

SOCIAL STRATA FORMATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN KUWAIT

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I THE PROBLEM:

One of the most important questions confronting social scientists in societies undergoing large-scale social change pertains to the process and mechanisms by which this change in major social institutions takes place over a relatively short period of time. This problem, which so far has received little attention, involves the documentation, description, and explanation of processes of transition and transitional forms of relationships and institutions in two different sets of social structural arrangements.

Our primary inquiry in this paper is focussed on the social stratification system which constitutes the core of any social structure. This can be summarized in the form of few brief questions: What are the transitional forms of social stratification? What are the mechanisms of transition from one stratification system to another? What are the factors effecting the reproduction of the "new" stratification system, i.e., the institutionalization of social inequalities?

A number of important contributions have been published(1) to tackle one or two specific aspects of this problem. But, unfortunately, the theoretical and some of the methodological issues of stratification research remain open to serious question and debate. (2)These are not of direct interest to us in the present paper, but the reader should be reminded that they have immediate bearing on the theoretical orientation guiding the analysis of our data.

II. THEORY AND METHODS:

By strata formation we mean the clustering of social groupings along one or more of the dimensions of social stratification. The level of

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strata formation is an analytically distinct level from social class structure in the classical sense. It is also different from the Weberian and Neo Weberian uses of the concepts of class and stratum as equivalent to social status.(3) Social strata are here conceived of as multi-layer groupings tending to form along dimensions of social inequalities in the process of the division of labor in the technical sense of the term, i.e., the functional division of labor.(4)

With certain reservations we could go along with current Neo-Weberian research and assume that the occupational distribution of the labor force in any society roughly approximates the functional division of labor. This assumption provides a convenient way of avoiding the enormous institutional complexity of the social stratification system. For instance, following this method we would disregard, temporarily at least, the political dimension, i.e., the inequalities in social power distribution, and attach all other dimensions of inequal distribution of social status, income and other material rewards, educationetc. to occupations.

Following this method may lead to some relevant data for the documentation and description of the processes of stratification but not necessarily to their explanation. And in view of the total lack of data, especially reliable data on this area of study, this approach seems to be adequate for our present purposes.

For documenting and describing the process of strata formation in Kuwait society we will apply a comparative method in which we will look at the occupational distribution of the Kuwaiti labor force at different points in time: The initial point is the traditional occupational structure prior to 1947, and the terminal point is the occupational distribution of the labor force in 1975. A method of converting labor force distribution into a hierarchical strata organization will be suggested, and implications of the demand for labor force distribution within the stratification system will be pointed out.

III. THE TRADITIONAL STRATIFICATION SYSTEM OF KUWAIT

In order to understand the traditional stratification system of Kuwait, a brief description of the structure of traditional trade is necessary, especially due to the fact that no systematic account of this subject is available anywhere in the historical literature. We have good reason to

believe that the following description is fairly representative of the traditional trade system in the Gulf area in general.

A. **The Structure of Traditional Trade(6)**

Until the time of the expansion of the oil industry, the community of Kuwait was organized around traditional maritime trade. Two commodities were of strategic importance: Iraqi wet dates and pearls. But sources of revenue were derived from other commodities such as foodstuff, tobacco, ship building materials, armes, as well as small scale passenger service between the Gulf States, East Africa, Aden, and India. Lorimer (1915: Vol. II B. pp. 1058-1076) gives quantities of these commodities traded in 1905, in addition to an estimate of the national revenue in 1904.

The trading season was divided into pearling activities in the summer months, and other commercial activities the rest of the year. We do not possess detailed information as to the contribution of each of these activities to the total economy, but some evidence shows that pearling and gold smuggling into India contributed enormously to the total economy and to the amassing of capital by a number of merchants. Lorimer (1915: 3107) gives the following comparative data on revenue derived from pearling for the years 1906-1907.

Table (1)

REVENUE DERIVED FROM PEARLING 1906 - 7

Country	Number of Pearling Ships	Number of Sailors	Revenue In Rupees
Oman	1,215	22,045	8,000,000
Bahrain	917	17,633	12,603,000
Qatar	817	12,890	-
Kuwait	461	9,200	1,347,000
Total for Gulf Region	4,500	74,000	-

Source: Lorimer, op. cit., p. 3107.

Since there was no distinction between the privy purse of the ruling prince and public treasury, Lorimer (op. cit., p. 1076) shows that the annual receipts from import - export and re-export of commodities amounted to \$399,00 in 1904. The leading items were revenue from dates, sea customs and tax payable by pearl divers which were, according to Lorimer, the heaviest in Kuwait compared to the Gulf States. This, of course, does not show the annual income of merchants.(7)

Trade arrangements were governed by elaborate and stringent customary laws which were enforced by the ruling prince with the backing of the merchants who at the same time owned the means of trade, i.e., trading ships, both deep sea and light pearling ships, and capital resources.

The merchants and the family of the ruling prince constituted a relatively homogeneous group related to one another by kinship and/or marriage. This group also consisted, for the most part, of descendants of the original group of families that founded Kuwait. The trading ships, particularly the deep-sea ships which brought the highest income, were owned either collectively by several merchants or singly by one merchant.(8)

The merchant financed the building of the ship, while the ship's captain or his family was obligated to assume part of the financing in payment for his office. Besides the captains and the merchants, there was another group, the ship-builders, who were highly skilled and highly regarded for their performance of this essential function. The yield of commerce was divided on a share basis, and the accounts were maintained by a double-entry book-keeping based on a highly rational system of calculation.(9)

The share accounting system was subdivided into four major categories:

1. The sailors' wages (shiphands or "saibs," sailors and pearl divers or "ghais"),
2. Ship captain's or "Nokhetha" share.
3. Merchant's Share.
4. Tax per sailor or pearl-diver known as "galata".(10)

The sailors' share was calculated on the subsistence basis of the time (Villiers, in Sweet, op. cit., p. 139). Pearl-divers were paid pre-fixed

wages per day or by number of dives per day. Sailors in deep-sea ships (sifer) were paid pre-fixed share, usually in advance.

The captain of the ship (Nokhetha) received another share which varied from time to time depending on the kind of activity or the commodity his ship carried. According to customary law, regardless of how wealthy the captain may have become during his career, he could not own a deep-sea trading ship. Furthermore, the provisions of the customary law required that a ship captain must come from an "honest" family reputed for its diligence in paying its debts.(11)

The sub-categories were subtracted from the total yield, which left the fourth and final share to the merchant. His share was to cover the equipment, the cost of the merchandise, the expenses of the trip, and a net amount of profit. The merchant's profit, judging by the standards of the time, could run as high as four times the cost, a fact which accounts for the great amount of capital accumulation long before the discovery of oil.(12)

Another source of revenue for the merchants was derived from their function as wholesale traders in the market place. The price of commodities sold by the merchants to the small retail traders and merchants usually carried a very high rate of interest, and usury was widely practiced in the form described by Rodinson (1973: 44) as "hiyal"

The elaborate and highly complex accounting system gave rise to the need for well-trained and well-trusted bookkeepers and clerks. These bookkeepers and clerks who kept records of sales, payments, and rates of interest in the market place or on board the trading ships usually came from the ship captain's family or other families of good standing in the community. And sometimes relatives of the merchants themselves fulfilled this function.

Not directly connected with traditional maritime trade but dependent on it were the clergy ('ulema) who served as teachers (mtau'a) and community leaders, craftsmen, artisans, shopkeepers slaves and domestic servants. Available historical records speak of traditional schools for clerks, and of master craftsmen training apprentices in the crafts and so on.(13)

B. The Mechanism of Traditional Stratification

From this brief description of the structure of traditional trade, it is rather clear that social strata were formed as clusters of occupational

groupings around the financial "capitalistic" sector of maritime trade and pearling. This of course does not preclude the existence of the less developed Beduin economy in the outlying areas and the small-scale individual retail traders of the mostly transient "mihris". However, the latter seems to have had a negligible effect on the local economy.

Maritime trade, and especially pearl-fishing flourished greatly in the late 1910's and was accompanied by a marked increase in the population. The available estimates put the population of Kuwait at about 10,000 inhabitants around the late 1700's. The population of Kuwait doubled in the 1870's, and tripled to about 60,000 during the expansion of trade in the late 1910's and after the 1913 London Agreement which included the outlying areas under Kuwaiti sovereignty. The U.N. estimated the population of Kuwait at 100,000 in the years between 1935-1939.(14)

Four mechanisms of stratification can be identified as having been instrumental to the structure of traditional trade:

- (a) ownership of the means of trade and access to political power,
- (b) manual/non-manual labor distinctions,
- (c) kinship relations,
- (d) possession of traditional skills.

Each of these mechanisms deserves brief discussion:

The ownership of the means of trade served as the foundation of the traditional stratification system. The other criteria strengthened and reinforced this basic relationship which permeated all the institutional arrangements. It defined the position of the merchants along the criteria of possession of mercantile capital, ownership of trading ships and access to political power. Thus, one of the main contradictions of traditional trade (particularly after the 1886 Prince Mubarak Coup) has been the creation of the dual basis of power: autocratic rule and mercantile capital (Aruri, op. cit., pp. 78-82). (15)

Parallel to the first mechanism, the distinction between manual and non-manual labor functioned to distinguish the group of people which came second to the merchants in status- those not performing manual labor. We will call this group the "Notables" to include the ship captains, the 'ulama and clergy in general, and the office clerks and bookkeepers. Manual laborers comprised, in this particular set-up, the non-owning strata.

The third mechanism, kinship relations, simply served as the means by which rewards and privileges were perpetuated in the upper two strata. In fact, the merchant stratum particularly attained by such means a semi-caste status. And, for obvious reasons, no such familial or kinship requirement was placed on the lower strata so that the channels of recruitment into them remained open at all times.

Craftsmen, artisans, and shopkeepers clustered into a stratum differentiated by possession of traditional skills and non-ownership of the means of trade. The latter group, the shopkeepers did not perform particular manual tasks but was rated lower in status than the two upper strata due to the fact that as an occupation, it represented the main form of upward mobility for sailors and other lower groups. Thus, the recruitment into this group was of mixed occupational origin.

The lowest in the manual labor strata was the group composed of sailors and domestic servants. The sailor group consisted of several grades but recruitment into it did not require specific skills in the beginning. This is attested to by the fact that , according to Al-Shamlan's (1975, Vol. I : p. 379-381) report, about 90% of the sailors were recruited from the non-urban Beduins, whose former style of life did not endow them with the skills required for pearl - diving or sailing .

The tremendous hardships of the sailors's life and the fatal diseases of pearly-diving, usually made the sailor's career span rather short. As they retired they moved into other occupations such as ship building or other crafts, returned to the Beduin life-style, or became shopowners in the market place, which represented to them an open channel of upward mobility.(16) Domestic servants, although rated lower in status than sailors, fall into this group because of their special relationship to the merchant stratum. They are also graded according to this relationship, beginning with personal guards (Fdawiyeh) and ending with those assigned to menial household chores.(17)

Thus, we can speak of a traditional stratification system in Kuwait, which persisted in its general outline until the 1940's i.e., the beginning of large-scale social transformation. It consisted of four major occupational groupings representing social strata. The percentage estimates of these strata, were arrived at by a retrospective method measuring occupational mobility in Kuwait.(18)

1. The merchants (including the ruling family) (21%)

2. The Notables which include the ship captains,
the clergy, and office clerks. (15%)
3. Craftsmen and shopkeepers. (19%)
4. Sailors and domestic servants.(19) (41%)

It should be immediately emphasized that there seem to have been several gradings and subgroupings within each of these strata, but they do not appear to have represented significant variations on the general pattern of stratification depicted above.(20) Evidence of upward and downward mobility is also present, but it is safe to assume that the bulk of the rate of social mobility was within each stratum rather than between strata, disregarding individual or special cases.

Finally, it should be noted that the factors involved in the shaping and functioning of the stratification mechanisms were indeed a combination of economic, socio-cultural, ethnic and political processes. How the combination of these factors came about, and to what extent "associational groups," or the awareness of stratum "membership" influenced the traditional stratification system - these issues are clearly beyond the scope and focus of our study.

The three main events which can be held responsible for the destruction of the traditional maritime trade structure, in addition to the latter's internal structural limitations, are the following:

1. The introduction on the international market of artificial cultured pearls by the Japanese in the early 1930's.
2. The discovery within Kuwaiti boundaries of huge deposits of fossil fuel in the mid-1930's and the total integration of the Kuwaiti economy into the international trade market.
3. The subsequent enormous increase in capital resources and the rise in land value beginning in the late 1940's.

1V. **LABOR FORCE DISTRIBUTION AND THE FUNCTIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR:**

Large-scale social changes which have led to the transformation of Kuwaiti society means that "new" and equivalent bases for the institutionalization of social inequalities are being created. Tentatively, we could pending further study, identify four broad groups of factors which have shaped the process of transition from the traditional mode of stratification described above to the emergent "modern" structure of stratification.

1. The continuous influence being exerted by members of a social stratum in the previous stratification structure, in determining their present position.

2. The "external dependence" of the Kuwaiti economy on the international trade market, producing definite trends in the local structural demand for manpower distribution (quantity and level for certain skills).
3. The massive importation of labor force creating a parallel hierarchical stratification system: one in which national origin becomes a determining criterion alongside occupation.
4. The increasing tendency toward bureaucratization due to the expansion of State employment and to the concentration of capital in the private sector.

The outcome of the working of these factors is the standardization of the criteria of stratification along the occupation, income, and education dimensions. This topic and the first set of factors was explored in greater details elsewhere by the author (Al-Naqeeb, 1976). For the present, we would like to illustrate the remaining set of factors utilizing the data made available by the recently published census and other statistical information.

A. Characteristics of Labor Force Distribution in Kuwait

Despite the tremendous increase in the importation of labor into Kuwait, and in the educational services as tables 2 and 3 show, we find an interesting and rather intriguing feature of the labor force in Kuwait; namely, that the percentage of the labor force participation to total population has been steadily declining.

Table (2)
THE POPULATION GROWTH DUE TO NATURAL INCREASE,
MIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION IN KUWAIT,
1946-1975

Year	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total
1946-1957	113,622	92,851	206,473
1957-1961	161,909	159,712	321,621
1961-1965	220,059	247,280	467,662
1965-1970	347,396	391,266	738,662
1975-	472,088	552,749	994,837

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait 1972: Statistical Abstracts, p. 34. Annual Statistical Abstract 1976: 91. Allan Hill, "The Demography of The Kuwaiti Population of Kuwait", Demography: 12, 1975: 537-548.

Table (3)

INCREASE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1945-1975

Years	Total population	Number of Schools	Students			Teachers		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1945-46	--	17	2,815	820	3,635	108	34	142
1950-51	--	26	4,520	1,772	6,292	212	82	294
1955-56	206,473	52	13,526	6,776	20,302	724	392	1,116
1960-61	321,621	134	27,698	17,459	45,157	1,248	1,007	2,255
1965-66	467,339	176	53,550	38,238	91,788	2,380	2,356	5,036
1970-71(a)	738,662	230	78,363	60,384	138,747	4,639	1,446	9,085
1975-76	994,837	325	109,873	92,034	201,907	7,483	7,989	15,472

(a) Excluding 32,192 students in private schools.

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Yearbook 1974: p. 254, Table 164, Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1976: pp. 40, 297-302

Table 4 below shows that 42.1% of the population was participating in the labor force in 1957. This percentage declined to 39.4% in 1965 and to 30.6% in 1975. If we further subtract the number of students enrolled in school in 1975 from the total population we will find that 49% of the Kuwait population is listed as not working.

Table (4)

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY NATIONALITY IN
KUWAIT, 1957-1975

Year	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total Labor Force	% of Population
1957	24,602	55,686	80,288	42.1
1965	43,018	141,279	184,297	39.4
1970	65,369	176,828	242,197	32.8
1975	91,844	212,738	304,582	30.6

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1976: 91.

This decline may be explained by the increase in the birth rate, the number of housewives who are out of the labor force, and by the probable increase of the number of families on welfare...etc. We do not like to speculate further on this point, but we would like to draw attention to the fact that the non-Kuwaiti participation in the labor force constitutes about 70% of the total labor force in 1975 and that the Kuwaiti population contributes only 30% of the work force engaged in gainful employment (Hill, 1975).

In order to further analyse the characteristics of the labor force in Kuwait it should be pointed out that conventional statistics on the labor force distribution are organized under three major headings:

- (1) Distribution according to employment status or mode of employment.
- (2) Distribution according to Census Occupational Categories.
- (3) Distribution according to Standard Sector of Economic Activity (SSEA). We will consider the third method of distribution first.

1. THE EMERGING STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

With reference to the occupational structure of Kuwaiti society, four transitional aspects of manpower distribution, can be seen as factors in this transformation.

- The introduction of new occupational tasks, i.e., as indicated by the census occupational titles which exceed 500 as compared to less than 100 in the traditional structure. This suggests the appearance of numerous social groupings which were non-existent previously.
- The shift in the major economic activities from traditional trade to modern service economy is tending to cause three types of concentrations of manpower; firstly, in certain sectors of the economy; secondly, in the structural demand for certain skills rather than others; and thirdly, in the recruitment of workers according to their nationality in certain economic sectors and in their possession of occupational skills. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate all the three types of concentration. Only the figures beginning with 1965 should be considered relatively reliable.

The figures in Table 5 show what a negligible proportion of the labor force work in the agricultural and mining sectors. This is significant because the mining sector includes workers employed in the oil industry; which may lead us to conclude that over the last 18 years for which we have information the oil industry which generates 97% of the national income has had a negligible impact on local employment, accounting for less than 3% of the labor force on the average. As for the agricultural sector, Kuwait, unlike the majority of Arab and Middle Eastern societies (including the Gulf States), totally lack a peasantry either as a proportion of the labor force and/or as an important social force. What implication that would have for social stratification cannot be assessed for the present.

The largest concentration of the labor force both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti appear to be in four economic sectors: manufacturing, construction, commerce, and services. Their percentage rate of growth over the last 18 years are 370%, 384% and 380% respectively. The manufacturing sector may include services misclassified as manufacturing, such as bakers, laundrymen and so on. Therefore the figures listed in this sector may not represent industrial occupations in the strict sense and should be taken with caution. Some sectors seem to have experienced relative decline.

Table (5)

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT BY SECTOR OF
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND NATIONALITY, 1957-1971

Sector of Economic Activity	1957		1965		1970		1975	
	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.
Agriculture & Fishing	603	446	573	1,410	802	3,258	3,983	3,531
Mining & Quarrying	1,211	4,194	1,349	5,643	1,673	5,496	1,779	3,080
Manufacturing	1,029	5,582	1,825	16,117	6,109	25,982	2,258	22,209
Construction	378	8,025	1,264	25,584	2,188	31,484	1,756	30,500
Electricity, Gas and Water	--	--	1,645	5,346	2,133	5,119	2,034	5,237
Commerce	4,151	4,073	5,159	17,916	7,298	25,715	6,327	33,232
Transport	1,513	2,053	2,613	7,412	2,362	9,776	4,567	11,118
Service (Including Public Services)	14,681	29,219	25,519	51,015	36,826	67,310	64,265	102,537
Unspecified	4,807	3,590	249	675	241	580	2	---
Total	24,602	55,686	43,018	141,270	65,369	176,828	91,844	212,738

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1976: Table 35, p. 58.

Table (6)

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT BY CENSUS
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND NATIONALITY, 1957-1975

Census Occupational Category	1957		1965		1970		1975	
	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.	K.	N.K.
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	484	3,299	1,528	12,093	3,734	21,888	9,739	32,097
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	527	763	1,469	2,494	611	1,169	1,045	1,809
Clerical Workers	3,234	4,423	7,690	12,521	11,474	16,730	17,853	20,165
Sales Workers	3,649	2,443	4,626	10,597	6,548	14,545	6,185	17,908
Craftsmen, Production (Including Workers Not Classified Elsewhere)	11,183	38,440	10,048	68,368	13,385	83,581	15,348	90,260
Service, Transport & Related Workers	4,229	5,180	14,051	30,670	23,216	34,521	32,900	45,400
Farmers, Fishermen & Related Workers	618	673	754	2,887	893	3,050	3,897	3,805
T o t a l	24,602	55,686	43,018	141,279	65,369	176,828	91,844	212,738

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1976: p. 60.

Participation in the construction sector seems to have declined between 1970 and 1975. Kuwaiti labor participation in the commercial sector declined from 7,298 in 1970 to 6,327 in 1975 where as non-Kuwaiti participation in the same sector grew 129%. In contrast, the participation of the Kuwaiti labor force in the services grew by 175% as compared to 152% for non-Kuwaitis in the same period. The increase of the Kuwaiti labor force in the service sector is largely due to State employment as will be shown later.

The three types of concentrations stated above are illustrated by the labor force distribution in 1970 (the census year). 62% of the Kuwaiti labor force is preoccupied in the service sector, which includes the public sector, and 12% and 10% in the commerce and manufacturing sectors respectively. 38.5% of the non-Kuwaiti labor force is also preoccupied in the service sector, and 15% and another 15% in commerce and manufacturing respectively. Of the non-Kuwaiti labor force, 18% are engaged in the construction sector, which provides 93.5% of all workers employed in this sector.

The overall distribution by sectors of economic activity shows that the four dynamic sectors of the Kuwaiti economy are: Services, Commerce, Construction, and Manufacturing as depicted in Table 7. Except for the service sector which could fluctuate due to the social and economic policies of the State, all the three other sectors exhibit stable trends in their proportions of manpower distribution over the last 18 years.

Table (7)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT
IN FOUR SECTORS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, 1957-1975

	1957 % of L.F.	1965 % of L.F.	1970 % of L.F.	% of L.F. 1975
Services	54.6	41.5	44.6	55
Commerce	10.2	12.5	14.1	13
Construction	10.5	14.5	14.3	10.5
Manufacturing	8.2	9.7	13.7	8
Total as % of L.F	83.5		86.7	86.5

In order to show the significance of these figures we may select two other Arab countries with geographical proximity to Kuwait and falling in the same geo-political region and compare their labor force distributions by sectors of economic activity to Kuwait. For this purpose we selected the Iraqi and Bahraini labor force distributions for the same year in Table 8 below. For the sake of brevity only the percentage distribution of the labor force will be listed.

Table (8)

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE DISTRIBUTION
OF KUWAIT, IRAQ, AND BAHRAIN, 1970-1971 (21)

	Kuwait (1970)	Iraq (1970)	Bahrain (1971)
Agriculture	1.6	52.0	6.5
Mining	3.5	0.6	7.5
Manufacturing	13.7	5.5	7.5
Construction	14.3	3.0	17.5
Public Utilities	3.0	0.4	3.0
Commerce	14.1	5.5	13.0
Transport	5.2	5.5	22.5
Services	44.6	12.0	21.0
Other	0.4	10.5	2.0
Unemployed	3.4	6.0	--

To summarize, our data indicate that the Kuwaiti labor force distribution displays three important aspects:

- 1) There is a total lack of peasantry.
- 2) The service sector absorbs a substantial proportion of the labor force.
- 3) There is greater concentration of manpower in four dynamic sectors of the economy. From available data we may further conclude that the service and commercial sectors act as stimulants to the economy as a whole.

2. THE TRENDS IN THE DEMAND FOR OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS:

As we now turn to the distribution of the labor force on the census occupational categories, we find the same patterns of concentrations also

evident. But the variation between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti labor force in this case are more pronounced. Table 6 shows that the Kuwaiti labor force is concentrated in four occupational categories: the clerical, sales, craftsmen, and service occupations. But the percentage rate of growth of the service and clerical occupations between 1957 and 1975 is much higher, being 778% and 552% respectively, than the sales (169%) and craftsmen (137%) occupations.

The non-Kuwaiti labor force, by contrast, is concentrated in the professional, clerical, crafts and service occupations. The percentage rates of growth in these occupational categories are much higher than those of the Kuwaiti labor force, especially in the professional occupations which achieved a 973% growth percentage between 1957 and 1975. Proportionally, however, there are more than twice as many non-Kuwaitis in the professional and craftsmen occupations than Kuwaitis; while there are twice as many Kuwaitis in the clerical and service occupations than non-Kuwaitis throughout the 18 years.

Table 9 also shows that between 1957 and 1975 recruitment into professional and service occupations (from 4.7% to 13.7% and 11.7% to 25.7% respectively) was greater than recruitment into clerical and sales occupations which remained relatively stable. During the same period, recruitment into craftsmen and production occupations declined drastically, from 62% in 1957 labor force to 34.6 in 1975. If this pattern persists it would indicate that the contribution of the industrial sector to the economy is declining and therefore industrial occupations are less attractive than professional and service occupations. It is also noticeable that declines and increases in recruitment into occupational categories are roughly similar for both the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti labor forces.

The figures in Tables 5 and 7 illustrate how the structure of economic activity shifted from traditional trade to a "modern" service economy, leading to the transformation of the occupational structure, which continues to be going through a process of transition. Tables 6 and 8 are designed to depict the general transitional trends in the structural demand for new occupational skills and redistribution of manpower. These figures will be made readily relevant to the process of strata formation when they are cross-classified with the general pattern of the mode of employment in Kuwaiti society.

Tables 10, 11, and 12 below provide this kind of information.

Table (9)
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF KUWAITI AND NON-KUWAITI LABOR FORCE IN
SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND THEIR PERCENTAGE SHARE OF
THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE, 1957-1975

Occupational Categories	1957			1965			1970			1975		
	% of K/L.F.	% of NK/L.F.	% of Total L.F.	% of K/L.F.	% of NK/L.F.	% of Total L.F.	% of K/L.F.	% of NK/L.F.	% of Total L.F.	% of K/L.F.	% of NK/L.F.	% of Total L.F.
Professional	2	6	4.7	3.5	8.5	7.4	5.7	12.3	10.5	10.6	15	13.7
Clerical	13	8	9.5	18	9	11	17.5	9.4	11.6	19.4	9.5	12.4
Sales	14.8	4.4	7.6	10.7	7.5	8.3	10	8.2	8.7	6.7	8.4	8
Craftsmen	45.4	69	62	23.3	48.3	42.5	20.4	47.3	40	16.7	42.4	34.6
Services	17	9.3	11.7	32.6	21.7	24.3	35.5	19.5	23.8	36	21.3	25.7

Table (10)

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT BY SECTOR OF
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND MODE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1965-1970

MODE OF EMPLOYMENT

Sector of Economic Activity	Paid Employees		Self Employed		Employers		Unpaid Family Workers		Total	Total
	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970
Agriculture	1,498	3,647	401	302	38	41	42	70	1,979	4,060
Mining	6,891	5,794	44	274	1	339	53	762	1,989	7,172
Manufacturing	14,754	28,505	2,344	2,407	702	1,136	35	40	17,835	32,088
Electricity & Gas	6,990	7,250	--	2	-	-	-	-	6,990	7,252
Construction	24,389	20,968	3,788	11,687	588	1,003	47	11	28,792	33,669
Commerce	11,728	15,363	8,970	11,034	2,206	2,624	133	259	23,037	29,280
Transport	6,418	9,173	3,456	2,857	144	106	6	1	10,024	12,137
Services	76,418	100,601	4,579	5,893	816	1,309	175	61	82,527	107,864
Unspecified	813	322	67	171	17	25	13	1	910	521
Total	150,438	191,623	23,649	34,627	4,512	6,583	504	1,210	179,183	234,043

a. Excluding 4,518 persons not classified by status.

Source: United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1972: Table 13, p. 402.

Table (11)

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT BY CENSUS
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND MODE OF EMPLOYMENT
1965-1970

MODE OF EMPLOYMENT

Occupational Categories	Paid Employees		Self Employed		Employers		Unpaid Family		Total	Total
	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970
Professional	12,558	24,972	220	248	122	270	3	5	12,933	25,495
Administrative	2,767	1,419	622	22	564	333	2	3	3,962	1,777
Clerical	17,630	27,948	--	99	--	23	24	7	17,709	28,077
Sales	4,800	6,781	7,990	11,260	2,253	2,742	124	247	15,127	21,030
Craftsmen	51,353	70,889	8,954	21,783	1,170	2,626	119	845	62,171	91,143
Service	58,189	56,127	5,114	873	328	559	182	26	64,171	57,585
Farmers	3,018	3,372	508	294	38	25	50	76	3,650	3,767
Unspecified	123	116	243	42	37	5	9	1	4,518a	164
Total	150,438	191,624	23,649	34,621	4,512	6,583	504	1,210	184,297	234,043

a. Including 4,518 persons not classified by status.

Source: United Nations. Demographic Yearbook, 1972: Table 14, p. 440.

Table (12)
LABOR FORCE DISTRIBUTION IN KUWAIT BY MODE OF
EMPLOYMENT AND NATIONALITY, 1957-1975

Year	Paid Employees			Self-Employed			Employers		
	K.	N.K.	Total	K.	N.K.	Total	K.	N.K.	Total
1957 % of L.F.	17,612	48,979	66,591 (83%)	5,902	5,544	11,446 (14.2%)	228	274	502 (0.6%)
1965 % of L.F.	33,347	117,064	150,438 (82%)	5,201	18,448	23,649 (12.8%)	1,357	3,115	4,512 (2.4%)
1970 % of L.F.	51,161	140,469	191,630 (79%)	6,042	28,579	34,621 (14.2%)	2,050	4,533	6,583 (2.7%)
1972a	61,000	151,000	212,000	6,000	34,000	40,000	2,000	5,000	7,000
1975 % of L.F.	77,385	184,185	261,570 (86%)	6,989	21,538	28,527 (9.3%)	2,189	5,519	7,708 (2.5%)

a. Estimate made by Stanford Research Institute, 1973: c-9, Table c-2.
Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1976: p. 49.

In Table 10 the labor force distribution by sectors of economic activity is cross-classified with the mode of employment. Table 11 provides the same cross-classification for the distribution by census occupational categories. Unfortunately the information in these two tables is limited to a five year period from 1965 to 1970 for which data is available. Table 12 is designed to remedy this deficiency by providing information on the general trends in mode of employment by nationality for the years between 1957-1975.

These tables show the three types of concentration of labor force in the four dynamic sectors of the Kuwaiti economy, and that these same patterns of decreases and increases in the economic sectors also persist. For example, the paid employees proportion of the labor force generally increased between 1965 and 1970 as shown in Table 10. But the increases were mainly in the manufacturing, commerce and service sectors, while the mining and construction sectors experienced relative decline. Among the self-employed, the largest increase was in the construction sector followed by the commercial sector. Again, among the employers, the largest increases were in the manufacturing and construction sectors while the number of employers in the transport sector declined by 42%.

Table 11 shows that the demand for occupational skills between the years 1965 and 1970 was greatest on the paid employees in the professional and technical occupations. The number of persons in these occupations almost doubled. The number of craftsmen and clerical paid employees also increased by large proportions. While the number of paid employees in the administrative, executive and service occupations declined, rather drastically in the former. The number of self-employed also declined in the administrative, service and farming occupations (1 out of 27, 1 out of 8, and 1 out of 2 respectively, remained in these occupations as self-employed).

Only sales and craftsmen occupations recruited large numbers of self-employed workers. The employers, on the other hand, seem to have proliferated in almost all the occupational categories, especially in the professional (+69%), crafts and productions (+69%), and service (+63%) occupations. The only declines recorded in the number of employers were in the administrative and executive occupations (-37%) and farming (-40%) occupations. The information presented in these two tables is

limited to a five years span which is not sufficient to indicate a general trend.

Table 12 illustrates the trends in the mode of employment of the labor force in Kuwait by nationality over a period of 18 years beginning with 1957 when the first official census was taken. If we are to take 1965 as the base year in which the occupational structure of Kuwaiti society began to take on definite shape, then the pattern of the mode of employment becomes clear. Paid employees increased from 82% of the labor force to 86% in 1975. Self-employed workers declined from almost 13% of the labor force to slightly more than 9%. While the percentage of employers in the labor force remained stable, being 2.4% in 1965 and 2.5% in 1975. This may indicate two possible conclusions: (a) a greater bureaucratization of the labor force, which (b) could be associated with greater capital concentration -two processes taking place simultaneously in the Kuwaiti economy.

3. BUREAUCRATIZATION AND CAPITAL CONCENTRATION

Further examination of our data on the mode of employment by nationality shows a very askewed distribution of the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti labor force which is highlighted by the rearrangement of our data presented in Table 13. (22)

Table (13)

BREAKDOWN OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF KUWAITI LABOR FORCE BY MODE OF EMPLOYMENT AND NATIONALITY, 1970

Mode of Employment	Nationality			
	K.	% of K.	N.K.	% of N.K.
I. Paid Employees	51,161	86.5	140,469	79
1. Public Sector	(42,961)	(72.5)	(48,818)	(28.0)
2. Private Sector	(8,200)	(14,650)	(91,650)	(53.0)
II. Self-Employed	6,042	10.0	28,579	16.5
III. Employers	2,050	3.5	4,533	2.5

These figures show that two thirds of Kuwaiti paid employees work for the government whereas less than one third of the non-Kuwaiti paid employees do so. About one half of the non-Kuwaiti labor force or eleven times more than Kuwaitis work as paid employees in the private sector. The self-employed workers among the non-Kuwaiti labor force are more than four times the number of Kuwaitis working for their own account.

The marginal totals for mode of employment by nationality in percentages represent two opposite cases: 72.5% of the Kuwaiti labor force work for the government and 27.5% work in the private sector, while 28.0% of the non-Kuwaiti labor force work for the government and 72.0% in the private sector. In other words, the increase in the paid employees and decrease in the self-employed seem to have been absorbed by the State employment and the larger firms in the private sector. This point deserves further consideration.

In the case of public sector employment Kuwait presents an example of many underdeveloped countries in which the State is by far the largest single employer. Table 14 shows that government employment as a percentage of the labor force increased from 30% in 1957 to 41% in 1975. Employment in the public sector experienced a relative decline between 1961 and 1965 when the private sector was undergoing enormous expansion. The reason for the increase in government employment should be made clear.

The tremendous increase in state consumption was designed, primarily but not exclusively, to absorb, politically control, and occupationally relocate the displaced population during the process of transition (23). The 1970 census figures show what Kuwaitis accounted for 48% of all those employed by the government. Of those Kuwaitis 38% were illiterates, and if we add to them those Kuwaitis who can only read and write we could say that 71% of all Kuwaitis employed by the public sector were without the necessary educational qualifications for modern government service.(24) Contrary to what might have been expected, very few of those occupationally displaced Kuwaitis became workers in the industrial sense or common laborers. Only 3% in these two occupational categories were Kuwaitis. The majority of the Kuwaitis employed by the government became paid employees in the clerical and service occupations as was shown earlier.

The bureaucratization of the private sector was also increasing.

Table (14)

**PROPORTION AND GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT
TO THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE, 1957-1975**

Year	Total Population	Labor Force	Government Employed	Percent Govern- ment Employed	Not Working (a)	Unemployed
1957	206,473	78,890	23,500	30%	--	--
1961	321,621	122,780	33,780	27.5%	--	--
1965	476,339	184,297	53,110 (b)	29%	126,832	5,194
1970	738,662	242,196	93,531	39%	218,137	8,153
1975	994,837	304,582	124,781	41%	249,321	6,167

(a) Including unable to work.

(b) This figure does not include workers in government employment.

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, 1974 : The Census of Government Workers, Vol. 1. Additional information was derived from private worksheets of the Planning Board Based on Census Schedules. Annual Statistical Abstract, Table 29, p. 49. (Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Planning, Kuwait, 1976).

judging by the size of firms and establishments, and the proportion of the labor force in the private sector employed by large firms. The data available covers only the three years between 1970 and 1973 when such data began to be collected. They are presented in Table 15 below. They are by no means conclusive. They indicate, however, that although the number of firms increased by the same percentage points between 1970 and 1973 and the percentage of the labor force then employed remained stable, the average number of employees in firms employing 50 and more person increased from 339.5 to 357 per firm.

In fact the number of firms in the private sector employing 50 or more workers accounted for only a little over 1% in 1970 and exactly 1% in 1973, but they employed 37% in 1970 and 36.5% in 1973 of the total labor force in the private sector. Furthermore, the average number of employees in firms employing less than 19 person slightly decreased from about 16 persons to 15.4 persons per firm.

It is therefore highly significant indeed to note that in 1975 about 77.5% of the labor force in Kuwait worked in large bureaucracies (The State accounting for 41%) and medium to large bureaucracies employing 50 or more persons (accounting for 36.5%). This conclusion has very important implications for the process of strata formation in Kuwaiti society. We shall concern ourselves with only two of these implications in the present study.

First, bureaucratization necessarily entails: (a) standardization of occupational tasks, i.e., hierarchical classification; (b) formal qualifications, ordinarily in the form of educational attainment; (c) standardization of material rewards mainly as a monthly income derived from the performance of these occupational tasks; and, (d) finally, the creation of a certain pattern of a hierarchical authority distribution attached to occupations. It is in this sense that we speak of a functional division of labor which serves as the basis of strata formation. As the process of transition in Kuwait has attained this level, we can legitimately consider occupation, income, and education as factors determining strata position with certain explainable variations, but comparable to other more developed societies.

Secondly, regardless of the magnitude of the structural mobility which might have occurred during the transition from one structure to another, bureaucratization is likely or liable to restrict individual mobility. In the case of Kuwaitis, mobility within the State bureaucracy is usually

Table (15)
NUMBER AND SIZE OF ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR
IN KUWAIT, 1970-1973

Employment Groups	Number of Establishments			Number of Employees			Average Number of Employees	
	1970	1973	% 1970	% 1973	1970	1973	1970	1973
1 - 9	17,509	20,010	93.12	94.1	41,170	47,419	2.35	2.4
10 - 19	700	722	3.72	3.4	9,340	9,346	13.34	13.0
20 - 49	373	321	1.98	1.5	10,651	9,642	28.55	30.0
50 - 99	114	102	0.60	0.5	7,536	6,848	66.15	67.0
100 and over	105	108	0.55	0.5	28,707	31,334	273.40	290
Total	18,801	21,263	99.97	100%	97,404	104,679	5.18	5

Source: Government of the State of Kuwait, Statistical Yearbook, 1974: Table 66, p. 37. Annual Statistical Abstracts.
1976: Table 55, 56, 57, pp. 92-3.

channelled through the stringent requirements and formalism of that hierarchy. Non-Kuwaitis entering the labor force in the private sector are faced with the State discriminative policies which limits their chances of achieving social positions higher than what they had before.

Kuwaitis may improve their social position through higher educational attainment, higher degree of professional and manual skills in contrast the non-Kuwaitis may increase rewards; i.e., higher income, but not necessarily social position. Accordingly, we would anticipate that security in employment (in large bureaucracies) and the amount of reward, and national origin to be important factors determining individual mobility in Kuwait.(25)

In summary, we could state with some confidence that our data have adequately described and largely substantiated the four broad factors which have shaped the process of transition from the traditional mode to the present form of stratification as they were stated at the beginning of this section. Now we would like to describe the present transitional pattern of stratification in Kuwait.

B. Strata Formation and the Occupational Structure:

In an earlier related study we attempted to use all the available information on the occupational structure to trace the development and thereby estimate present size of the various occupational strata in a manner relevant to, and justifiable by social stratification theory (Al-Naqeeb, 1976: Chap. 5 and App. c.). For this purpose we rearranged and reclassified the figures of the 1965 and 1970 censuses according to four simultaneous criteria:

1. Degree of occupational skills - to separate the manual from the non-manual occupations.
2. Level of educational attainment - to identify occupational groupings within the manual/non-manual distinction.
3. Source and size of income in the resultant occupational groupings from the application of 1 and 2 above.
4. Ownership of the means of trade - to further isolate the owning from the non-owning groupings.(26)

As a result of this method of classification we were able to trace the formation of six identifiable occupational strata, for which partial estimates of size (but not composition) are given in Table 16.

Table (16)

**ESTIMATES OF THE NUMERICAL SIZE OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA
AS PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE IN KUWAIT BY AVERAGE
LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR PERSONS 14 YEARS
AND OVER, 1970 CENSUS**

Occupational Strata	No. of Persons	% of the labor force	Average level of Education
I. Oligarchy Including Proprietors)	8,324	3.4	Read and write
II. Professionals (Private & Salaried)	12,387	5.1	16 years
III. Semi-Professionals (Self-employed & Wage-earners)	41,938	17.3	8 years
IV. Workers (Artisans - Craftsmen) (Skilled & Unskilled)	135,888	56.1	Illiterate
V. Unclassified (Police and Firemen 16,356) (Domestic Servants 18,241) (Welfare Recipients 9,214) (Welfare Recipients 9,214) (Clergy 431)	44,242	18.2	-----
VI. Unemployed	8,151	(3.3)	-----
VII. Not Working	213,681	----	-----

The occupational strata may be listed as follow:

1. The Financial - commercial oligarchy.
2. The professional stratum:
(private and salaried).
3. The proprietors and the self-employed.
4. The Wage - earners:
(semi-professionals and clerical workers).
5. The craftsmen and operatives:
(skilled workers).
6. The unskilled workers and (Common laborers).

Given the quality of our data, few remarks can be made with much confidence. The oligarchy in Kuwaiti society which represents the large-scale financial and mercantile capital is a historically and politically highly consolidated social group. This may be true despite a certain amount of large-scale "upward" mobility which may have occurred in Kuwait in the last 18 years.

The professional stratum which may be labeled as the "Middle classes" and which represents about 5% of the labor force appears to be increasing by a substantial rate. While the third group or the proprietors (for which we do not yet have an independent exact estimate) appears to be declining. It could very well be that it is being replaced (or displaced if you like) by the fourth group; i.e., the semi-professionals and clerical workers. This latter group ordinarily falls on the "boarder-line" of the manual/non-manual distinction: We anticipate that what is being said for the Kuwaiti population equally applies to the non-Kuwaiti population.

Finally, we have some evidence which indicates that these occupational strata are tending to crystalize in terms of the other (and not considered in the present study) dimensions of social stratification. To substantiate this conclusion requires further study and comparative data on other societies. Of particular interest in this regard, we would like to know how the process of strata formation is influenced by the rural composition of the labor force of Arab and non-Arab societies.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See for example: Gabriel Almond and J. S. Coleman (eds.): *The Politics of Developing Areas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. S. Amiss: "Development and Structural Change," In B. Ward, et.al. (eds.): *The Widening Gap: Development in the 1970's*, New York: Colombia University Press, 1971. Abdalla S. Bujra: *The Politics of social Stratification: A Study of Political Change in South Arabian town*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971. Lloyed A. Fallers: *Inequality: Social Stratification Reconsidered*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. L.A. Gordon and L.A. Fridman: "Distinctive Aspects of the Composition and structure of the working class in the Economically Underdeveloped Countries of Asia and Africa," *Soviet Sociology*, 2 (Writer): 46-63. Everett E. Hagen: *On the theory of Social Change*. Homewood (Ill.): The Dorsey Press, 1962. Bert Hozelitz and W.E. Moore (eds.): *Industrialization and Society*. Paris UNESCO, 1968. Joseph A. Khal and James Davis: *The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974. Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman (eds.): *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*. New York: Social Research Council, 1967. Leonard Plotnicov and A. Tuden (eds.): *Essays in Comparative Stratification*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1970. J.A. Posoien: *The Analysis of Social Change Re-considered: A Sociological Study*. The Hague: Mouton, 1962. Neil Smelser and S.M. Lipset (eds.): *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine, 1966. A. Tuden and L. Plotnicov (eds.): *Social Stratification in Africa*. New York: The Free Press, 1970. And, Stephan Thernstrom: *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility In A 19th Century City*. New York: Anthenum, 1975.
2. Some of the important controversies in social stratification and mobility research were summarized by K.H. Al-Naqeeb: *Changing Patterns of Social Stratification in the Middle East: Kuwait As A Case Study*. Austin: Tse University of Texas At Austin, 1976 (Chap. 2). Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation.
3. It has been proposed elsewhere (Al-Naqeeb, op. cit., pp. 25-38) that the concept of strata formation represents a synthesis of Weber-Marx Formulations.

4. The best treatment of the functional division of labor and its relation to the occupational structure is provided by Hegedus (quoted in Al-Naqeeb, op. cit., p. 214): "The social division of labor essentially nothing else but the differentiation of the functions necessary to the maintenance and development of society and their distribution among various groups of society, brought about not only the specific kinds and systems of ownership relations but also the considerably different kinds of work (i.e., occupations), often called in the Marxist literature the 'technical division of labor'. Duncan also states that "in human society, the division of labor is 'occupational' in a broad sense..." See: Otis Dudley Duncan: "Social Stratification and Mobility: Problems in the Measurement of Trend," in E. B. Sheldon and W.E. Moore (eds.): *Indicators of Social Change: Concepts and Measurement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968: 680.
5. Occupations classified by a set of factors of "commonality" into occupational groups and not by specific "job titles." This distinction constitutes the basic difference between our approach to the problem of strata formation and the current Neo-Weberian "empirical" approach to the same problem. The occupational classification is usually derived from the labor force participation and distribution. On this point, see Hauser's brief but excellent treatment. Philip M. Hauser: "Labor Force," in Robert E. Faris (ed.): *Handbook of Modern Sociology*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964: pp. 160-190. See also: L.J. Ducoff and Margaret Hagood: *Labor Force Definition and Measurement*. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bull. No. 56, 1947. Alba M. Edwards: *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States - 1870-1940*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943. And, W. Galenson: *Labor Force in Developing Economics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.
6. This section is based on an earlier study by the author (Al-Naqeeb, op. cit., pp. 127-135), given here with minor modifications.
7. It should be pointed out that the items of sea customs and taxes on pearl divers were instituted by Prince Mubarak after the 1899 treaty and the reorganization of the port facilities. The heavy taxes on pearling led to the exodus of some Kuwaiti merchants to Bahrain in 1910. See Saif M. Al-Shamlan: *History of Pearl-Fishing in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf*. Vol. I. Kuwait: Government Press, 1975. (In Arabic). And Hussein Al-Sheikh Khez'al: *The Political History of Kuwait*.

- 4 Vols. Beirut: Dar Al-Katib Al-Arabi, 1962: Vol. 2, pp. 280-286. (In Arabic).
8. Villiers states that the trading ships were normally registered in the ship captain's name to signify not the actual ownership but rather the responsibility of the captain in case of damage or loss of merchandise or damage to the ship itself. Villiers in Louise E. Sweet (ed.): *People and Cultures of The Middle East*. 2 Vol. New York: The Natural History Press, 1970: Vol. 2, p. 130 *passim*.
 9. The significance of this fact relates to Weber's concept of rational calculation and to the process of primitive accumulation of capital and capital formation in Marx. On the latter see E. Mandel: *Treatise on Marxist Political Economy*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968 (Vol. 1, Chapter on the process of primitive accumulation). See also M. Rodinson: *Islam and Capitalism*. New York: Pantheon Press, 1973: pp. 4-11. Rodinson's specific reference to pearl-fishing as an example of a "capitalistic enterprise" raises a very relevant issue. (Rodinson, *op. cit.*, p. 52 *passim*).
 10. Al-Shamlan (*op. cit.*, pp. 242-255, 319-337) provides photostatic reproduction of some specimens of the accounting system around 1910-1937 period. Abdul Wahab Al-Qutami in the appendix which he added to his father's book, Isa Al-Qutami gives some examples on how the share-accounting system was calculated. Isa Al-Qutami: *A Guide to the Science of the Seas*. Baghdad: Maktabat Al-Salam, 1963. (In Arabic).
 11. This requirement explains the practice of registering the ship in the captain's name and the financial responsibilities their office carried with it.
 12. For references to some of those merchants see A. Al-Bishir: *Essays On Kuwait*. Kuwait: Maktabat Al-Amel, 1966. (In Arabic). See also Khez'al (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2), and H.R.P. Dickson: *Kuwait and Her Neighbours*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968: pp. 40-41 *passim*.
 13. See the following Arabic sources for additional information: R. Al-Farhan: *Concise History Of Kuwait*. Cairo: Maktabat Al-Uruba, 1960. Abdulla Al-Nuri: *The Story of Education In Kuwait in Half Century*. Cairo: Matba't Al-Istiqama, 1963. Sheikh Yousuf Al-Qina'i: *Pages From the History of Kuwait*. Kuwait: Government Press, 1968. Al-Bishir (*op. cit.*), and Al-Shamlan (*op. cit.*). See also Dickson's (*op.*

cit., pp. 450-60) first hand observations on the conditions prevailing in Kuwait between 1930-1945.

14. For U.N. estimates see: C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze: *Sociology of The Middle East: A Stocktaking And Interpretation*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971: pp. 98-103. The earlier estimates of the population came mainly from European travellers and British political and commercial agents. Lorimer for example mentioned that in 1907 at least 16% of the Kuwaiti population (over 6,000 persons) were not indigenous to Kuwait. J.G. Lorimer: *Gazetter of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*. 2 Vols. Calcutta and London: Gregg International Publications, 1970 (originally published in 1915). Vol. 2., section on Kuwait.
15. This contradiction was translated at various times into the demand for the revival of "Mejlis Al-Shura", i.e., Consultive Assembly which was claimed to have existed earlier. In 1916 there was a minor disturbance created by the Ulama (religious leaders) in resentment of Prince Mubarak Pro-British Policies. In 1934-1938 a group of educated merchants formed an opposition group called "The National Bloc" which demanded greater share of power. See Villier (In Sweet, op. cit.) and Naseer H. Aruri: "Politics in Kuwait", In Jacob M. Landua (ed.): *Man, State and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. New York: Praeger, pp. 68-90. In addition to Khez'al (op. cit.) detailed account.
16. For a good description of the sailor's life and hardships see Villers' (In Sweet, op. cit.) first hand report. His experience on board of a Kuwaiti deep-sea ship was published in a book length by Scribner (1948) under the title of "Sons of Sindbad," from which the article in Sweet was reprinted. On the other hand Al-Shamlan (op. cit., pp. 399-446) counts at least 10 dangerous diseases which afflict the pearl divers, in addition to the risks posed by sharks and other poisonous fish, and malnutrition, etc. See also Al-Qutami (op. cit.).
17. See: Villier (op. cit.). Taha Medkoor: *The Industrial Labor Force in Kuwait*. Kuwait: Government Press, 1966. (In Arabic). Adel M. Muhran: *Kuwaiti Society: A Social-Psychological Study*. Cairo: Ain Shams University, 1955. Unpublished M.A. Thesis in Arabic. Abdul-Aziz Al-Sar'awi: *Social And Labor Laws in Kuwait*. Ben-Ghazi: No publisher, 1959. (In Arabic). And, Abdul-Majid Mustafa and O. Faith-Alla: *Studies on Kuwait and The Arabian Gulf*. Cairo: Maktabat Al-Nahtha, n.d. (In Arabic).

18. Detailed account of this method and the results of its application are reported by Al-Naqeeb (op. cit., App. A, and App. C.).
19. These strata pertain to the urban population. Beduins and transient labor are not included, nor do they change the general pattern of urban stratification.
20. These gradings for example existed among pearl merchants (Tauwasheh), large scale and small scale, and among the ship captains who at certain times included merchants or relatives of merchants as well. Among the sailors and pearl-divers, Hirat divers and 'Adan divers; and between ship hands "Saibs" and divers and so on. Some ship captains (Nokhethas) attained such high reputations that they were awarded the informal status title of "the prince of diving." The status grading of saib and ghais or ship hand and diver is a good case in point. The Beduins preferred to be divers rather than ship hands for three reasons: (i) the diver's wage was higher; (ii) the status of the diver was higher on board the ship and in the market place; and (iii) the divers did not perform any manual work on board the ship and could choose other favorite quarters on board and so on. For interesting details, see Al-Shamlan (op. cit., pp. 362-374, 280-286, 369-391). Two other aspects should not go without brief mention. Some master-craftsmen in the ship-building and construction attained very high status not awarded to people with similar social standing. The other aspect is that the Kuwaiti community was divided into major residential areas with heavy concentration of one stratum or another such as "Jibleh," Murgab and Sharq. Residential areas called "Firij" were somewhat reminiscent of the Guilds' "haras". Al-Farhan (op. cit., pp. 80-91).
21. The data on Bahrain are derived from Fred Halliday: Arabia Without Sultans. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974: p. 443. The data on Iraq are taken from: The Republic of Iraq, Annual Abstracts of Statistics, Baghdad: 1973, Table 208, p. 358. The Iraqi data were based on estimates made by the U.N. Manpower Department.
22. The data for Table 13 were derived from the following sources: A. Al-Shimali. Manpower in Kuwait: Its Situation And Development. Kuwait: Kuwait Institute of Economic And Social Planning, 1972. p. 10. Mimeographed; various statistical summaries of private worksheets based on the 1970 census belonging to the Manpower Section of the Kuwaiti Planning Board; and finally from the Census of



Government Workers, Central Statistical Office, Kuwait: The Planning Board, 1971, Vol. I.

23. A detailed discussion of this point is contained in the author unpublished research report entitled: "The Role of the State in Social Change in Kuwait". This report studies the feasibility of Welfare State in an underdeveloped country.
24. In a strict sense, we may consider this type of employment as compensation for the occupationally displaced population, in the form of salaries and wages, which come under the second category of State Expenditure i.e., State Transfers. While the percentage of the illiterates and those who could only read and write among non-Kuwaiti government employees is also high amounting to 49% of all non-Kuwaiti, they represent the bulk of the government unskilled laborers.
25. These points were briefly explored by The Stanford Research Institute. This unpublished report summarizes the results of the Job Satisfaction Survey carried out by the institutes team of researcher in Kuwait. See: S.R.I. : Social and Economic Impacts of The Kuwaiti Government Compensation Policies. Menlo Park (Calif.), S.R.I. Project No. 2340, App. A.
26. The third criterion; i.e., the source and size of income, together with two proposed sub-criteria:
 - a) scale of ownership, and
 - b) estimated social power attached to occupational positions, were later dropped for lack of sufficient data.

تكون الدرجات الاجتماعية والتغير الاجتماعي في الكويت

د. خلدون حسن النقيب

تلعب نظم التدرج الاجتماعي دوراً رئيسياً في عملية التغير الاجتماعي في المجتمعات النامية بوصفها متغيرات مستقلة وتابعة في نفس الوقت . وهذه الدراسة تهدف للإجابة على الاسئلة التالية :

ما هي الاشكال الانتقالية التي يتخذها نظام التدرج الاجتماعي في الكويت منذ اكتشاف الذبط الى الوقت الحاضر ؟

ما هي ضوابط (ميكانيزمز) الانتقال من نظام تدرج اجتماعي « تقليدي » الى نظام تدرج اجتماعي « حديث » ؟

ما هو الشكل الذي يتخذه نظام التدرج الاجتماعي في الكويت في الوقت الحاضر ؟

تبدأ الدراسة بتحليل المصادر التاريخية المتوفرة لتوليد هيكل لنظام التدرج الاجتماعي التقليدي في الكويت ، وبعد تلك يحاول المؤلف تشخيص مجموعة معينة من العوامل التي تحكم عملية الانتقال ووصف الاشكال الانتقالية التي اتخذها نظام التدرج الاجتماعي في عملية التغير عن طريق تحليل وتصنيف جميع المعلومات المتوفرة حول توزيع القوى العاملة في الكويت من سنة ١٩٥٧ الى سنة ١٩٧٥ ، وعن طريق وصف « الطلب البنائي » على توزيع هذه القوى العاملة .

من أهم ما توصلت اليه هذه الدراسة هو وصف وتحليل ظهور ستة درجات اجتماعية كنواة لنظام طبقي فيمراحله الانتقالية الاولى . أما المساهمة النظرية التي تقدمها هذه الدراسة هو اقتراح منهج لتحويل المعلومات عن القوى العاملة الى متغيرات تدرج اجتماعي ، و ثم اقتراح طريقة لتحويل التصنيف المهني الى تصنيف طبقي يخضع الى مواصفات نظرية معينة .