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## The Influence of Migrant Workforce on the Security of Gulf States Since 1975

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## أثر العمالة الوافدة على أمن الخليج العربي منذ 1975

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### ملخص:

**هدف الدراسة:** تركز الدراسة على دول الخليج العربي وقدرتها على مواجهة التحديات والآثار الاجتماعية والسياسية والثقافية والاقتصادية للعمالة المهاجرة؛ وصولاً إلى مجموعة من النتائج والأفكار التي يمكن أن تساعد البلدان المعنية في جهودها لتعزيز الأمن والاستقرار في المنطقة. **المنهج:** استخدم منهج الثقافة السياسية. يتأثر أي نظام سياسي بالبيئة المحيطة به. ومن هنا تؤدي الثقافة السياسية دوراً مهماً في تحديد هذه البيئة من خلال المدخلات المنبثقة من البيئة، ومن خلال توقعات الأفراد والجماعات التي يتكون منها المجتمع، والمطالب التي يفرضونها على النظام. **النتائج:** يتطلب إصلاح الخلل الديمغرافي في دول الخليج العربي وضع سياسة سكانية وتنفيذها واعتماد إستراتيجيات وبرامج وخطط وإجراءات مناسبة وصارمة، بأهداف كمية ونوعية قابلة للمتابعة. القياس والتقييم الموضوعي من خلال خطة مرحلية تهدف إلى تقليل عدد المهاجرين. **الخلاصة:** يؤثر العمال المهاجرون في دول الخليج على جميع جوانب الحياة تقريباً: الاقتصادية منها والاجتماعية والثقافية والسياسية.

**المصطلحات الأساسية:** أمن الخليج العربي، الاستقرار السياسي، المشاركة السياسية، العمالة الوافدة.

## The Influence of Migrant Workforce on the Security of Gulf States since 1975

*Hebatollah Soleiman*<sup>\*</sup>

### **Abstract:**

**Objective:** The study focuses on Arab Gulf States and their ability to face the challenges of and the social, political, cultural, and economic impacts of migrant labor. Throughout the paper, the focus was also on reaching a set of results and ideas that can help the designated countries in their efforts to enhance the security and stability of the region. **Methodology:** The political culture approach was used; any political system is affected by the environment that surrounds it. Hence, political culture plays an important part in determining this environment through the inputs emanating from the environment, and through expectations of individuals and groups that form the society, and the demands that they place on the system. **Results:** The reform of the demographic defect in the Arab Gulf States requires the development and implementation of a population policy and the adoption of adequate and strict strategies, programs, plans and procedures, with quantitative and qualitative goals that are subject to follow-up, measure and objective evaluation through a phased plan that aims at reducing the number of migrants. **Conclusion:** Migrant workers in Gulf States influence almost all aspects of life; the economic, the social, the cultural and the political.

**Keywords:** Arab Gulf Security, Political Stability, Political Participation, Migrant Workers.

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## **The Influence of Migrant Workforce on the Security of Gulf States since 1975**

The year 1975 was a milestone in the development of migration to the countries of the Arab Gulf after the oil price correction. This migration resulted in an increase in the proportion of the migrant workforce relative to the total workforce. However, the thing that doubled the seriousness of this phenomenon is that it took place in a short period of time, and this period was insufficient for positive social and cultural interaction between the indigenous populations and expatriates, and from here the migrant labor and its social, political, cultural, and economic effects will be discussed.

### **First: Sources and quality of migrant workers**

The most important sources of this employment, which constitute most of the employment in the Arab Gulf states, are the following Asian, African and Middle Eastern countries: India, Egypt, Pakistan, Philippines, Bangladesh, Yemen, Indonesia, Sudan, Syria, Jordan, Sri Lanka, Palestine, Turkey, Lebanon, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Thailand, Morocco and Tunisia ... etc.

### **Second: Reasons for relying on migrant workers**

The real and major problem for migrant workers lies in the dependence of the Gulf countries on this labor intensively in most different sectors and fields, and the following are the most important main reasons for this flow:

- 1- strategic location of the Arab Gulf region: The Arab Gulf region is characterized by being an attraction for migrant workers in terms of good job opportunities, appropriate wages, better services, and its proximity to areas of population density in the Arab and Asian countries. And an important market for goods and products that are exported from industrialized countries to them.
- 2- Development plans: Oil prosperity during the years 1973-1974 AD led to an increase in oil revenues and their use in projects of eco-

conomic development, infrastructure and urban expansion, so skilled and regular migrant workers had to be brought in, in order to provide modern life for citizens

- 3- Low wages for migrant workers: This element is considered a crucial element in the case, in addition to high wages and availability of job opportunities and the high level of health services in the Gulf countries.
- 4- The lack of youth dedication to technical and vocational education. Therefore, we find them keen to work in the public sector with office and administrative work and special advantages.
- 5- The relatively small population density in the Gulf communities with the abundance of capital that can be directed to various economic and investment projects that require large numbers of labor unavailable in the local market.
- 6- The private sector and its role in the spread of migrant workers: The private sector is the main employer for migrant workers, especially in the sectors of wholesale and retail trade, hotels, construction, and manufacturing industries; however, those workers are often characterized by low educational qualifications.

### **Third: Social impacts of the migrant labor problem**

The social effects of the migrant labor problem arise from the cultural disparity of these migrants and the pressure of this large labor force on the social entity which is in continuous process of change by virtue of urbanization, education, social prosperity and contact with the outside world, which made this entity subject to internal pressures and other pressures resulting from the large number of migrant workers (Gerakis, Thoyanity, 1978:59). Some aspects of the negative interaction between expatriate citizens can be observed in the feelings of discomfort and those represent the majority, as citizens feel that they are sharing the enjoyment of the benefits of their country because they control most of the work sites in the sectors of construction, health, and social services.

Their percentage also increases in higher professions with the citizens unwillingness to participate in them assuming higher administrative positions and the citizens' sense of their inability to dispense with these expatriates, and in return, the expatriates feel injustice as a result of the differentiation in treatment between citizens and expatriates, whether by citizens or by the authorities and not linking the effort exerted with the income they receive, as the citizen often receives a wage much more than the wage of the expatriate who does the same work (Al-Rumaih ,1981:72).

Considering the persistence of this level of dealing and this discrimination in the treatment of expatriates, including the Arab migrants, to what extent can we talk about the existence of stability and social harmony?

This kind of social conflict can be generated in Gulf states because of these irrational policies regarding labor laws and labor recruitment. Since Gulf countries are obliged to bring in migrant workers due to the skilled and trained hands required in the development process, these countries must study and evaluate this issue not through the requirements of the economic growth process, but through assessing the social costs that these countries bear today and in the future regarding the results of the inflow of foreign labor, especially from the non-Arab labor force.

Among the social impacts of migrant workers are the following:

### **1) Lack of homogeneity and social cohesion:**

The large size of the migrant segment of the population has resulted in a complex society that lacks homogeneity and harmony and that is dominated by a spirit of division. Most citizens are reluctant to mix with expatriates while they disdain them, and many expatriates don't feel affiliated in exchange for the material earnings they receive in return for their work and residence. The matter becomes more dangerous if this reality is transmitted to the community of citizens and the community of migrant Arabs, then the behavior of citizens in being condescending

to the incoming Arabs is interpreted as a trend that conceals the roots of discord and disharmony (Al-Sharyani,2002:118). The phenomenon of heterogeneity of the population, ethnic, social, cultural, religious, and economic is a totally unhealthy phenomenon, and it has negative repercussions on the behavior of individuals, their patterns of life and their relationships; it can create a state of contradiction and social disintegration and the loss of cultural cohesion, homogeneity and social unity (Abdel-Mutti, 1983:212).

This leads us to examine the reasons that led to this, which can be summarized in the following:

- A. Cooperation, distinction in wages, career advancement opportunities, and other social and employment benefits between migrant workers and national workers.
- B. The social isolationist nature of residential neighborhoods in the country's cities, as there are neighborhoods restricted to locals alone and other neighborhoods reserved for expatriates only (Moawad, 1987:202).
- C. The various forms of sometimes the aggressive, authoritarian behavior that many migrant workers are subjected to by the local residents.
- D. Competition has intensified between members of the migrant Arab groups to obtain job opportunities, especially those that do not require experience or technical skills. These reasons can create tension between locals and migrants (Zayed, 1994:148 - 158).

## **2) The spread of the phenomenon of classism considering discriminatory policies:**

Among these discriminatory policies is the tribal system, which by nature imposes discrimination, and loyalty to the people of the tribe, and looks at others especially the migrants, with an inferior view that

makes the process of social interaction between the two parties difficult and may consequently affect the order and stability of the state.

### **3) The impact of migrant workers on socialization:**

We find that the large spread of foreign nannies and domestic workers has contributed to the transmission of moral values alien to the society, and has transferred to the children a culture other than the Arab culture, especially in households that have many domestic workers and nannies that undertake the responsibility of raising the children, thus influencing the children's values and habits by introducing a new set of values, habits and behavior patterns that are different from the common norms in the local community (Safi, 1983:175).

This may also lead to cases of intermarriage between citizens and foreigners, through which a new generation may emerge as a dangerous phenomenon on the entity of families, as it may create a generation of double loyalty with different attitudes and aspirations, and it will also form a multiplier effect on the structure of society and the loss of the social identity of the Gulf society (Al-Suwaidi, 1993:229-230). One study indicated that 57.1% of Asian domestic workers in Qatari households confirmed that children imitated them in religious traditions, which may negatively affect the Arab character as these domestic workers come from very different social and cultural background (Al-Barsan, 1996:35-39).

### **4) Migrant workers and their impact on spreading infectious and endemic diseases and the high rates of crime and drugs:**

The spread of endemic and contagious diseases is one of the negative effects that have been brought about by migrant workers, as the population density and the low level of health services in countries that export labor to the Gulf countries, especially the Asian countries, from which workers come from while they carry diseases and epidemics, and these diseases have spread since the arrival of the Asian migrant

workers, and in turn, transmitted to the local population in the area. It is true that there are medical procedures and examinations that the worker undergoes upon his arrival to diagnose and confirm that he is free of diseases, but some of these diseases are difficult to diagnose with regular x-rays and initial examinations; in addition, the examination is done only once and upon renewing the residency, but during the period of their stay in the region, migrant workers can visit their country from time to time, and they may carry such diseases from their home country (Muhammad, 1968:17). For example, AIDS cases in the United Arab Emirates in 1994 were estimated at about 1,200 cases, most of which originated from migrant workers.

Also, this workforce is made of several nationalities with different cultures and languages, and a set of customs and values that are completely different from our conservative Arab and Islamic customs and traditions, which in turn led to conflicts between these cultures, customs and values, and the spread of crime in all its forms (Al-Sharyani, 2002:128-130). This leads us to the fact that employment has not been subject to the correct planning that shows the actual need for it in every sector, as well as the chaos prevailing in the sponsorship and mercenary system that some citizens use and encourage at the expense of the public interest. This phenomenon needs attention and decisions have to be made to resolve it within a comprehensive planning for employment in the public and private sectors.

As for the other negative side of migrant workers, it is the spread of drugs that began after the economic development and the accompanying increase in the population caused by the migrant labor, and the spread of unemployment and extreme poverty among some expatriate groups that threatened the security of social life and stability in society (Abu Al-Dahab, 2000:14-15).

## **5) The effect of migrant workers in the religious field:**

With the arrival of migrant workers, various religions appeared, most of which were neither Islamic nor Heavenly. In addition to the Is-

lamic faith, we find Buddhism, Hinduism, and paganism, and these social minorities began to practice their religious rites and rituals by establishing their churches, Buddhist temples and other places of worship near mosques, and these religions and rituals were practiced under the guise that freedom of belief is guaranteed among residents of the state. The matter does not stop at this point, the missionary work that came with the arrival of migrant workers played a dangerous role in changing many Islamic values among Gulf societies (Al-Rumaih ,1981:79).

The continuation of the situation in that way will affect the political situation and the political system in these countries and threaten their stability, which will then facilitate control over it and make the system subordinate to the countries of foreign workers to achieve their various interests. Thus, we conclude that the migrant labor, which was left without restrictions and controls and without regard to the cultural, social and religious factors, has led to the emergence of many problems, both in the family and society and in the values and social upbringing and the spread of epidemics and the resulting health risks.

#### **Fourth: The cultural implications of the migrant labor problem:**

In the Gulf countries there are many industrial societies in which many languages of Asia and Europe are spoken. In receiving countries, there are dissonant groups of religions, languages and traditions; these migrant workers, with their different nationalities and with this dissonance among them, become alien to the Gulf society with its Arab and Islamic culture. Gulf societies are divided into several societies besides the local community, and in such a society, relationships are established on the basis of nationalities, and Gulf societies transform into a culturally, socially and economically separate minority group from other nationalities that share living with them in the same society (Al-Fergani,1981:271-300). The cultural impact of migrant workers can be studied by studying their effect on language and social values.

## **1) Language:**

The Arabic language is considered one of the most important bonds between the inhabitants of the Arab world, as it is the method of communication and understanding between individuals from the various countries of the Arab world, and it is also a means of unifying thought and transmitting culture and heritage, so the language is a social phenomenon, and it grows and flourishes and is subject to factors tides, depending on the progress of its people consequently (Al-Sharyani, 2002: 123-124). Hosting large numbers of foreign nationalities has led to the transformation of the language of communication into a new language that originates from multiple languages other than Arabic, so this language has become blended with foreign words and terms, which can be seen by the presence of many foreign words circulating among the people of this region in addition to the presence of many mistakes in the formulation and composition of sentences, due to the influence of non-Arab migrant workers on the culture of these societies. With regard to the use of Non-Arabic words, the Arabic language used in this region abounds in a large number of non-Arabic vocabulary, as the daily language of communication among the people of the Gulf region is not devoid of foreign words, and there are many non-Arabic vocabulary distorted from the English language besides the existence of many Persian vocabulary, which have been circulated so often that individuals are no longer able to know the origin of the words they use, whether they were Arabic or non-Arabic.

Faced with this situation surrounding the Arabic language in the Gulf societies, no official body has moved to impose knowledge of the Arabic language as a prerequisite for accepting any new worker, and there is an absence of informal and voluntary efforts that could spread the Arabic language among non-Arab expatriates, even at the level of communication to save the language of communication in the Gulf countries which has become a hybrid of Arabic, English, Persian and Hindi (Lootah, 1987:108-109).

## **2) Social values:**

Due to extremely low living conditions suffered by Asian workers in the Gulf countries and their reluctant acceptance of this situation because of fear to lose their jobs in addition to prejudiced views of citizens in these countries towards migrant workers and Asian workers in particular, a sense of dissonance may be generated between the two parties (citizens and expatriates), which may have a negative effect on the values of social communication between the migrant community and the national community in the Arab Gulf states (Ali,1983:113). Furthermore, given that the culture and thought of the indigenous people of this region is an Arab and Islamic culture and the fact that these migrant workers, especially Asian ones, belong to societies with many cultures, this makes intellectual communication rather incompatible with the culture of this region.

Consequently, the lack of social communication and then intellectual communication between members of any society only deepens divisions in this society and reduces the possibility of achieving social cohesion, which is a prerequisite for achieving security in any society. This is in addition to the negative cultural impact of expatriates on the Gulf society due to the fact that a large proportion of these Asian workers work as domestic workers or nannies, and a large percentage of them do not recognize the divine religions and hold many western beliefs about Arab and Islamic principles and values, which may reflect negatively on the upbringing of national children who will build the future, and whose loyalty to their community shall be shaken (Al-Sharyani,2002:126-127).

## **Fifth: The political implications of the migrant labor problem**

If the development process and the flow of oil and the accompanying economic growth have necessitated the recruitment of these large numbers of foreign workers, and whether this migration to Gulf societies was an organized or planned migration, some still believe that this

massive migration is linked somehow with goals and political motives. Therefore, the migrant workers' presence in Gulf countries may encourage countries of origin to exploit them in the appropriate time and in a way that serves their interests, considering that these countries will spare any effort to exploit ethnic and sectarian internal divisions - economic, social and political - and indeed work to nourish and deepen them. Consequently, the continuity of the problem of migrant workers to the Gulf States is extremely dangerous (Lootah, 1987:113-115). And the Gulf region is still suffering from the political fragmentation left by colonialism, which was established on clan and tribal basis, and thus it does not tolerate further divisions.

It can be noted that while Asian governments are doing everything they can to encourage the migration of their workers to the Gulf states, the Gulf countries have not taken any effective measure to solve the problem of the scarcity of local labor and the lack of efficiency among them, or even worked to reduce the dangers of this problem; also, Arab countries suffering from the same problem of unemployment have not coordinated with each other or with the Gulf states to solve this problem (Al-Salem,Daher,1982:22). Thus, the most important political implications of migrant workers can be summarized as follows:

### **(1) The effect of migrant workers on political culture:**

Political culture is shaped by several factors, such as historical, economic, social, political, geographical and religious beliefs, as well as the political and social upbringing. All these factors influence - to varying degrees - the formation of political culture. Foreign workers came to the Gulf countries carrying with them their conflicting and competing trends, ideas and principles, which prevailed over the political culture (Al-Rumaih, 1981:74). Migrant workers have absolute heterogeneity, as every worker has his own political culture from the country he came from, and the same applies to the UAE which has witnessed multiple political cultures of multiple nationalities because of regional, religious, class and professional differences of migrant workers. This

has affected the political culture of the society of the UAE and created political subcultures.

The multiculturalism resulting from the migrant labor has led to the loss of the spirit of general agreement and belonging, and the spread of social and political conflict of people of other cultures (Al-Haddad, 1987:270). Consequently, the continuous influx of migrant workers creates a risk that may weaken the political culture of the Gulf society and thus lead to political instability and threaten the internal and external security of the state (Abdel-Salam, 1979:17).

## **(2) The effect of migrant workers on the political upbringing:**

Asian housekeepers raise the child and take care of him since his/her birth. The nanny has become the one who carries out the process of upbringing and nurturing the new generation, and she instills in the children's religious values, political and social trends, and builds in them the love of their homeland, their sense of belonging and loyalty. The longer they remain in the Gulf family, the more negative effects shall reflect on the children's culture, values, trends, affiliation and belief, which may lead to the weakening of the relationship between children and their families, and ultimately the weakening of their political loyalty towards their homeland that may threaten the political stability of the system (Al-Falahi, 1991:33).

## **(3) Repercussions of migrant workers on integration, identity and loyalty:**

The multiplicity of affiliations and allegiances within one country impedes the process of integration, and this is what is witnessed by many developing countries in general, even those who do not have the phenomenon of migrant workers (Al-Haddad, 1987:272- 278).

The integration process is considered one of the most difficult issues facing the state in order to achieve national unity within its territory, because the situation requires the creation of a unified loyalty on the part of

the citizen to the values and ideals of the political community, and in the UAE, the situation is of a special nature where the employment system has a negative impact on the integration process, and it has to be reviewed and amended by decision makers in order to achieve integration.

The influx of migrant workers in the UAE has produced a new group of people who became citizens by naturalization, but these naturalized citizens were unable to adequately integrate into the UAE society, because of their individual and national tendencies and the feeling of loyalty and sense of belonging to their homeland; this has created an obstacle to the process of national integration in the country. As a result of naturalization in Gulf countries, migrant workers have started to pursue the right to citizenship by settling in the gulf a long period of time to acquire citizenship. More and more migrant workers will seek obtaining citizenship rights, which may pose a threat to the existing political system, especially if the so-called naturalized citizen remained totally allegiant to their own countries of origin (Wilson, 1981 :153). This situation of migrant workers can be exploited by external forces that seek to threaten and destabilize internal and external security and stability in the Gulf States.

Migrant workers, especially the Asians, have a dangerous cultural influence that may result in the obliteration of the Gulf identity; there are ways and means that this labor force can follow to achieve its goals, and among these methods is the spread of Asian labor in various commercial, industrial, and other fields. It affects the Arabic language by using a poor, hybrid language used to facilitate dealing with citizens, which may lead to the obliteration of the identity and the Arabic language.

#### **(4) The implications of migrant workers on political participation**

The massive presence of migrant workers in the Gulf countries and their control on establishing the basis of economy and trade and their control over productive work has led citizens to abandon manual labor

and leave it in the hands of migrant workers. Consequently, this situation led to more control of political power by migrant workers at the expense of the citizen's inability to acquire the right of political participation. Political participation assumes that the citizen performs work but the presence of migrant workers and their control over work makes the citizens a minority against an expatriate majority, which raises questions about the participation process (Al-Haddad, 1987:283)

Migrant workers affect political life in the Gulf countries, the concept of citizenship in terms of the political concept, the dialectic of social and political conflict, and consequently the composition of the ruling political authority in the country. Migrant workers have worked to create barriers and obstacles to nullify the process of interaction between the ruling elite and the people. By controlling higher positions, such as advisors, migrant workers have been able to turn the relationship in their favor, that the ruling elites resort to foreign consultants to draw up state policy and solve the problems that the state faces, whether they were social, economic or political. There is no doubt that this situation will weaken the citizens' attachment to the state, as citizens feel that the state does not meet their interests and ignore them. Therefore, they consider that the state does not deserve their loyalty, and this situation may lead to political turmoil and crises resulting in instability that in turn leads to a political collapse. In addition, the control of migrant workers on productive work, especially in the private sector, makes citizens resort to the federal sector, which suffer from inflation. This situation led to the marginalization of citizens, reduced their role, and diminished their influence in political power, which kept them from political participation.

### **Sixth: Economic impacts and risks**

The economic effects of migrant workers were numerous in all Gulf countries, some of which were positive, while others were negative; therefore, these negative effects will be presented due to their serious impact on the political stability as a result of the correlation between

economy and politics. Since economic stability necessarily reflects the existence of political stability, then most crises and political problems stem from economic imbalance. On the other hand, we find that the lack of political stability in any country indicates the lack of economic stability, and there is no doubt that the problem of migrant workers arose in the context of the political economy, as the presence of this kind of labor and its influx into the country were a result of the economic and political change that occurred in this region. Consequently, the process of recruiting migrant workers did not initially come through clear policies and was not subject to profound plans and specific standards, which led to the steady increase in their numbers for many years even after the need for some of them had disappeared, which inflicted many negative consequences on the economy which, in turn, led to a slowdown in the development of national human resources. In this context, we can shed light more clearly on the negative economic effects of migrant workers (Sadik,Snavelly,1972) and their impact on political stability through the following points:

**(1) Increasing rates of underemployment and the impact of migrant workers on the local workforce (Gerakis, Thoyanity. 1972:23)**

Migrant labor has become a strong competitor to the national workforce, which has led to an increase in unemployment rates that may lead to negative economic and social effects on the citizens of the state. There is no doubt that this is mainly due to the supply that exceeds the demand for these workers, which in turn contributes to the diminishing job opportunities for citizens and creates many economic and social problems. To address the problem of unemployment and underemployment, profound structural changes should be made in the economy for economic development to turn into an advanced tool that outweighs the increase in population resulting primarily from the increase in migrant labor.

The problem of migrant workers had a serious impact on the local workforce, as it minimized the role played by the national workforce, and also led to the expansion of migrant workforce beyond their productive fields to reach out to jobs in certain economic sectors, especially the non-productive ones; these two factors have resulted in the inability of the national workforce to catch up with the rapid economic growth process that the region has witnessed since the discovery of oil in it.

Although migrant workers have contributed to the huge expansion of economic activity in these countries, they have imposed tremendous economic pressures on them, especially with the transfer of these workers' incomes to their home countries instead of investing them in the local market, which roughly amounts to twenty billion dollars annually. Thus, these workers benefit from the services offered by the welfare state and deprive the local market from their investment as they transfer what they earn to their countries. The foreign workers' remittances in the UAE amounted to about 42% of the actual total investment of the state. The Western Union Money Transfer Company announced that the volume of remittances by migrant workers in the Gulf countries reached about \$ 59 billion in 2005, representing about 24% of the total transfers worldwide. This depletion causes suffocation and liquidity crises, especially with cases of economic downturn, which hinders the development of economic sectors.

The almost absolute dependence on the migrant work force led to a decline in the productive role of citizens. As the migrant labor prevailed and penetrated the private sector, in which the reward is linked to effort and productivity, the national labor was mainly concentrated in the public sectors where they gained a high administrative and legal advantage and their economies were able to bear that, such as the oil sector and industries that are based on oil and gas. Citizens piled up as budgets allowed in the public administration, and most of them were in disguised unemployment which has become today a dangerous phenomenon in the countries of the region, especially in large and densely populated countries that cannot absorb the annually increasing numbers of their

children who want a place in the public sector, which has greatly inflated and contained rampant underemployment. There are several factors that have contributed to the failure of employing enough national labor in the private sector, the most important of which is that national workers who are unemployed may not possess the required skills, and they demand higher wages that cannot be compared with their foreign counterparts, not to mention the low productivity levels of national workers due to their low motivation to work. On the other hand, we find that the wages of foreign workers are lower than their national counterparts, and that they work longer hours, especially in the private sector, in addition to the lower benefits granted to them compared to national workers (Al-Sayed,2008:104-106).

## **(2) Exhaustion of financial resources through transfers:**

The remittances made by migrant workers in oil-producing and labor-receiving countries are now considered one of the most important components of national income in the economy of most labor-sending countries, especially that they are seen as one of the main sources in the economy of these countries to obtain foreign exchange (Serag Eldin, 1984:74). The risk increases with the growing numbers of migrant workers and the diversity of their nationalities, which consequently leads to the proliferation of foreign transfers, and the depletion of the national income of the state. Lack of investment of these funds in the internal services in the country will directly impose an economic threat that may affect the political side by the migrant workers who may be able to use this as a pressure tool to achieve their demands and aspirations. Accordingly, the policy of transfers abroad must be reconsidered by studying the possibility of developing a clear strategy that regulates the process of using the migrant workers' savings, and encouraging expatriates to invest their money inside the country, thus avoiding the negative effects of transferring funds abroad and increasing the state's ability to implement economic and social development programs (Muhammad,1997:238).

### **(3) Increasing pressure on goods and services**

It is well known that migrant workers and their families need various services such as education, health, public utility services and others free of charge or for a nominal fee, in addition to obtaining many goods and services subsidized by the state, just like the average citizen, which leads to an increase in public expenditures and puts pressure on the services designated for the citizens of the state, which ultimately reduces the citizen's chances of having a better standard of these services. If we consider the increase in families who join migrant workers, this will lead to an increase in the number of dependents and thus a steady increase in the volume of public expenditures allocated to these services.

### **(4) The creation of unhealthy consumption habits and behavioral patterns that contradict and harm the national economy**

The presence of migrant workers and their increase among the country's population and the national workforce has led to many unsound consumer and productive habits and behaviors that could harm the country's economies in the short and long term. The revival of the import movement of consumer goods helped create an obstacle to the development of local production, as the increase in the number of migrant workers is matched by an increase in the demand for food and consumables, especially since the Gulf countries lack an agricultural or industrial base, and therefore they export petroleum in order to import food and consumer goods to meet the demands of migrant workers (Al-Salem, Daher, 1982:23-25). Some of these types of behavior can be explained as follows:

- A. The presence of migrant workers and their increase has created competition among the multiple categories of expatriates and led to bad and lower production and performance in general.

- B. The steady increase of expatriates has also created groups that carry out unproductive work that aims to achieve rapid profits, regardless of their benefit to the local economy.
- C. Migrant workers, who are mostly Asian workers and who are not highly qualified and do not have sufficient experience in their work, cause a reduction in the efficiency of operating projects in which they work, and an increase in the percentage of waste, which has a great impact on the quality and cost of the goods produced and their ability to compete in international markets. Perhaps these negative effects of the customs that were brought along with the migrant workers have affected and will continue to affect the national economy, which will undoubtedly be an obstacle to its development and its inability to keep up with the pace of civilized progress.

#### **(5) Establishing a belief in the inferiority of manual labor**

After the discovery of oil and the flow of its revenues, the perception of manual work changed. Many citizens were reluctant to do manual and craft work because the migrant workers could do it at relatively low wages, and they sought jobs in the public sector that paid high salaries. This led to the accumulation of national manpower in administrative and clerical jobs and services in the public sector. This trend has led to the isolation of the national workforce from practicing technical professions and to the diminution of their role in commodity production, which resulted in the inability of such countries to create national technical cadres and to adopt the process of real development of the human force.

#### **(6) The economic dependency on foreign workers' countries (Swanson,1979:32-35)**

The Gulf countries' need for expatriate workers with foreign experience has driven them to a kind of economic dependence, because this employment have sought -since they were brought in- to use the technology of their countries and capitalist countries, rejecting the productive methods in the host country; this situation is a dangerous indi-

cator if it is exploited by employment, especially during political crises, where these countries can, in the event that their interests conflict with those of the state, impose a ban on exporting their technology to these countries, or they may withdraw labor and expertise from them.

This dependency is indicative of a weakness in the basic structure of the economy in the state and there is no doubt that its impact extends to cover all aspects of life in these societies, including the political aspect, and that dependence on foreign countries lies in the process of economic association with these countries for many reasons, including the following (Lootah, 1987:57-58):

- A. Importing foreign manpower to run factories
- B. Dependence on these countries in industry and administration and supply them with reserve materials
- C. Reliance on the markets of industrialized countries to export the products and materials of these factories

This dependency has many implications:

- D. Creating a burden on the balance of payments
- E. Connecting the Gulf market to the problems of recession and economic crises that industrialized countries are going through
- F. The inability to compete and confront the multinational companies that possess most of the markets of the industrialized capitalist countries
- G. Putting restrictions, customs, and non-tariff obstacles on the capitalist countries.
- H. The pressure on industries to operate at low production capacities, which leads to an increase in their production costs and a further deterioration of their competitiveness

- I. Entering into negotiations with industrialized countries to guarantee their markets in exchange for economic concessions that may be at the expense of greater development and economic independence.

Migrant labor inflation led to the emergence of unemployment in the economies of these countries by (Muzaal,2005:362):

- [1] Reducing job opportunities available to citizens.
- [2] The population increased at a significant rate.
- [3] The imbalance in the distribution of Gulf labor, as most of it is concentrated in the services sector, while other sectors such as industry, mining and agriculture are neglected, and this leads to an increase in unemployment in this region because the service sector is not productive of job opportunities. The effects of unemployment are as follows:
  - A. Unemployment affects the size of income and its distribution through a change in the GDP. It also affects consumption, foreign trade, and the balance of payments.
  - B. Unemployment negatively affects the value system of society and affects the individuals' perception of education and their rates of continuation and dropout from its various stages. Unemployment leads to high crime rates and delinquency for those who suffer from frustration and tension because of not finding work.
  - C. We find that the unemployed are fertile ground for extremist political ideas and trends that reject the system and society and deviate from the existing legal frameworks, and if these feelings are accompanied by a general injustice in society, this extremism will lead the unemployed to express their anger through various forms of violence such as demonstrations, unrest and other forms that may target the political system, and this phenomenon leads to a decrease in the efficiency of the state system and its ability to serve the citizens, which reflects negatively on the extent of people's satisfaction with the government (Abdel Rahman,1997:55).

## **Seventh: Effects of migrant labor and its implications on political stability**

Any political system is subject to the influence of two types of factors, which are either stability factors or non-stability factors.

Political stability means that there is “a strong and positive relationship between the saturating policies of the system and political stability, and that severe economic disparity within society leads to feelings of dissatisfaction and paves the way for political instability. However, political instability means: “The increasing resort to political violence, the failure of some forces and groups to resort to constitutional methods to settle the conflict, and the inability of the institutions of the political system to respond to the demands submitted to it, stemming from the internal and external environment of the system”.

Migrant labor plays a major role in economic and social changes, depleting petroleum resources, and creating political crises, which leads to the inability of political institutions to respond to the demands submitted to them - stemming from the internal and external environment of the system - and the implications thereof. Therefore, employment may be a factor of political instability, and it is an element that can cause various internal problems, and the most dangerous of these potential problems that have emerged in different Gulf countries is the availability of a fertile environment for acts of sabotage at home instigated by external forces.

However, it becomes clear that this political stability is unreal, artificial and temporary, because what the workers do is creating political crises, and committing political crimes against the state, but while public security denies that migrant workers are a factor of political stability, it turns out that the political crimes committed against the state and public security are in an increasing continuation, which worries the state's security system and endangers political stability, despite the multiplication of security services and personnel of all levels and functions to

maintain security and stability in the country in light of the international political, economic, social and strategic changes.

In addition, the deterioration of the economic situation has several effects on the state's saturation and distribution capacity as well as demographic imbalance, cultural disintegration, deteriorating social conditions, the presence of ethnic and sectarian minorities and ethnic hybrids, interference by labor-exporting countries and the superpowers and their allies, abuse of values, increased security risks ... etc.

From what has been mentioned so far, it appears that the phenomenon of migrant workers and its effects have nothing to do with the existence of political stability or its absence. Rather, it can be a factor of political stability, and that political stability is linked to political and economic calculations, some of which can be mentioned as follows:

- 1- Migrant workers marginalize citizens from productive and economic institutions, and work to weaken their power and influence in military and service institutions, which reduces their weight in political work, in demonstrations, or in exerting any pressure on the political authority by expressing their desires to go on strike or demonstrate, or show any other political manifestations; this has led to the non-formation of trade unions or a national working class, which can play a collective role in raising demands and putting pressure on the authority.
- 2- By performing basic services to citizens, migrant labor makes citizens prosperous to the extent that they do not think of any political demands.
- 3- The United States, its allies and the labor-exporting countries wish to keep the Gulf regimes as they are, being loyal to them, fulfilling their desires, subordinating to them politically, economically, militarily and socially, and they are making every effort to curb any revolutionary regime, and not to change the traditional system of government, or take any action against political stability in the region, as well as doing everything in their power to maintain relative political stability in order to achieve their interests.

- 4- The labor-exporting Arab countries have their interests in maintaining the current traditional system in the Gulf to ensure the continuous flow of aid to them.
- 5- The importance of oil being a strategic political material that was used in 1973 as a political weapon against Western countries and the United States has retreated, which does not require the use of any force, neither internal nor external, against oil states to threaten their political stability.
- 6- The establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which represents an economic and political bloc, gave the political power, the relative military prestige, and the economic weight of its countries, which guarantees the region's political stability.
- 7- The presence of huge oil revenues enabled the state to pay aid and donations to Arab and foreign countries and organizations, which spared the state many political problems, and was a help factor for political stability.

Hence, it can be said that political stability in the country is based on two important factors, namely international balances and economic prosperity, and in the event that these two factors change, migrant workers may turn into a factor of political instability, which turns the current relative political stability into total instability.

## **Conclusion:**

The effects of migrant workers influenced all aspects of life, economic, social, cultural, and political. Foreign penetration, by placing states under the clutches of political subordination to foreign countries, creating a distribution crisis, becoming a pressure force exerting pressure on the state and its political institutions, creating demographic heterogeneity among citizens, as the percentage of naturalized persons exceeds half of the citizens' population, and controlling military institutions in terms of its numerical and technical superiority, and its commission of crimes against the state and public security, has led to

the destabilization of the public and private security of the state. Super powers have been competing over the Gulf, and political stability in the country has become linked to the desires of these super powers, their allies, and the labor-exporting countries.

If we try to look at the future outcomes of this problem, focus should be made on addressing the negative effects of migrant workers through the following suggested ideas:

- Activating the role of the audiovisual media by preparing awareness programs that urge citizens to rely on themselves as much as possible, highlighting the risks of the negative effects of the use of domestic workers, and instructing citizens to reduce service activities that need to bring in new arrivals. Also, the selection of migrant workers should be according to the actual needs of the private sector and according to controls that consider the security and political aspect of the state. Additionally, focus should be on the quality of migrant workers, giving priority to skilled workers and rare professional specialties needed by the local labor market.
- In addition to the above, work in the military institution should be restricted to citizens only, and there should be compulsory recruitment and training of students in middle schools. Also, entry of national workers in all areas of economic, educational, and social activities, specifically in the private sector should be encouraged, and companies operating in the private sector should be obliged to participate in training and employing national cadres within a certain percentage of their total employees, and to apply the principle of substitution as is applied in the public sector.
- Following a unified policy towards migrant workers that all Gulf States adhere to, and that bridges the legislative and regulatory gaps that increase the number of migrant workers. In addition to that, recruitment of migrant workers should ensure striking a balance between Arab and Asian nationalities and should limit the measures that may lead to the growth of Asian labor in order to preserve the national and cultural identity.

- Giving the national aspect a special importance in the field of transfer and employment of the Arab workforce after the national workers in each country of the Gulf Cooperation Council in line with the development needs therein, and this requires gradually replacing Arab workers with the non-Arab foreign workers, and an emphasis on the agreements related to the transfer of Arab labor between the Arab countries and on the goals, principles and priorities contained in these agreements.
- Determining the percentage of migrant labor so that it does not exceed the percentage of the citizen population by moving towards scientific methods and modern technology that depend on the mechanization of work and require relatively little manual work in its operation and the need to get rid of unskilled or excess migrant workers, and try to reconcile the current educational outcomes with the actual needs of the labor market, and focus on enhancing the social value of work (Swanson,1979 ).
- Reconsidering the existing legislations, concerning migrant workers, which guarantee tougher penalties for violators (Abu Al-Dahab, 2000:17-18), and increasing public participation in the state's general policy, manpower planning, and in designing, formulating, and planning development policies, and actively participating in managing and operating the projects (Aziz,1981:92-93). The state should issue federal decisions to raise the percentage of citizens in the state's public, private and joint sectors and in return reduce the percentage of migrant workers. Finally, replacing foreign workers with Arab workers by issuing a legislation that makes it binding to all establishments and institutions.

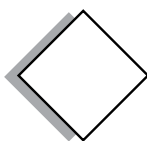
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