

Adjustment of Indian Families in Riyadh Society*

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Abstracts: Decades of economic growth fueled by income from oil have attracted guest workers from many countries to Saudi Arabia. This inspired me to study one of the dominant migrant nationalities in Saudi Arabia; I offer this descriptive study which designated an Indian head of household as the unit of study of an Indian family member's adjustment. The study aims to describe the pull factors behind their migration, examine the extent of personal, social, economic and cultural adjustment, and also attempts to recognize the difficulties faced by members of the family. The study used questionnaires to obtain data from 180 respondents and interviewed 20 of the subjects, targeting parents of students at Indian International schools. Since the economic factor played a major role in respondents' migration, they made their adjustment to maximize the economic benefits through many means such as extra jobs, and living in low rent areas, which hampered their daily interaction with Saudi nationals. Little effort has been made to learn the local language, which affected social interaction negatively along with a different culture and the availability of international schools for their children. In addition the international schools do not make the learning of Arabic compulsory, negatively impacting social interaction. In spite of this low interaction the majority of respondents still want to renew their work contracts. Religion is the one exception that allowed for potential interaction. In general, the study found that little has been done by both Indian Immigrants and the host society to sufficiently adjust Indians and their families to the local social life.

Key words: International immigration, Adjustment, Culture, Indian families, Difficulties, Economic, Guest workers.

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International Immigration has gained popularity among researchers from various disciplines for many years, owing mainly to the large-scale movements of people that arose from the accelerating process of global integration and the movement of commodities and capital.

People crossing international boundaries are often driven by the desire to achieve goals that are unattainable in their native lands.

The subject of immigration is important because it involves changes to population make-up and for the positive or negative impact on both places of emigration (sending countries) and immigration (receiving countries) (Koser, 2007:95). Many countries suffered due to the numerous waves of immigration which occurred in the middle of the 20th century and affected all walks of life.

According to the United Nation report on immigration for the year 2002, 1 in 10 of the residents of the more developed countries is an immigrant, and about 1 in 70 in the developing countries (U.N., 2002:2). Four countries in south- western Asia have very high immigrant percentages: UAE (74%), Kuwait (58%) Jordan (40%) and Israel (37%) (U.N. report 2002).

The influx of migrants to Arab countries of the Gulf region (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar) is related to increased revenues from oil since the 1970s when development plans called for guest workers from East, Near East, South and South East Asia. This was triggered by the short supply of local human power. International companies executing development projects resorted to a cheap Asian workforce which worked long hours with minimal benefits.

The Gulf region (Gulf Cooperation Countries) is ranked third in the world in labor immigration after North America and Europe. By the year 2005 there were more than 12 million migrant workers in the Gulf, which is about 36% of the total population. Saudi Arabia drew 6.3 million workers, UAE 3.2 million, Kuwait 1.6 million, Oman 628 thousand, and Qatar 637 thousand. This equates to an immigrant population of 71.4% in the UAE, 62.1% in Kuwait, and 78.3% in Qatar (International Organization Migration, 2008), in Oman they make up 24% of the population (MONE, 2010) and 25% in Saudi Arabia (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2004). Douglas Massey in his Book "World in Motion" identified four modes by which workers entered the

Gulf region: government agencies, private companies, recruitment organizations and personal network (Massey et al., 2005).

Today, Saudi Arabia remains among the biggest host countries in the area for various types of immigrants coming from different continents, mainly Asia and Africa. A Saudi government report showed that (31.1%) of the country's 27 million inhabitants in 2010 were non Saudis (8.429.401 million) (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2010) an increase by 27% over 6 years. Saudi Arabia was first among Arab countries in the value of expatriate remittances. The total reached \$ 14 billion for the year 2005; Egypt was the leading receiving country with a total of \$ 5.98B, then Lebanon with \$ 5.8 B (I.O.M. 2008).

International immigration literature confirms the major role of economic factors in pulling immigrants towards GCC countries (Farjani,1988; AlGanem,1991; AlSufian,1992; AlKudairy,2001). Economic interests and development requirements create social and economical needs for guest workers who will provide the society enormous wealth opportunities which are found in employing expatriate workers especially Indian and Pakistani (AlNajar,2001).

According to AlNajar (2001), while it may be true that Asian workers immigrate to GCC countries for jobs and wages not available in their country of origin, they are affected by the new social environment. They have to develop new life patterns. Many especially the unskilled eventually realize they are only a commodity, bought and sold by sponsors, and may live in squalid conditions. They accept these conditions with a growing feeling of alienation. Their inability to negotiate or maneuver to improve their lot may result in resentment towards the host society (AlNajar, 2001:24).

The Saudi society has experienced numerous waves of immigration since the 1970s. The number of foreign nationalities exceeded 180. People came to be temporary workers but many stayed for a long time, and according Alkudairy (2001:5) findings and to this research findings some lived in Saudi Arabia for over 30 years.

Oil producing countries in the Middle East had to bring in workers first from neighboring Arab countries, then from non-Arab states. Since the mid 70s they attracted an increasing number of skilled or semi-skilled

workers and unskilled laborers from East Asian and South Asian countries (e.g., India, Pakistan Bangladesh, the Philippines, Taiwan, and South Korea). Most of the workers came to work on large-scale development projects, and were introduced to the locales by large international corporations. Immigration to the GCC countries has profoundly affected local societies in many aspects of life. It attracted a predominantly male work force resulting in an unnatural demographic structure. In the mid 1980s, a new trend of smaller businesses and individuals began sponsoring immigrants of labor. Indian expatriates were highly favored by the locals.

Research Problem

Globalization has facilitated the phenomenon of temporary labor migration from one developing country to another. 25.8% of Saudi Arabia's total population are temporary international immigrants (U.N.I.O.M. 2000:5-7). As mentioned above this has increased to (31.1%) in (2010). Indian immigrants are considered the largest non-Arab community in Saudi Arabia. They are mostly in the capital Riyadh, working in both the private and public sectors. Indian immigrants come from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, rural and urban, and have various levels qualifications and skills, from doctor to unskilled worker. According to AlKudairy (2001:12) Indian physicians for example make up the largest proportion of non-Arab doctors in Riyadh, amounting to 44%. Indian schools also are the largest. Riyadh has eight Indian school (from kinder garden to grade12), one of which is run by the Indian government in two separate campuses one for boys and the other for girls. The private Indian schools are scattered in the city's neighborhoods. This prominence of Indian schools is what Led to this publication. The number of these schools is the highest among foreign schools in the city. This raised the question; how these multitudes of family immigrants interact with the usually exclusive Riyadh society, where for example women are separated from men in most aspects of life.

Like all types of immigration, labor immigration entails adjustment. A person on the move is more willing to adapt. Successful adjustment depends on the person's ability to pick up and adapt to the values and trends of the host society (Alrabayah,1987).

According to scholars such as ALSigoor (2002:22), the host society's effect on international immigrants is eventual and profound. In order to facilitate the presence of immigrants into the host society's social and economic structure, the host society tries to mold them such that they are not a burden or threat to the structure and stability of the host society. Families face difficulties in educating their children and forming friendships and social connections, but with time they eventually start to adapt through various mechanisms. Also AlNajar (2001:156) mentioned more difficulties that face foreign women and children such as moving around.

Even when migration is of a temporary nature, it has enormous effects on both the host and sending societies. The temporary nature of migration is structurally and politically determined; it is not purely a matter of individual decision or choice. Some of the subjects in this study have lived in Saudi Arabia for a long time (2.4% have lived in Riyadh for more than 32 years), but all were there under temporary fixed duration labor contracts and their continued stay is dependent upon renewal of these contracts.

Much literature explains the social and economic consequences of migration, but to our knowledge none have dealt with immigrant family social life on Saudi Arabia.

This study is mainly concerned with trying to find the extent of Indian families' adjustment to social life in Riyadh which differs in many ways from their own societies. Family adjustment is a sign of accepting the local social conditions and thus enhancing and prolonging an immigrants' contribution. Inadequate adaptation may raise difficulties for both the immigrant and the host society.

This study aims to enrich the understanding of a phenomenon as experienced by the individuals involved. This is relevant to a Saudi society which has seen waves of enormous international immigration since the 1970s. The significance of this study is highlighted by the following: 1) The scarcity of academic research about immigrant families in Saudi Arabia. 2) Research on migration in Saudi society was mostly concerned with internal migration and single male guest workers. 3) It attempts to describe the living conditions of Indian families from their own perspective. 4) This study is a contribution to scientific knowledge in

the study of immigration in general and guest workers within a society in flux in particular.

Goals of the Study

The goals can be outlined as follows:

1) To describe the motives behind the immigration of the head of a household. 2) To recognize the extent of personal, social, economic, and cultural adjustment of the immigrant to Riyadh society. 3) To explain the difficulties faced in Riyadh by an Indian head of household and family members. 4) To reach conclusions and recommendations that may help in understanding the conditions of expatriate families in Saudi Arabia.

Independent Variable: Pull factors to Saudi Arabia and the characteristics of the head of household of an Indian family living in Riyadh.

Dependant Variables: 1) Immigrant adjustment. The term adjustment is used instead of adaptation mainly because immigrants are on a temporary stay. Even though some have migrated 32 years ago, the notion of termination of contract and therefore having to leave at any time is in the back of their minds. 2) Also the unique social structure in Riyadh in particular which separates expatriates, some of whom live in gated self-sufficient compounds and have their own restrictions. 3) Difficulties or obstacles encountered by Indian families living in Riyadh.

Adjustment Dimensions: personal, social, cultural, and economic (dimensions).

This study does not include political interactions (similar to Marrow's (2009) study on Hispanic new comers to the USA) for two reasons, the first is the respondents are expatriates; and the second is that locals themselves are not expected to be politically active.

The specific objectives of the study can be formulated as answers to the following major questions: 1) What are the motives for choosing Saudi Arabia as the migration destination? 2) What are the indications of personal, social, economic and cultural adjustment on an Indian head of household in Riyadh society? 3) What are the difficulties facing members of Indian families in Riyadh society?

Terminology

The definition of "adjustment" overlaps with other terms like "adaptation" and "accommodation" (Gaeth, 1979:18). Adaptation was

originally used in biology as employed by Darwin's theory about how an organism adapts to its environment. "Phenix"(1979) noted that adaptation is a change in shape or function of the living organism in order to stay alive and reproduce (Phenix, 1979:48). "Younis" thinks that adaptation is the state of balanced fulfillment of a being's instincts and needs. It relies on a natural indication to preserve the attainment of its own makeup and abilities at the biological, psychological, and social levels (Younis,1978:334-336). Researchers also point out that during the adaptation process biological activities of the being are amended to adjust to changing environment. "Abdulrahem" defined adjustment as the dynamic process which indicates awareness of the importance of homogeneity between members of a society; and thus he distinguished between both terms. To him adaptation is movement of the biological being to change its behavior to fit into the natural environment in order to avoid harm, while, adjustment is changing behavior of the human being to accommodate the environment, which implies corporation and less individualism; and thus he distinguished between both terms (Abdulrahem,1981:33). Psychologists seem to agree in their definition of "adjustment". Lazarus,1969; Doswgy,1976; English & English,1958 define adjustment as the process by which humans intentionally change their needs according to the environment or change the environment according to their needs. "Wolman" defines adjustment as coordinated relation with the environment that includes the ability of the individual to meet psychological and social needs (Wolman,1973:9-11). While "Dawod" considered adjustment as a result of adaptation (Dawod1965:32-34), Ifound (AlZyadi,1969:203) and(Mursey,1975:12) consider adjustment as the ability to establish productive social relationships. In general, the term adaptation is the process that explains how all beings meet their needs, while the term adjustment includes the social and psychological interaction of the human beings with the environment. Arab sociological literature like Kaleel,1990; AlOtabi,2004, tend to use the term "adaptation" and avoid using "adjustment' in its technical form, while psychologists like (Shaffer,1976; Muhammad,1985) tend to use the term adjustment. "Gaeth" explains the reason behind this: he thinks the term adjustment includes standard definition and can be used as operational definition. He claims that adjustment is the measurement of the ability to be in balance with the circumstances that face the individual or group

where human interaction is of a complex dynamic nature and that what is considered adjustment in a particular case might be maladjustment in another (Gaeth, 1979:18).

Theoretical Model

Migration is a complex phenomenon and various scientific disciplines look at its various aspects. Sociology has brought its more general theoretical and methodological dispute to migration theory(-Heisler,2008). That is, it has brought its general meta-theoretical disputes concerning epistemology, micro and macro level research methodology.

Although it is very hard to confine migration to a single scientific domain, some approaches can be found fruitful for this study (Portes &DeWind, 1996; AlKudairy,2001; Castles &Miller,2003; Massey et al.,2005; Deaux, 2006; Brettell &Hollifield,2008). Castles and Miller suggest that one reason for not having a general theory of migration will be the fundamental differences between approaches that aim for generalization. The phenomenon is perhaps simply too complex (Castles & Miller, 2003:19).

In analyzing the identity of the immigrant, Deaux (2006) in her book "To Be an Immigrant" proposes a theoretical model that was developed by Thomas Pettigrew (1997) The model integrated three dimensions which she calls basic elements of an immigration analysis approach. It includes macro, meso, and micro levels. The macro-level factor describes social structures such as immigration policy, demographic patterns, and social representations. The micro-level factors describe phenomena associated with the individuals such as attitudes, values, expectations, identities, motivations and memories. Between these two levels comes the meso level which describes social interactions such as intergroup attitudes and behaviors, stereotypes, and social networks (Deaux,2006:5,169). She applied her model to Afro-Caribbeans and has drawn examples from a variety of ethnic and national groups, circumstances and histories. The Migration in this study is temporary and determined by legal contract. There is a lack of organizing mechanisms to deal with immigrants' part of the equation, and so the "Deaux" model could be applied partially because it recognizes the inclusion of the social dimensions that are vital to understanding the way that immigrants thrive in their surroundings,

negotiate their personal identity, and make group claims as individuals and not as political actors.

The research undertaken is mainly quantitative in nature. A comparison with the findings of qualitative studies conducted by others was of significant value in analyzing the data acquired. This study's focus is in micro level; nonetheless, some utilization of macro theory is resorted to as a reference point. An example of this notion is called "push-pull theory", which has both micro and macro aspects to it.

"Push- pull" theory concentrates on the tendencies and motivations of people to move. The decision- making process and motivation of the individuals leads to a related emphasis upon individual and collective interactions. The push-pull combination of factors act simultaneously in normal situations, but sometimes in none-catastrophic cases migration can be motivated mainly by push factors as in the case of ethnic Russians who were pushed from New Independent States (NIS) of the former USSR to Russia (Kosmarskaya, 2004:180). Reviewing literature on international migration demonstrated different applications for this theory. The field of economics has provided an explanatory model known as "equilibrium perspective"(DeFay, n.d.:2-5). According to this perspective individual migrants are thought of as rational actors in regards to various costs and benefits associated with migration, including structural factors that influence migration decisions. These are known as push - pull factors (Castles & Miller, 2003:22). Equilibrium theorists have looked at a migration from that is called "the mercantilist perspective" which focuses mainly at the macro-level (DeFay,n.d.:2-5). DeFay (n.d.) and Castles and Miller(2003) also illustrated another approach using the Push - Pull model called "the structural- historical approach" which they point out as largely informed by the study of Marxist political economy and the fact that the Marxist political economy is highly critical of both the free market and the mercantilist perspectives of migration. And by this approach, it is the need for pliable, inexpensive and unskilled labor that pulls immigrants to the international market, and it is the need for cheap and exploitable forms of labor that has long been recognized as features of the modern capitalist economy (Castles & Miller, 2003:25-26).Third World countries have come to understand the significant advantages of out-migration, both to alleviate the pressures of domestic scarcities and as a future source of important financial contributions

(Portes & DeWind, 2007). Equilibrium perspective and the structural-historical approach models look at the macro-structural factors that influence migration without going into details of what happens when people encounter one another(DeFay,n.d:5).

It is important for this study to overview two perspectives; one is the macro-level theories which focus on demographic patterns, social structure, institutions and policy trends of immigration. Such theories have enriched this research by providing an overview of the general global and national environment of a massive phenomenon of which the subject matter forms a very small part. The other perspective is micro-level theories which provide highly personalized narratives of an immigrant's journey in Riyadh including the social interactions, practices of the individuals, their motivation to migrate to Riyadh, the difficulties they meet in their new social environment, and their attitudes towards the host society. While these two perspectives are informative, we underscore some of their limitations by introducing the experiences of immigrants and how they are connected to broader social conditions and to their personal circumstances including social interactions, social networks and their attitudes towards the host society.

The impact of immigrants on the host country or vice versa has also been a major concern for sociologists. The Social Network theory emphasizes the role of informal networks between migrants, non-migrants and former migrants before, during, and after migration. These networks establish relationships of co-operation, competition and sometimes conflict (Castles & Miller, 2003:28). According to Castles and Miller (2003) informal networks include psychological adaptations, personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendships and community ties. The theory argues that migrant networks lower the cost and risks of migration and increase the expectations of immigrants (AlKhudairy,2001: 107-110). The Social network theory enables researchers to partially understand the problems of immigrants and the way they cope with them in the host society. It also offers insights into the formation of ethnicity, which emerges as a result of particular socio-cultural conditions. In applying social network theories, AlKudairy(2001) has not addressed the role of originally Indian Saudis who still have ties with their motherland and may have facilitated the flow of

Indians into Saudi society, Alkudairy(2001) only mentioned Indian nationals in India who had affected the decision-making to migrate.

Since social networks facilitate the migration process, this is where the combination of social network and push- pull theory gains its importance and proves to be a suitable approach. It synthesizes the two theories to study the adjustment process of Indian heads of household who migrated to Riyadh as guest workers.

Castles and Miller (2003) illustrated a fourth approach called "transitional theory" where the process of migration has been affected by globalization, where technology is making it easy for migrants to maintain close links with their areas of origin. The term can be used to identify people whose existence is shaped through participation in transnational communities based on migration, yet Castles and Miller (2003) warn of the implications of this term on temporary labor market (Castles & Miller, 2003:30).

We did not include the Assimilation theory or any of its versions like the Anglo-conformity, melting- pot and cultural-pluralist variants (which can be found in detail in the work of Gordon 1964), mainly because the contemporary assimilation theory which deals with the end stage of a process of group adaptation and integration is not applicable in the case of temporary migration like our subjects. The same can be said about Ethnic Theory which has been applied by AlKhudairy (2001) whose subjects were Indian doctors living in Riyadh. Although Indian doctors are highly skilled they cannot be rated with local doctors mainly because of nationality and the privileges that come with it such as annual salary raises and grants. Skilled immigrants cannot apply for welfare or any formal or informal financial help. Regulations do not allow unskilled workers to bring along their families, but a few showed up in the study. The answer may be found in social network theory where by unskilled workers may end up having or starting their family while living in Riyadh and get informal financial help from local organizations which help non citizens.

Literature Review

Sociological and anthropological studies use various terms to describe change in an immigrants life. Most studies dwell on permanent migrants "adaptation", "assimilation", "acculturation" or "integration"

into the new society. The terms "adaptation" and "adjustment" are usually used in western literature together or alternately without mentioning the differences between them. Researchers such as (Rogg & Cooney,1980) used the two terms, while others such as (Sieu, 1990) and (Jo, 1999) used either of the two terms (adaptation and adjustment) in their title, but used both terms in the manuscripts. Both terms require balancing conflicting needs. Immigrants will have to adjust to new conditions that require changing their way of living, and modifying their behavior in order to adapt.

Research has showed the differences between immigrants in their ability to adjust in the host country. "Jo, 1999" studied how the adjustment of Korean immigrants to America varies according to the individual. He found that non professionals were more likely to be happy with their new financial security in America than those who were professionals in Korea "due to lost status which was reduced to operating business". He added that Korean women were also enjoying their new social and economic freedom in America (Jo, 1999:169). "Jo, 1999" also put Korean Americans in to three categories: those who wish to stay in America regardless of their ties to the homeland, and those who will stay to accumulate enough wealth and reach retirement age then they intend to return, and the third group who were unhappy with their lives in America and always looking for reasons to return to Korea. "Jo,1999" concluded that it is difficult to generalize how Korean immigrants view their lives in America and whether their decision to immigrate is a wise choice, (Jo,1999).

"Eleanor Rogg" wrote several articles on the adjustment of Cuban Immigrants to the United States. In her first article in 1970 "The Occupational Adjustment of Cuban Refugees in the West New York, New Jersey Area", she concluded that governmental programs have been less effective in aiding adjustment than the efforts of the refugee community, and that job satisfaction and adjustment have been surprisingly good despite a severe downward occupational mobility which increases with social class. In their study on the adaptation and adjustment of Cubans living in West New York, Rogg and Cooney's article has found results similar to "Jo,1999" findings. Their data was collected through interviews with 300 heads of Cuban families (Rogg & Cooney,1980)). Rogg and Holmberg also described the adjustment of the Cuban migrants and analyzed the relationship between assimilation and

social characteristics including adjustment as reflected in job satisfaction (Rogg & Holmberg, 1983).

In their study "The American Immigrants", "Portes and Rumbaut" described the characteristics of international immigrants to America and also analyzed the adaptation, economic, political, social, cultural and psychological processes that they encounter (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Other researchers examined the effect of one factor on the adaptation process of the immigrant; like "Hirschman" who examined the role of religion on the adaptation of immigrant groups in America and how it benefits the immigrant socially and economically (Hirschman, 2007).

Studies on guest workers and expatriates in the GCC Countries such as (AlGanem,1991; ALKudairy,2001) all agreed that the economic factor played a major role in this migration, and that it is characterized by male dominance. Few empirical studies in the Arabic literature went beyond describing the characteristics of expatriates and their motives behind migration. A progressive correlation between length of stay of immigrants and adaptation was found in the work of (ALSufian,1992; Ghanem,2002; Alnuaim,2010). In his study of the adaptation of laborers working in AlJubail industrial city, "AlSufian" explained that improving skills and economic conditions through training, higher incomes and savings had enhanced the desire to extend working contracts by both Saudis and non-Saudis. He also explained that strong social relationships in the factory enhance the length of stay in the city (AlSufian,1992). Altawjri and Habib (1988) had different results from "AlSufian", they concluded that non-Saudi workers adjust faster to the workplace than Saudis due to emphasis on production, higher qualifications and better commitment to work.

"Alnuaim"'s study on the adaptation of expatriate female faculty members found the relationship between length of stay and the desire to renew contract was strong according to the correlation test Eita (Alnuaim,2010). In his five-year anthropological study conducted on (520) Egyptians working in Saudi Arabia, "Ghanem" also concluded that Egyptians do not intend to leave Saud Arabia unless their contracts were terminated. While "Ghanem,2002" points to a very high degree of adaptation of Egyptian expatriates due to the similarity in language and religion with Saudis, "AlHashimi" 's study on (200) Iraqis living in Holland shows weak adjustment due to language and religion barriers (AlHashimi,2006).

As for expatriate children, "Mustafa" concluded in her study that Sudanese children living in Riyadh prefer to establish contacts with non-Saudi nationals. "Mustafa" did not explain the circumstances behind that. She also did not note that Sudanese families reside in multistory buildings which Saudis usually refrain from, and that their children attend international schools into which Saudis were not allowed to enroll (Mustafa, 1992).

Research Methodology and Data

As noted earlier, this study is focused upon understanding the lives and experiences from the immigrant populations perspective. The study stands broadly on the interpretative sociological tradition, which is concerned with how people view the social environment they are living in. It tries to elicit subjects' views of their world, their work, their lifestyle, and events they have experienced. Interpretative sociology focuses on the individual subjective interpretation of actions and motivations of the group of people being studied. The research applied a quantitative approach with the help of qualitative techniques, and relevant official statistics were employed. The primary research tool was questionnaire. The goal was to provide a rich description of the living conditions of Indian families living in Riyadh society.

Reliability of the questionnaire was tested on 20 subjects and the test-retest method was used. Construct and content validity were used to measure the relationships among variables and how each covers the range of meanings included within the concept.

A cross -sectional descriptive study which aimed at describing the adjustment of Indian families into Riyadh society at a certain time was done during the year 2008 upon approval of the Saudi Ministry of Education-Foreign Education Section-.

Unit of analysis was the head of household of an Indian family living in Riyadh. The study employed mainly social survey by sampling.

Sampling

To make sure the subjects were members of an Indian family, they were contacted through their children. As mentioned earlier there were eight Indian schools in Riyadh. Three out of the eight Indian schools (or 37.5%) were selected randomly. Two of the schools were the largest in

the country (4800, and 4700 students), and the third was a private school (1200 students). To reach the subjects we targeted Indian pupils in the 12th grade only (some Indian schools have non-Indian students in very small numbers). The purpose was to minimize the chance of duplication of families. Systematic sampling for sections of the 12th grade in all selected schools was used to distribute 300 questionnaires among all students in the selected sections (12 sections) as follows: 140 for school A, 130 for school B (to both boys and girls campuses), and 30 for the private school. Only 193 were returned, thirteen of which were invalidated due to non-completion, thus 180 heads of household were the total number of subjects. Data was derived from seven pages of open and closed questions. Ethnographic data supplemented our quantitative data through snowball sampling and observation around key work places and settings. The study also used interview in the form of open discussion with (20) Indian families. All family members were included, they were chosen by non-probability sample mainly to cover the sensitive issues like extra jobs, religious affiliation, and women's issues.

Research Findings:

The study recorded the following primary characteristics of the subjects:

Table (1) shows that almost all (98.7%) of heads of households are male which explains the effects on the demographic of human power in Riyadh. It also indicates that the Saudi society prefers male immigrants. Women immigrants are welcome only for female-oriented economic activities which are very limited. This explains the male majority in this immigration. The majority of respondents (68.9%) are Muslim, (20%), are Christian, and the rest had other beliefs. Respondents range in age from 36 to 57 years, the majority (42,2%) were between 45 to < 50 years, followed by 33,3% who lie between 40 to < 45 years, The high levels of educational attainment among the respondents were particularly striking, 46.7% had some college education, 44% had bachelors degree, and 31% had community colleges degrees. The figures in table(1) point to the selective nature of this migration, and that pull factors attract educated people, which fits what "Borjas" called positive self-selection (Ugur, 2007:77). As for accommodation, the majority 80% live in multi-story buildings, and only 11 %, mostly highly paid professionals, live in villas,

while 8.9% live in old traditional housing. The scattering in districts is due to varying family size and income. When the subjects were asked where Indian expatriates in general live in Riyadh, 91% believed they live in low rent areas of the city, which indicates awareness of the low incomes of the majority of Indian nationals in Riyadh.

Table (1)
Respondent characteristics (N = 180)

Item	Characteristics	percent
Sex	MALE	98.7
	Female	1.3
Religion	Muslim	68.9
	Christian	20.0
	Hindu	8.9
	Other	2.2
Education	Less than high school	4.4
	High school diploma	11.0
	Some college	46.7
	Community college	31
	Bachelor's degree.	44.4
	PhD degree	4.4
Current Job	Manger	40.0
	Teacher	13.0
	Engineer	11.0
	Technician	8.9
	Salesman	8.9
	Accountant	6.6
	Financial analyst	4.4
	Physician	2.1
	Laborer	2.2

Cont. Table (1)
Respondent characteristics (N = 180)

Item	Characteristics	percent
Work Sector	Government	8.9
	Private	73.3
	Self-employed	17.8
Accommodation	Multi-story apartment building	80.0
	Villas	11.1
	Old traditional housing	8.9
Renting	Self -Rented accommodation	55.6
	Sponsor-provided housing	37.8
	Other	6.6
District	Inner-city	48.9
	More affluent north districts	28.9
	Middle-income east districts	15.6
	South West low -income districts	6.6

Family size ranges from three to nine individuals living in the same house, whereas 46.6% of families have more than five individuals. Mean family size (4.5 individuals), shown in table (2), is much lower than mean family size among locals (7.3 individuals).

The duration of an immigrant's stay in Saudi Arabia is very important. It indicates how much a respondent is satisfied with the decision to migrate.

As shown in Table 4, the mean number of years spent in Saudi Arabia is 15.8 years with a SD of 7.18 years. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of number of years living in Saudi Arabia. 23.9% of respondents have lived in Saudi Arabia for 21 years or more, and those who have lived six to ten years represent 23.8% (see figure 2). These figures emphasize the viability of this study since they indicate that Indians were among the first waves of international migration experienced by the Saudi people in general and Riyadh residents in particular. 'Table 2 about here'

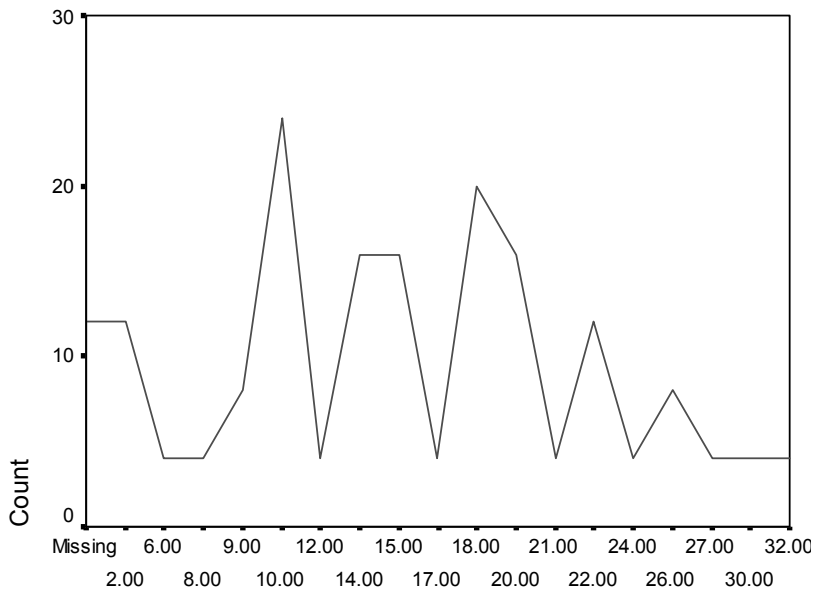


Figure 2. Shows Distribution of migrant on length of stay in Saudi Arabia

Table (2)
Descriptive Statistics for Numeric Variables (N = 180)

Variable	Mean (SD)
Age	44.7 (4.78)
Family size	4.5 (1.22)
Income from main job (USD)	1628.66 (1464.32)
Income from spouse job(USD)	713.88 (430.2)
Number of years living in Saudi Arabia	15.8 (7.18)

All subjects were born in India, and almost all came directly from India. Only 4.4% lived in other Asian countries and even fewer lived in European countries before migrating to Saudi Arabia. These findings indicate strong bonds with the homeland, something that affects the adjustment process.

59% of respondents migrated as singles or left their families behind, which points to the fact that family migration is difficult. In addition, Saudi regulations make family migration conditional on the head of the family's income and level of skill. Many also decide to come alone at first

to feel the situation and secure a residence. However, the study shows that 40.9% of family heads migrated with their family in tow, which is an indicator of the levels of income and skill of the respondents.

According to "push-pull" theory, migration usually occurs as a consequence of multiple "push" and "pull" factors. Therefore, the push-pull" theoretical approach seems to be an adequate framework within which respondent motives for migration were explained and analyzed. Subjects were asked to indicate the principle reason(s) for making the decision to migrate to Riyadh.

Table 3 gives a respondent's perspectives of "pull" factors to migrate to Saudi Arabia in particular. All 180 of them gave one or more answer. Economic opportunities offered in Saudi Arabia were chosen by 76%, political stability by 36%, and closeness to the holy cities, Mekkah and Medina, 31.6%. It is interesting to find that 18% also preferred it because they think a conservative environment is better for raising children. Levitt and Schiller (2007) pointed out that only recently have scholars begun to pay attention to the relationship between transnational migration and religion (Levitt and Schiller 2007:205-206).

Table (3)
percentage distribution of respondent "pull" factors to Saudi Arabia

Pull factors	percent
Life chance to improve financial status	76.1
Religion	31.7
Saudi Arabia is the best place to raise children	18.3
Life is much easier in Saudi Arabia	16.0
Some cultural similarities	11.1
Saudi Arabia is secure country	36.1
Other factors(husband migration)	6.7

Note: N = 353 Respondent could select multiple factors so percentage do not sum to 100

Where AlKudairy (2001) found that 71% of his subjects (Indian doctors) choose Saudi Arabia for " high salary and better conditions", he concluded that " the opportunity of earning a high income, the exemption from tax, the low cost of living and the possibility of accumulating and transferring savings can be regarded as significant economic "pull" factors that encourage migrants to leave India and select

Saudi Arabia " (AlKudairy,2001: 171). Researchers like (Zahlan,1985;Al-Najar,2001; Farjani,1988) have also pointed out that the major attraction of employment in the GCC countries for all occupational groups is the possibility of saving a substantial proportion of earnings. Nair (1986) observed that Indian migrants working in the Gulf States, often send a considerable amount of their earnings back home in order to invest before their eventual return to India (Nair,1986: 89).

Considering the findings of this research with other empirical studies, it can be said that material aspiration and the improvement in living standards are the major causes of migration and choosing a destination.

Personal Adjustment

In this section we aim to evaluate the adjustment of our subjects by measuring their attachment to their relatives in India. Success stories, presents and good news about immigrants' life in Riyadh pull more immigrants to the city. I found that 57.8% of families make one visit a year to their home country, 24.4% do it every two years and 6.7% every three years. Expatriates are eligible for free air tickets from their sponsors. Government sponsorship contracts allow highly skilled workers like medical doctors and university professors a single visit to their emigration country annually along with their family members, while private sponsorship allows non-skilled workers one visit every two years (which is the usual labor contract duration). Some prefer to receive cash reimbursements in place of tickets and don't travel.

It is important to measure migrants' contacts with their relatives back home since it indicates how much they are attached to India, which in turn indicates the extent of their adjustment to Riyadh society. 66.7% of respondents make telephone calls to family in India more than once a month, while 6.7% seldom make telephone calls to India.

Gravitation to expatriates of the same nationality is expected among immigrants. Indian nationals in Riyadh usually designate special days to meet with each other. 68.9% are aware of Indian gatherings, yet some respondents were not aware of that, partially due to recent arrival to the city as 7% of them have migrated less than five years ago. From subjects' own perspective on the occasions in which Indians normally gather; 44.5% said they do on annual Muslim Feasts, 28% at marriage parties. 18.7% indicate that they gather during high school graduation ceremonies. 57% of respondents prefer gatherings in their own homes,

while 28% gather for occasions at private halls, and 21% gather in residential- compound halls.

It is important to measure immigrants' impact on the host society from their own perspective. We found 73.3% believe that Indian expatriates have added positive values to Riyadh society; such as the value of work, achievement, and proper use of time. 23.5% believe that Indians have not added any positive values to the host society and 80% believe that Indians haven't added any negative behavior to the host city.

Cultural Adjustment

This dimension measures the extent of Arabic language and local accent use by Indian family members, changes in consumption, and how much they accept local costumes. 1- Language: Even though more than 84% of respondents believe it is necessary to learn Arabic, 62% have used some Arabic, which does not necessarily mean they speak the language. While 53% understand it partially without being able to speak it. 75.6% don't resort to "Arab-Ordo" dialect to communicate with locals. Only 15.6% said that a family member speaks Arabic with a Saudi accent. But while Indian schools maintain that students must learn a second language beside English- the language of tutoring, students naturally choose their mother language over Arabic. 2-Consumption: Many studies findings concur that change in immigrant life- style in destination countries is a means of adaptation to the host society. Of these changes this study recorded that 45.5% of respondent believe their food consumption had increased, 42% believe they buy more technology items due to their higher income and absence of taxes. 3- Attire: All female expatriates of all nationalities have to adapt to a regulated female dress code. Due to strict customs an abaya, or black overflowing cape must be worn by women over clothing. Men are not expected to adapt their attire. 33% of respondents said their wives put on a face-covering Veil, while 26% of their daughters did, even though it is mandatory for Saudi women only. Indian families strive to comply with local social values in times rife with sensitivity to the use of facial covers. 44% of Indian men who wear the traditional Saudi clothes (Thobe) regularly or occasionally said they wore it during local festivals only and 38.5% wear it for shopping. Nevertheless, the study showed the prevalence of thobe wearing in the Indian community. 42% of those who wear the thobe said they did so because it is comfortable, 40% wear it to avoid problems by

looking like locals. 4-Food and cuisine: familiarity to local types of food and the desire to consume local meals are signs of adjustment to host society's life style. 59% of respondents said they do not have any dislike to Saudi traditional dishes, but this doesn't mean they actually make them. 70% said they don't cook Saudi dishes, which means the Saudi dishes they consume are either bought or come as a gift from Saudi friends or co-workers. It is apparent from the findings that Indian children are more accepting of the new and faster to abandon their traditions than their parents. Immigration studies in general agree that children are more accepting of change.

Economic Adjustment

Economic adjustment is considered an important yardstick of an individual's adaptation to their host society. This section measures several variables: present and previous work, income, investment and remittances. Table 1 shows that 40% of subjects occupy managerial positions at their places of work such as banks or shops (some shopkeepers are the de facto owners of the business even though local law prohibits ownership for guest -workers). And only few work as laborers (this is due to the fact that regulations prevent laborers from bringing family along). These findings assert the two types of self-selection model identified by Borjas (Ugur, 2007:76-77). As for type of employment sector, more than two thirds of respondents work in the private sector. Non- government employees may end up having several jobs facilitated by a vibrant fraternal network. Zhou (2007) explained the value of fraternity between immigrants through ethnic entrepreneurship. This social phenomenon makes immigrants simultaneous owners and managers of their own businesses. It is limited to groups tied to a common cultural heritage or origin and intertwined in social structures in which individual behavior, social relations, and economic transactions are constrained (Zhou, 2007:217-246). Many respondents were reluctant to admit doing extra work since it is illegal without the consent of the sponsor (Kafil). Interviews showed that some subjects do extra jobs like teachers doing home tutoring, or government employees working evenings in shops. The findings showed that while 57.8% did the same type of work they had in India (for much lesser pay), 22% did not. 20% were unemployed in their homeland, which confirms that migration helps in relieving sender countries' unemployment. Third world countries understand the significant advantages of out-migration; as it alleviates

the pressure of job scarcity and contributes financially to the economy through remittances (Portes & DeWind, 2007). In economic terms, the findings show that the respondents range in monthly income from \$500 to \$6393. Mean monthly income as shown in Table 4, is \$1628 (SD = \$1464) excluding income from extra jobs, which was not recorded due to fluctuation. 46.5% had an average monthly income of \$700 (see figure 1). The study found that the average income of respondents living in the inner city areas is about three times the income of locals living in the same neighborhoods, as illustrated by Alnuaim (2009), and less than the GDP per capita of Saudi Arabia which was (\$22,935) in 2007 by \$283 (HDR 2009). The findings also show that 57.8% of respondents family members, mainly spouses or sons, earn a living in Riyadh. Their mean monthly income is \$714, ranging from \$ 480 to \$ 2666. Although the empirical study did not compare wages earned by Indians and locals doing the same work, it was found through interviews, that Indian immigrants earn less than The concept of self-employed means sponsors might share in income profits (it is noteworthy that some unskilled Saudis earn a living by sponsoring numerous people who work independently and share profits with them). 75% of self-employed participants in this study share their business profits with their sponsors called Kafil. Sponsors provide access to government contracts, indirect property ownership, engaging in trade or independent labor.

Table (4)
Percentage distribution of number of years living
in Saudi Arabia (N = 168)

Years	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
5years and less	7.1	7.1
6-10	23.8	30.9
11-15	21.4	52.3
16-20	23.8	76.1
21-25	11.9	88.0
26-30	9.6	97.6
31-35	2.4	100
Total	100	

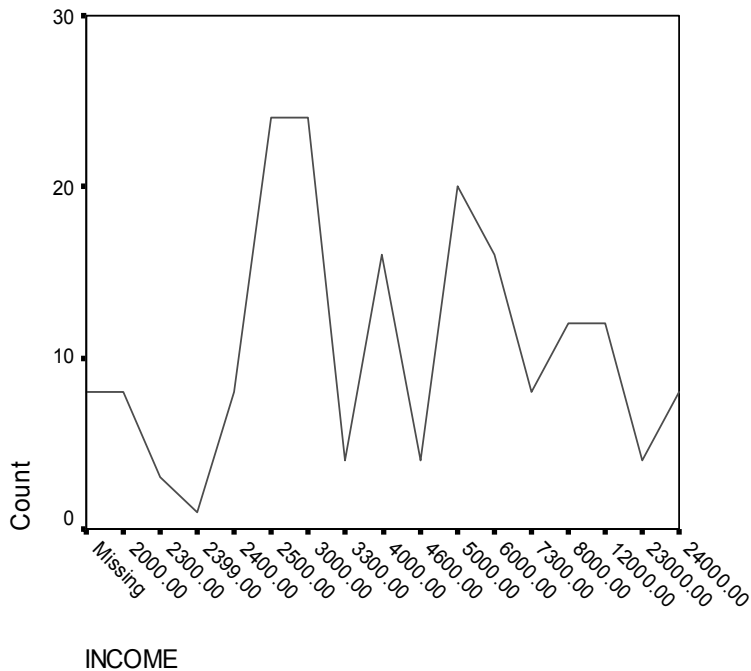


Figure 1. shows distribution of Income

Investment of income in Saudi Arabia is something not favorable for Indians, 88.9% don't invest money locally for many reasons they described in statements like: "we better invest in India because we are eventually going back", or "we don't like to take risks", or "we have no excess money", or "I send my money home to build a residence or start a farm". Some are deterred by lack of knowledge of rules and regulations governing expatriate investment in the local economy, as exemplified by the statement "we can't do anything without a Saudi partner". This study has also measured adjustment to the host society through remittance activity. 20.4% of respondents send remittances to India every month; that is every time they receive their salary. This enforces Pecouds(2007) assertion that sending and receiving countries benefit increasingly from migration and that migration is easy to start but difficult to stop(Pecoud 2007:5). 34% of them said they rarely send money, while 25% don't send money at all. This may mean the latter have no dependents back home. Those who invest money in the local economy may be considered economically independent.

Social Adjustment:

This dimension is very important for the study. Several variables were measured, such as interaction with locals, and what to do with free time. The study shows that more than 58% of respondents spend their weekends at home, which indicates the feeling of alienation still persists. 23.8% spend part of their weekends in public gardens.

Residence and Work Adjustment:

The study shows that 35.6% of Indian families have Saudi nationals in their neighborhoods, offering chances for cultural interaction. Interaction with locals outside work is only done by 35.6% of all respondents. More than 24% of family heads think they interact with Saudis more than other members of their families. 31% point out that their interaction with locals is limited to exchanging pleasantries, while 4.4% exchanged visits only once, the same percentage as those who regularly exchanged visits, and only 2.2% have intermittent visits. These percentages indicate very low social interaction with the host society. This is due to language barriers, differing customs and traditions, and the availability of special international schools that help segregate expatriate children from the host societies. Childrens' alienation is made more obvious when 70.5% of respondents say they never went to Saudi celebrations. The percentage is higher for their families, which reduces their chances of cultural interaction. This is emphasized more by the fact that 68% do not invite Saudis into their homes, and 63% do not exchange visits with Saudis. A significant 63.6% interact with non - Indian expatriates.

Workplace adjustment indicates how much Indians are exposed to Saudi culture. 57.8% have Saudis in their work environment, which gives the subjects chances to familiarize with Saudi habits and customs. 47.6% established friendships with Saudis, but 84.4% do not have mutual work activities with Saudis, a sign of inability to assimilate even in a work environment. Only a small percentage (16.6%) shares some activities outside work with Saudis which indicates that they have overcome some social hurdles. The study recorded only two forms of activity being shared with Saudis: parties and fairs.

Subjects met Saudi friends in various circumstances: 58% met in their workplace environment which usually occurs within groups,

working in banks or private companies. 33% list their sponsor as their primary acquaintance, next come neighbors with 17.8% (mainly for those living in villas), and 14% have acquaintances with their clients.

The study tried to measure offspring interactions with Saudis, which helps families to adjust to the host society. 26.7% of respondents said their children spend some time with locals, 62% said their children never interacted with Saudi children. They blame the presence of Indian International schools for reducing chances of interaction with locals. In addition, Indians tend to live in neighborhoods with a sparse Saudi presence, which reduces the chance of interaction and thus hampers adjustment. Other reasons behind low child interaction were given, as 13% of subjects prefer for their children to interact with non-Saudis and 17.8% think that Saudis themselves avoid interacting with Indian children. 42% note the relative absence of Saudis around their residential environment. It is important to note that their income range and residence patterns limit interaction with the whole spectrum of a diverse society

The study tried to evaluate the Saudi values most appreciated by the subjects in the belief that a positive attitude enhances the desire to stay longer and improves the degree of adjustment to the host society. 13% said they appreciate "all" Saudi values, while 55.6% appreciate some, and only 4% appreciate none, a sign of an inability to interact positively with the host society which may have resulted from awkward experiences. Subjects were asked about various Saudi values: 62.8% most appreciated work stopping for prayers (In Saudi Arabia work freezes during prayer times). 55.8% appreciated the habit of "helping others" or salvation. 41.8% viewed "Saudi generosity" positively, while 39.5% enjoyed Saudi sincerity. 38.8% think "gender separation" in work and educational institutions is a good thing, along with women wearing the veil. The value "compromise" gets 34% and "justice" or "fairness" is noticed by 25%.

Intermarriage between different nationalities helps with adaptation and assimilation into the host society. The study sought subjects' attitudes toward intermarriage in search of indications or possibilities from their own perspectives. 47.7% know of Saudi men who have Indian wives, and only 2% know of Saudi women who have Indian husbands.

Interest in cultural events along with acquisition of values, are also signs of cultural adaptation. The study was careful to measure certain

cultural trends that are indicative of their attitude towards local values. 44% of subjects resort to gender separation in their private gatherings, just like the mainstream in Saudi Arabia. 22% occasionally do that according to space and situations. The study measured religion conformity which is of great importance to a very conservative religious society. 83.8% of Muslim respondents go regularly to the mosque for prayers, and 16% go occasionally. (Muslim Males are expected to pray in a mosque or with a group five times a day, but not all Muslims comply, including Saudis). This large percentage indicates an eagerness to conform to local values. Hirschman (2007) in his discussion of the value of religious affiliation to new immigrants pointed out the social and economic benefits derived from participation in religious organizations. Kastoryano (2007) in his article "Religion and Incorporations" discussed how Muslims in France and Germany employed religion to win recognition in the host society. In Riyadh society foreigners are more accepted if they attend prayers in the mosque. They not only get recognition and acceptance but also receive subsidies like food, education and health services. Although Indians showed more tendencies toward sensitive values such as women separation and religious affiliation, they were less interested in other cultural aspects. Local sporting events like soccer matches are social functions that may attract expatriates. 45.5% said they don't follow the local soccer league matches, and 34% said they did. The study also showed that 66% don't follow cultural events like festivals or annual national celebrations and exhibitions, a large percentage which indicates alienation and resistance to integration into the host society. However, local social programs designed to integrate expatriates into society are gaining momentum especially among women.

Difficulties:

The study sought to identify difficulties experienced by Indian family members while living in Riyadh to help pinpoint factors hampering their adjustment. Difficulties, if found, result in many complications like loss of productivity, stereotyping or even unrest. For example when Klandermans et al. (2008) studied Muslim Immigrants in Western societies they found that immigrants turned grievances into action. They concluded that unfair treatment triggered anger more than fear (Klandermans et al., 2008:1000). Most respondents (72%) agreed that the unavailability of higher education for their children is the biggest

challenge facing them. 43.7% were hampered by language barriers not only at work, but also in their social and cultural interactions. Having a car is necessary in Riyadh due to its expansive nature and the lack of sufficient public transportation, yet 11% have difficulty obtaining one. 11.9% said their family responsibilities have increased due to increased reliance on a male head of household because of limited movement for women and children. 13.6% believe that local laws and regulation are obstacles. 9% think that stereotyping is practiced towards Indians.

As for difficulties facing their wives, 64% of respondents consider the increased reliance on males to be the biggest problem. 26.7% think that their wives have difficulty communicating and interacting with others, 17.8% think their wives feel alienated. Child mobility is a problem for 77.8% of respondents, and 60% think their children lack associations with others outside school. 33% think their children worry they won't be treated fairly, and 15.6% said their children feel intimidated by local laws. 93% deny that financial disparity with the locals constitutes a hindrance.

Only 51% of respondents believe all their needs are fulfilled in Riyadh. 85% believe that Indian community members lack mostly university education for their children, and this problem may result in termination of their stay. The alternative is to send their children back home which will result in family separation. Their yearning for a chance of a university education for their children is indicative of their desire for a longer stay, which implies a desire for adjustment into the host society.

Adjustment is also measured by the desire for contract extension. More than 62% of respondents expressed a desire to stay in Saudi Arabia longer. This is for reasons of financial security, political stability, religious serenity, proximity to Islamic holy places, and the generosity of Saudi citizens. Respondents expressed their feelings with statements like: *"Saudi Arabia is a safe place with financial security and peace"* and *"Saudis are religious"* or *"I will stay here until my children finish university abroad"*; meaning they send remittances to pay for their children's education overseas. Some said *"respect for prayers and prayer time"* or *"God blessed me with a good job here"*. Some are happy they are allowed to pray at work, while most feel they have a *"better life"* in Saudi Arabia.

The study asked about the rules and regulations that respondents would like to see changed to their benefit. Some of the rules are

debatable, but some of the answers bely an ignorance of local laws. 40% of respondents expressed a desire for changes that may result in the following: 1-Allowing their children to enroll in public universities in Saudi Arabia. 2- Providing free education for their children like in India. 3- Allowing women to drive (all Saudi women are not allowed to drive). 4- Allowing them to invest their money in all Saudi stock market offerings. 5- Offering citizenship to Indian Muslims living in Saudi Arabia. 6- Changing the sponsorship system (Kafil). 7- Giving Indians equal opportunities to Saudi nationals. 8- Creating a direct line with government departments to register their complaints. 9- Recognition of religious freedom for non-Muslims. 10- Limiting of free hand practices by the religious police. 11-Establishing a minimum wage and payment through banks. 12- Guarantee of a paid annual vacation. 13- Abolition of entry and exit visas. 14- Guarantee of protection under laws and regulations when wronged. 15- Fairness in law enforcement. 16-Improvement of passport personnel treatment at airports and applying fairness in traffic penalties and damage estimates.

When subjects were asked if they intend to return to India, 84% of respondents said that they will someday, for a variety of different reasons. 58.5% of those mentioned their children university education as the main reason behind their decision to return. The desire to help their families, especially their parents, was quoted by 31.5%.

When subjects were asked if they wish to renew their contracts, only 13% had no desire to renew, giving children's higher education as main reason. 82% do, giving their reasons in statements like: " I must continue my work here to finance my children's college education" or "for better future" or " in Saudi Arabia we find everything we need" or " no work in India" or " I have a good job here" or "I'm closer to the holy places". One wrote "I don't think anybody wants to return, especially me". All of these answers point to the various pulling factors mentioned earlier and that the economic factor is the major factor, followed by stability in Saudi Arabia, then religion and social factors.

Respondents offered additional observations like:

- 1 - " Even after spending a long time in Saudi Arabia we cannot be Saudi citizens and we cannot buy property or send our children to local colleges like immigrants in other places"

- 2 - "Saudia is a good, safe, clean place and offers comfortable living. We thank King Abdullah for everything and wish him Godly rewards"
- 3 - "I found a secure life here. I have a good job and I spent the best 17 years of my life here. Life is prosperous here".
- 4 - "The Saudi society is exclusive".
- 5 - "To Saudis, relations are built on emotion and influences rather than on basic Islamic ideology which emphasizes equality".
- 6 - "Saudis must observe how people overseas live, and realize that they have high values even if they have different beliefs". (Statement given by non-Muslim).

Some of the answers confirm pull factors to Saudi Arabia which are mostly economic. They also confirm respondents' desire to stay longer in Saudi Arabia. Only a few (2.7%) have experienced situations where they formed a negative impression about Saudis' attitude toward others and expressed their indignation at the biased application of some official regulations associated with airport passport control and the traffic department.

All of these points imply that respondents wish to stay in Riyadh despite the difficulties they faced. Their wish for the sponsor system (*Kafil*), to be abandoned implies a desire to continue working in Saudi Arabia, and that the sponsor system impedes the potential benefit from the social services.

Conclusion:

While much migration literature deals with the process of acculturation and assimilation of immigrants who plan to stay for generations in the receiving societies, little has been dedicated to the adaptation of contract guest-workers in a host society.

Most scholars have emphasized how the economic distance between the global North and South has created a virtually inexhaustible supply of potential migrants, and the globalization of capitalism has aggravated the exposure of Third World populations to the joys and benefits of modern consumption while they lack the means to acquire them. This has lead to massive migration from many regions not only to the industrialized countries but also to developing areas such as the Arabian Gulf countries.

Once international labor flow starts, social networks emerge between migrants and their places of origin. Such networks develop strength through continuous migration even after the decline of the migration motives. This study shows that macro level factors such as government policies and manpower organizations, instigated interest within potential immigrants and thus activated micro level factors involving the personal decision to immigrate. Micro level factors are enhanced by the development and growth of social networks. The study presents a meso level analysis (as developed by Pettigrew 1997) of adjustment factors.

When dealing with labor migration to the Middle East, Western scholars tend to ignore the uniqueness of each country in the area. Battistella's(2007:201) description of the major characteristics of the system of labor migration to the area is inaccurately generalized to all countries of the region. His assertion that hiring is limited and contracts cannot be renewed without requiring migrant workers to return to their country of origin is not accurate in the case of Saudi Arabia which allows renewal in-land. This study also clearly proves that family reunification is not prohibited in the country.

Since most of the respondents migrated for economic reasons, they made necessary adjustments to maximize their economic benefits. This explains why more than half of migrants live in low rent areas which may have characteristics not properly representative of the society. They are also more driven than their neighbours to diversify their sources of income. This has hampered their daily interaction with the mainstream as shown by the low percentages of social interaction with their Saudi neighbors.

While acculturation is the first step of an adaptation process indicated by various patterns of learning the language and culture of the host country (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), the study found that little effort has been made by immigrants to learn Arabic, the local language. This resulted in weakening of their adjustment enhancing facilities. Locals and work associates usually make more of an effort to speak English or a mix of *Arabic, Ordo and English words* with them.

Social interaction was negatively affected by language barriers, differing customs and traditions, and the availability of International

schools that help segregate expatriate children from the host culture. The alienation is made more obvious by the fact that more than two thirds of respondents never attended Saudi festivities or celebrations and less than half watch local football matches on T.V. at home. Patterns of friendship and association show very low interaction.

Remittances, frequent calling of home and regular visits to India may point strongly to the existence of social networks but they reflect negatively on adjustment.

One bright exception which shows potential interaction is religion. Most respondents are devout Muslims who have an innate readiness to participate in religious functions which include five daily prayers with others in mosques. While this may be limited to males 10 years and over, efforts are being made to include entire families. Many respondents in this study point to the role of religious factors such as proximity to holy places, work-stoppage for prayers, veil wearing by women, and the generally conservative environment.

Few scholars delve into the relationship between religion and immigrant assimilation, yet this study clearly shows how religion can be a major factor in assimilation into a religious society like Saudi Arabia.

While subjects emphasized Saudi social values that contribute to their wellbeing in the society like work stopping for prayers, salvation?, Saudi generosity, sincerity and gender-separation at work, many pointed to difficulties that may contribute to the apparently low adjustment such as restrictions on some economic activities like property ownership or trading in the local stock market, and the lack of opportunity for a university education for their offspring, along with issues concerning work permits and salaries. Nevertheless, the economic factors are so overriding that an overwhelming majority (82%) still want to renew their contracts.

This speaks to the apparent contradictions between attitudes towards a study of immigration. While Western scholars anticipate a permanent immigration into their societies which are better prepared to deal with the influx, a developing country like Saudi Arabia is striving to use its newfound prosperity to improve its own peoples' future, a situation which may lead to shortcomings in dealing with the additional burden of temporary immigrants.

This contribution is offered to the literature on International migration and adaptation of immigrants in its various forms.

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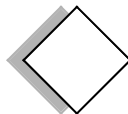
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تكيف الأسر الهندية في مجتمع مدينة الرياض*

عزيزة النعيم**

ملخص: تضم السعودية من بين دول العالم أجمع أكبر حجم من الهنود يعملون خارج بلدانهم، وهذا ما يفسر وجود ثمان مئتي مدراس هندية في مدينة الرياض. وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن أسباب اختيار رب الأسرة الهندية للعمل في مدينة الرياض وعن مدى التكيف الشخصي والاجتماعي والاقتصادي والثقافي لأفراد الأسرة الهندية، متخذة رب الأسرة وحدة للتحليل، كما تصف الدراسة الصعوبات التي تواجههم في أثناء معيشتهم في مدينة الرياض، واضعة في الاعتبار أن الثقافة السعودية تختلف عن ثقافة البلد الأصلي لأفراد الأسرة الهندية. وقد استنتجت الدراسة أن من أهم أسباب الهجرة العامل الاقتصادي والعامل الديني، وبالنسبة للتكيف فإن شبكة العلاقات بين الهنود في مدينة الرياض، وبينهم وبين أقاربهم في الهند تضعف درجة تكيفهم في مجتمع مدينة الرياض، كما استنتجت الدراسة أن المهاجرين الهنود وأفراد المجتمع المضيف لم يقدموا إلا القليل لتسهيل عملية التكيف ما عدا التكيف الاقتصادي.

المفاهيم الأساسية: الهجرة الخارجية - الأسرة الهندية - التكيف - الثقافة - العامل الاقتصادي - الصعوبات - العمالة.

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