showed a considerable decrease in 1975 and amounted to 109 males per 100 females. This is due to the increase in the proportion of females among the Indian population. However, this decrease in sex ratio among Indians does not reflect any change in the social structure of the Indian families but reflects the recent increase in the female labour force which became the major source of house maids.

Among the Arab immigrants, the sex ratio was observed to be relatively low, amounting respectively to 311,239,205,144 and lastly 142 males per 100 females for the same period ⁴

Age Structure among the Arab and the non-Arab Immigrants 1970

Table 5.

Age group	Number of persons	% Arab immigrants	% non-Arab immigrants	Number of persons
0 - 14	129,690	41.4%	26.6%	20,881
15 - 59	178,343	57 %	72.7%	56,610
60 & More	48	1.5%	1. %	850

Age Structure

This is another indicator which reflects the difference among the Arab and non-Arab immigrants and is highly determined by the sex structure. The age structure among the foreign stock of Kuwait was affected by the demand on labour more than any other factor. In this respect, the working age group (15-59) among the non-Arabs amounted to 73 percent in 1970, while the younger age group (under 15) and the older age group (over 60) amounted to 26 and 1% respectively. The situation, however, is different among the Arab immigrants; and there is a balance between the working and the younger age groups. Among these categories of immigrants, the working age group (15-59) reached 57 percent while the younger age group (under 25) amounted to 41.4 percent, and that of the older one constituted 1.5 percent. (table 5.).

The labour force plays a dynamic role in determining the magnitude of migration, as it moves from areas of lesser demand on labour to those areas with a higher one. In this connection, the inflow of foreign labour started in Kuwait from the early period of oil discovery when the oil companies used foreign labour, particularly Indian and Pakistani.

Due to this, non-Arab immigrants constituted one-third of total foreign labour while their total number in the country constituted 20 percent of the net foreign stock in the 1970 census. This means that the share of the non-Arab immigrants in the labour force is higher than their share in net foreign population. Also, the non-Arab's share in unemployment amounted to 20 percent of total unemployment among the foreign stock. In comparing unemployment among these two categories, we observe that

unemployment among the non-Arabs was relatively less and amounted to less than 1 percent, while among the Arabs it reached 1.5 percent in the 1970 census.(table 6)

Dependency Ratio

This indicator shows the relation between economically active persons and the rest of the population and reflects the dependency burden on the working age group. It thus reflects the standard of living of the population.

This indicator also shows the contribution of the population in various economic activities which in turn depends on the age and sex structure as well as on education level, school enrolment and other factors.

As we may observe from the previous discussion, the percentage of the working age group is generally high while the proportion of the population in this group is low. Consequently, one expects the dependency burdens to be low. However, dependency burdens among the Arab immigrants is higher than that among the non-Arabs and amounted, in 1975, to 147; while among the non-Arabs it reached 60 males per 100 females. If we compare these dependency ratios with those among Kuwaitis and the total population, this ratio was 442 among Kuwaitis and 233 for the total population for the same year. This variation in dependency ratio among the different nationals gives the migratory movement in Kuwait a unique dimension in comparison with other countries which have a proportion of foreign stock among its population. However, this low dependency burden among the non-Arab immigrants doesn't reflect the true picture because a considerable proportion of those support their families in their home countries, and thus the true ratio is different from that found in Kuwait (tables 7 and 9).

Distribution of Foreign Labour.

The distribution of foreign labour by industries shows that it is concentrated in certain industries. For instance, industries that do not need certain skilled labour, such as services, housing, construction and mining, are dominated by foreign labour, particularly non-Arabs.

This however, reflects two things: First, illiteracy is comparatively high among non-Arab immigrants. Second, the demand for labour in housing and construction is high which can be met by the non-Arab immigrants.

Because of this, the Iranian labour force with its high illiteracy rate constitutes the majority of the foreign labour in this sector. Generally, foreign non-Arab immigrants constituted 32 percent of the total labour force in this sector in 1970 and 30 percent in 1975, which was not a substantial change. In sales activity, which is the second major industry for the foreign labour, 18.6 percent of the total labour force was of foreign origin in 1970, and that increased to 23.3 percent in 1975. In the service sector, which comes third in importance, foreign labour scored 17 percent of the total labour force in 1970 and increased to 21.5 in 1975. In the administrative, managerial and executive sectors, which is the fourth in importance, the percentage of foreign labour was 21 percent in 1970 and decreased to 18 percent in 1975. However, the percentage share of foreign labour was very low in those economic sectors which needed technical and scientific or clerical workers. This was due to the linguistic and cultural barriers, and their percentage share in the first sector was 15 percent in 1970, which decreased to 11 percent in 1975, while in the second sector their share decreased from 11 percent to 10 percent during the same period. In general, non-Arab labour comes third to Kuwaiti and Arab labour in all economic sectors except in housing, construction and services where they come next to the Arab immigrants; and no doubt this situation is due to the low share of the Kuwaiti workers in this sector. (tables 8 and 9).

Residency Period in Kuwait.

This indicator reflects the extent of stability among foreign immigrants and their residency periods in Kuwait. These residency periods, in turn, reflect the extent of immigration laws and regulations in meeting the country's demand for foreign labour. No doubt the longer residency periods will enable foreign labour to adapt themselves to the social and economic needs of the country and to raise their skills which will be reflected in their productivity.

It is clear (from table 10) that less than 50 percent of the non-Arab immigrants have spent 5 years or more in Kuwait while the rest have spend less. If we consider the 5 year period as enough for the immigrants to learn enough of the country's habits⁹ and traditions, then we can say that 50 percent of these immigrants, who spent less than 5 years were not sure to spend more time in the country and that this may possibly reflect some of the difficulties they face which may be related to immigration and visa laws. The Arab immigrants are characterised by their longer residency periods; and from table 10 we can observe that 60 percent of them spent

more than 5 years, and 40 percent spent less than this period. However 70 percent of them are observed to have spent more than 9 years, which is due to the inflow of Arab immigrants after the 1967 war.

As for the non-Arab migration, 25 percent, representing 25,335 immigrants out of 103,741 foreigners, have spent more than 10 years in Kuwait, which is a sufficient time to make them a considerable proportion of the community supplying the country's demand for labour for a longer time.

The Population Study.

As has been mentioned earlier in this paper, the Indian, Iranian and Pakistani immigrants constitute the majority of the non-Arab migration and were the first immigrants to the country for several reasons. Some of these are:

The Geographical Factor

Iran and its natural geographic extension, namely India and Pakistan, is the nearest non-Arab area to Kuwait, only separated by the Arabian Gulf which has never been a barrier to interaction¹⁰ and migration activities among these nations. Thus, Kuwait became easily accessible to these three nations with large populations and low per capita income. Consequently one expects a long tradition of migration from this sub-continent to Kuwait.

The Economic Factor

The ship building, pearling and trading activities of the Kuwaitis put them into early contact with these countries. The Kuwaitis had played middle-men between these nations and East Africa, carrying different goods between them. These economic relations later encouraged migration from these areas to Kuwait. However, migration from Iran was the biggest and the most effective one. These early migratory movements from Iran greatly enabled these immigrants to adapt themselves to the country's tradition.

The Social Factor

Due to the previously mentioned geographical factor and the early commercial and trading activities with Indian, Pakistan and Iran very close social relations were established between these nations and Kuwait. The Kuwaitis spent up to six months each year in these countries. On the

other hand, a lot of Indian, Pakistani, and Iranian families lived in Kuwait and intermarried with the Kuwaitis. Thus, the psychological barrier was reduced and one finds a lot of Indian, and Iranian words being used by Kuwaitis, beside the Indian food and currency which was used until the early fifties.

Changes in the Study Population

Immigrants comprising the study population predominate among the non-Arab immigrants and their percentage share in non-Arab immigration during all census periods was observed to be not less than 86 percent. Their percentage increase during 1957-1975 was 260 percent representing an increase from 26,672 in 1957 to 95,963 in 1975. However, one observes that the percentage share of the study population in total foreign stock and total population show a decreasing trend. In this respect, they constituted 29 and 18 percent of the total foreign stock in 1957 and 1975 respectively, and 12.9 and 9.5 percent of the total population for the same period.

The national origins of the study population have changed since 1957 with the Iranians now predominating. In terms of numbers, the Iranians increased from 19,919 persons in 1957 to 40,842 persons in 1975. The Indians, who come next, amounted to 4,122 in 1957, and increased to 32,105 in 1975, (as compared to 23,016 in 1975.)

Comparing the percentage increase of these national groups in the different census periods, one notices that the Indians came first, followed by the Pakistanis, while the Iranians lagged behind. The percentage increase among the Indians was 83 percent during the 1957-1961 census which then decreased to 54 percent in the 1961-1965 census. It decreased again to 48 percent in the 1965-1975 census, then rapidly increased to 85 percent. This fluctuation also occurred among the Pakistanis whose percentage was 173 percent in the 1957-1961 census, which is the highest score among the study population for all census periods. However, this percentage decreased to 62.9 percent in the 1961-1965 census, and again decreased to 25.4 percent for the period 1965-1970, and rapidly increased to 56 percent in the period 1970-75.

Although the Iranians dominated the two other national groups in terms of size, their percentage increase during the period 1957-1961 was only 8.4 percent. It apparently increased to 68.7 percent in the period 1961-1965 and then decreased to 27 percent in the period 1965-1970. Finally, the

percentage decreased to 4.4 percent in the period 1970-1975.

This percentage decrease among the Iranians is due to two factors. reasons:

First, the ambitious development plans which started recently in Iran demanded large numbers of foreign labour especially from Korea. According to the 1975 estimates, the shortage in the Iranian labour force amounted to 700,000 workers including 280,000 unskilled workers which constituted 40 percent of the total labour force needed. This shortage was envisaged to be imported from foreign sources and particularly from Korea.¹¹

Second, there were the recent restrictions on entry and residence visas besides the increase in cost of living, especially for expenditures on house which the Iranian labourers, with their low wages, couldn't afford. This decrease in the Iranian immigrants is also observed in relation to the total immigrants in the country. In this respect, their percentage share in the net foreign stock decreased from 21 to 12, and from 10 and 7 percent in 1957, 1965, 1970, and 1975 respectively.

In relation to the total population, their percentage share decreased from 9 percent in 1957 to 5 percent in 1961. Then the percentage increased to 6.6 percent in 1965, but it decreased again to 5 and 4 percent in 1970 and 1975 respectively.

As for the Indians, their percentage share in both net foreign migration and total population showed a slight increase in relation to net foreign migration. Their share was, respectively, 4.5, 4.7, 4.4, and 6.1 for the periods 1957 to 1961 to 1970 and 1975. However, their percentage share in total population was much lower and amounted to 1.3, 2.2, 2, 2 and 2.3 percent for the periods 1957 to 1961 to 1965 to 1970 and 1975 respectively. (tables 11 and 6).

Social Characteristics of the Study Population

Sex Structure

The sex structure of the study population was distinguished from that of the foreign stock, (with the exception of the Korean*, Phillipine and Bangladeshi immigrants), by a higher percentage of males among its population. However, the low sex ratio among the Indians is not due to their greater tendency to form families but to the recent increase in the female labour force who work as house maids. In general, one finds an Indian maid in every Kuwaiti house; and one Sunday visit to the church of

Kuwait city can give an idea of the size of the house-maid population in Kuwait.

Among the study population, the Iranians have the highest sex ratio followed by the Pakistanis and Indians; and their sex ratio was 978 males per 100 females in 1970. Among Pakistanis and Indians, the ratio was 179 and 154 males per 100 females for the same year respectively. As for 1975, a considerable change occurred in the sex ratio of both the Iranians and Indians. During this year, the sex ratio among Iranians decreased to 445 males per 100 females, and it also decreased among Indians to 109 males per 100 females. The two sex ratios were, however, nearly similar to that among Kuwaitis, which reached 50 males per 100 females. As for the Pakistanis, this ratio increased to 186 males per 100 females for 1975.

This high sex ratio among the study population reflects the instability of the non-Arab migrants and represents a community with a different nature from that of the local one. On the other hand, these high rates reflect the rate of increase in labour force to meet the demand of the development projects.

Age Structure

Age structure is regarded as one of the major aspects of population which can be used as an indicator of present and future population changes. This can be useful in adopting proper labour policies in development planning and the study of population structure, with its social characteristics.

A general look at the age pyramids of the national groups comprising the study population, reveals that a slight similarity exists between the Iranian and the Pakistani age pyramids, while that of the Indians shows a great difference from the others.

Note * After 1977 the immigrants among these three national groups became similar to the study population in their sex ratio.

The Iranian Age Pyramid

The age structure of the Iranis typifies that of immigrants. It is characterized by a large proportion of males and a small proportion of

females. Also the proportion of immigrants in the age category 1-14 is very small since Iranians enter Kuwait as adults rather than as new-born infants. However, after this weak base comprising the young age group, the pyramid starts to swell from one side (the male side), while the female side shows a slight swell which disappears after the age group 65 and over. The swelled side of the males, who represent the medium age group, starts an observed decrease from the age category 45-49 and vanishes after age category 65 and over.

The Pakistani Age Pyramid

As mentioned before, there is a similarity between the Iranian and Pakistani age pyramids, especially in the middle age group of the males. However, one notices that the age pyramid for the Pakistanis has a wider base which represents the age group 0-14 with equal size of males and females. After this, the pyramid starts to swell towards the male side and become apparent in the age category 20-24 till the age group 50-54; then this swelling disappears towards higher age groups for both males and females. Nevertheless, the Pakistani age pyramid is characterised by a wide base representing the age group 1-19 for both males and females, and afterwards the pyramid becomes unbalanced yet dominated by males.

The Indian Age Pyramid

This age pyramid suggests a more balanced shape, between males and females at all age groups. However, the base starts with a medium width at the age group 5-9 years; then it narrows between 10-14 and 15-19 years of age. The pyramid then swells at 35-39 years of age on both sides and gradually narrows at the age group 50-54 and reaches its minimum width over 65 years of age.

Thus, the Indian age pyramid reveals a balanced shape with a clear working age category between age groups 20-24 and 50-54 years, for both sexes, while the female role in this pyramid is more significant than it is among the Iranians or Pakistanis.

It will be important here to review some aspects of the 3 major age groups in order to have an idea of the economically active group which includes the labour forces so that one can examine the effects of the combined population under 15 years and over 60 years on persons aged 15-59.

The proportion of the population in the working age group 15-59 years constitutes the majority among all nationalities in the study population; while those under 15 years and over 55 represent the minority among the nationalities in the study population.

The Iranians

According to the 1975 census, the size of the Iranian population in the age group 15-59 years reached 32,577 persons representing 80 percent of their total, while those under 15 years of age and over 65 years of age reached, respectively, 87,52 and 413 representing 19 and 1 percent of the total Iranian population.

Because of this, one expects the labour force to be the major feature in the Iranian population and consequently a major factor and determinant for migration to Kuwait.

However, the role of Iranian females in the labour force is very limited; and their proportion in the working age group 15-59 amounted to 3,534 representing 11 percent of a total population of 32,577 persons, while their percentage in the age groups under 15 and over 65 years comprised 49 and 29 percent of the population in these two categories respectively.

The Pakistanis

The working age group among the Pakistanis comprised 60 percent of it's population, representing 13,984 persons out of 23,016 persons in 1979. However, the proportion of the age group under 15 years amounted to 8,725 persons representing about 40 percent of the total population.

The age group over 60, whose numbers do not exceed 307 persons, represents 1.3 percent of the total population. This indicates that although the working age group among the Pakistanis is lower than among the Iranians, the Pakistanis in this age group represent the majority of their total population.

However, the working age group among the Pakistani females is greater than among the Iranians and comprises 22 percent of the total Pakistani immigrants of working age. In terms of numbers, they constituted 3,122 females out of 13,984 at this age. Among the proportion of population under 15 years, the females predominated over males constituting 55

percent of the total population in this category, while the age group over 60 years represented 26 percent of the total population in this category.

The Indians

The proportion of Indians in the age category 15-59 years is approximately equal to the Iranians in the same working age category, and their percentage amounted to 79 percent of the total Indian immigrants in 1975. The difference between the working age groups of these two nationals is mainly attributed to the higher percentage share of Indian females in the age category, which amounted to 47.4 percent, while that of the Iranian females comprised only 11 percent. This reflects the fact that the number of married Pakistani females contributing to the labour force is larger than that of the Iranians in the same category. Indians in the age group before 15 years, constitute 21 percent of the total population. The majority of the Indian females are found in the 15-59 years age category, constituting 78 percent of the total Indian females; and the rest is divided among the age category under 15 years of age and the age category over 60. From this one can see that the dominant age group among the Indians is that of the working age group, and that the Indian females in this age group play a greater role than that of the Iranian and Pakistani females.

Level of Education Among the Study Population

Education attainment is another major social aspect of population studies, especially among immigrant labour. Labour productivity, skills, and efficiency are greatly related to education as attainment among the labour force. Although there is a high demand for foreign labour in Kuwait, which can be satisfied by different types of skilled and unskilled labour, there is no doubt that educated labourers are preferable to illiterate ones, and that a minimum education is required for participation in all aspects of an increasingly complex society like Kuwait.

A quick review of the foreign migrants from this point of view reveals that 50 percent of this population in the age category over 10 years is illiterate, while those who have finished university in this category comprise only 4.1 percent. However, 75 percent of the age group over 10 years are not educated. This same situation is observed among the study population whose illiterates or those without any scientific qualification amounted to 82 percent while those having a university education are not more than 2 percent of the total study population.

As for the education attainment among the nationals of the first study population, Iranians have the highest rate of illiteracy, which amounts to 70 percent, while it decreases among the Indians to 14 percent, and among Pakistanis, 26 percent of the total population. Although there are few statistics on different national groups in the study population, one can say that the labour productivity among these is influenced by the level of education and illiteracy rates among them (table 12).

Degree of Stability Among the Study Population

The degree of stability among the study population can be examined by the residency periods among its nationals, according to the 1975 census.

In this respect we can consider a 5 year residency period or more in Kuwait as sufficient for these immigrants to get acquainted with the local social habits and traditions and to overcome other social barriers. However, a lesser period than this will indicate unstable conditions of these immigrants.

The importance of studying the residency periods stems from the fact that it effects the stability of the immigrant labour among the study population and consequently their willingness and ability to participate in the country's development efforts.

In the case of foreign stock, table 10 reveals that more than 50 percent of these have spent less than 5 years in Kuwait, while about 25 percent have spent a period ranging from 5-9 years. 11 percent have spent between 10-14 years and the rest around 13.1 percent have spent more than 15 years.

From this we can conclude that less than the half of the foreign stock (47 percent) have a tendency to stay in Kuwait to provide stability in the labour supply. However, 53 percent of the foreign stock spent less than 5 years in Kuwait and this no doubt leads to an unstable labour supply.

The same situation is found among the study population, where 50 percent leave the country in less than 5 years while 24 percent stay for 5 to 9 years and 12 percent and 14 percent spend from 10 to 14 years and more than 15 years respectively. In comparing the residency periods of the study population with that of the Arab immigrants, the last group have longer residency periods than the study population. In this respect, 39 percent of the total Arab immigrants have spent less than 5 years; in other words more than 60 percent of these remained for periods exceeding 5 years.

The longer residency periods observed among the Arab immigrants is due to the fact that this group, unlike others, does not find the same difficulties with immigration laws and regulations in Kuwait.

Also, if we examine the residency periods of immigrants among the nationals of the study population and those among the Arab immigrants, one notices that the same situation prevails among Arabs, Pakistanis and Iranians with the exception of the Indians. In this connection, the average residency period among the Iranis amounted to 7.2 years and the same period for the Pakistanis (7.2 years) while it shows a slight increase among the Arabs (7.5 years). As for the Indians, this period decreases to 6.3 years, which represents the lowest average residency period among the nationals of the study population.

The average residency period among the study population and Arab immigrants is represented as follows:

Nationality	Average period for each person (years)
Iranians	7.2
Indians	6.3
Pakistanis	7.2
Arab-Immigrants	7.5

Immigrant stability and residency periods is highly determined by the market demand on labour. According to the 1975 census, (table 13), employment seekers constitute the majority of the immigrants, representing 63.8 percent of the total immigrants, while only 35 percent comprise their dependants. Those who came for reasons other than work, like education, health and tourism, constitute less than 1 percent of the total.

Among the study population, the percentage of Iranians residing in Kuwait for reasons of employment amount to 71 percent of their total while 28 percent constitute their dependants, and 0.06 percent for education and tourism. This situation is, however, expected among the Iranians, who are known to have a high sex ratio and age structure and consequently have a large number of its male immigrants in the working age group. As for the Indians who have more balanced age groups, it is apparent from the table that 66 percent of their migrants live in Kuwait for

reasons of employment while 32 percent constitute their dependants. Among the Pakistanis the percentage decreases to 84 percent of their total while 51 percent represent their dependants, which explains why a large percentage of the Pakistani immigrants (37 percent) were under the working age group. The rest of the Pakistani immigrants (0.06 percent) are residing in Kuwait for educational, medical and tourism reasons.

In comparing these percentages with those of the total foreign population in Kuwait, one observes that employment, though it is low, still plays the major role in migration. In this connection, the employment factor among the foreign stock comprised 32 percent while that of the dependants increased to 58 percent and for other reasons 1 percent.

Employment Among the Study Population

After the previous discussion of age and sex structure, education attainment and residency periods of the study population, one can say that the labour force constitutes the majority although the percentage of the labour force among the study population showed wide fluctuations, especially in the 1970 and 1975 census. It still represents the highest percentage in comparison to both foreign stock and the Arab immigrants in Kuwait.

On the other hand, the percentage of the labour force among the Iranian immigrants comprised the highest among the national groups of the study population, constituting 85 percent in 1970, then decreasing to 70 percent in 1975. The labour force among the Indians increased from 45 percent in 1970 to 67 percent of the total Indian immigrants. The Pakistani labour force, with their low percentage share in the total labour force, showed a slight increase, from 45 percent in 1970 to 48 percent in 1975.

Generally the total labour force among the study population constituted 68 percent in 1970, then decreased to 62 percent in 1975 (table 14).

In comparing the employment situations of the three national groups under study with that of the total foreign stock, we observe that in 1970 the actual labour force to that of the total foreign stock amounted to 29 percent, then showed a slight increase in 1975 to 30 percent. Among the study population, the Iranians scored the highest percentage in 1970, which amounted to 18 percent of the total labour force among the foreign stock, which decreased to 14 percent in 1975.

Coming next to Iranians, the Indian share in the total foreign labour force reached 5.8 percent in 1970 and then increased to 10 percent in 1975. The Pakistani share in the labour force increased from 3.8 percent in 1970 to 5.2 percent in 1975. (table 15).

Table 15

Labour Force among the Nationals of the Study Population as a Percentage of Total Foreign Labour.*

Nationality	Labour Force	%
Total foreign labour	212,444	100.0
Iranians	28,933	13.6
Indians	21,475	10.0
Pakistanis	11,038	5.2

Work Admission

Numbers of work admissions registered in the Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs can be used as an indicator on the extent of annual employment opportunities created in Kuwait. However, these work admissions do not reveal the actual employment situation in Kuwait because they do not include government employees, house servants, and private car drivers, and therefore gives an incomplete picture of the employment situation. Nevertheless it can give a good idea of a considerable portion of the immigrating labour force.

Work admission granted to the Iranians between 1972 and 1976, showed a wide variation, reaching its maximum of 4,311 work admissions in 1973 and a minimum of 2,990 at 1976.

In percentages, these figures accounted for 18.3 percent of the total work admissions, granted to foreign immigrants, 9.7 percent respectively.

For the Indians these work admissions reached 3,407 in 1972, representing 15 percent of the total work admissions granted to foreign workers, and then increased to 10,000 work admissions in 1976, representing 19 percent of the total. The minimum work admissions among the Indians were observed in 1974 and accounted for 13.7 percent of the total. This low percentage share of the Indians, in contrast to what would be expected is due to the fact that those employed as house servants

and car drivers are not registered in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs but in the Ministry of the Interior.

The Pakistanis, who have the lowest share of work admissions, are observed to have 2,100 in 1977 representing a percent of the total which then increased to 4,160 in 1976, representing 13 percent of the total, which is the highest percentage scored among them ¹².

In comparing the study population with the rest of the foreign stock, one observes that work admissions granted for each national group in the study population exceeds those granted for different national groups of the foreign stock, with the exception of the Egyptians whose work admissions were around 17,665 in 1977. In 1978, work admissions granted for Indians, and Pakistanis exceeded the rest of the foreign nationals with the exception of Egyptians whose work admission was around 1,085 and the Koreans whose work admissions amounted to 7,442. The previous figures indicate that the inflow of immigrant labour among the study population in these years exceeded that among the foreign stock in Kuwait.

Occupational Composition and Trends Among the Study Population

In this part, discussion will concentrate on the occupational structure of the immigrants. Then an attempt will be made to assess the trend of change in this structure in 1970 and 1975. This can be derived by studying the size and kinds of employment created by the labour markets in each year for the first time as revealed in the 1978 statistics.

The occupational distribution of the labour force among the study population is highly influenced by their educational attainment.

In this respect, Indians, Iranians, and Pakistanis are over-represented in 1970 and 1975 among the main occupations, namely services and production process workers. However, a wide variation is observed in the degree of concentration of each of these national groups among the two occupations. For example, the Iranians are extensively found in production processes and among unskilled labour; and the proportion engaged in these two occupations amounted to 24,944 workers, representing 72.5 percent out of a total of 33,596 workers in 1970; then decreasing to 20,114 workers out of a total of 28,933 workers in 1975, representing 69.5 percent of the total. In the service sector, the percentage share increased from an enumerated 13.4 percent in 1970 to an estimated

15.3 percent of the total labour force. However, in absolute numbers this change was very limited from 4,349 workers in 1970 to 4,308 in 1975.

The Iranian percentage share in the total force of Kuwait, in these two occupations, decreased from 25 percent in 1970 to 19 percent in 1975. In the service sector, their percentage share also decreased from 8 percent in 1970 to 5.5 percent in 1975. The proportion of Iranians in other sectors was, however, very low, with the exception of the sales sector where they amounted to 2,848 sales workers in 1970 and 3,394 sales workers in 1975, constituting 13 and 14 percent respectively of the total labour force in this sector. On the other hand, the percentage of Iranians found as service workers constituted 8.5 and 11.7 percent of their total labour force.

The smallest share of the Iranians was observed in administrative, executive and managerial occupations and amounted to 10 workers in 1970, increasing in 1975 to only 23 workers, which is due however to the linguistic barriers.

From this review, it is clear that the Iranians are concentrated in the housing and construction sector apart from a small proportion in retail work.

The Indians

Indians are found extensively as service and production process workers. In 1970, the proportion of Indians in the service sector amounted to 3,950 service workers, constituting 38 percent of the total labour force in this sector. This increased in 1975 to 50 percent, raising the absolute number to 10,546 workers. Unskilled workers also increased from 1,884 in 1970 to 3,740 workers in 1975, comprising respectively, 1.9, and 3.5 percent of the total unskilled labour in the country. The proportion of Indians found in scientific, technical, professional and administrative sectors exceeded that of both the Iranians and Pakistanis; and they constituted 1,477 workers of these sectors in 1970 and then increased in 1975 to 2,602 workers, representing 5.7 and 6.4 percent of the total labour in these sectors.

In 1970, 2,208 of the Indians were employed as clerical workers and this increased to 2,672 in 1975. However, the percentage change was the same and amounted to 7 percent of the total labour force in this sector. The explanation for this is that the Indians are extensively found in medical,

laboratory, technical, automotive and electronic occupations as they supply the clerical needs of these occupations with their knowledge of English and ease in dealing with companies and foreign agencies. However, few Indian workers are in the agriculture and hunting sectors; and they constituted only 2 persons in 1970, which increased to 9 persons in 1975.

From this, it is clear that educational attainment, skill and qualification have made the Indians over-represented in technical and clerical work.

The Pakistanis

The proportion of Pakistanis found as production process and unskilled workers constitute the majority of its labour force. In this respect their proportion engaged in this sector constituted 4,349 workers in 1970, representing 32.5. They increased to 7,256 in 1975, representing 65.7 percent of their total labour force. This increase was, however, a response to the high demand for labour generated in the housing and construction sector. As for the service sector, which is the second major industry for the Pakistanis, their total number increased from 1,143 workers in 1970 to 1781 in 1975, constituting 16 percent of their labour force; and their percentage share in the total labour force of these sectors constituted 4.5 and 6.8 percent, and 6.8 and 2 percent respectively.

As for the rest of the occupational structure, the Pakistanis come next to the Indians, especially in technical, professional and scientific (with 463 workers in 1970 and 499 in 1975) and administrative occupations, 730 workers in 1970 and 762 in 1975. As for their percentage share in technical and scientific work, it is estimated to be 1.8 percent in 1970 with a slight change to 1.7 percent in 1975. In clerical and administrative work, their percentage amounted to 1.7 percent in 1970 and increased slightly to 2 percent in 1975. Here, again the percentage of Pakistanis in agriculture and hunting was very small, and their numbers do not exceed 11 in 1970 and 61 in 1975 (tables 8 and 9).

In order to know the trends in occupational structure among the study population it is important to analyse the employment composition of labourers entering the labour market according to the 1978 statistics.

In this connection, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs granted 48,270 work admissions to foreign immigrants in 1978, out of which 30,604 were granted to non-Arab immigrants. This represented 63.4 percent of the total work admissions in that year. The rest of the 17,666 work admissions were granted to Arab immigrants, which represented only 36.6 percent of the total. Among the non-Arabs, Indian immigrants accounted for 9,056 work admissions, which comprised 18.8 percent of the total for foreigners and 30 percent of those granted to non-Arab immigrants. Coming next, the Pakistanis comprised 4,677 work admissions, representing 9.7 percent of the total granted to foreigners and 15.3 percent of those among non-Arabs. Coming third, the Iranians constituted 2,592 work admissions in that year, representing 4.4 of the general total and 8.5 of the non-Arab immigrants.

From this, it is clear that Iranian immigration was decreasing relatively and that the number of labourers engaged in housing and construction was more than in other sectors, indicating the high demand on labour generated in this sector; and the proportion of labour entering this sector accounted for 64.4 percent of the total labour force entering the labour market of Kuwait. This is also true for the other national groups in our study population.

This sector accounted for 60 percent of the total Iranian labour force for 1978, 76 percent of the Indians and 61 percent of the Pakistanis.

The wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotel sector comes next to housing and construction in importance due to the recent increase in activities engendered by economic development. This sector has accounted for the majority of the labour among the 3 national groups in the study population; and from the new labourers engaged in this sector, Iranians amounted to 22.3 percent of their total labour force, Indians 13 percent and Pakistanis 15.2 percent ¹³.

From this, one can say that the Pakistanis and Indians are alike in their occupational structure in relation to the Iranians due to linguistic, educational and industrial similarity between these two countries in contrast with Iran. Furthermore the immigration conditions in Iran do not encourage the educated and skilled labours to immigrate from Iran; and although the immigration laws and regulations favour Arab immigrants, the Indian and Pakistani immigrants face little difficulty in relation to those faced by the Iranians. This has forced the Iranians to follow illegal methods in entering Kuwait.

Employment in the Government Sector

The government is the major employer in Kuwait; and it constitutes 116,451 persons, of which 69,682 persons are immigrants, representing 60 percent of the total force in the government sector. However, non-Arabs immigrants employed in the government sector constituted 7,778 persons, representing 11.3 percent of the total.

Among the non-Arab immigrants, the study population comprised 83.8 percent of the immigrants. Among the study population, the Indian constituted 3,888 persons, representing 4.1 percent of the total foreign labourers in the government sector; while the Iranians constitute 2.9 percent and the Pakistanis 2.2 percent of the total foreign labourers. As for the duration of employment in the government, the Iranians scored an average 9.5 years, which comprised the longest period among the nationals of the study population. Pakistanis and Indians ranked second and third and comprised 9.2 and 7.4 years respectively ¹⁴.

Future Demand on Foreign Labour

From the previous discussion of the social and economical conditions which have led to a large inflow of immigrants to Kuwait and the unique socio-economic structure created in the country, one can say that employment has been the major determinant of foreign immigration to Kuwait.

Also comparing the sizes of foreign and local labour, it is observed that foreign labour will play a major role in satisfying the local demand for labour, and that the local labour market will be insufficient to meet these demands which are due in part to the small population of Kuwait and expansion of the development programmes. According to the previous census, Kuwaiti labour will still play a minimum role and consequently have a small share in the total labour force.

In this connection, Kuwaiti labour represented 23 percent of the total labour force in 1965, and it increased slightly to 27 percent in 1970 and to 30 percent in 1975 (table 16). However, the projection of the Kuwaiti labour force for the period 1975-1980 indicates that the Kuwaiti share in the labour force will be around 31 percent with a total size of 122,000 labourers.

As for the foreign labour, the projection indicates that their total number will be around 274,000 labourers representing 69 percent of the total labour force for the period 1981-1985. Kuwaitis will be around 155,000 representing 32 percent of the total labourers while foreign labour will comprise 328,000 representing 68 percent of the total. For the periods 1986-1990, 1991-1995 and 1996-2000, Kuwaiti labour will constitute, respectively, 210,000, 249,000 and 316,000 representing 34 to 36 and 40 percent of the total labour force (table 17).

This indicates that, according to the national plan of Kuwait till the year 2000, Kuwait labour will be unable to meet the high labour demand generated in the country and that demand for labour will increase while labour supply will depend on the immigration situation in other sending countries, something which is very difficult to forecast.

Also, it is clear that non-Arab labour will constitute a significant portion of the foreign stock and will comprise not less than 25 percent of the total immigrating labour. The percentage share of non-Arab labour constituted 30.7 percent in 1970 and 31 percent in 1975. If this trend continues, as happened during 1977 and 1978, then these non-Arab labourers will comprise one-third of the total labour force by the year 2000. This is especially true if we know that these categories of labourers will constitute, in one of the major sectors, namely housing and construction, 93 percent of the total labour force by the year 2000.

As established in the previous discussion with employment being the major determinant of foreign inflow in Kuwait, foreign immigrants will continue to constitute 50 percent of the country's population.

Conclusion

From the previous review of migration to Kuwait and comparison of the characteristics of the study population with that of the foreign stock, it can be summed up as follows:

First, migratory movement to Kuwait is of a unique nature in respect to its size, composition and diversity of national origin. It outnumbered the native Kuwaitis in a relatively short period, deeply affecting the population structure and the country's socio-economic set-up.

Second, different censuses illustrate that non-Arab immigration is still active and is rapidly increasing except for the Iranian immigration whose proportion is declining because of reduction in their migration due to the recent pull effects of economic opportunities in their home country (Iran) which is now satisfying its demand for labour from foreign sources.

Third, Arab and non-Arab immigrants have different socio-economic structures, which should be taken into consideration when preparing the development plans.

Fourth, although the foreign stock of Kuwait is moving toward stability, one notices that the country is passing through the later stages of demographic transition. This is apparent in the high sex ratio and the wide middle-age group which outnumbers that of the Kuwaitis.

Fifth, demand for labour is the major determinant and the backbone of foreign migration to the country. This is particularly true in the case of our study population. In this respect the proportion of foreign labour force amounted to 70 percent of the total labour force in the country. Pakistanis and Indians together contributed 60 percent of their total population to the labour force while 90 percent of the Iranians were in the labour force. Also, in 1975 the percentage share of the study population in the total labour force amounted to 21 percent which is similar to the percentage share of Kuwaitis (29 percent) in the total labour force for the same period. It is also worth mentioning that the non-Arab labourers satisfy the demands of certain branches of the economy where Kuwaiti labourers are very few and insufficient to meet these needs; and they are not expected to do so in the near future. Also it is apparent that the non-Arab immigrants, beside meeting the high demand for unskilled labours, contribute with other nationals of the country to satisfying different demands for labour generated by the development plans; and consequently any unplanned shortage in this category of immigrants will deeply hamper the development plans since the recent decline in Iranian immigrants is an early indication to be offset by suitable plans and studies to safeguard against any future decline in immigration or change in the push or pull factor.

Sixth, the current metropolitan development in Kuwait is greatly associated with the flow of foreign immigrants to the country in response to the economic opportunities which transformed the central city of Kuwait into a centre from which it has expanded to cover almost the entire

state. However, the prevailing socio-economic differences between the Kuwaiti native population and foreign stock, who constitute the majority of population in the country, has oriented the mode of physical planning of Kuwait's metropolitan area into a unique one. Extensive housing construction has been fostered by economic growth and a national programme to provide both Kuwaitis and foreigners with adequate housing in separate localities with each settlement having its own characteristics and nature. The recent increase in foreign migration has given an additional impetus to housing construction activities in forms of multi-apartment buildings to meet the additional demand on houses and to reduce monthly rents. From this, one expects that any decline in immigration will affect the housing industry which is the major investment field for the private sector, and will partly affect the commercial and trading sector which is mainly oriented to satisfying the foreign demand for goods and services. This is equally true for the non-Arab immigrants who have different socio-economic characteristics compared to those of Kuwaitis and thus play a considerable role in the economy.

Seventh, to safeguard against the social impact of the immigrants who have higher sex ratios, wide middle-age groups, different traditions and habits, special plans are needed to provide them with housing and public services, such as clubs, cinemas, gardens, youth centres, libraries and so forth. This is very important to safeguard against the hazards and bad effects of the development boom, since the Kuwaiti community is a conservative Islamic one.

Eighth, the increasing dependency of the Kuwait economy on foreign labour, both at present and in the foreseeable future, necessitates wise labour policies to avoid any shortage in supply. Another point is that the proportion of the non-Arab immigrants spending less than 5 years in Kuwait amounted to 50 percent which is an insufficient time for these labourers to develop the necessary experience or skill and to adapt themselves to the country's economic needs. However, the solution to this problem can be envisaged by adopting sound population policies, improving immigration laws (objection certificates, entry and exit visa) and regulations. In this respect, the organization of non-Arab immigration is highly advisable since they play a major role in the private sector. This can also be envisaged by programming their supply according to the demands of the development projects and encouraging the private sector to supply the needs of these labourers, providing them with houses and good working conditions. This leads to an emphasis on gearing development planning activities and their implementation periods to the

existing local and foreign labour markets conditions. These considerations are especially recommended in the case of Arab immigrants for national, cultural and economic reasons.

Lastly, it is clear that migration will continue to play a major role in supplying the country with its demand for a labour force, which is especially relevant in case of the non-Arab immigrants, for a long time, and that Kuwait will continue to be characterised by its large foreign stock.

POPULATION OF KUWAIT IN DIFFERENT CENSUS.

Table 1.

YEAR	KUWAITIS	%	MIGRANTS	%	TOTAL
1957	113.622	55	92.851	45	206.473
1961	161.909	50.4	159.712	46.6	321.621
1965	220.059	47.1	247.280	52.9	467.339
1970	347.396	47.0	391.266	53.0	738.662
1975	472.088	47.5	522.749	52.5	994.837

Source: Annual Statistical Group, 1977, Table 16.

CHANGE IN THE SHARE OF FOREIGN LABOUR IN TOTAL LABOUR FORCE.

Table 2.

YEAR	KUWAITIS	%	MIGRANTS	%	TOTAL
1957	23.924	30.4	54.960	69.6	78.884
1965	40.150	22.4	138.953	77.6	179.103
1970	595448	25.5	174.496	74.5	234.044
1975	86971	29.2	211.444	70.8	298.415

Source: Annual Statistical Group 1977 Table 71.

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF ARAB AND NON-ARAB LABOUR IN DIFFERENT CENSUS.

Table 3.

YEAR	Arab		Non-Arab	
	NO. OF POPULATION	INCREASING PERCENTAGE	NO. OF POPULATION	INCREASING PERCENTAGE
1957	30201		62650	
1961	38121	26.2	121591	94
1965	59357	35.8	187923	35.3
1970	78417	24.3	312849	66.5
1975	103562	32.0	419187	34.0

Source: Population Census.

**COMPOSITION OF ARAB AND NON-ARAB MIGRANTS
BY SEX 57-1975.**

Table 4.

	1975			1961			1965			1970			1975	
	Male	Female	Sex %	Male	Female	Sex %	Male	Female	Sex %	Male	Female	Sex %	Male	Female
Arab Migrants	47349	15218	311	85761	35828	239	126364	61559	205	284729	128120	144	237425	18176
Non-Arab Migrants excluding educated society	2298	1314	174	3356	1745	192	2986	2147	139	4141	3023	136	4609	2990
Iranians	18378	1541	1193	16681	1567	1065	29025	1765	1645	35498	3631	978	33359	7483
Indians	2980	1142	261	5153	2416	213	7735	3964	195	10501	6826	154	16779	15326
Pakistanians	1899	732	259	5295	1910	277	7633	4102	186	9438	5274	179	14996	8020
TOTAL	72904	19947	365	16246	43466	267	173743	73737	236	244368	146898	166	307168	215581

Source: Amal Al-Sabah - Immigration to Kuwait
Kuwait University - Kuwait 1978 - Table 88. ** Statistic 1975

**DEPENDENCY RATES AMONG DIFFERENT NATIONALS
(YEAR 1975)**

Table 6.

NATIONALITY	RATE
Kuwaitis	442
Migrants	147
Non-Arabs migrant	60
Indians	49
Iranians	41
Pakistanis	108
Population Total	233

Source: Statistical Year book 1977.

Table 71,27.

SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN LABOUR FORCE 1970.

Table 7.

Nationality	No. of Population	Labour Force	Unemployment	% of Population	% of Labour Force	% of Unemployment
Migrants Total	391266	174740	2332	1000	1000	1000
Arab-migrants	312849	120787	1867	19.9	69.8	80.1
Non-Arab migrants	78341	52517	463	20. -	30. -	19.8
Iranians	39129	33372	227	10. -	18.7	11.9
Indians	17336	10333	105	3.4	5.8	4.5
Pakistanis	14712	6653	106	3.7	3.8	4.5

Source: Mohammed Safah al Akhras, Population and Labour Force in Kuwait - unpublished Research, The Arab Planning Institute 1976.

Table no. 14.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONS ACCORDING TO NATIONALITIES
Table . 8 1970

Nationality	Scientific and Technical Sec.	Administration Managers	Clerical and executive employs	Selling Sectors	Service Sectors	Agriculture raising animals hunting sectors	Production labours and common labours	Unidentified	Total of professionals
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	25622 100	1780 100.0	28204 100	21093 100	57737 100	3943 100.0	96966 100.0	2410 100.0	23752 100.0
Arab-migrants	17978 70.2	785 44.1	13431 47.6	10607 50.3	24670 42.7	2216 56.2	51827 53.4	463 19.2	121977 51.3
Non-Arab migrants exclu- ding educated society	1769 6.9	258 14.5	310 1.1	112 0.4	1769 6.9	258 14.5	310 1.1	112 0.4	
Iranians	200 0.8	10 0.6	280 1.0	2848 13.5	4499 7.8	764 19.4	24944 25.7	31 1.3	33576 14.1
Indians	1477 5.7	91 5.1	2208 7.8	779 6.8	3950 6.8	20 0.5	1884 1.6	17 0.7	10408 4.4
Pakistanis	463 1.8	25 1.4	499 1.8	196 0.9	1143 1.9	11 0.3	4349 4.5	20 0.8	6706 2.8
Kuwaitis	3734 14.6	611 40.3	11474 40.7	6548 40	23216 40.2	893 22.6	13385 13.8	1821 75.5	61682 25.9

Source: Mohammed Safah Al-Akhras, Population and Labour Force in Kuwait un-
published Research.
The Arab planning Institute 1976. Table No. 14.

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONS ACCORDING TO
NATIONALITIES

Nationality	Scientific and Technical Sec.	Administration Managers	Clerical and executive employs.	Selling Sectors	Service Sectors	Agriculture raising animals and hunting sectors	Production labours and common labours	Total of Professionals
Total	41836	2854	38018	24093	78300	7702	105608	248415
Arab-migrants	27147	1286	16043	12282	28576	3244	58140	144718
Non-arab Migrants in- cluding educated society	14950	523	4122	5626	16824	561	32120	64726
Iranis	246	23	334	3394	4308	464	20114	28933
Indians	2602	177	2672	1729	10546	6	740	21475
Pakistanis	730	68	762	380	1781	61	7250	11038
Kuwaitis	9639	1045	17853	6185	32900	3897	15345	88971

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1977, Table 78.

MIGRANTS ACCORDING TO RESIDENCY PERIOD 1975.

Table 10.

Residency Period Nationality	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - more	Total	0 - 4 %	5 - 9 %	10 - 14 %	15 - more %	Total %
Arab-migrants	165567	126858	73760	52951	419187	39.5	30.3	17.6	12.6	100
Non-Arab migrants excluding studying society	5774	550	410	44	6778	85.2	8.1	6.1	0.6	100
Indians	17267	7765	3389	3680	32105	53.8	24.2	10.5	11.4	100
Iranians	20607	9834	4861	6290	40842	50.4	24.1	11.9	15.4	100
Pakistanis	11230	5186	3168	4393	23016	48.8	22.5	13.7	15.2	100
Non-Arab migrants	54878	23335	11828	13507	102741	53.4	22.7	11.5	13.1	100

Source: Statistical Group 1977, Table 53.

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION
ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY

Table 11

Census	1957	1961	1965	1970	1975
Nationality	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
	$\%$	$\%$	$\%$	$\%$	$\%$
Arab migrants	62650	121591	187923	312849	419187
Non-arab mi- grants exclu- ding studying society	3529	5099	5133	7240	7599
Iranians	19919	18248	30790	39129	40842
Indians	4122	7569	11699	17336	32105
Pakistanis	2631	7205	11735	14712	23016
Non-arab mi- grants total	30201	38121	59357	78417	103563
Kuwaitis	113622	161909	220059	347396	47288
Total	206473	321621	467339	738662	994837
	30.3	37.7	40.2	42.4	42.1
	1.7	1.6	1.1	1.-	0.8
	9.6	5.7	6.6	5.3	4.1
	2.-	2.3	2.5	2.3	3.2
	1.3	2.2	2.-	2.-	2.3
	14.6	11.8	12.7	22.6	10.4
	55.-	50.4	47.1	47.-	47.5
					100.0

Source: Dr Amal Al-Sabah - Immigration to Kuwait - Kuwait University - Kuwait
1978, Table 39

**NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NON-ARAB MIGRANTS
DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY AND
EDUCATION IN THE YEAR 1970**

Table 12.

	Ignorant	Read	Read and Write	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Under the University	First University and graduate	Un-identified	Total
Non-Arab mi- grants exclu- ding educated society	277	5	916	317	432	2018	101	1523	202	5761
%	4.8	0.08	15.9	5.5	7.5	35.0	1.7	26.5	3.5	100.0
Iranians	25276	377	8625	1133	366	166	6	52	51	36052
%	70.1	1.0	23.9	3.1	1.0	0.5	0.02	0.1	0.1	100.0
Indians	1954	104	5170	658	796	3753	63	903	130	13531
%	14.4	0.8	38.2	4.8	5.9	27.7	0.5	6.7	0.9	100.0
Pakistanis	2733	155	4795	753	712	950	12	243	13	10366
%	26.4	1.5	46.3	7.3	6.8	9.2	0.1	2.3	0.1	100.0
Total	30260	641	19476	2661	2306	6887	187	2721	396	65710
%	46.0	0.190	29.6	4.3	3.5	10.5	0.3	4.1	0.6	100.0

Source: Statistic 1970, Table 48

**POPULATION UNDER STUDY ACCORDING TO REASON OF
STAY**

1975

Table 13.

Nationality	Governmental work	Private work	Diplomatic boards	Accompanied	Education	Treatment	Tourists & visits	Total
Iran	1988	26948	27	11663	18	1	197	4.842
%	4.8	66.-	0.07	28.6	0.04	-	0.5	100.0
India	2776	18613	40	10446	7	1	222	321.05
%	8.6	58.-	0.1	32.5	-	-	0.7	100.0
Pakistan	1989	8993	19	11887	9	2	117	23016
%	8.6	39.-	0.08	51.6	0.04	-	0.5	100.0
Total migrants	6693	54554	86	33996	34	4	536	95963
%	7.-	56.8	0.09	35.4	0.03	-	0.6	100.0

Source: Census 1975, Part two, Table 98.

**ACTUAL LABOUR FORCE AMONG POPULATION ACCORDING TO
NATIONALITY
1970 - 1975**

Table 14.

Nationality	Labour		Population		%	
	1970	Force 1975	1970	1975	1970	1975
Iranians	33383	28933	39129	20842	85.3	70.8
Indians	10338	21475	17336	32105	59.6	66.9
Pakistanis	6659	11038	14712	23016	45.3	47.9
Non-Arab Migrants	53719	64726	78417	103562	68.5	62.5

Source: Statistic 1970 and 1975

**PERCENTAGE SHARE OF KUWAITIS AND NON-KUWAITIS
IN YEARS
65 - 70 - 1975**

Table 16.

Year	Kuwaitis**	%	Migrants**	%	Total
1965	43.18	23.3	141279	76.7	184297
1970	65369	27.-	176828	73.-	242197
*1975	91844	30.1	212738	69.9	304582

Source: Statistical Group 1977, Table 71

* age 15 years and more

** In thousands

**TOTAL DEMAND ON KUWAITI AND NON-KUWAITI LABOUR
FORCE IN THE PERIOD
1976 - 2000**

Table 17.

Year	Kuwaitis	%	Migrants	%	Total
80-76	122.6	31	274.6	69	397.2
85-81	155.7	32	328.6	68	484.3
86-90	210.9	34	392.9	66	594.8
91-95	249.6	36	440.7	64	960.3
96-2000	316.4	40	475.5	60	791.9

* In thousands

Source: Cox Shankland and partners, Master plan Review outline final report,
1977, Table 207.

يوضح ان الهجرة الاجنبية تتميز عن الهجرة العربية في هذه الخصائص، كما ان اللغة تلعب دورا كبيرا في التكيف الاجتماعي والنشاط الاقتصادي، وهذا ينعكس على مدى الاستقرار والذي يتمثل بفترات الإقامة وانعكاساتها على التفاعل الاجتماعي بين المهاجرين وبينهم وبين السكان المحليين وكذلك انعكاساته على الانتاج واستمرار يته.

لذا استعرض البحث للهجرة الاجنبية من نواح مختلفة وقام بمقارنتها مع الهجرة العربية، بعد ان قام بمقارنة عامة بين المهاجرين ككل وبين السكان المحليين ليعطي صورة متكاملة عن الدور الذي تلعبه الهجرة بشكل عام، والهجرة الاجنبية بشكل خاص، وهي موضوع الدراسة، وفي ختام البحث تبين ان الكويت سوف تظل تعتمد على العمالة المهاجرة، سواء الاجنبية او العربية، وبالتالي فان الهجرة الاجنبية سوف تستمر ويظل دورها بارزا .

الهجرة غير العربية في الكويت، مع اشارة خاصة الى الهجرة الاسيوية

د. عبدالرسول الموسى

تتعرض الكويت للهجرة منذ ان بدأ استغلال عائدات النفط، بطرح مشاريع التنمية في بداية الخمسينيات التي غيرت مورفولوجية البلاد بشكل جذري، فكانت المشكلة التي واجهت وما زالت تواجه الكويت في عملية التنمية هو عدم قدرة العنصر البشرى الكويتي للقيام بهذا العبء الذى يفوق طاقته سواء من ناحية الكم او الكيف، فكان ان فتحت البلاد حدودها مشرعة الابواب للهجرة بدون ضوابط في بداية الامر، حتى اصبح السكان المحليون يشكلون اقل من ٥٠٪ من مجموع السكان في البلاد، كما ان العمالة المحلية لا تشكل اكثر من ٣٠٪ من جملة العمالة.

ان القضية كلها مطروحة وراء هذين الرقمين، ان دراسة الهجرة الى الكويت يحتاج الى عناية كبيرة وبحث في جوانبها المتعددة، لقد تعرضت الهجرة الى الكويت لدراسات لكنها كانت دراسات مسحية، تعرض جوانب الهجرة عرضا، كما ان هذه الدراسات لم تتعرض الى عنصر هام في هذه الهجرة مع ضالة حجم الهجرة، ولكنه بدأ يلعب دورا حيويا فيها، وبدأ يزداد دوره اهمية، هذا العنصر هو الهجرة الاجنبية، ونقصد بها الهجرة غير العربية، ولقد اختبرت ثلاث جنسيات بررنا اختيارها في هذه الدراسة لتعطي نموذجا للهجرة الاجنبية، وهي الايرانية والهندية والباكستانية التي تمثل الجزء الاكبر من الهجرة الاسيوية، ان الهجرة الاسيوية تلعب دورا كبيرا في عملية التنمية، اذ انها تسيطر على عنصر مهم في عملية التنمية وهو قطاع البناء والتشييد، كما انهم يشكلون حوالي ربع العمالة في كل من قطاع الخدمات وقطاع البيع، واهمية الهجرة الاجنبية، ان نسبتها في حجم العمالة اكثر من نسبتها في حجم السكان، وهذا امر في غاية الاهمية في الكويت والذي يعنى فيما يعنى ان الكويت ستظل تعتمد على العمالة المهاجرة لمدة طويلة.

ومن ناحية اخرى فان للمهاجر بين الاجانب خصائص تختلف عن خصائص المهاجرين العرب، وهذه لها انعكاسات على التركيب الاجتماعى والاقتصادى من جهة، وعلى عملية التنمية في البلاد من جهة اخرى، وهذا يحتاج الى معالجة خاصة للهجرة الاجنبية فنسبة النوع وحجم الاسرة والتركيب العمرى والنشاط الاقتصادى،