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Social change and alienation in Kuwait.

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**SOCIAL CHANGE AND ALIENATION
IN KUWAIT**

BY

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**SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR
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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL CHANGE AND ALIENATION IN KUWAIT

This thesis considers the nature and impact of social change on Kuwaiti Society. It begins by giving a detailed account of the origins of Kuwait Society and its economic, political and social structure before the exploitation of the country's enormous oil resources. This is followed by an equally detailed discussion of the changes in the economic, political and social structure that followed the development of the oil resources. Finally, in the first section, the major changes are outlined and the question is posed as to what effect these changes are likely to have on the values and attitudes of the population of the country.

The second section begins with a consideration of some of the problems of measuring potential alienation in a society such as Kuwait and reviews some of the major problems of isolating and defining the relevant concepts. The general conclusion is that the micro-social psychological approach to the problem adopted by American social psychologists in the 1960's is the more fruitful way forward.

Using the scales of Struening and Richardson levels of alienation in Kuwait are then measured and the results given. Finally, by the application of new scales specifically developed for this study the

major dimensions of alienation are related to the particularities of the social structure of modern Kuwait.

The conclusion considers the problems of mounting such an investigation in Kuwait, the substantive findings of the study and it indicates future research possibilities.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND ALIENATION IN KUWAIT

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The nature of social change in any society is reflected in the changes that occur in such a society, effects which influence a wide range of social facets of that society. These effects can be related to the make-up of the population, the political economic and social structure, social relationships among individuals, their beliefs and their moral values. In addition, the social changes can have a direct and/or indirect influence on the individual's behaviour and roles he or she plays in that society.

In Kuwait, the discovery of oil and the subsequent increase in wealth and material resources are the main factors that have contributed to social change. Before oil was discovered, the society of Kuwait was considered to be unattractive. Since the discovery of oil Kuwait has become much more attractive due to the presence of great work opportunities. The availability of work has attracted a massive immigration of people from various regions of the world. These people, who have come from arabic and non-arabic speaking countries, have emigrated to Kuwait with the intention of searching for work and a better means of living and incomes, together with the improvement of their living standards which are, presumably, not available in their own countries. The number of immigrants has increased markedly within Kuwait society to the point that by 1980 these foreign inhabitants constitute 58.3 percent of the whole population of Kuwait.

The change in the social structure of the Kuwait population, which is reflected in the predominance of the immigrants have, in one way or another, affected the economic, political and social spheres and facets of Kuwait society. These effects are much more apparent in the social spheres of society, such as the family's role, its beliefs and moral values. For example, the participation of women in work and consequently the abandonment of their basic role in the family may have led to the antipathy in family relationships, the development of feelings of non-belonging, the appearance of behavioural disorders and alienation.

Some of the social processes that have contributed to the emergence of distinct groups in the Kuwait society are related to the presence of foreign inhabitants. These immigrants, who represent different cultures and backgrounds, tend to live in distinct communities and exercise their native customs, traditions and moral values. The social characteristics of such immigrant groups are, in most cases, different from those of the native inhabitants of Kuwait. These differences in the social habits and practices between the communities of the immigrants and natives of Kuwait may lead to the sense of mutual isolation, insecurity and feelings of alienation within the society.

The feelings of alienation may be considered as one of the relative social changes which is associated to a greater or lesser extent with all human relationships. Feelings of alienation and estrangement may produce contentiousness, conflicts of interests and hatreds among

individuals both within and between the communities of society. The occurrence of such social disorders could eventually influence the social participation and/or involvement of the individuals in the various activities of society, particularly the extent to which individual membership of that society directly and/or indirectly participates in social activities. These disorders may, further, lead the individual to become a non-social being, developing a sense of seclusion, insecurity and feelings of alienation. The latter would eventually produce tumult and anxiety within the individual of that society.

In this investigation of the social changes in Kuwait society, the author intends to study the following areas of concern:

1. Alienation and anomie within Kuwait society.
2. Feelings of alienation of Kuwait inhabitants.
3. The alienation of the immigrants within Kuwait society.
4. The differences between the alienation of immigrants and natives of Kuwait.

For the purpose of this investigation, the present study has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with Kuwait society before the discovery of oil. This includes the historical development of Kuwait and pays particular attention to the economical, political and social structure of traditional Kuwait society during that era.

Chapter Two deals with Kuwait after oil was discovered. Two main periods are considered. The first between 1950-61, where important changes in the economic, political and social structure of society took place, is called the transition period. The second from 1961 to the present is called the statehood period. During this era the impact of change has been even more profound and has affected all sectors within society.

Chapter Three brings together some of the main findings of chapters One and Two and questions the relationship between social change and the behaviour and attitudes of the present day population of Kuwait. It suggests that the contradictory views presented, on the one hand by Khouja and Sadler and on the other by Al Moosa can only be resolved by empirical research.

Chapter Four is a debate on the concept of alienation and it draws its substance from the work of the Social Contract Theorists, Hegel, Marx and contemporary sources. It also considers the work of Durkheim and the relationship between alienation and anomie. It shows how the two ideas are closely related and the way in which some contemporary sociologists have operationally regarded anomie and alienation as being parts of the same phenomena.

Chapter Five, uses measurement scales based on the work of Struening and Richardson to measure the level of alienation present in Kuwaiti Society. Particular regard is paid to the relative levels of alienation found amongst the Kuwaiti and Non-Kuwaiti members of the

population and whether these levels are effected by civil status, marital status, sex and education.

Chapter Six explores the nature of alienation, as measured by the 'International Scale', in the specific context of Kuwaiti society. This exploration is made by developing two further scales, one designed to measure alienation, lack of control, purposelessness and separation amongst Kuwaiti citizens and the other to measure the same elements amongst Non-Citizens. The results from these 'Local Scales' are then compared with the 'International Scale' thus revealing an association between alienation and aspects of Kuwaiti social structure.

Chapter Seven, summarises the major conclusions of the study, discusses the validity of the findings and indicates further research possibilities.

CHAPTER ONE

KUWAITI SOCIETY BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF OIL

1.1 Origins of Kuwaiti Society

1.1.1 The Origin of the Country

Initially, Kuwait had no defined boundaries as a country, but was simply a part of the Arabian Peninsula. This area was at that time controlled by the Bani Khalid tribe, and inhabited by some fishermen. Bedouin tribes also used the area we now know as Kuwait, but they never settled down permanently to form a society. "However, since 1688 the territory of present day Kuwait was under the domain of the Emir of Ban Khalid tribes". (Al-Essa, 1981, p.1). Within this area, "the Emir built a small fort called a 'kut', which was used as a depot for ammunitions and food for his invasions against neighbouring tribes. This fort was usually guarded by his followers". (Al-Bisher, 1966, p.13-14).

The domination of the area by the Bani Khalid tribe continued until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a great emigration of the Utobi tribes took place, from their homeland in Central Arabia to various areas in the Arabian Peninsula. "The Utobi movement was mainly due to the famine which had struck their homeland. The tribes of Utobi were descendents of a larger Arab tribe, the 'Anaizza' who were located in Central Arabia". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.22-23).

The Utobi peoples, who came from the Najd region of the Arabian Peninsula, arrived as groups of families in the Kuwait area, the most important being the Al-Sabah, Al-Khalifa and Al-Jalahma. These groups of families "were given permission to settle beside the 'kut', and were protected from hostile neighbouring Bedouin tribes by the Emir of Bani Khalid". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.22-23; Al-Bisher, 1966, p.14).

The Al-Sabah family, and the other families of the Utobi tribe, settled in the Kuwait area, and were eager and interested in looking after the welfare of the region and its peoples. The attitude of Al-Sabah and the others allowed and encouraged all the inhabitants to unite around these newly-arrived families. As a result, these families successfully persuaded the earlier settlers to help build a city near the 'kut'. Furthermore, the influence of these families grew to the point that the settlers decided to choose the head of the Al-Sabah family as the Sheikh or ruler of the city. "The selection of the Al-Sabah family as ruling family was also due to the decline in power of the Bani Khalid, and the death of their Emir around the year 1752". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.32).

The development of an urban society was stimulated by the migration of peoples from Basra in Iraq, and from Persia. "These migrants came to the city because of the conflicts in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, and the invasion of Basra in Iraq by Persians in the last third of the eighteenth century". (Al-Khososy, 1972, p.123). These immigrants intermingled and interacted with the existing inhabitants to create a new society in Kuwait City.

1.1.2 The Old City of Kuwait

The old city of Kuwait was relatively small, with an area of only five square miles. It lay by the sea, and, from 1920 until 1957, was bounded on the landward side with a wall. Gates in this wall led only to the unending and unlimited desert. (Fig. 1.1) "The city was characterised by its typical courtyard dwelling house. Approaching the city by a sea or desert route, one could see, in the distance, a typically Arabian desert city. The old city, referred to as ad-Dirah in Arabic, was like a huge communal dwelling, its bazaars a huge department store, its alleys and streets an interesting network of highways. Its courtyards were centres for family socialising, industry and relaxation. The main activities were seafaring, desert trading and pearl diving - a patriarchal society, guided by the driving force of the Arab Islamic religion". (Britanica, 1981, p.548).

The population of old Kuwait City was small, and highly dependent on the unity of its people for survival in both good and bad times. Employment was mainly in pearl-diving, sea trading, fishing and grazing. "The population of Kuwait City was approximately 12,000 in 1900, and had risen to about 35,000 by 1914". (Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.67). "In 1925 the total population living in Kuwait City and its villages was estimated to be approximately 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the people were Moslem, except for about 150 Jews and a lesser number of Christians. The Moslems divided into two sects; Arabs were in the majority, and belonged to the Suni sect of Islam, and the minority Persian peoples belonged to the Shia Sect of Islam". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.91-92).

Figure 1.1 Kuwait City 1934



Kuwait City 1934

1.1.3 Old Kuwait City Sectors

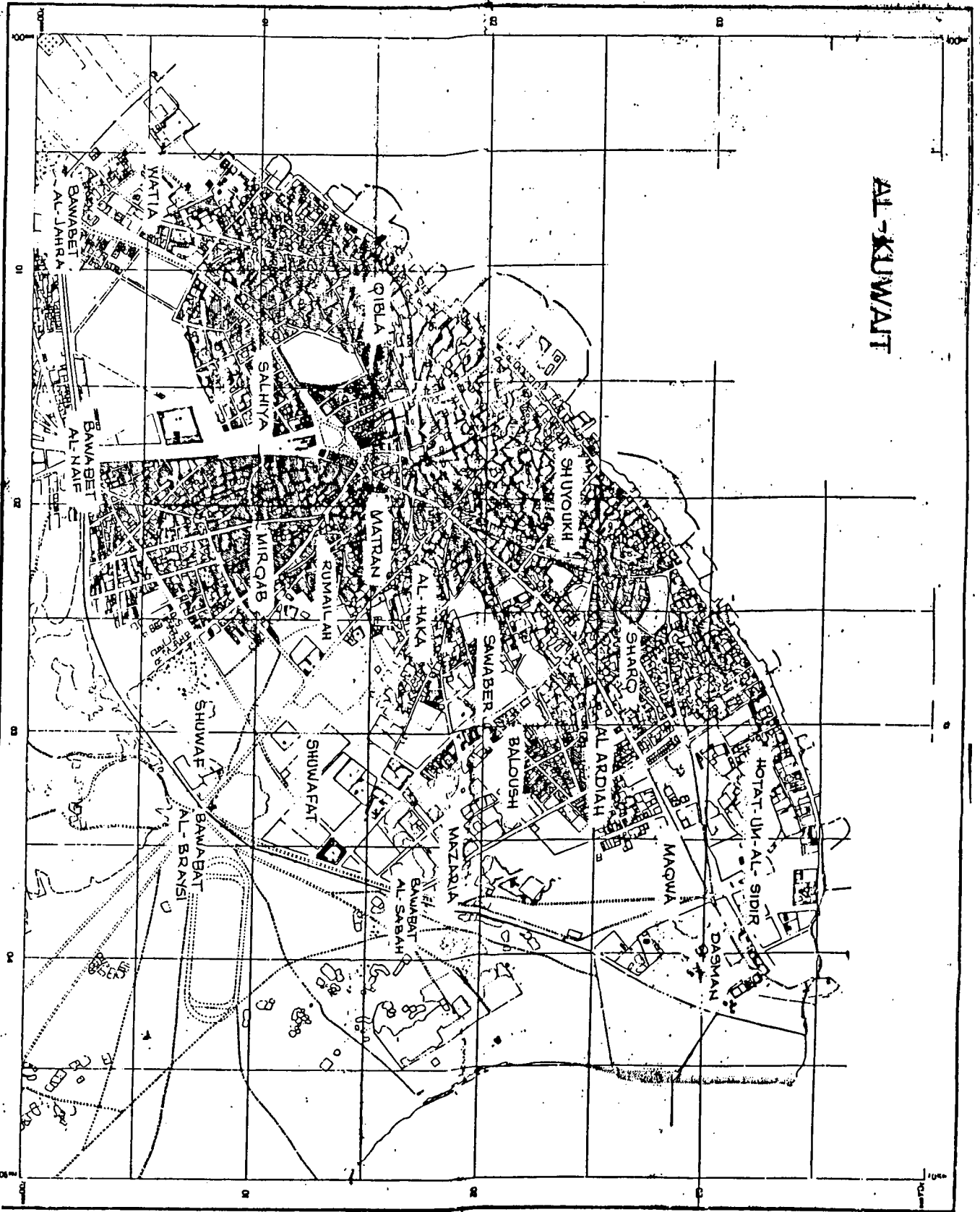
The old city was arbitrarily divided into several sectors, the largest being Al-Qibla 'West' Sector, Al-Shuyoukh 'Middle' Sector and Al-Sharq 'East' Sector. (Fig. 1.2) Each sector was inhabited by distinct groups of people.

- A. Al-Qibla Sector: "Was located in the west part of Kuwait City. The majority of the inhabitants were from families who had emigrated from Najd region. Most of these families were merchants and wealthy people.
- B. Al-Shuyoukh Sector: "Was located in the middle of Kuwait City. In this sector there were the central government buildings, the main market, the custom department, the steam boat department. Al-Sabah palaces and other wealthy Kuwaiti families.
- C. Al-Sharg Sector: "Was located in the eastern part of the city. The inhabitants of this sector were a mixture of Arabs and Persians. The main occupations of people in this sector were pearl-diving and pearl-trading". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.38-39).

In addition to Kuwait City, there were several villages such as Al Jahra, Al Dimna, Al Fintas, Al Fehaheel, Abo Hulaifa and Shuaiba - which were inhabited by farmers. Several islands in the Arabian gulf also belonged to Kuwait. The only island which was densely populated at that time was the ancient Failaka Island, located at the entrance to the Arabian Gulf. Other islands, such as Bubiyan, Warba, Mischan, Owaha, Kubbar, Quarwa, and three other smaller islands, were uninhabited". (State of Kuwait, 1984, p.3).

Figure 1.2 Al-Kuwait

AL-KUWAIT



The emergence of Kuwait as a country, and subsequently as a state in the Arabian Peninsula, "began when it first came to the attention of the great powers, towards the end of the nineteenth century. At that time, the German Government sought to extend the Berlin-Baghdad Railway to the port of Kuwait". (Britanica, 1981, p.547).

1.1.4 Kuwait's Recent Topography

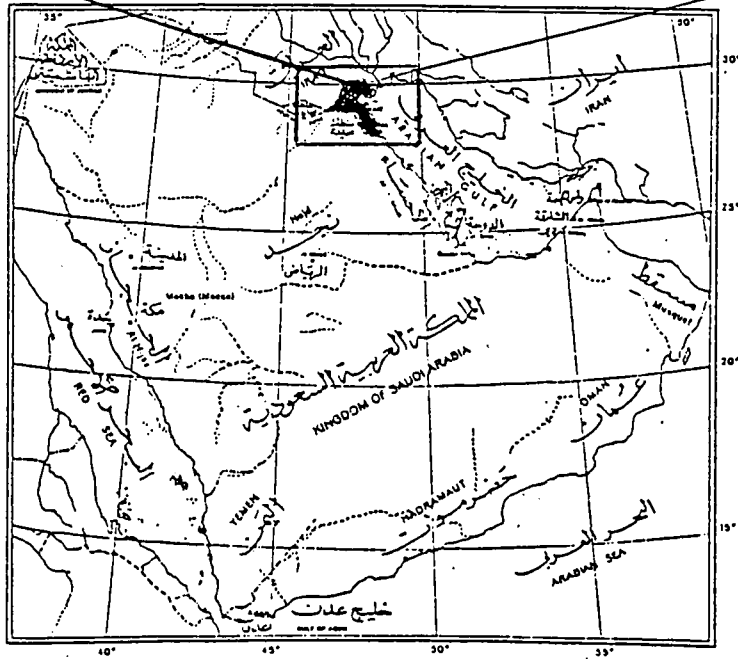
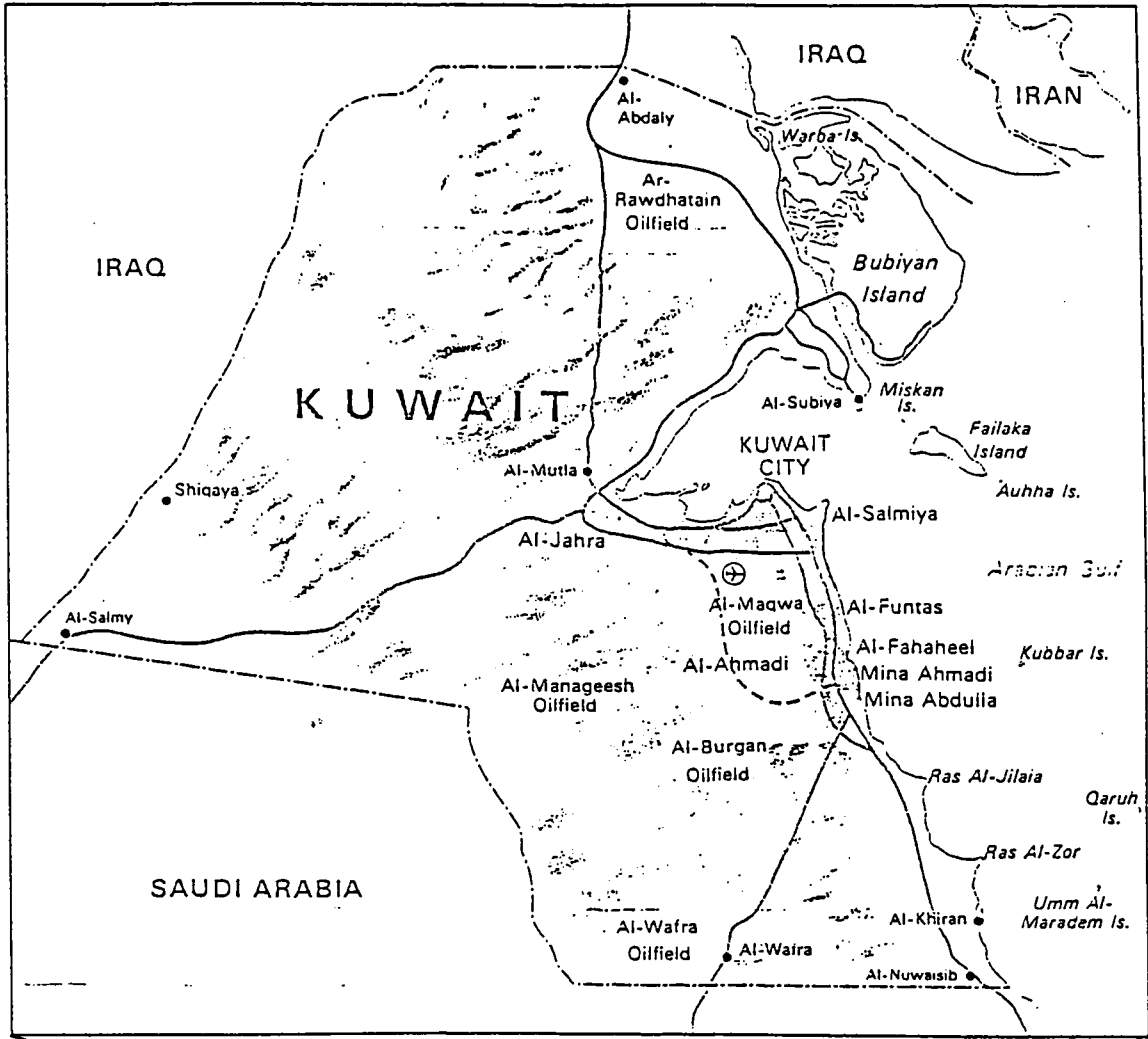
The present day state of Kuwait occupies the North Western corner of the Arabian Gulf. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the south west by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and in the north and west by the Republic of Iraq. Its location makes it the veritable gateway to the Arabian Peninsula. (See Fig. 1.3).

"The furthest distance between north and south boundaries is 200km (124m) and between west and east, 170km (105m). The total length of the country's frontiers is about 685km (426m), the land frontiers being 490 kilometers (304 miles). Of this, 250km (155m) form the frontier with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and 240km (149m) form the frontier with the Republic of Iraq.

The location of the country is between latitude 28 degrees, 45 minutes and 30 degrees, 05 minutes to the north of the equator, and between longitudes 46 degrees, 30 minutes and 48 degrees, 30 minutes east of Greenwich. The climate of the country is typical of the Sahara region, producing an arid desert terrain.

The total area of the State of Kuwait is 17,818 square kilometers, or approximately seven thousand square miles. The earth surface

Figure 1.3



slopes down gently from west to east, and is mostly flat, with a few rocky hills". (State of Kuwait, 1984, p.3).

1.2 The Economy of Traditional Kuwaiti Society

The economy of old Kuwait was based mainly on the resources of the sea and the desert. These natural resources not only affected the economy but also had great influence on the character of the people, and the professional skills they acquired. These traits were reflected in the political and social activity of the country, as well as in the economy.

1.2.1 Pearl Diving

Since the eighteenth century, the Arabian (or Persian) Gulf has been one of the most important seas in the world for pearling. This was due to the presence of good sized and quality pearls, which could be fished in their best natural shape. It was also to do the shallowness of the Gulf and the warmth and clarity of the sea in this part of the world.

For generations, most inhabitants of the Arabian Gulf have made diving their profession, so that they could fish for pearls. "By the start of the twentieth century, approximately 80,000 men were involved in diving in the Kuwait area. The business of diving reached its peak just before the first world war, when 800 ships and 30,000 men were actively engaged". (Husayn, 1960, p.48). The great majority of the inhabitants of Kuwait were involved in the pearling business, either directly in diving, or indirectly, in pearl trading, either locally or further afield in the export trade.

The pearl diving season usually started in June and finished towards the end of September. Alternatively, the diving season would end when days and nights became equal in length. It was customary that the pearl diving season commenced with a great ceremony. The Governor traditionally determined the day of departure and the day of return of the ships, in order that the divers would not get over-tired, so endangering their lives.

During the season, the ships spent about four months at sea looking for pearls, and only rarely did they return earlier. Traditionally, the finish of the diving season was signalled by the commandship of the fleet firing a cannon. A flag would also be raised by the fleet commander, so that those on ships who could not hear the cannon would see the flag. At the end of the season, all the ships would sail together, in a line, back to Kuwait.

The ships' crew members had to abide strictly to a set of rules during the diving season. Each crewman was given specific duties and responsibilities. The rules gave the Naukhuda (ship's captain) authority to keep law and order on the ship, and in the traditional navy system, the Naukhuda earned the respect and trust of the ships' crew.

The division of work, and the distribution of responsibilities among the crew enabled the work to be carried out efficiently and it was carried out with great sincerity, and obedience to the Naukhuda. Duties were divided amongst the crew as follows:

a. The Divers

These were fishermen, whose duty was to dive to the sea bottom, searching and fishing for pearl oysters. Their work usually took place from the hours of sunrise to sunset, with a break in the middle of the day for food.

b. The Siyabs

These were the sailors who were responsible for the safety of the divers. They would attach ropes to the divers before they entered the sea, and would pull them up when they had finished their work.

c. The Radaifs

These were sailors who were responsible for helping the Siyabs.

"Before the beginning of the diving season, the crewmen were usually selected by the Naukhuda, who was often the owner of the ship. Selection was based on the skill and reputation of the individual crewman. Sailors often borrowed money from the Naukhuda at the start of the season, and this was used to support their families throughout the diving season. Crewmen had to agree to reimburse the Naukhuda at the end of the diving season, and thus the pearlers were in debt before the start of the season". (Al-Essa, 1981, p.5).

However, there was a strict formula for dividing the profits from the pearling season. After all the expenses, including the share of the ship owner, were deducted, the profits were distributed in the following way:

- a. The captain was usually given three shares
- b. The divers received three shares each
- c. The siyabs received two shares each
- d. The radifs received one share each
- e. The Governor was also given three shares.

Pearls were usually sold to the local merchants, (Al-Tawash), many of whom specialised in this business. Merchants often bought the pearls directly from the captains of the pearling ships, at the diving site.

"The importance of pearl diving as a major economic activity continued until the financial crisis at the end of World War Two. Depressions in the world economy were reflected in the pearl trade, when pearl prices fell. In addition, the cultured pearl industry of Japan offered stiff competition in terms of prices.

As a result of this economic set-back, the Kuwaitis sought an alternative revenue source. This was found in sea travelling and trading, which became the major source of wealth until the discovery of oil". (Husayn, 1960, p.48-49).

1.2.2 Trade and Travel

Trade and travel was initially considered to be a second rank economic activity, after pearling. Kuwaiti cargo ships carried goods between Kuwait and the other Gulf countries, and between India, Africa and the Red Sea ports.

Prior to the discovery of oil, Kuwait was a renowned sea-trading nation. Trading increased between the start of World War One, and continued until the end of the second World War, with some considerable interruptions during the period of world economic depression in the 1930's.

The number of commercial ships reached 180 during the peak of sea trading activity. Crews ranged in size from 12 men to 45, depending on the size of the ship. Cargoes ranged between 90 and 500 tons. At the pinnacle of trading activity, the total annual fleet tonnage was estimated to be 30,000 tons. In addition to the Kuwaiti trading fleet, Kuwaiti merchants used to hire large numbers of ships owned by non-Kuwaitis. These ships were at least equal in tonnage and crew to the Kuwaiti fleet and were usually used for the carriage of dates.

Commercial ships travelled from Kuwait through 'Shut al Arab' to Iraq and Iran, where they were loaded with consumer goods, especially dates. The ships would then sail for ports in India, Pakistan, Mahara Coast, Hadramout, Aden, the Red Sea and the South East of Africa, especially Somalia. But India was the main centre of trade with Kuwait.

On the return voyage, the ships carried wood for construction, boat-building and carpentry. They also carried consumer goods such as clothes, food, spices and ropes, as well as coffee from Aden.

The Kuwaiti merchant fleet played a vital role in supplying goods, for both Kuwait and other Gulf countries, particularly during the

periods between the two World Wars. Such trading activity developed in Kuwait for a number of reasons; due to the location of the country geographically, involvement in trade historically, the capability of the Kuwaiti merchants, the low rate of custom duties in the country, an absence of many trade regulations and a trust in business dealings which had developed over time. These combined to make sure that Kuwait became regarded as a centre for commercial transportation and trading in the Arabian Gulf and in other countries.

The trading started in August of each year and ended in May. It could be further extended until June of the next year.

Kuwaiti merchants also used the desert for trading, although this was of far less importance than the sea trade. Goods and commodities were transported on the backs of camels, between Kuwait and neighbouring countries.

1.2.3 Fishing

Fish was the staple diet in Kuwait, due to the location of the country on the seaboard of the Arabian Gulf, an area rich in marine resources. In contrast, the land was infertile and provided only a scant food supply. Kuwaitis were good fishermen, inheriting the skills from their ancestors.

As an occupation, fishing was not an easy life. The fishermen worked hard, spending long hours at sea, where they exposed themselves to cold weather and humid conditions, which eventually affected their

health. This was in part due to the primitive methods used. Fishing was carried out on both an individual basis and as a co-operative enterprise.

"Fishing was an occupation with no high financial rewards. It was not carried out for trade, only for consumption within the country. According to the tradition of co-operation between individuals in Kuwaiti society, fishermen's families would distribute any fish, surplus to their own needs, amongst neighbouring families. This custom consequently lessened the importance of fish as a saleable commodity in traditional Kuwait". (Mahjub, 1970, p.104).

1.2.4 Agriculture and Grazing

Agricultural activity was limited by the climatic and environmental conditions in Kuwait. Being a desert country, Kuwait had neither fertile soil nor sufficient fresh water for a successful agricultural economy.

"However, short grass grew annually, in some areas of the desert in the springtime, after the seasonal rain. In addition, there were oases, such as Al-Jahra, Al-Fantas and Abu Hulaifa, where underground water was to be found and could be used in small-scale agriculture. Traditionally, alfalfa ('Berseem') was grown to feed the small flocks of sheep, and some vegetables were cultivated by primitive methods". (Mahjub, 1970, p.106).

Agriculture on a large scale was not possible in the Kuwaiti climate, and that which did take place had little effect on the country's

economy. However, Kuwait was considered to have good grazing land, in comparison with the other north eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. The region became a traditional sheep-grazing area, in the period immediately following the heavy rainfall season.

It was inhabitants of the Al-Badia area of Kuwait who grazed sheep, and they were mainly Bedouin. "They often searched for good grazing grounds as far away as the borders of Saudi Arabia in the south, and Iraq in the north". (Mahjub, 1970, p.108). The Bedouin did not as a rule, observe the boundaries between the neighbouring countries, and established their own rules for sharing and grazing land with other tribes. To the Bedouin, grazing was an economic activity of prime importance, necessary for the livelihood of their tribe. However, its importance to the economy of traditional Kuwaiti society was minimal: all it produced was a small amount of meat and dairy produce.

In summary then, there were two main economic resources available to th Kuwaitis prior to the development of oil. These were the sea and the desert, with the sea being of considerably greater importance.

1.2.5 The Crafts

Several crafts were also known to exist in traditional Kuwaiti society, one of the most important of which was ship-building. Sailing ships were built, mainly by craftsmen who had come to Kuwait originally from neighbouring countries such as Bahrain. The ships became well-known for their structural strength and the quality of

their design. Ship-building flourished until the end of World War Two, but lost its importance after the discovery of oil.

A second craft which existed was making of tools needed for fishing, both for individual fishermen and groups. There were other minor crafts, such as carpentry, painting, jewelry, ironwork and house-building.

The skills of the craftsmen did not involve any formal training or a particular educational background. They were passed on from generation to generation within families, craftsmen inheriting their skills from their parents. Craftsmanship was restricted to a few families and therefore a relatively small number of individuals. "Although these crafts were recognised as essential skills within the society, traditional Kuwaiti society looked down upon the individuals who were the craftsmen". (Al-Ginai, 1968, p.36).

The various economic activities within Kuwait society prior to the discovery of oil had considerable influence on the type of life led by individuals, and on the social relations between families and individuals. These influences were also to be seen in the political and social structure.

1.3 The Political Structure in Traditional Kuwaiti Society

Kuwait was a poor land, inhabited initially by a few fishermen living on the coast, and by small groups of the Beni-Khalid tribe, who were the dominant people on the eastern side of the Arabian Peninsula.

Even after the arrival of the people from the Utobi tribe, there was still no formal political system in Kuwait. From the peoples of the Utobi tribe, three leading families assumed an authority to run the affairs of the people living in the Kuwait area. These families of the Utobi tribe came from a larger tribe, called 'Anaizze', who came originally from the Najd region of the Arabian Peninsula.

1.3.1 The Joint Administration, 1716-1752

The joint administration was formulated by the heads of the three leading families, namely:

- a. Sheikh Sulaiman Eben Rashed Al-Sabah, head of the Al-Sabah family.
- b. Sheikh Khelaifan Eben Mohammad, head of the Al-Khalifa family.
- c. Sheikh Jaber Al Otabi, head of the Al-Jalahma family.

The responsibilities of the joint administration were divided amongst the families as follows:

- a. Al-Sabah took responsibility for the administration of Kuwait City.
- b. Al-Khalifa took responsibility for the administration of commerce.
- c. Al-Jalahma took responsibility for the administration of the port. (Abdul Malik, p.7).

In that traditional society, there was no separate political structure, and no need for a central government to run it. The small size of the population of Kuwait, and the relatively few needs of a small city society, ensured that a complex political structure was unnecessary. Also, potential problems were further limited, since the city was located in a tiny, clearly defined area of the Gulf.

"The joint administration lasted until the time (in 1752) when foreigners and strangers started to come to the Kuwait area, and mix with the local inhabitants. As a result of the increase in immigration and the weakness of the Beni Khalid tribe, (particularly after the death of their Emir in 1752)" (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.22), there was a need for a ruler to solve the disputes and problems in the society. Consequently, the people of Kuwait chose Sabah the First to rule the country in 1752. Sheikh Sabah I agreed to assume leadership, and rule the country after the people of Kuwait pledged obedience. "The governing of Kuwait was primarily by consultation, this being a precept for government in Islamic law. This system continued in existence until the year 1896, when Sheikh Mubark Al-Sabah took over the Sheikhdom". (Abdul Malik, p.19).

The rule of the Al-Sabah family falls into three distinct periods, or Sheikhdoms, each characterised by a different political style:

- I. First Sheikhdom (1752-1896)
- II. Second Sheikhdom - period of Mubark Al-Sabah (1896-1915)
- III. Third Sheikhdom (1915-1950)

The rulers within the three sheikhdoms are shown in Fig. 1.4.

Fig. 1.4. Name of Rulers and their ruling periods during the three Sheikhdoms of Kuwait

Sheikhdom		Ruler Name	Period of Ruling
First Sheikhdom	1.	Sabah the First	1752 - 1764
	2.	Abdulla ben Sabah	1764 - 1815
	3.	Jaber ben Abdulla Al-Sabah	1815 - 1859
	4.	Sabah ben Jaber Al-Sabah	1859 - 1866
	5.	Abdulla ben Sabah Al-Sabah	1866 - 1892
	6.	Mohammed ben Sabah Al-Sabah	1892 - 1896
Second Sheikhdom	1.	Mubarak ben Sabah Al-Sabah	1896 - 1915
Third Sheikhdom	1.	Jaber ben Mubarak Al-Sabah	1916 - 1917
	2.	Salem ben Mubarak Al-Sabah	1917 - 1921
	3.	Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	1921 - 1950

1.3.2 First Sheikhdom (1752-1896)

The era of the first Sheikhdom was characterised by a ruling system of consultancy. In this, the ruler had always to consult the heads of other families in the important matters concerning the Sheikhdom. At the beginning of this period, Kuwait was extending its trade to India, Yemen and Iraq. This happened especially during the reign of the Second Emir, Abdulla Ben-Sabah, who ruled "with justice and handled the political situation by never taking a decision without consulting his people". (Al Ginai, 1968, p.10). It was during the first Sheikhdom that the first major political conflict was experienced. This was a sea battle (Al-Rekka), which took place between the Beni Kaab tribes and the Kuwaitis, because of the aggressiveness towards Kuwait of the Beni Kaab.

The decline in strength of the Beni Khalid tribe, and the death of their Emir in 1752 left a certain instability in Kuwait, and it was necessary for the country to protect itself and its properties from neighbouring hostile tribes. "The people of Kuwait built a wall around the city in about 1760, to protect themselves and their properties". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.32).

In addition, the rulers of Kuwait began during this period, to make contact with the outside world. "The first contact was made by the third ruler who helped the Turkish government fight against tribes that attacked the cities of Basra in 1831, and Mohammara in 1837". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.222-4).

The reign of the fourth Emir, Sabah Ben Jaber Al-Sabah, had no impact on the political structures of Kuwait, except in as much as the country's economy flourished. However, four sons of the fourth Emir ruled Kuwait jointly, after their father's death. The four brothers were named Abdulla, Mohammad, Jerrah and Mubark.

The reign of the eldest brother, Abdulla, the fifth Sheikh, was characterised by the collective administration of the Shiekhdom, with power being shared with his three brothers. The city and its inhabitants were administered by Mohammad, with the assistance of Mubark. The affairs of the Bedouin were administered by Mubark alone, and Jerrah was responsible for financial matters, including the exchequer. (Al Ginai, 1968, p.17).

During the time of the fifth Sheikh, "the most significant political incident was the attack by Al-Rashid and Al Saud on Kuwait City and the appointment of the Sheikh as a 'Quaimaqam' or Deputy Governor of Kuwait by the Ottoman Empire in 1871". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.259).

The sixth ruler, Sheikh Mohammad, ruled Kuwait for a relatively short period of time. The shiekhdom was subsequently seized by his half brother Mubark, whose reign came to be regarded as a turning point in the development of modern-day Kuwait.

1.3.3 The Second Sheikhdom: Mubark Al-Sabah: 1896-1915)

"In May 1896, Mubark seized power after the murder of his two half brothers, Mohammad and Jerrah. Whether this was due primarily to his own ambition, or his half brothers' weakness is not really clear, and

historians are divided on this issue. In Mubark, Kuwait found a strong leader, who could withstand both the pressures of the Turks and the rivalry of the Saudi and Al-Rashid families in Arabia". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p.10).

During the period referred to as the First Sheikhdom, the ruling system of Kuwait was typified by two elements.

1. Leadership was confined to the Al-Sabah family
2. Consultation took place with the leaders of the other important families in the society.

This system was changed when the seventh ruler, Mubark, took over the Sheikhdom by force and kept power for himself. The ruling system became an hereditary Sheikhdom, with Mubark's descendents taking office after his death.

It was also during this period that Kuwait's geographical area expanded, and a great amount of construction work was undertaken. "Soon Kuwait became an important Sheikhdom in the Gulf area and on the Arabian Peninsula. A period of peace and prosperity was experienced and commercial activities increased". (Al Ginai, 1968, p.21). Clearly this progress was due in part to the presence of a strong leader.

Mubark's regime was a very significant one in Kuwait's history. His strong personality brought about a respect for law and order amongst the people. It is Mubark's own achievements that have earned him the

description of 'father of modern Kuwait' from historians, but other factors , contributing to the emergence of modern Kuwait, took root in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the major European countries took an intense political and commercial interest in the Gulf.

Looking back over the achievements of Mubark's reign, it could be said that he proved to be a shrewd politician. He worked to protect his own political status, and the future of Kuwait, from the machinations of the Ottoman Empire, those of the European countries and those of the warring factions in the Arabian Peninsula.

A key element of his policy was his agreement with Great Britain. "In 1899, after pressure on the British Government from Curzon, the Viceroy of India, an agreement was signed by which Kuwait became a British Protectorate in all but name. As part of that agreement, Kuwait agreed not to lease, dispose of or give concessions to any individual power, any land in the Sheikhdom, without British permission; and in addition, not to receive agents or representatives of foreign governments without British agreement". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p.11-12).

1.3.4 The Third Sheikhdom (1915-1950)

The early part of this period saw a consolidation of the changes in the political system initiated by Mubark. Jaber Ben Mubarak, the eighth ruler, took up power following the death of his father. On coming to power, "the first thing he did was to cancel the taxes on

properties, which had been imposed by his father in 1899". (Hussayn, Khazaal 1962, p.296). Also, he returned confiscated properties to their original owners.

Kuwaiti commerce progressed during his time. The trading caravans reached Najd, Hijaz, Damascus, Iraq and Istanat, at a time when the Allies imposed a seige on the Ottoman Empire.

The ninth ruler, Salem Ben Mubark, who assumed power after the death of his brother, Jaber Ben Mubark, was "keen to reduce import taxes to 4%. He also abolished export duties". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.232-233).

During Salem's period, *important major events took place, which affected the future of Kuwait.*

1. A new mud wall was built around the city during his reign, extending from the sea shore at the east, to the shore at the west of the city. "The majority of the Kuwaiti people were involved in the construction of this wall, which took two months to build. It was built to defend the city against the aggression of Ben Saud, the ruler of Najd. Aggression became open warfare when Ben Saud's men attacked Kuwaiti people at the border between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.250).
2. The Battle of Al-Jhara: As the hostility of Ben Saud towards Kuwait increased, he decided to attack Kuwait. He ordered his commander, Faisal Al-Doush to invade the Kuwaiti village of Al-

Jahra. The Sheikh and the people of Kuwait, together with the Bedouin, decided to meet the aggressors, and to defend Kuwait at Al-Jahra. "The battle took place on the 10th of October 1920. On the one hand, this battle led to the unity of the Kuwaiti people in defence of their future independence, and on the other hand, it led to the implementation of the protection agreement which had been signed between Great Britain and Mubarak Al-Sabah in 1899". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.346-7).

During this period of the Third Sheikhdum, vitally important changes in the political structure occurred, particularly after the succession to power of the Emir Ahmad Al-Jaber (1921-1950). As a result of his personal belief in consultancy, he involved once again the leaders of other important families in the government of the country, and thereby reformed the autocratic system of government. "He established a 'Shora Council' or Consultative Council in the year 1921, to help him administer Kuwait. The council was formed of twelve members, who were considered to be representative of the prominent families in Kuwait". (Al-Essa, 1981, p.3). The main task of the council members was to look after the interests of Kuwaitis. The ruler undertook that he would not pass any orders without their approval. However, "this council was disbanded after a short period of time because of the disputes amongst its members". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.277).

The Emir Ahmad Al-Jaber's belief in the consultation system persisted, despite the setback experienced with the Shora Council. Seventeen years later, in 1938, he established a new council, the

'Legislative Assembly'. "This was a fourteen member council, which was selected from the merchant class. The duty of members of the Legislative Assembly was to draft a constitution calling for election by the people, of a twenty member Legislative Assembly. Article 3 of that constitution maintained that all internal concessions and lease monopolies, as well as external agreements and treaties, would not be considered legally binding unless they had been approved by the elected 'Legislative Assembly'". (Al-Essa, 1981, p.3).

Unfortunately, due to disputes between the Emir and members of the council, the Legislative Assembly was short-lived. "As a consequence, the council was dissolved five months after its establishment. But during that five months, Kuwait had experienced a system of democratic rule, and despite its untimely dissolution, the Legislative Assembly had succeeded in establishing government departments considered by many historians to be the beginning of the modern Kuwaiti administrative structure within the Gulf area". (Abdul Malik, p.9).

Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber had concern for the development of Kuwait in mind when he "gave a concession for the Anglo-American Company to drill for oil in the Kuwaiti desert. A second concession was signed with another American company to search for oil in the 'Neutral Zone'. Oil was discovered in 1938. But due to the outbreak of war, commercial production of oil was delayed until 1946, when development resumed, and the first shipment of oil was made to Great Britain in that year". (Abu Hakma, 1984, p.369).

The reign of Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber was further characterised by the emergence of an intellectual movement. "The first scholars were sent away from Kuwait, to Iraq, to gain a higher education, and later, students went to Egypt where a Kuwaiti student centre was established". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.306). Education expanded during this period, with 23 schools being established by 1950.

The Emir's interest in the progress of the country, and also in aspects of welfare provision, was reflected in the developing administrative structures. "He established several government departments, including those for the municipality, education, police and national security, health and employment". (Al-Reshaid, 1978, p.307). These departments were the foundations for the ministries which developed after Independence.

1.3.5 The Local Authorities in Traditional Kuwait-Society

The inhabitants of traditional Kuwait society could be divided into two major groups. The first group were the Bedouin, who lived in the desert, and were nomads. They belonged to several tribes, and the geographical area which they inhabited was called Albadia of Kuwait. The second group comprised the inhabitants of Kuwait City. They were the permanent settlers of the city in which the machinery of government and the residence of the ruler were located.

As a result of the territorial expansion of Kuwait, the Sheikdom was divided into four areas besides Kuwait City. "These areas or provinces were Failka Island, Al-Fehaheel, Al-Jahra and Al-Badia. Each province had its own Emir, who was usually appointed by the

ruler of the Sheikhdom of Kuwait. The Sheikh himself took on the role of Emir of Kuwait City.

The local Emirs were chosen because of their family's status, and because of their loyalty to the Sheikh. They normally enjoyed the full support of the Sheikh, and held full authority to carry out their functions in the province under their jurisdiction". (Mahjub, 1970, p.146).

Those appointed Emir usually received no salary or financial reward for carrying out their government duties. They were dependent on what the residents of the province would offer for their services.

The position of provincial Emir carried with it the right to maintain law and order in the area. "All of the people were duty bound to obey the orders of the Emir, regardless of their profession, family status, tribe or place of residence. This duty was incumbent on them simply because they were within his jurisdiction". (Mahjab, 1970, p.147). Furthermore, because the Emir in each province represented the Central Government, his authority was not subject to interference from the Sheikh. Authority was not based on any written law, but was derived mainly from Islamic law and the wisdom of judicious persons within each province.

1.3.6 The Characteristics of Government in Traditional Kuwait

"From the first ruler of Kuwait, up to the first 'Shora Council' in 1921, with the exception of the reign of Mubarak Al-Sabah (1869-1915) the system of government was as follows:

1. The Method Of Selecting the Ruler

Traditionally, the selection of the ruler passed through two stages.

a. The Candidate

The candidate was always appointed from the Al-Sabah family, but not necessarily with sons following their father. Usually, the leading members of the family held a meeting to decide on the successor, following the death of the Sheikh. The choice of candidate was influenced by the family's judgement of his behaviour, reputation and wisdom.

b. Nominating the Ruler

Following deliberation, the members of the Al-Sabah family and other important persons in Kuwait would nominate a candidate to be the new Sheikh. The nomination was conditional on the candidate's agreeing to rule with justice, and to consult with the leaders of the important families on all substantial matters. The nomination gives the new Emir a legal right to rule the country.

2. The Method of ruling

The method of ruling was based on two principles.

a. The Consultancy

Consultation was a fundamental principle, agreed to by the ruler during the process of selection. It meant that with respect to all financial matters and other urgent affairs of state, the ruler would discuss the issues with the leaders of the important families prior to taking a decision.

b. The Power of the Law

The power of the law was derived from Islamic legislation and tradition. The ruler was not endowed with spiritual power, and

usually, the implementation of Islamic law only extended to matters concerned with personal affairs.

A common understanding of the rules and conditions was a fundamental prerequisite to successful government. In a primitive and traditional society such as Kuwait, such shared understandings did exist amongst people.

Although a judicial system did exist in traditional Kuwaiti society, and there were a number of judges, it was more common for problems and disputes to be solved by individuals and groups who were seen by people to have knowledge and wisdom than for the problem to be placed in the hands of an official.

1.4 Social Structure in Traditional Kuwaiti Society

In traditional Kuwaiti society, the population was small and highly concentrated. The greatest concentration was in Kuwait City, near the sea shores of Kuwait Bay. Small numbers lived in the villages, and an even smaller number dwelt in scattered nomadic settlements in the desert.

In 1914 the population of Kuwait "was estimated to be 35,000. The vast majority lived in Kuwait City, where there three thousand houses, five hundred commercial premises, six cafes, three schools, four mosques and a few store houses". (Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.67).

Traditional society comprised several large families, which were related to each other. The social relationships which existed were face to face relationships, characterised by a tradition of co-operation between, and unity amongst these families. This tradition was maintained by the style of life, and the tribal background of the society as a whole. Co-operation and unity was played out in the day to day behaviour of the people, in their lifestyle, their traditions and their customs.

"The Islamic religion also had a great influence on the people of Kuwait. Before the days of oil, Kuwait was a Moslem society, barely touched by outside influences. It formed a God-fearing community, for whom religion coloured practically every thought and action of life". (Sapsted, 1980, p.8).

The desert and the sea also had considerable influence on the social life of people in traditional Kuwaiti society. Life in the desert produced qualities of endurance, and developed an awareness of the need to support, and be supported. Similarly, the sea was a harsh and dangerous environment from which to extract a living, and fostered a spirit of co-operation and unity amongst those who encountered it.

The environment produced hardy men, who extended their values of unity and co-operation beyond their immediate occupational and familial context, to the wider society as a whole. These values and traditions were highly distinctive features of traditional Kuwaiti society.

1.4.1 Customs and Values

Traditional society in Kuwait was dominated by customs and values distinguishing it from other societies which existed in the Gulf area. These customs and values could be outlined as follows.

1.4.1.1 Co-operation

Co-operation was the hallmark of family life; in this respect there was no distinction made in the social relationships between rich and poor. When a member of the society was in need (for example, due to financial ruin) others would extend a hand to help him in his misfortune. Also, in the case of a death in the family, other families, particularly the neighbours, would assist the bereaved, by providing the family with food and other necessities throughout the duration of mourning. This showed the concern and care of one individual towards another in that society.

1.4.1.2 Trust and Faith

Trust and faith dominated the way of life within traditional society, being especially evident in the way in which trading arrangements were organised. Commercial agreements were made between individuals without any collateral being asked for, or provided. The basis of trade was the 'gentleman's agreement'. "Theft, dishonesty, or crimes of violence were rare in Old Kuwait Town, and when such offences occurred in the desert, there were well-established rules for compensation in money or blood". (Sapsted, 1980, p.9).

1.4.1.3 Self-Respect

Self-respect was one of the important characteristics of traditional society. "Self-respect was so ingrained, that poverty was borne with such dignity that its existence was scarcely noticed; manners were so gentle that the slave and chieftain were spoken to with equal courtesy, and the whole of life was based on the tacit assumption that the immaterial alone was essential. The coming of oil might teach the Arab many things, but self-respect was not one of them". (Stark, F.1937, p.136).

1.4.1.4 Hospitality

Hospitality was deeply important. A generous response to a stranger asking for hospitality was regarded as a social duty. Most houses were open, and offered food to people and strangers who were in need. This practice was particularly apparent in the fasting month of Ramadan (see section 1.4.2).

The hospitality of traditional Kuwait Society was well described by a western visitor, who stated that, "in Kuwait you are still at leisure to notice what a charming thing good manners are. As you step into the ragged booths, you will greet the owner with "peace be upon you", and he and all who are within hearing will reply with no fanatic exclusion, but in full and friendly chorus to that most gracious of salutations, and will follow your departing steps with their, "Fi aman allah", the divine security. Their shops they treat as small reception rooms where the visiting buyer is a guest, and sitting at coffee over their affairs". (Stark, 1937, p.136).

1.4.1.5 Leisure and Recreation

There were few means of leisure and recreation in traditional society. People used to play cards during the night time. They would also celebrate two major Islamic feasts - 'Alied Al Sakeer', the small feast, which follows the holy month Ramadan, and 'Alied Al Kabeer' which comes at the end of Al-Haj (the Pilgrimage period) when Moslems go to Mecca.

There were few comforts in the average Kuwaiti family's daily life. "For both townspeople and Bedouin, life was full of uncertainties, and in the wilderness and the oceans, all were conscious of man's helplessness and the need for the protection of God. Great was the need for favourable conditions - good rainfall and pasture, fair sailing winds and good trading profit, or the natural joys of family life such as the birth of children". (Sapsted, 1980, p.8).

1.4.2 The Influence of the Islamic Religion

The religion of Islam had a great impact on Kuwaiti people, and on their way of life within a Moslem society. "One aspect of Islam which is of enormous importance to Kuwait - an overwhelmingly Moslem country - is that the faith combines both the spiritual and temporal sides of life. It seeks to determine not only a person's relationship with God, but also his or her relationship with society. This has given rise to such concepts as the Islamic nation, Islamic law and to institutions regulating secular life". (Sapsted, 1980, p.6-7).

Since its foundation Kuwait society has been affected by Islamic ideals, particularly those of the five pillars:

- a. the profession of faith which teaches that there is no God but Allah, and that Mohammed is His Prophet,
- b. the five daily prayers,
- c. Zakat (the giving of alms),
- d. fasting during the holy month of Ramadan,
- e. the holy pilgrimage to Mecca.

These Islamic ideals have had a great influence on the social life and structure within the society, and on social relations and social unity. This is symbolised by their faith in one God. "The Kuwaitis, like every Arab or true Muslim, believe that everything comes from God, both good and evil - a belief that permeates an individual's whole life, and explains his stoical calm and resignation when faced suddenly with death, loss or ruin". (Dickson, 1983, p.122).

The Kuwaitis were very punctilious about the times of prayers in the Mosque, particularly on Friday which is the Moslem's day of rest. "If possible an individual would pray in company, as there is more virtue in this than praying alone. The times for prayers are just before dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, at sunset and in the evening after dining". (Dickson, 1983, p.123). The gathering in a mosque for the prayers also serves several social purposes, such as strengthening social relations, holding counsel, the performance of marriage and organising help for the needy in society.

The third concept of Islam - 'Zakat' - which is the name given to alms for the poor and needy, was the basis of assisting the poor directly. Wealthy people give an amount of their wealth for the poor and needy people of the society. This ideal allowed the development of caring between individuals of the society, particularly between rich and poor.

Ramadan is the fasting month in the Islamic calendar, during which individuals abstain from eating any food between the hours of sunrise and sunset. The importance of Ramadan is indicated by the following note. "Observance of Ramadan also appears widespread, and even non-Moslems are expected to refrain from eating, drinking and smoking in public during daylight hours". (Sapsted, 1980, p.9). However, Ramadan also helped to increase a sense of social equity, and to demonstrate equality between individuals of the society, through the practice of fasting during daylight hours. Towards sunset, Kuwaiti families customarily exchanged different dishes between neighbours and friends. Various types of food were available for almost everyone in any neighbourhood at sunset. This in itself brought people together, visiting each other during the nights of Ramadan. Usually people, their relatives and friends would gather in the Dewania 'Divan' chatting, playing cards and/or conversing with each other about current and social affairs. Generally, the holy month of Ramadan demonstrated the systemic unity of the society, a unity reinforced by the strict system of fasting, praying and the associated relationships among individuals.

The last of the five pillars of Islam is Al-Hajj - the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Medina. If an individual possessed the means, he would take a visit once during his or her life span. During pilgrimage rituals, individuals of both sexes would wear clothes of almost the same colour and worship God together. This gave people a sense of equality as human beings, and a sense of their own social unity. It further indicated the absence of status differences between individuals.

Generally speaking, the ideals of Islam have had both a direct and an indirect influence on the social structure of traditional Kuwaiti society. Such influences were to be seen in individual beliefs, values, customs, relationships, rules, systems and way of life.

1.4.3 Social Stratification

Social stratification is the product of differentiation and evaluation in a society. "It is hard to see how even a simple society could exist without a fairly large amount of social differentiation". (Barber, 1957, p.12). Social classes are individual units within a system of social stratification. "A social class, or a 'stratum' as Max Weber called it, consists of a set of families that share equal or nearly equal prestige, according to the criteria of evaluation in the systems of stratification". (Barber, 1957, p.73).

According to the above definitions, social stratification is considered to be inevitable in any given society - whether this society be small or large, ancient or modern. Nevertheless, early

authors writing about tradition society in Kuwait indicated that, unlike most of the other Arab societies, it was traditionally a compact, united and virtually classless society. In general they suggested that the whole population was part of one big family kin-group.

The classless nature of Kuwaiti society "could be attributed to many factors: (1) the small size of the original city of Kuwait, which made segregated living impossible, (2) the small population, restricted to one circle of friends and companions, (3) the absence of non-Arab influence which rendered the concept of class incomprehensible, (4) the absence of agriculture, and thus of hierarchies based on land ownership, (5) the influence of tribal relations and tribal pride, which tended to deny the importance of the unequal distribution of money and property. For these and other less defined reasons, it was suggested that a definite class system, with all its traditions and conventions, had never developed in Kuwait". (Britanica, 1981, p.549). While acknowledging the validity of this argument, it is argueably still the case that, within traditional Kuwaiti society, there was a degree of social stratification.

1.4.3.1 Social Classes in Traditional Kuwait Society

Traditionally, Kuwaiti society could be divided into two or more social classes according to economic and/or social status. This view is supported by recent investigations into traditional society. "Al Romahi has described traditional Kuwaiti society as consisting of two

classes based on economic relationship. Firstly there was the Merchant Class, which controlled both internal and external commerce and financed small projects run by individuals. This class also dominated land ownership and some real estate, mainly due to the fact that they had available capital. Secondly, it was possible to identify the Labour Class, consisting of pearl divers, agricultural labourers and the workers in cottage industries". (Al Rumaihi, 1984, p.52-53).

On the other hand, Amps, L.W. (1953) divided traditional Kuwait society into "three classes based on both economic and social status: (1) The ruling family - the Al-Sabah family. This family was dependent financially on commerce, taxes and pearl-diving shares, and on the profits of agricultural lands which they owned near Basra in Iraq. (2) The Merchant class, who formed a small percentage of the total population. (3) The majority of the people were very hard working, and inventive and creative". (Al Khusosy, 1972, p.125-6).

Alternatively, traditional Kuwait society could be stratified according to tribal background and religious sect. In addition to the merchant and working classes, there were two other groups.

a. There were tribal groups who used the desert as a permanent residence and came to the city only occasionally for necessities and trade. These people lived in distinct groups, based on tribal background and, except for those who migrated to the city, had their own way of life.

b. Kuwait City was composed of two main communities; Arab and Persian. The Arab community was the largest and its members belonged to the Suni sect of Islam. This community was further subdivided into two groups based on tribal attitudes and background. The first group, the 'Al-Asseel' or 'original', believed that they were descended from prominent Arab clans and tribes. They would not accept manual work. The second group, the 'Al-Beissari', or 'non-original', believed they were descended from non-prominent Arab tribes. They were considered to be a subordinate group within the Arab community. These people would work at any type of job. The individuals would carry out craft work, such as house and ship-building, butchering, carpentering and other jobs which were considered as low status.

Although there was no separation in social relationship between the two groups of the Arab community, intermarriage between individuals of these two groups was almost non-existent at that time.

The Persian community was small in traditional Kuwaiti society. Nevertheless this community was one of the oldest and, unlike the Arab community, belonged to the Shia' sect of Islam. The individuals of the Persian community would take any type of work. They were exclusive in that: they had their own places for worship and practising the teaching of the Shia sect of Islam, and the choice of marriage partner was restricted to individuals within their own community.

The distinct Arab and Persian communities have existed since the foundation of Kuwait. "However, integration of these two communities was minimal and was hindered by their respective clan and tribal attitudes; intermarriage among the two communities was non-existent". (Al Essa, 1981, p.1-2).

1.4.3.2 Traditional Kuwaiti Family

The family is considered a primary unit in the social structure. In traditional Kuwaiti society, the family was large and consisted of members of several generations. In addition to the wife and husband, there were the sons and daughters, and sons' wives with their children, all under the same roof. Furthermore, especially in the case of wealthy families, the family could also include the daughters' husbands with their children, and the servants with families, or slaves with their families. Generally, they tended to form a micro community within the society. The large size of the traditional family might be due to the following reasons:

1. The groups who originally migrated from Najd in the Arabian Peninsula, came to Kuwait in large families, and continued this tradition in Kuwait.
2. The large family was formed for reason of security, since conflicts between the tribes existed at that time.
3. The traditional family was large because of the poverty existing in the region at that time, and such poverty required the collective efforts of the whole family to mitigate the worst effects.

4. A large family would be better protected than a smaller one, since there was no official authority to protect individual rights within the society.

All these reasons have been given to explain the existence of large families and their importance and permanence in traditional Kuwait society.

Traditionally, Kuwaiti families could be classified in two groups.

- A. The Bedouin; they usually lived in the desert, dwelling in tents. They camped in groups of large families, mostly related to each other or belonging to the same clan.
- B. The City Dwellers; they formed the basis of modern-day Kuwaiti society. These families were also large, and some of them were related to each other.

Families in the city lived in houses, most of which were built from mud, and a few stones. The houses mostly had a large yard, around which was built a number of rooms. At the entrance to the house, there was often a very large room or 'divan', called "Al-Dewania" in Arabic. It was used as a gathering place for the male members of the family and their male friends. The gathering in the 'divan' occurred daily, mostly at night, and served several purposes; but most commonly, its role was as a neighbourhood meeting place, where the affairs of individuals, and of society as a whole were discussed. These would include the planning of marriages, business deals and the daily events of society.

1.4.3.3 The Status of the Individual in the Traditional Family

The family assigned certain tasks to each of its members, according to the individual's ability, age and sex. Since the family worked collectively to achieve a certain degree of self-sufficiency, this arrangement promoted the individual's integration into the family group. Individual actions and attitudes were controlled by authority vested in the family. The individual members of a family had no right to act, or to bring about any changes, save with the consent of the family, which in return offered protection to the individual living in a difficult and sometimes hostile environment.

Family authority was usually vested in the eldest male member of the family. The head of the family had the right to take, on behalf of the family, decisions of a social and economic nature. Other members of the family, particularly male members, gave their income to the head of the family, who was then responsible for running their daily affairs. In addition, he would arbitrate in the disputes and problems which arose from time to time amongst members of the family. He was also responsible for the arrangement of marriage for the men within the family. In these matters, no-one in the family had the right to object, or to disobey his orders.

Women were responsible for the care of the children, and for the cooking for the whole family. They also cleaned the house and made clothes. Women had no other role in the traditional family and thus no visible role in society. Traditional society was a male society.

1.4.3.4 Marriage in the Traditional Family

Marriage in traditional Kuwaiti society took place between a man and a woman who did not know each other, and mostly without their even seeing each other prior to the ceremony. Marriage was encouraged between cousins. Any consideration of male personality and/or behaviour was not relevant in traditional marriages.

A. The Traditional Approach to Marriage

Within traditional society there were old women whose job was to search for brides for those young men who showed an interest in marriage. After an agreement was struck between the women of the two families, the groom's father would visit the bride's father, or the person of authority in the family, to ask for the daughter's hand in marriage to his son or brother. The father of a bride usually asked for time to consult other members of the family before giving his final decision. After a few days he would be obliged to accept or refuse. In the case of acceptance, arrangements would be made for the engagement and the marriage ceremony. The bride might not know about her engagement and marriage until the wedding day.

During the engagement period, the groom's family would send "Al-Dazza" to the house of the bride's family. (Al-Dazza was the dowry that the groom offered to his bride.) It consisted of two items. The first was an amount of money ranging from 150 to 300 Indian rupees which was about KD15 to 30. In addition, an amount of 50 to 100 Indian rupees, approximately KD4-8, was given by the groom to his bride on the morning of the first wedding day, and this was called "Al-Sabahia". The second item would be a suitcase or box full of

clothes, towels, linen and beddings. Usually, the wedding gifts were taken by the women of the bride's family and shown to their neighbours, reflecting the prestige of the bride, groom and their families in the neighbourhood.

B. The Wedding

The wedding ceremony usually occurred either on a Monday or a Thursday night. On the wedding night, the head of the family and the groom would receive the invited people in their 'dewania' if they had one. Alternatively, they could use a neighbour's 'dewania'. Generally, the bridegroom and his guests would go to the mosque for the last of the five daily prayers, 'Al-Esha'. Other guests joined the wedding party in the mosque for the commencement of the wedding celebration. The groom and the guests then walked to the bride's house, where they joined the women and children in a celebratory wedding party.

The night when the groom entered the marriage house was called 'Al-Dakhlah' night. On his arrival at the bride's house, drummers started drumming, signalling his entrance to the marriage home. The groom was usually accompanied by his fellow guests to the marriage room, where they congratulated him on his marriage. Then followed his female relatives, who also extended their congratulations. Finally, the bride would be taken to the wedding room, and to her future husband, by the bridesmaid and other women in the family, in order for the marriage to be consummated.

The newly-wed husband and wife had to stay a week in the bride's family house. During this week, the couple would be served by the bridesmaid (who was paid a sum of money by the husband for her attendance and services). On the third night of this week, the bride, her family, and the husband's family would come together in a party at the bride's family house, so that the families might become better acquainted. This gathering could also include close female friends of the two families. During this party, the husband's female relatives would sit in a circle and have coffee and soft drinks. Afterwards the bride would appear, wearing her best clothes and jewelry, to greet her husband's relatives and their friends. Then she would sit on a chair in the centre of the circle, so that they could see her and her dress. Sometimes they would ask her to stand up, so that every one of the invited ladies could see her clearly.

At the end of wedding week, the husband, with the assistance of his male relatives, would start to transfer his wife's furniture and belongings to his family's house. That evening, the bride would be taken by her female relatives to her husband's family house. Her relatives would stay with her for a while, and then they would leave to go to their house. On the third night after the bride moved to her husband's house, the relatives of the husband would visit the bride's family. This night was the last step in the marriage ceremony of the traditional Kuwaiti family". (Al Qanawati et al, 1974, p.105-113).

Summary

In summary, Kuwait before the discovery of oil, was a small, simple society, occupying the north west corner of the Arabian Gulf. Economically, this society had been largely dependent on the sea, which provided a somewhat irregular income at this time.

Because of the irregularity of that income, a division of labour, and a high degree of co-operation between individuals were distinctive features of the society of that period. Furthermore, extensive personal trust, in the context of both trade and occupation, was the dominant characteristic of relationships between individuals in that society.

Additionally, due to the lack of a constant and reliable source of income, Kuwait developed a practical and outward-looking people, primarily concerned in an international context, with issues concerned with trade and the sea during this period. They had already extensive connections overseas, and were in part, dependent on foreign labour and considerably affected by fluctuations in world markets.

Politically, this era was first characterised by the system of consultancy in government, and later, by the attempt to form a consultative council. This contrasted with the period of strong, centralised rule. Throughout Kuwait's history, the political elite has controlled the main aspects of Kuwaiti life, and shown a high degree of paternalism in its dealings with the Kuwaiti people.

Socially, the structure of Kuwaiti society was built upon tribal values and customs, influenced by Islamic teaching, and coloured by the importance for food, income and trade, of the sea. In this period, social relationships were highly characterised by co-operation, respect and obedience, together with hospitality and sacrifice. They were based also on a lack of class-distinction amongst individuals in the society.

Traditional society in Kuwait remained virtually intact, until the era of oil exploitation in Kuwait's territory, which took place in the 1950's.

CHAPTER TWO

KUWAIT SOCIETY AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF OIL

Introduction

The discovery and exploitation of oil in Kuwait had an enormous effect on all spheres of society, the impact being most immediately felt in the economy, but quickly permeating to the political system, and extending so deeply that its influence can be seen in the changing attitudes and values of the society. Although the first oil shipment took place in 1946, 1950 can be considered to be the starting point for the changes that were to take place in Kuwait society. "This was due to; (1) the huge and sudden increase in oil production and consequently in its revenues and (2) the concern of the Eleventh Ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh Abdulla Al-Salem Al-Sabah (1950-1965), to utilize the oil revenues to develop and progress society. Such concern was evident during the period 1950 to 1961". (Al Najar, 1985, p23).

Within the last forty years, the exploitation of oil has been a significant factor contributing to not only massive change in the economic system and the creation of new sources of income, but also to important changes in the political, the social system and the demographic structure of Kuwaiti society. The exploitation of oil is seen by many as the single factor responsible for changing a barren piece of desert into a growing and developing society in such a short period of time. "Stretching over some 6,000 square miles of the hard, gravelly and waterless northeast corner of the Persian Gulf,

Kuwait has been thrust from oblivion into sudden prominence by her hidden wealth, and by the creative genius of western enterprise and technology. In less than two decades, since the first shipment of oil left her shores, material riches have changed the face of her barren territory, and Kuwait is now experiencing a host of complex social, political and economic problems which are shaking her essentially tribal and primitive structure". (Shehab, 1964, pl26).

The initial exploitation of oil took place in the reign of Sheikh Abdulla Salem Al-Sabah, a reign which has been characterised by two periods, transition and early statehood. During both periods important changes occurred in Kuwait society.

2.1. Economic change during the period of transition 1950-1961

Economic change in this period was characterised by a rapid increase in oil production, and subsequently in government revenues, which in its turn led to a transformation of the economic, political and social system. This period was also characterised by the migration of large numbers of immigrants from different countries. This influx was to have a great effect on the demographic and social structure of Kuwait.

The first export of oil in 1946 had an immediate impact on the traditional economic system and trade. "Oil was not only the leading sector of the economy of the country but it also quickly substituted the country's traditional activities, particularly those of pearling,

seafaring and fishing. The swiftness with which oil exports acquired a predominant role was essentially due to the small size of the economy (estimated Gross National Production in 1945 was less than \$5 million) and the rapid increase in the oil revenues". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p25). These changes in the economy encountered no local resistance, partly because of the limited nature of traditional activities, and partly due to technological progress in other parts of the world (see section 1.3). At this time everyone in Kuwait, rulers and businessmen alike, co-operated with foreign investors, and with the oil companies. This co-operation bore fruit in terms of the extremely rapid development of oil resources, and in the creation of facilities necessary for the development of the country.

2.1.1. The Oil Production and Revenues:

Production of oil from both inland and offshore fields (*Fig. 2.1*) increased five fold from 1950 to 1961, and led to a considerable increase in oil revenues (Table 2.1). The significance of this increase becomes obvious when it is considered in relation to the total population of Kuwait, "which was 206,473 in 1957 and 321,621 in 1961". (State of Kuwait, 1985, p25).

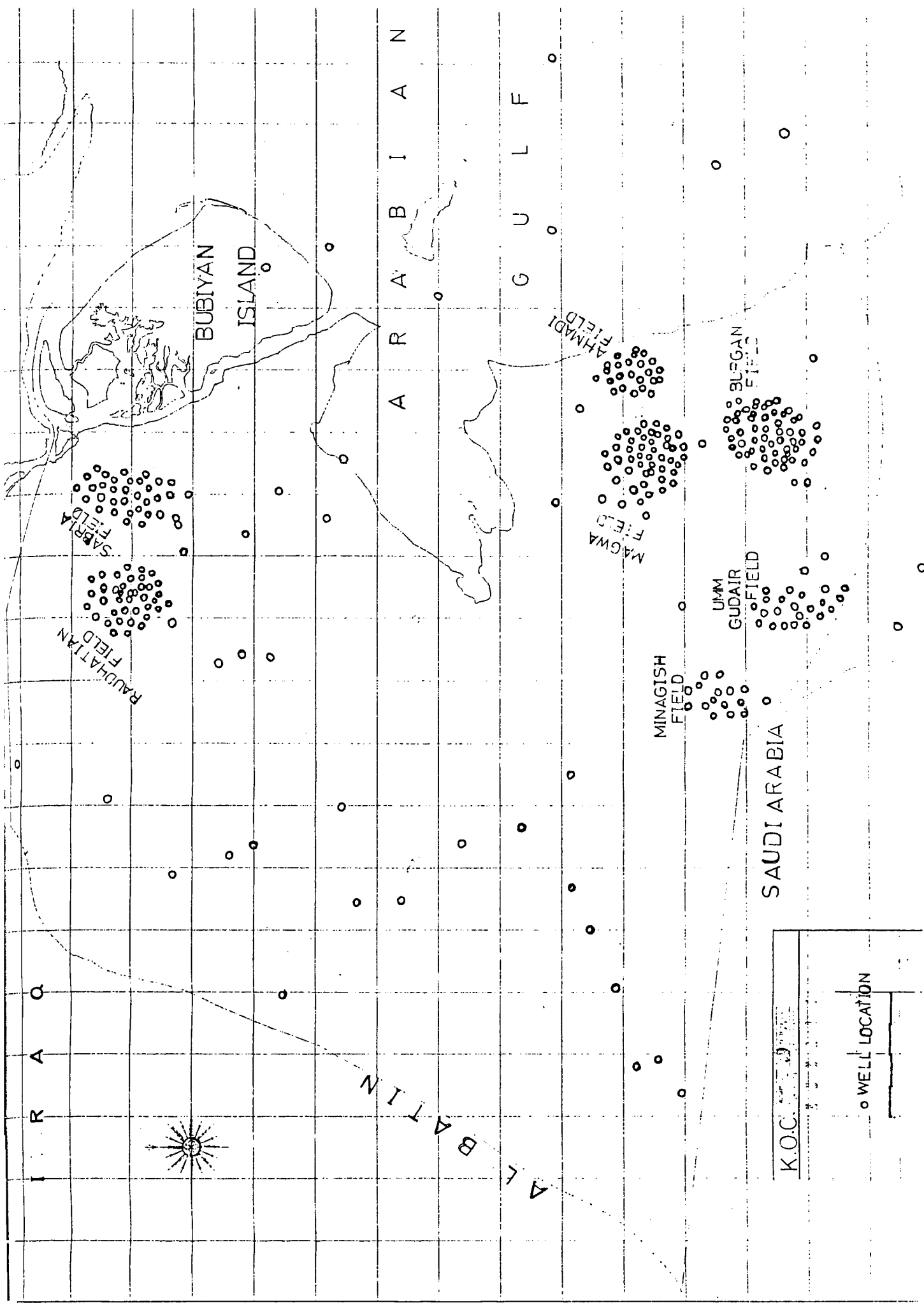
The steady increase in government oil revenues in the 1950s set the stage for the expansion of the economy. "Although there were no reliable estimates of Gross Domestic Production before 1961/2, the growth of the economy was clearly manifested in the rapid increase of imports, population and government expenditure. Imports have expanded quickly to reach, by 1952, a per capita level of over £280; high rate for many present-day developing countries and a clear

Table 2.1 Growth of oil production and revenues, 1946-61

Year	Crude Oil Production		Government Oil Revenues	
	(Million US Barrels)	(Annual Increase %)	(Million \$US)	(Annual Increase %)
1946	5.9	-	0.76	-
1947	16.2	174.0	2.07	172.3
1948	46.5	187.0	5.95	187.4
1949	89.9	98.0	11.52	93.6
1950	125.7	39.0	16.09	39.6
1951	204.9	63.0	18.00	11.8
1952	273.4	33.0	57.00	216.6
1953	314.6	15.0	169.00	195.6
1954	349.7	11.0	194.20	14.9
1955	402.7	15.0	281.70	45.0
1956	405.5	0.6	293.70	4.2
1957	424.8	4.7	308.00	4.8
1958	522.4	23.0	356.00	15.5
1959	525.9	0.6	419.40	17.8
1960	619.1	17.7	445.80	6.3
1961	633.3	2.2	467.40	4.8

c.f. The economy of Kuwait. M.W. Khouja & P.G. Sadler, 1979, p.26

Figure 2.1 Oil Fields in Kuwait (Courtesy of K.O.C.)



IRAQ

BAHRAIN

ARABIAN

GULF

BUBIYAN ISLAND

RAUHATIAN FIELD

SABRIA FIELD

MINAGISH FIELD

UMM GUDAIR FIELD

MAGWA FIELD

AHMADI FIELD

BULGAN FIELD

SAUDI ARABIA

K.O.C.

WELL LOCATION

indication of the country's potential dependence on foreign-produced goods. The value of the total imports more than quadrupled since the 1950s, reaching a per capita level of over \$780 by 1960". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p27). The increase of the wealth and the presence of surplus oil income has allowed the government to share this huge revenue with the citizens. To do this the government has distributed some of the wealth by adopting a policy of acquiring land and real estate from private individuals, and paying high prices for such commodities.

However, the early steps of economic change were begun in 1952 with the establishment of the first Kuwaiti National Bank. "Other features of economic change were reflected in the establishment of Kuwait Air Lines (1954), the Kuwait new port (1960), the Security Bank (1960) as a public institution for providing loans to Kuwaiti employees against the security of their salaries, and the replacement of the currency (Indian rupee) by a national currency - the Kuwaiti Dinar - in 1961". (Al Toorky, 1985, p25-28).

2.1.2. The impact of economic change:

The economic system during the transition period, unlike that of traditional society, where the resources were meagre and depended entirely on the sea, was based mainly on oil. The first significant political effect of the oil exploitation was that the financial base of government no longer depended on the support of the merchant class.

Also during this period, the people of Kuwait have made a 180 degree turn in their working patterns, leaving the sea behind, and looking inward to the city and land for the basis of their livelihood.

Almost immediately, the majority of the people left their traditional occupations of ship building, sailing, trade, diving and grazing, and started looking for new jobs. These jobs were perceived to be easier than the traditional occupations, and were taken up to such an extent that the old professions almost disappeared. (See Section 1.1.)

The majority sought employment in the various institutions of government, as well as in the oil companies. The emerging economic system created great opportunities in jobs necessary to the needs of a developing country. Such needs have undoubtedly been reflected by the presence of the huge foreign labour force in Kuwait. (See Section 2.5.)

As a result of the size of the oil income, the old system of economic activity characterised by trust and co-operation and simplicity of operation, was no longer effective. Alternative structures were slow to develop and to be adopted. This lack of structure led by default, to the creation of a state of "laissez-faire" in the economy during this period. The effect of this was felt particularly in those areas related to development. The prevalence of a laissez-faire attitude was evidenced in the speed, the superficiality, and in the evident absence of planning in the building up of the country. At this stage in the transition, there was no adequate economic structure or

administrative system to fulfil the goals, objectives and the needs of a modern society. Also there was a lack of budgetary control.

Commentators of the time did not uniformly regard such developments uncritically: "The development has no certain future because it has been done in a hurry and with no planning. Development such as medical and educational services have been carried out with no future policy, goal or rules related to the traditions of the society. Furthermore, civil services have been treated in a superficial manner because the economy has been devoted mainly to the construction of the country". (Al Farra, 1974, p189).

The transition period also gave the merchants an opportunity to increase their wealth. This was due both to the increase in economic activity and to the absence of income tax. The Kuwaiti merchants were able to maximise their gains from this situation because of their previous considerable experience in trade. They also acquired new and more efficient business methods by adopting some of the modern administrative and commercial techniques used by the trading partners with whom they came into contact. Business activities widened at this time to include both the export and import of various goods.

Many Kuwaiti merchants entered areas of commerce with which they were previously unfamiliar. Examples of this included civil engineering contracts and building programmes. The merchants did have some difficulty in administering these new areas, because of their lack of experience. They began to rely heavily on foreign expertise and

assistance, by entering into partnership with foreign companies, and with foreign individuals who had experience in the new businesses. This policy was adopted with the intent of getting the benefit of foreign experience in the administration of this new trade.

In addition, this period saw the development of the modern commercial company in Kuwait. The constitution of these companies was based on what was for Kuwait a new system of investments, namely the joint stock sharing company, or private capital. Companies were developed in order to benefit from the work involved in the development of the country, particularly in the construction industry.

The economic development of this transition period stimulated the importation of various new types of consumer goods into the Kuwaiti market place. The introduction of the goods satisfied the demands of various groups of people living in Kuwait. It is important to note that many of these consumer goods were largely unknown in the traditional society of Kuwait, and in this sense new 'needs' were created. As a result of this activity, business flourished, and this was reflected in the increase in the number of shops that were scattered around the city.

Trade and business during the transition period was quite different from that of the traditional period; no longer were trading links confined to certain countries, but were developed with almost all the countries of the world. Increasingly at this time, trading involved luxury goods as well as necessities, a marked difference from the earlier period.

The change in the economic situation of the country created an urgent need for town and country planning. Some control of development in both city and villages was called for, following the growth of population centres attached to the developing commercial activities. Such plan became much more apparent by the end of the transition period and included the following:

- a. the designation of new areas for the establishment of modern housing.
- b. the designation of sites for public gardens, playgrounds and public courtyards.
- c. the designation of land for government establishments, buildings, hospitals and schools.
- d. designation of land for different kinds of industries, outside residential areas, with good transportation facilities.
- e. the establishment of a network of new roads to meet the increase in the number of cars (Kuwait is second only to the U.S.A. in the ratio of cars to the population). (Husayn, 1960, p84-85).

To implement this plan, the government speeded up the execution of its policy of purchasing land from the private sector, land which was purchased at high prices. This policy led to a transfer of money from the government to the individual, and consequently contributed to the development of:

- (a) local markets and trade;
- (b) new businesses;

and (c) the sudden substantial increase in wealth of several families in the country.

The transition period, by and large, could be described as an era of economic turmoil. Massive revenues emerged as a result of oil exportation. Private and public sectors were extensively encouraged to find various new means to speed up the processes of the development of the country. Because the government had no clear policy for such development, the sudden economic activities led to instability, but also to the emergence of a welfare state, for patriots and ex-patriots alike. However, towards the end of the period, the government and other national institutions did realise the need for a clear policy of economic development of Kuwait.

2.2. Changes in the economic system during the statehood-period

Statehood began in 1961 (See Section 2.3.2.). As a newly independent state, looking for a better future, the country adopted a new economic plan. Although the previous period had witnessed massive expenditures on the development of the country, the statehood era can be considered to be the period within which a new economic policy emerged. Such a policy was mainly based on the experiences of the transition period.

2.2.1. Oil and growth

In the statehood era oil and its revenues continued to dominate the economic system of the country. Over 94 percent of the budgetary revenue was attributable to this single product, and it accounted for 61 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). The extent of this dependence, and the limit on non-oil resources, have dictated a single-product economy. "The rapidity of Kuwait's economic development mirrors, to a great extent, the smooth and uninterrupted

exploitation of its vast reserves. In 1946 Kuwait produced 800,000 tons of crude oil, 17 million in 1950; it rose threefold in the next five years to 54 million, and by 1964 to a staggering output of 105 million tons. Kuwait is now the world's second largest exporter of oil, the fourth largest producer, and is the holder of about one-quarter of the world's total proven reserves. Furthermore, one field alone, the Greater Burgan, is estimated to contain oil reserves equal to those of the United States. The speedy growth of the oil industry in Kuwait is without comparison in resource development". (Mallakh, 1969, p3).

Kuwait's economy continued to develop and diversify during the statehood period. Although this economical development had been directly related to the growth in the oil production, exports and its revenues, it was also derived from non-oil products (Table 2.2). The economy reached its peak towards the end of the nineteen seventies, particularly after the oil price boom, following the OPEC agreement of 1974.

The country's imports also increased during the period of statehood. Obviously the increase in the import activities has been closely related to the massive revenues and expenditures of the government and the private sector. Imports peaked during 1982 (Table 2.3). Despite some fluctuations, the growth of imports was generally sustained during the 1960s. "The country's import requirements represented in 1970 almost 50 percent of its exports, and over 25 percent of GDP with per capita imports exceeding \$1,000 annually.

Table 2.2 Government Revenues & Expenditures

(Million KD)

Revenues			Expenditures				
Years	Oil revenue	Others	Total	Current	Develop ment	Land acqui- sition	Total
1962/61	167.0	13.8	180.8	76.5	26.3	58.9	161.7
1963/62	173.0	16.8	189.8	91.7	26.8	46.5	165.2
1964/63	190.6	16.8	207.4	..	..	..	176.3
1965/64	206.2	16.0	222.2	..	..	..	182.2
1966/65	225.3	19.5	244.8	..	..	..	241.5
1967/66	231.7	19.5	251.2	..	..	..	286.5
1968/67	263.1	49.7	312.8	..	..	..	324.0
1969/68	243.0	25.3	268.3	..	..	..	263.7
1970/69	280.4	26.1	306.5	224.2	54.7	9.6	285.5
1971/70	297.7	46.1	343.8	232.4	47.8	24.4	304.6
1972/71	354.1	29.3	383.4	278.8	49.6	19.9	348.3
1973/72	505.9	42.6	548.5	315.7	59.5	23.2	398.4
1974/73	544.0	44.0	588.0	387.2	70.2	19.4	476.8
1975/74	2 056.4	63.0	2 119.4	755.9	112.9	47.7	916.5
1976/75	3 529.3	103.0	3 632.3	735.9	203.8	147.0	1 086.7
1977/76	2 598.2	105.5	2 703.7	847.5	353.1	108.4	1 309.0
1978/77	2 575.3	133.9	2 709.2	973.2	493.9	188.4	1 655.5
1979/78	3 036.1	140.2	3 176.4	1 075.4	499.0	107.4	1 681.8
1980/79	5 940.5	147.5	6 088.0	1 465.6	462.9	263.9	2 192.4
1981/80	4 434.2	225.1	4 659.3	1 745.5	492.3	391.8	2 629.6
1982/81	2 764.1	221.1	2 985.2	1 989.8	658.4	444.2	3 097.4
1983/82	2 334.6	232.0	2 566.6	2 231.6	706.5	219.9	3 158.0
1984/83	2 923.6	226.9	3 150.5	2 113.4	779.3	227.3	3 120.0
1985/84*	2 493.8	250.9	2 744.7	2 295.5	850.0	250.0	3 395.5
1986/85*	2 801.9	314.1	3 116.0	1 856.2	964.2	298.0	3 118.4

* Provisional Figures.

- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.28.

Table 2.3 Foreign Trade (Million KD)

Exports				
Years	Petroleum	Other	Total	Imports
1961	..	9	..	89
1962	..	8	..	102
1963	..	10	..	116
1964	..	12	..	115
1965	..	14	..	135
1966	466	14	480	165
1967	469	15	484	212
1968	497	17	514	218
1969	527	23	550	231
1970	565	26	591	223
1971	859	34	893	232
1972	932	50	982	262
1973	1 060	70	1 130	311
1974	3 098	117	3 215	455
1975	2 492	171	2 663	693
1976	2 659	216	2 874	972
1977	2 556	237	2 793	1 387
1978	2 629	235	2 864	1 264
1979	4 780	309	5 089	1 437
1980	5 118	409	5 527	1 765
1981	3 967	564	4 531	1 945
1982	2 610	518	3 128	2 385
1983	2 935	429	3 364	2 149
1984	..	..	..	..
1985	..	..	..	..

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.26

The pattern of imports conformed closely to the process of development that was taking place. Hence, capital goods and construction materials became increasingly more prominent among imports during the build-up of the country's infrastructure". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p27).

The rapid increase of oil revenues during the early years of the first statehood period allowed the government to invest some of its surplus income into non-oil sectors, in order to create sources of income other than oil.

2.2.2. The impact of economic development

With its immense income from oil, Kuwait has turned her attention to the well-being of the country, to modernisation programmes, with the intention of creating a mature level of statehood. This is evidenced by the encouragement given to the development of particular types of industry.

A. Water: Kuwait has suffered from a scarcity of water ever since her foundation. However, with the presence of massive revenues, the government was able to give priority to the provision of water for the country and its people. "In 1953 the government commissioned the first desalination plant, with a designed capacity of almost a million gallons per day of palatable water from the sea. Supply of water has continued to enjoy the highest priority of all government plans". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p29). Recently the number of desalination plants has increased and the production of palatable water has also been increased (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Water Production & Consumption

Years	Production (Million gallons)		Consumption per capita (Gallons / year)		Length of pipe lines (000) meters
	Palatable water	Brackish water	Potable water	Brackish water	
1961	1 967	3 153	6 116	9 803	112
1962	2 221	4 465	6 290	12 645	115
1963	2 570	4 838	6 627	12 476	125
1964	2 763	5 126	6 489	12 039	139
1965	3 047	5 876	6 520	12 573	384
1966	3 638	6 350	7 103	12 398	449
1967	4 557	5 779	8 117	10 294	460
1968	5 289	6 148	8 596	9 992	590
1969	6 199	7 413	9 195	10 995	590
1970	7 224	7 760	9 780	10 505	590
1971	8 258	7 486	10 352	9 384	590
1972	9 110	7 219	10 614	8 411	590
1973	9 838	8 558	11 039	9 603	1 051
1974	10 546	9 344	11 615	10 291	1 365
1975	12 075	10 387	12 138	10 441	1 525
1976	14 941	11 086	14 011	10 396	1 757
1977	17 969	11 220	15 913	9 936	1 880
1978	21 378	12 215	17 837	10 192	1 920
1979	23 597	12 608	18 548	9 910	2 170
1980	23 969	13 155	17 651	9 687	2 760
1981	25 526	14 031	17 825	9 978	2 960
1982	28 977	16 181	19 357	10 809	3 047
1983	32 193	18 176	20 584	11 621	3 084
1984	35 306	17 958	21 581	10 977	3 658
1985*	38 560	17 290	22 551	10 112	..

* Provisional Figures

- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in Figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1968, p.17

B. Electricity: Electric power was the second major concern of the government. "Investment in electric power has been increasing since 1951 and in 1964-5 more than KD10 million was invested in electricity and water. This figure increased to KD18.7 million in 1967-8 and by the end of 1977 the figure had more than doubled. Before 1951 electric power production did not exceed 30 megawatts and the number of consumers was less than eighty, almost all of them domestic users. However, the development of Kuwait has seen a massive increase in electricity consumption. The growth of population and industry, together with the general government programme of urbanisation, has necessitated more power stations to supply the increasing load". (Al Sabah, 1980, p61). The increase in both the generation and consumption of electricity has been enormous during the most recent period of statehood. (Table 2.5).

C. Industry: In the industry too, during this period, the government has been concerned to encourage development: by granting a nominal rent, by subsidising key inputs like the production of electricity and water, by offering exemptions from customs duty, tariffs, and import controls, by providing loans at low interest rates, by providing capital in exchange for owners' shares, by training labour, and by conducting technical studies designed to devise ways and means of increasing productivity. This all-out government policy to accelerate industrialisation has begun to show results. But despite whatever strides in industrialisation Kuwait may eventually achieve, it seems unlikely that manufacturing will ever account for more than a small proportion of the total domestic output. The difficulties of a small market, and a lack of raw

Table 2.5 Electricity Generation & Consumption

Years	Electricity generated (Million Kwh)	Installed capacity (MW)	Peak load (MW)	Peak load as % of installed capacity	Per capita consumption (Kwh)
1961	313	130	72	55.4	1 542
1962	418	160	99	61.9	1 906
1963	508	160	120	75.0	2 027
1964	627	160	150	93.8	2 184
1965	792	300	193	64.3	2 360
1966	1 035	370	254	68.6	2 704
1967	1 334	370	315	85.1	2 989
1968	1 649	440	378	85.9	3 311
1969	2 001	560	471	84.1	3 638
1970	2 202	694	516	74.4	3 602
1971	2 623	962	600	62.4	3 870
1972	3 281	1 096	745	68.0	4 355
1973	3 651	1 096	860	78.5	4 643
1974	4 075	1 364	975	71.5	5 046
1975	4 635	1 364	1 120	82.1	5 126
1976	5 182	1 446	1 205	83.3	5 314
1977	5 992	1 868	1 425	76.3	5 715
1978	6 983	2 128	1 595	75.0	6 213
1979	8 613	2 578	1 950	75.6	7 105
1980	9 022	2 578	2 100	81.5	6 935
1981	10 013	2 686	2 290	85.3	7 218
1982	11 697	3 286	2 590	78.8	8 027
1983	12 498	3 886	2 740	70.5	8 203
1984	13 893	5 086	2 975	58.5	8 677
1985*	16 465	5 086	3 180	62.5	8 617

* Provisional Figures

- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.16

materials and manpower obviously limit the scope for industrialisation". (Britanica, 1981, p.549).

The government has also taken a keen interest in the diversification of sources of income, this being reflected by the government's assistance towards the establishment of different industries. "Progress toward diversification began in the early 1950's, with the setting up of the water desalination plant at Shuwaikh area. This provided an impetus for the development of such small-scale industrial operations as aluminium casting, bottling of oxygen, and the manufacture of building materials, many of which actually started in small workshops. However, a major effort to promote industrialisation started in 1961, when the government established the Shuaiba Industrial Zone. The site, covering an area of 8.4 square kilometres, was selected in 1962, and soon afterwards work started on support services such as communications, water and electricity. In the meantime, it was also decided to try and establish a petro-chemical industry, in order to develop a base for a variety of related industrial activities". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p.37).

D. The Government Budget: The extent of the government's concern to develop and diversify their country's economic base is reflected in budget priorities. "More than 90 per cent of the income of the government of Kuwait is derived from royalties on the production of oil. Oil production accounts for roughly 57 per cent of the country's gross national product (GNP), the remainder consisting largely of services dependent upon the flow of income from oil.

Employment generated directly by oil production and export, however, account for 3.1 per cent of the labour force. The government is now planning to spend about 18.5 percent on the productive sector (oil and natural gas, industry, agriculture and animal husbandry and fishing); almost 32 per cent on the physical infrastructure (water and irrigation, power, transport and communications); about 19.5 per cent on housing and public buildings; about 22 per cent on social and welfare services, commercial development and administration (education, research, information, commerce and tourism, health, religious services and social welfare) and the balance of about 8 percent on the build up of the commodity stocks". (Britanica, 1981, p.548).

The importance of the diversification of the industrial base is directly linked to the government's concern to develop alternative sources of wealth creation.

2.2.3. Sources of Wealth Creation in Modern Kuwait

The sources of wealth in the period of statehood are quite different to those of traditional society. They include:

A. Oil: The main source of wealth in the modern economy of Kuwait is oil. The increase in production and exports of oil and natural gas is the most important factor contributing to the development and progress of the State of Kuwait (Table 2.6 and Figs. 2a,b).

B. Trade: Trade is the second most important wealth creator. Foreign trade statistics indicate an extraordinarily wide range of

Table 2.6 Crude Oil, Natural Gas & Refined Products

Years	Crude oil (Million Barrels)		Natural gas (Billion c. ft.)	Utili- sation	Refined products (Million Barrels)	
	Production	Exports	Production		Production	Exports
1961	633	542	304	47	..	80
1962	715	610	346	66	..	91
1963	765	653	368	72	..	97
1964	842	728	399	73	..	110
1965	861	743	413	68	..	111
1966	907	797	455	97	..	112
1967	912	806	457	123	101	86
1968	956	847	480	171	108	97
1969	1 012	894	514	181	113	105
1970	1 091	942	570	188	144	136
1971	1 116	1 013	644	227	150	142
1972	1 202	1 071	648	247	134	132
1973	1 102	966	581	265	136	133
1974	929	805	467	251	121	121
1975	761	653	382	226	106	107
1976	785	655	396	244	132	147
1977	718	588	363	245	128	135
1978	776	643	393	243	131	121
1979	911	760	460	334	151	135
1980	607	461	310	260	123	123
1981	411	297	224	196	102	93
1982	300	135	163	146	153	129
1983	384	199	192	171	172	141
1984	425	243	205	183	176	149
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Including bunkers.

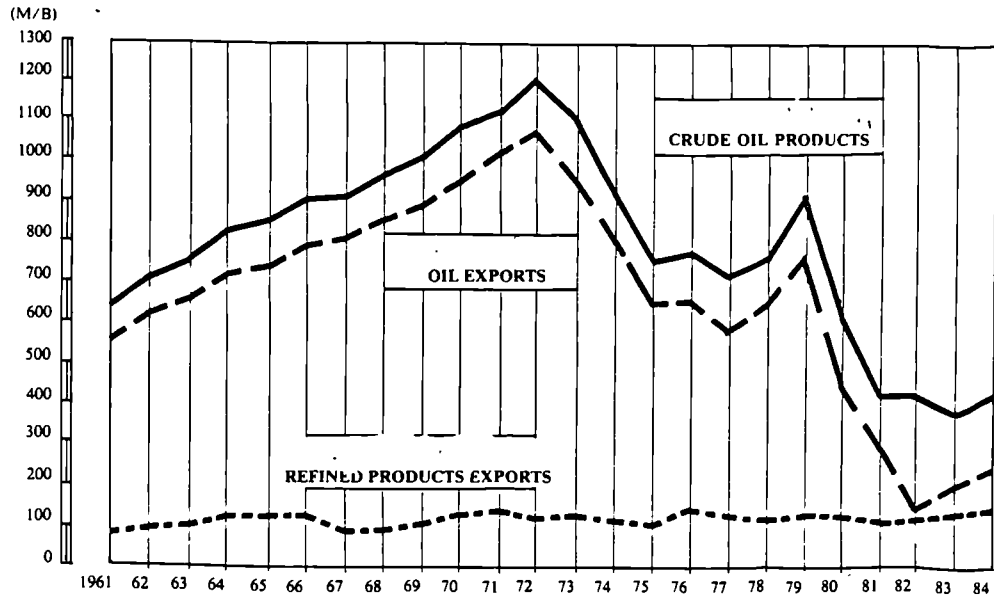
- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.15

Figure 2.2a

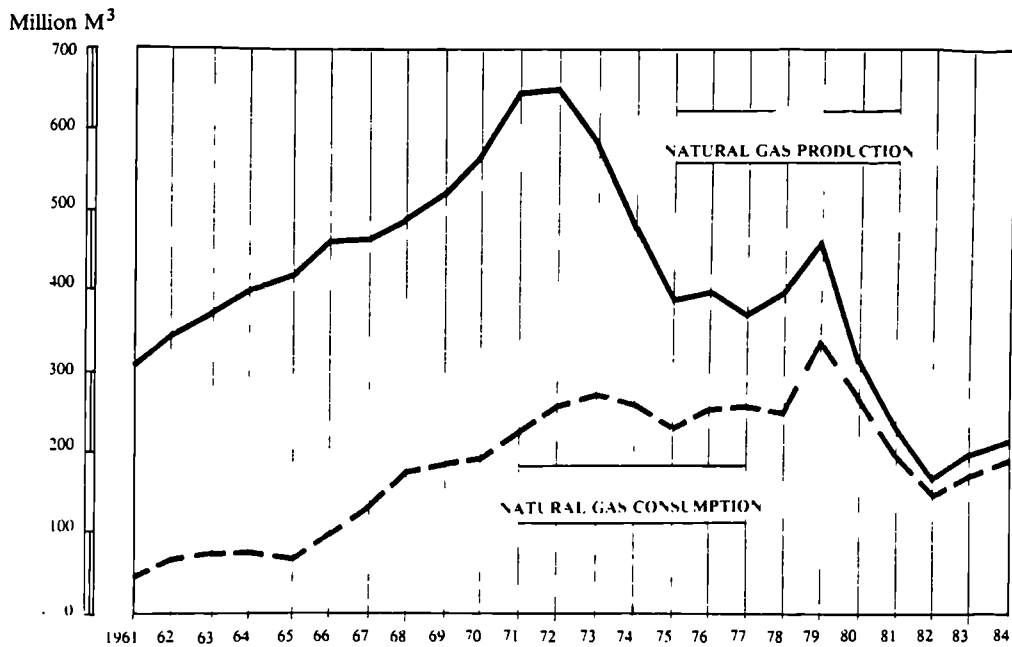
Figure 2.2b

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Kuwait, 1986, p.22

Productions & Exports of Crude Oil & Refined Products (Million Barrels)



Production & Consumption of Natural Gas



imports and exports. There is also a flourishing re-export trade (Table 2.3).

C. Services: The new wealth, and the huge expenditure on the development of the state, have created the demand for the establishment of a wide range of services. These services are also wealth-creating in themselves, and include:

1. Banking: Banking is one of the most successful service industries in Kuwait. The number of banks has doubled, rising from 4 to 8 since the foundation of the state, and at present these banks have 165 branches scattered throughout the country (Table 2.7).

2. Insurance: Although insurance was not included in the trading and commercial practices of pre-oil Kuwait, it grew considerably in importance with the discovery and exploitation of oil, and is now one of the largest industries in Kuwait's service sector. Numerous insurance companies, local and international, have developed an interest in the country, and are involved in many areas of insurance, particularly transport risk, fire and theft. However, life insurance has been largely ignored in Kuwait.

"The number of insurance companies in Kuwait was 28 in 1965; three of those are Kuwaiti, namely the Kuwait Insurance Company, the Gulf Insurance and Al-Ahlia Insurance Companies, and the rest are Arab or foreign ones". (Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.191-192).

Table 2.7 Principal Indicators of Banking Activity & Employments

Years	Number		Employment			Total assets	Total deposits
	of banks	of branches	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total	at end of year	at end of year
						(Mill D.K.)	(Mill D.K.)
1961	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	4	..	..	..	..	227	..
1963	4	..	..	..	..	232	167
1964	4	..	..	..	..	266	175
1965	4	..	..	..	..	330	210
1966	4	..	..	..	..	432	236
1967	5	..	..	..	..	446	313
1968	5	62	184	1 348	1 532	577	320
1969	5	67	198	1 457	1 655	642	396
1970	5	70	216	1 577	1 793	748	364
1971	5	74	250	1 708	1 958	824	405
1972	5	78	274	1 771	2 045	896	508
1973	5	81	314	1 847	2 161	1 035	523
1974	5	83	368	2 014	2 382	1 402	686
1975	6	91	359	2 249	2 608	1 766	877
1976	6	94	394	2 810	3 204	1 839	1 162
1977	7	192	594	3 232	3 635	2 595	1 547
1978	8	101	647	3 619	4 266	3 278	1 873
1979	8	116	790	3 974	4 764	4 292	2 214
1980	8	130	1 017	4 578	5 595	5 649	2 779
1981	8	132	1 016	4 954	5 970	7 599	3 809
1982	8	147	1 031	5 406	6 437	9 146	4 234
1983	8	157	1 006	6 168	7 174	9 994	4 390
1984	8	165	1 093	6 353	7 446	9 580	4 560
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.27

3. Transport: Air and land services have been considerably developed since the foundation of the state. Between 1961 and 1985 aircraft movements increased from 10,531 to 28,831 while the length of paved roads grew from 636 kms to 3,073 kms in 1984 (Tables 2.8 and 2.9).

4. Capital Investment: The presence of surplus wealth has paved the way for government involvement in local and international investments. The most important local investments include the establishment of several banks (loans and saving, security and industrial) and the foundation of a system of social security. The major international investments are through the Kuwaiti Development Foundation and the Arab Foundation for Development.

5. Minor services include such companies as the Kuwaiti National Cinema, and various hotels and tourist enterprises.

D. Industry: Despite sustained and considerable support from the government, industry in Kuwait is not as effective a source of wealth creation as might be expected. Industrial growth is still very slow, and its revenues have little impact, if any, on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The most important industrial products are chemicals and fertilisers, building materials and food products such as flour, bran, bread, biscuits, macaroni and salt (Tables 2.10 - 2.12).

From the mid-seventies to the early eighties, significant economic developments took place which disrupted the economic stability of the country. After the OPEC agreement in 1974, the price of a barrel of oil increased five fold, and produced a staggering rise in oil

Table 2.8 Air Transport

Years	Aircraft movements (Total)	Number of passengers (000)		Freight (Million Kg)	
		Arrivals	Departures	Unloaded	Loaded
1961	10 531	94	98	4.7	0.4
1962	10 625	101	87	5.4	0.5
1963	12 263	102	104	6.2	0.6
1964	12 592	104	110	5.2	0.7
1965	13 286	130	119	4.9	0.9
1966	18 213	159	153	4.9	1.1
1967	17 248	159	159	5.4	1.3
1968	15 438	201	199	8.0	1.7
1969	13 378	227	214	8.7	2.1
1970	14 088	212	209	7.2	2.8
1971	13 998	198	198	6.5	3.4
1972	13 549	218	265	6.2	4.1
1973	14 768	218	238	10.0	5.0
1974	16 963	272	271	8.7	6.5
1975	19 042	323	382	9.9	6.6
1976	23 625	320	364	20.0	7.4
1977	28 465	474	475	27.0	8.5
1978	29 154	461	476	32.8	9.4
1979	29 031	461	469	28.0	12.7
1980	27 805	386	430	30.0	16.1
1981	27 271	430	320	38.6	16.5
1982	27 046	296	344	45.8	17.0
1983	29 281	447	488	50.2	18.3
1984	29 911	529	597	50.9	23.2
1985*	28 831	500	590	49.0	22.9

* Provisional Figures

- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1996, p.19

Table 2.9 Road Transport

Year	Urban passenger transport				Number of vehicles	
	Total length of paved roads (kms)	Number of buses	Number of passengers (Million)	Distance covered (Mill. km)	Registered during the year (000)	In use at end of year (000)
1961	636	..	..	..	..	44
1962	816	..	..	..	..	52
1963	958	..	..	..	..	63
1964	1 095	..	..	..	16	72
1965	1 100	..	..	..	14	80
1966	1 167	..	..	..	21	95
1967	1 281	..	..	..	27	114
1968	1 331	133	34	21	17	123
1969	1 383	147	33	23	21	137
1970	1 508	149	33	24	21	150
1971	1 613	151	34	25	24	158
1972	1 714	159	39	26	30	176
1973	1 832	163	39	26	34	198
1974	2 005	141	36	22	40	224
1975	2 110	113	30	18	65	272
1976	2 195	144	45	23	63	321
1977	2 255	187	59	31	67	379
1978	2 400	229	72	39	69	440
1979	2 539	276	77	46	64	497
1980	2 729	304	84	51	56	543
1981	..	340	93	56	57	591
1982	..	363	108	59	68	649
1983	..	401	108	65	62	698
1984	3 073	442	113	74	50	518
1985	..	460	113	75	..	..

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.18

Table 2.10 Production of Chemicals & Fertilizers

Years	Chlorine (000 tons)	Caustic soda (000 tons)	Ammonium hydroxide (000 metric tons)	Detergents (000 metric tons)	Standard accumulators (000 units)	Urea (000 metric tons)
1961	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	..	..	..	..	..	..
1963	..	..	..	..	..	..
1964	0.8	0.9	..	..	..	..
1965	0.8	0.9	..	..	..	..
1966	0.7	0.8	..	..	..	..
1967	0.9	1.0	..	..	..	44.5
1968	1.2	1.4	75.2	..	..	85.6
1969	4.5	1.7	94.3	..	..	135.1
1970	1.7	1.9	119.6	..	..	162.3
1971	1.7	1.9	163.4	..	..	182.2
1972	1.7	1.9	387.0	..	..	514.2
1973	3.9	4.4	482.0	..	21.1	580.1
1974	5.5	6.5	507.9	..	25.6	541.9
1975	7.3	8.2	522.7	0.1	29.7	554.3
1976	5.4	6.1	513.8	0.4	22.1	530.6
1977	5.8	6.5	487.9	0.8	21.8	550.6
1978	7.0	8.0	522.9	1.0	24.7	663.7
1979	8.2	9.2	502.0	1.1	31.0	662.1
1980	8.0	9.1	331.1	1.6	32.7	466.2
1981	7.9	8.9	463.7	1.9	28.5	463.8
1982	7.7	8.7	414.3	1.7	25.7	436.3
1983	9.0	10.0	353.0	1.6	12.5	585.0
1984	8.0	9.0	383.0	1.5	12.9	614.0
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.24

Table 2.11 Production of Building Materials

Years	Sand lime bricks (000 M ³)	Cement (000 riba)	Cement blocks (000 M ³)	Readymix concrete (000 M ³)	Asbestos pipes (000 tons)	Metal pipes (000 tons)
1961	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	15.0*	..	..	..	..	..
1963	16.3*	..	..	..	..	..
1964	19.6*	..	..	..	..	..
1965	30.8*	..	..	..	..	..
1966	42.0*	..	..	..	..	..
1967	48.8*	..	..	..	..	..
1968	86.6	..	..	..	..	..
1969	97.2	..	..	..	..	..
1970	87.9	..	..	..	..	..
1971	196.4	..	..	..	..	..
1972	230.5	96.6	..	..	..	30.0
1973	148.4	251.3	15.5	62.2	26.8	24.0
1974	166.1	228.8	26.2	71.1	32.7	33.7
1975	170.5	280.8	50.0	66.0	30.2	43.4
1976	213.6	351.1	57.1	42.7	31.5	65.0
1977	215.0	329.3	38.9	46.1	28.2	38.6
1978	262.5	621.3	18.1	63.3	49.4	26.5
1979	357.8	1 040.2	55.9	49.3	68.0	10.3
1980	338.1	1 307.7	54.4	43.0	37.4	29.9
1981	293.7	1 549.4	50.6	67.8	43.3	21.1
1982	419.0	1 552.9	36.1	87.9	66.9	24.9
1983	449.8	1 124.4	41.1	115.2	35.3	14.6
1984	403.2	1 183.8	50.5	98.3	29.1	48.0
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Figures in Million bricks

- Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.25

Table 2.12 Production of Selected Food Products

(.03 tons)

Years	Flour	Bran	Bread	Biscuits	Macaroni	Common Salt
1961	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	..	..	..	..	..	..
1963	..	..	..	..	..	..
1964	..	..	..	..	..	2.8
1965	..	..	..	..	..	3.9
1966	..	..	..	..	..	4.3
1967	57.6	5.0	..	..	..	3.8
1968	60.0	7.5	..	..	..	4.2
1969	69.5	13.3	0.9	..	0.2	3.9
1970	70.1	13.6	1.7	..	0.2	4.7
1971	80.4	15.2	2.5	0.4	0.5	4.7
1972	82.4	14.1	2.6	0.2	0.7	5.0
1973	84.7	13.6	3.1	0.4	1.0	10.0
1974	95.2	15.2	3.4	0.9	1.3	12.6
1975	94.8	15.5	4.1	2.0	1.3	18.1
1976	108.7	18.8	4.9	1.9	1.6	15.4
1977	113.3	21.5	4.4	1.8	1.8	16.7
1978	122.6	23.0	6.1	1.7	1.9	19.0
1979	153.7	28.9	6.3	2.6	1.9	19.7
1980	155.6	31.8	6.8	2.9	1.7	20.5
1981	200.4	35.9	6.9	3.6	2.6	18.6
1982	210.1	39.6	6.7	2.8	2.9	19.3
1983	192.7	39.7	6.7	2.4	3.0	19.7
1984	235.1	42.1	6.6	2.2	3.3	22.2
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..

Ministry of Planning, Kuwait in figures, Twenty five years of independence, Kuwait, 1986, p.23

revenues. The consequent increase in available capital led to the establishment of numerous stock companies, which were outside of governmental supervision or control. However, the development was short-lived, and led to an economic crisis, labelled 'Al-Manakh'. To avoid serious economic breakdown, government intervention was required, and this crisis brought into question the relationship between the behaviour of individuals, and the needs of society.

Most recently, there have been further changes in the economic system, changes which have been directly related to the fluctuations of the international market in oil, finance and stocks, and to alterations in international terms of trade. This highlights the continual, and increased vulnerability of Kuwait, to changes in international markets.

2.3.1.2 The Political System

At the beginning of the transition period, the major political task confronting the state was that of developing a new political system, adequate to the administration and development of the country in the new era of economic wealth. However, towards the end of this period, there emerged a strong trend towards the development of a political system that could combine the traditional values of ruling practice with the modern status of the country. Such a system could be seen as a truly transitional one, leading to a more well-defined system as the Sheikhdum emerged into Statehood, continuing traditional values with the need for a more complex system of government, which became manifest as Kuwait's increasing oil revenues brought about massive changes in so many aspects of social, political and economic life.

The political system that developed in this period of transition had a number of distinct characteristics:

The Emir was designated as head of the Sheikdom and the source of all ruling authority. Such authority was exercised by him through three governmental institutions - the Executive, the Legislature and the Legal System.

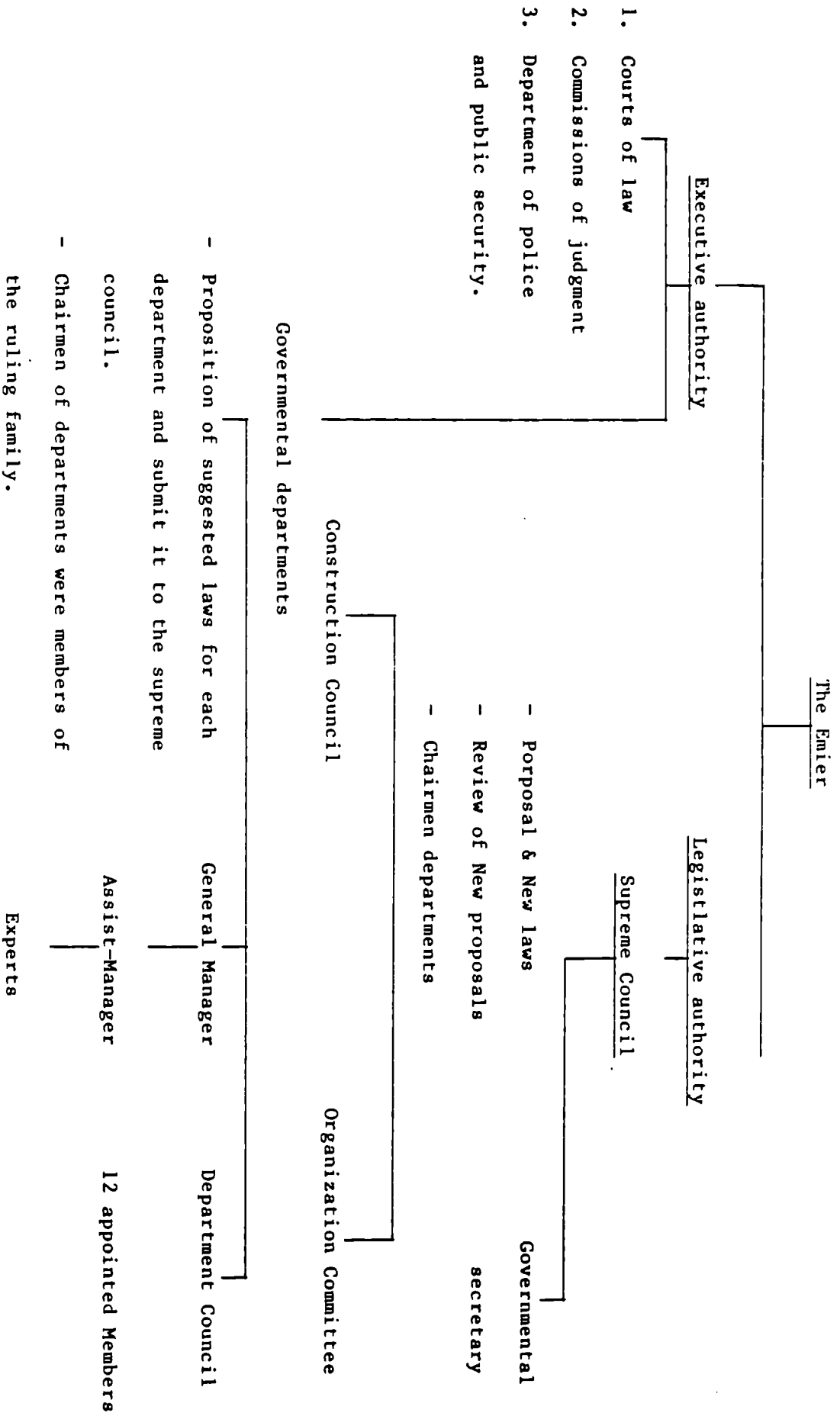
1. The Executive.

The Executive included several government departments, all of which were established to assist the ruler in the implementation of his policies concerning the public services. These departments were more or less equivalent to the present day ministries.

Heads of departments were appointed from the members of the ruling family, some of whom were responsible for more than one department. The appointment of the members of the ruling family as chairmen of these departments was intended to enhance their political experience and to develop their competence in running the affairs of the country, but proved to be not conducive to effective management.

In addition, some of the departments had a council to assist the head of department and his staff. The members of these councils were either elected or appointed from prominent Kuwaiti figures (Fig. 2.3). The departments were almost autonomous one from another, the only contact between them being dependent on the personal relationship between the chairmen. The affairs of each department were carried out independently, with no control of finance, or administrative oversight, by central government.

Fig. 2.3. Ruling system during transition period



Although several departments were to be found in the pre-oil era of the Sheikhdome, serving the needs of the country, "the number of the departments during transition period increased to reach its maximum number of 22 in 1954". (Husayn, 1960, p.84-85). However, it was found that these departments had repetitive and overlapping functions, resulting in increased expenditure and inefficiency.

"As a result the number of departments was revised in 1959, and those with similar specialisation and function were amalgamated into one department. Henceforth, the number of departments had reduced to ten". (Abdul Malik, p.86).

During the early 50's the policies of government departments lacked direction. Although the purpose of the establishment of departments was to carry out the development programme, this programme had no clearly defined aims and goals.

2. The Legislature

The legislature was composed mainly of the supreme council, assisted by the Organising Commission, the Construction Council and the Office of the Government Secretary.

A. The Supreme Council: (Sheikhs Council): The Supreme Council was the second highest authority in the country after the Emir. Its members were the chairmen of the various governmental departments, and they all came from the ruling family. Generally, the council had no chairman. The members of the council usually sat at 'round-table' during their weekly meetings. The round-table setting was intended

to reflect the equal standing of each member. The Emir became the chairman of the council whenever he attended any meeting. Each member of the council had an equal right to make the policy of his department, but such policy would usually have to have the approval of all members of the council. Only the Emir had the right to disapprove of any decision taken by the council.

Although the role of the council was to consider all important matters related to the country, its main task was to concentrate on the general policy matters, the budget, and to give approval or otherwise to proposed rules and systems. The final approval in all these matters came from the Emir of Kuwait. The council continued to perform its role throughout the transition period, and could be considered to be equivalent to the board of the present-day Council of Ministers.

B. The Organising Commission

The Commission was established as early as 1959. Despite a strong political movement for the participation in policy-making via election, the members of the commission were appointed by government.

The commission composed of ten members, seven of whom were from prominent Kuwaiti families; the other three were from members of the ruling family who sat on the supreme council.

"The role of this commission was to scrutinize the work of the government departments, and to submit suggestions or amendments,

where appropriate, to the Supreme Council. It was general practice that the Organising Commission met with the Supreme Council to discuss important matters of state". (Husayn, 1960, p.102).

C. Construction Council

"This council was established in 1952 at the suggestion of Mr. Criton, who was the Deputy Director of the English Department of Finance. The council was responsible for plans and projects for the development of the country. Since the main function of the council was technical, most of its employees were British citizens, and none of the members of the ruling family were involved in its administration". (Najar, 1985, p.42).

Initially, because of the lack of political support of the ruler, the Construction Council was not very effective. However, its effectiveness changed after a member of the ruling family was appointed as its Chairman. Henceforth, this council became one of the most powerful institutions of the government during the transition period.

D. The Government Secretary: This was a governmental office "for coordinating communication between the Head of Government and the Commissioner of Great Britain, other countries, and other international organisations". (Abdul Malik, p.87). The Governmental Secretary was also responsible for communication with other departments of the government, particularly with respect to international issues.

3. The Legal System

The transition period, unlike the traditional era, was characterised by the development and establishment of a judicial structure for the country. The legal system of the transition period slowly emerged from the practices of the traditional era. However, by the end of the period, there was need for further development and improvement in the law of the country. In 1959, Decree Law No. 19 was issued to reorganise and centralise the law of the country, as an independent legal authority, accountable to the Emir. Three separate institutions were incorporated into the system of judicature. These were the Courts of Law, the Judgement Commissions and the Department of Police and Public Security.

I. The Courts of Law:

There were two divisions, the Supreme Court of Execution and the Court of Legitimacy. The latter was further divided into three: the Court of Law, the Court of Personal Affairs and the Court of Delinquency. The Courts were supplemented by two Commissions, the Commission of Merchants and the Professional Commission. The Supreme Court of Execution was the highest court in the land, and was headed by a member of the ruling family, who also acted as the Chancellor in all the courts of law.

All lawsuits or disputes were initially submitted to the chancellor of the Supreme Court of Execution, who would attempt to resolve the dispute through arbitration. If the chancellor was not able to satisfy the opponents, he consequently transferred the lawsuit to one of the courts of legitimacy.

The Court of Legitimacy: was composed of three divisions. These courts were headed by a Chairman who was also head of the judiciary. These courts were:

- 1) Main Court of Law, which specialised in dealing with cases of inheritance, crime and civil affairs.
- 2) Court of Personal Affairs, which considered matters related to marriage, divorce and family disputes. The Court of Personal Affairs had two sections, one for the Sunni sect and the other for the Shia sect.
3. Court of Delinquency dealt with minor cases of delinquency.

II. Commissions of Judgements:

There were two commissions, one for the Merchants and another for the Professions. The Commission of Merchants was established to look into disputes between the merchants. It was general practice that both parties should agree in principle to abide by the judgement of the commission before, the latter would take on the dispute.

Professional Commissions were ad hoc commissions established on a temporary basis, to look into disputes arising within various types of profession, such as builders, contractors, and craftsmen.

III. Department of Police and Public Security:

This department played a role in judicial affairs, dealing with certain types of minor crime, such as fighting, shoplifting and traffic violations.

2.3.1. Political Activity During Transition Period

The transition period was a time of a wide ranging political activity. The initial stimulus for these activities was the belief of the eleventh ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh A. Al-Salem Al-Sabah. He was convinced of the need for people to participate, through elections, in the country's affairs. Indeed, this principle of representation was put into actuality by the establishment in 1951 of four elected Departmental Council of Government. The function of these councils was to supervise the departments of the Municipality, Education, Health and Endowment. The Chairman of each council was a member of the ruling family.

"However, these councils were ineffective in supervising the affairs of their respective government departments. Their effectiveness was impaired because of conflicts and disputes between the members and their Chairmen. Consequently, the weakness of these councils, and the activity of the elected members led to the emergence of political opposition to the councils. As a result of this increasing political opposition, in 1954, the Ruler of Kuwait agreed to fresh elections for some of the departmental councils, namely Education, the Municipality and Endowment. However, these councils still did not work because the disputes continued between the appointed Chairmen and the elected members, and were aggravated by the emerging differences between the two sides in their attitudes to the principles of democracy". (Al-Najar, 1985, p.35-36).

To increase co-operation between the elected members and their Chairmen, two representatives of each council requested a meeting

with the ruler to discuss, and try to find a solution to the conflict. At the meeting, the six representatives submitted a number of political demands for the reformation of the existing political system; they also requested the formation of an advisory council, to assist the ruler in his running of the country's affairs.

The demands and requests of these representatives were not entirely granted in their entirety by the ruler because of intense opposition from members of the ruling family. "Instead, the ruler formed a committee, consisting of six members chosen from prominent Kuwaiti figures, and three members of the ruling family. The task of this committee was to amend and offer suggestions for the administration of government". (Najar, 1985, p.35-36).

Nevertheless, shortly after the announcement of the formation of this committee, the elected members of the three councils refused to cooperate with the government. This refusal led to tension between the government and the political activists, and consequently resulted in clashes and confrontation between the police and the growing numbers of political activists in 1959. The government responded by closing sporting and educational clubs, banning newspapers and magazines and prohibiting all public activities.

Generally, the period of the fifties can be regarded as a decade of preparation for the time when the country would gain its independence, and the ending of the British Protection Treaty. It was an important period for the development of a more independent political and legal system.

2.3.2. The statehood period:

Kuwait became independent on the 19th June 1961, ending a long period as a British protectorate. British recognition of Kuwait's full independence came as a result of a series of political changes which had taken place in the Arab countries. These were the Egyptian revolution, in 1952, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, the subsequent rise of Arab nationalism, and the revolution of Iraq in 1958.

Although Kuwait had begun to develop various institutions of state during the transition period, the early period independence was a time of consolidation and further development of these institutions.

At an international level, the first step taken was to seek membership of the Arab League and the United Nations. Membership of the former was granted in July 1961 and the latter in 1963. The Government of Kuwait has since adopted a policy of non-alliance with east or west, and has established a well-defined "democratic system" in running the country.

Internally, one of the important features of the statehood era, was the transformation into Ministries of the government departments of the transition era, and the establishment of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For the first time, the government did include 3 members from outside the ruling family. These members were from the merchant class.

However, the most important achievement of this era was the establishment of the constitutional 'Al-Tasisi' Council, in August 1961. "The main purpose and duty of this council was to draft the new constitution. This was done with the help of Arab experts in constitutional law. The council was composed of 20 members, including all of the ministers of the government. In November 1962, after being put forward by the council, a decree of the Approval of the Kuwaiti Constitution was issued by the Emir". (State of Kuwait, 1962, p.1).

The single most important article of the constitution was that calling for the establishment of an elected National Assembly. Following this, a ground swell of excitement and anticipation swept all kinds of political and social groups in Kuwait, due to the right of the people to elected representation, granted under the constitutional law. The government subsequently called for the election of 50 members to the National Assembly. These members represented the ten electoral regions of Kuwait.

"Nomination, and the right of election as representative to the national assembly, was restricted by the constitution, to Kuwaiti male citizens, and completely excluded females". (State of Kuwait, 1962, p.87).

The constitution clearly defined the relationship between the ruler and the people. "It also recognised public rights and duties. Some of these rights are fundamental; all people are equal under the law. The constitution also confirmed freedom of belief and thought,

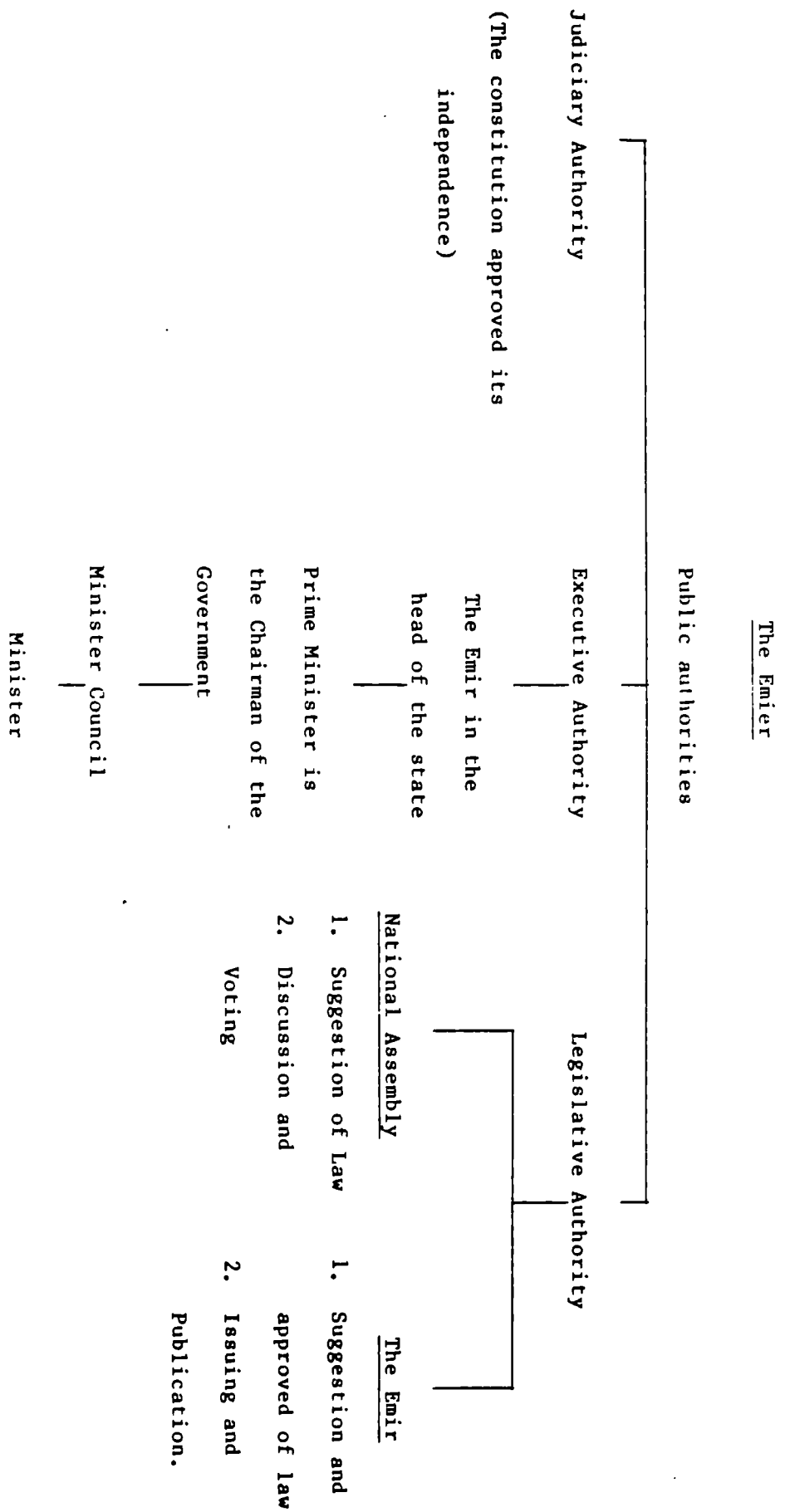
freedom of the press, and importantly also, gave an assurance of personal freedom. The constitution assured the right of the individual to an education, to work, it enshrined the establishment of guilds, and the right to public gatherings without permission. The public duties, laid down, included the holy duty of defence of the country, the payment of taxes and public costs, observance of the law, and the compliance with public values and behaviours". (State of Kuwait, 1962, p.17-19).

The constitution also called for the separation of powers (Fig. 2.4) as follows:

- a. "Legislative authority: vested in the Emir and the National Assembly.
- b. Executive authority: vested in the Emir, Prime Ministers and Ministers.
- c. Judiciary authority: executed through the law courts, in the name of the Emir". (State of Kuwait, 1962, p.20-24).

The establishment of a democratic political system has been the most important task of government, since independence. Although the national assembly has been closed on two occasions (due to the lack of cooperation between the legislative and the executive authorities) this has had no great effect on the day to day life of the people of Kuwait, who have continued to enjoy freedom of belief and the right of expression, as enshrined in the Constitution.

Fig. 2.4. Ruling system in the State



2.4 Change in the social system

Changes in the social system have been related directly to economic factors. The main impetus for social change has been the increase in oil revenues. These changes have been dramatic. In half a generation, a society typified by simple and close social relationships, based on consultation, cooperation and a strong moral order, has become a society characterised by more complex and open relationships, based on a greater degree of competition, individualism and a high degree of consumption.

In addition to economic wealth, other factors have contributed to changes in the social system; these have been the need of man-power for the development of the country, the relaxation of immigration laws, and last but not least the open attitudes of Kuwaitis towards foreigners. Such factors have encouraged migration to Kuwait, and as a result, immigrants have come to Kuwait from many different countries of the world. The immigrants, with their different backgrounds and cultures have had an enormous impact on Kuwaiti society, and in particular, on its social system. However, the level of immigration has varied between the transition period and the statehood era.

2.4.1 Transition period 1950-1961

Major changes in social system took place during this period. As noted earlier, the main influences towards change were the increases in the wealth and job opportunities and the open-door policy towards immigrants. Such factors led to a yearly increase of immigration, and have contributed significantly to the changes in population size

and in the demographic structure of Kuwait (Table 2.13a and see Section 2.5). However, the most serious effect of this immigration has been on the inherited traditions, the customs and values, and on the social structure of Kuwaiti society.

2.4.1.1 Social structure:

The impact of immigration in Kuwait has been profound. Native Kuwaitis were rapidly becoming a minority in their own land. The presence of such large numbers of immigrants forced the government to introduce legislation with respect to nationality, with the intention of differentiating natives from aliens. "The discovery that it was being swamped by aliens alarmed Kuwait, and prompted defensive measures. Foremost among these was the naturalisation decree of 1959, and its amendment in 1960. This legislation, a landmark in Kuwait's history, confined Kuwaiti citizenship to those residing in Kuwait prior to 1920, to their descendents in the male line and to foreign women upon their marriage to Kuwaitis. For Arabs, naturalisation is possible only after 10 years of residence, and for non-Arabs after 15 years, commencing in both cases from the date of the amending decree. Moreover, only 50 persons are granted citizenship in any one year. An exception to this general rule is that Arabs in residence before 1945, and non-Arab foreigners before 1930, as well as other Arab nationals who have performed outstanding services to the state, may be granted citizenship without waiting.

Also this legislation introduced certain basic rights and privileges to the citizen class. All trading imports to Kuwait, all retail

Table No. 2-13a. The increase of immigrants from the first census year 1957 until 1961.

	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Percentage
* 1957	113,622	92,851	44.97
1958	124,140	106,160	46.09
1959	135,630	121,510	47.25
1960	148,190	139,230	48.44
1961	161,909	159,712	49.66

* First census year in Kuwait

- Modify from Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, Kuwait 1976, p.24.

trades and all contractual businesses are either limited to Kuwaiti nationals, or have to be transacted through Kuwaiti agents. In the civil service, pension rights, permanent tenure and certain key executive positions are the exclusive privileges of citizens. The entry of aliens into some professions (such as medicine and law, where few citizens at present are qualified) is restricted by a stringent licensing system". (Shehab, 1964, p.134).

The distinction made between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis was the first formal classification of inhabitants since the foundation of the state of Kuwait. Subsequently, a further classification of Kuwait citizenship has been introduced, distinguishing between Kuwaitis by origin and those by naturalisation.

As well as this legal categorisation, the Kuwaiti population can be sub-divided into two further groups, namely the urban inhabitants and the tribal groups. Within these groups there are further subdivisions; namely Kuwaitis who belong to Sunni sects of Islam and are Arab in origin, and Kuwaitis who belong to the Shia sect of Islam and are both Arab and Persian by origin. Kuwaitis could also be grouped economically into three categories; upper, middle and lower class, the middle class being by far the dominant one within the society. However, the upper class consists of several well-known and powerful families including the ruling family.

The non-Kuwaiti inhabitants largely consist of:

1. The Arab inhabitants who came from Arab countries, mainly Jordan, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq

2. The non-Arab inhabitants from Asia, mainly India, Pakistan and Persia.

Generally, the majority of non-Kuwaiti inhabitants are unskilled, and would belong to the lower class within Kuwaiti society.

2.4.1.2 Customs and values

Historically, Kuwaiti society had its own distinct customs and values, but the influx into the country, of larger ethnic groups with their different cultural backgrounds, has greatly affected the small traditional society of Kuwait. "So pervasive has been this influence that there is hardly an aspect of national life which does not bear its mark. It affects the fashion of dress, architecture and interior decoration; cultural and artistic interests; entertainments and dietetic habits; and even the colloquial Arabic, which has changed considerably under the influence of the new comers". (Shehab, 1964, p.133).

Some of the changes in the social system are clearly observable in everyday life. Some of the most important relate to traditional forms of cooperation and group solidarity. For example, traditional forms of trust in business are now heavily supported by new rules for the control of business relationships between individuals. Cooperation between individuals has declined, as individuals are more dependent on government aids and less concerned to cooperate with family and kin. People are inclined to be less open and more suspicious within social relationships.

The younger generation appear to have detached themselves from traditional values. For example, many young Kuwaiti females have rejected the traditional veiled costume; in schools, students are encouraged to wear European dress. Some changes may seem less profound, but they are very visible and therefore have greater impact on the perception of change held by the individual. Other changes include "food; traditionally, Kuwaitis ate one dish at each meal, but now they include several kinds of dishes from other continents. Some individuals have ceased to use their hand during meals and have adopted the use of spoons, forks and knives; others have changed from having their meal seated on the ground, to using a table". (Husayn, 1960, p.88). Finally, Kuwaitis have become accustomed to spending the summer abroad, almost regardless of their financial capability.

However, in this period, not all traditional customs and values have disappeared; some have been retained because of the desire of the majority to do so.

2.4.1.3 Role of Islamic Religion

The role of the Islamic religion in society appears to be changing. The centrality of Islamic practice is now questioned, and religious practice by individuals seems to have declined. Daily prayer in a mosque is no longer considered necessary, rather, individuals tend to carry out their daily prayers at home or in their shops. Mass prayer in the mosques only takes place on Friday, the Moslem day of rest. "The influence of Islam is not so evident today, although it remains an extremely potent force. Despite the fact that Kuwait now has

about four hundred mosques, weekly prayer meetings on Fridays are usually full to overflowing". (Sapsted, 1980, p.9-10). Furthermore, the observance of religious practices has also become less significant in the holy month of Ramadhan. Fewer people fast than in the past. "Also, the fact that the Ramadhan falls during the hottest summer months at the moment, means that people are on holiday abroad during Ramadhan, and Kuwait can seem an empty place during the holy month". (Sapsted, 1980, p.10). There has also been a decline in the expression of religion in its social context. The practice of the Islamic concept of 'Zakat' - the giving of alms for the poor and needy - is now carried out by only a few very wealthy individuals. And lastly, the sudden increase in wealth has encouraged the spread of polygamy, a form of marriage permitted in Islam, the prevalence of which varies directly with the wealth of the husband. Polygamy brings with it attendant social problems.

2.4.1.4 The impact of social change on the Kuwaiti family

It is time to say that all aspects of Kuwaiti life have changed with the exploitation of the oil wealth, but nowhere has the change been more profound than in the Kuwaiti family. The size of the family has shrunk and become unlike that of traditional society. Whereas in the past, it would have consisted of an average of ten individuals including wife, husband and children, during the transition period, there was a tendency to move towards a much smaller family, largely because the traditional reasons for having a large family had disappeared.

The functions of the Kuwaiti family became limited to the raising of children, concerning essentially the core of immediate family members. The collective cooperation of all members of the large family, as a productive caring and educational unit was no longer required, as these functions were more and more embodied in impersonal institutions.

The individual's status and importance in the community has also changed, now he derives his social status through his activities, the balance moving from ascription to achievement; he is no longer evaluated primarily as a member of a face to face community, as a member of a family, or as a devout and practicing Moslem, but according to his skill, his education, and his degree of success.

There were also changes in attitudes to marriage during this period. The bride and bride-groom had a little more freedom in that they were able to meet before engagement. Furthermore, the decision on the marriage was no longer left in the hands of the bride's father. During this period, the bride gained more influence on whether or not she married. The process of making marriage arrangements has changed. Instead of the old ladies (matchmakers), the relatives of the bridegroom making the match, the bridegroom has taken upon himself the task of searching for a bride. Moreover, during the transition period the cost of marriage increased. The average dowry cost rose to between 1,000 and 2,000KD, to be paid by the bride's father, with the additional costs of the wedding on top.

Also, endogeneous marriages have become less evident. Males often sought a marriage partner from Arab and/or non-Arab societies, with a different social background to his own. Furthermore, the wedding ceremony shifted from being a simple religious ceremony, to a much more luxurious ceremony, which was often held in a hotel. New customs were adopted, such as the honeymoon and the ceremony of engagement, which usually took place at the bride's house or in a hotel.

Social attitudes towards women also changed. Rather than being a subservient figure, as she was in the past, confined to the domestic sphere of activity, and rarely seen outside the home, women now participate in public activity alongside men. Nevertheless, the role of women remains confined to 'women's' jobs, such as teaching and nursing.

2.4.1.5 The government and its relationship to change in the social system

During this period, the government gradually became the major provider of resources, thus replacing the interdependency of individuals within the family and their community. All effort has been made to provide the services necessary to sustain the livelihood of individuals throughout their lives. Services provided include the following:

- a. "Free education service
- b. Free health care for all
- c. Social Security for those not able to work
- d. Government housing for those with low incomes

- e. Establishment of minimum income for all citizens
 - f. Social assistance for those who need temporary help"
- (Husayn, 1960, p.88).

The government has become the great provider, and thus undermined traditional forms of self-help. As a result, individual loyalty has shifted towards the government and away from family and community. Group solidarity has been gradually weakened - the need for collective action, if not removed entirely during this period, has been significantly undermined.

2.4.2 The Statehood Period

In this period the role of government became more central and complete than was the case in the transition period. Through the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour the government now provides for all social needs and services. These services include public aid, cooperatives, public clubs and societies, child and youth care, rehabilitation institutions, labour care, arts and housing.

- A. Public Aid: Public aid is provided for those families who have lost their provider, divorced wives, orphans, those unable to work, the old and the sick. "In 1963 the number of beneficiaries of public aid reached 5,518 families, within total of 23,855 individuals". (Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.156).
- B. Cooperation: The concept of cooperation, central to the operation of traditional society, has been adopted by the government and incorporated in the principals of a modern cooperative movement.

This was instituted in the Cooperation Law of 1962. Following this Act, consumer cooperative societies were established, to provide goods and other materials to all people regardless of their income or social status.

C. Public Clubs and Societies: By the enactment of several laws in 1962, the government encouraged the establishment of public societies. (1) Clubs for all levels of activity were established by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour. They were established so that individuals could fulfil different needs and interests. These clubs also served as meeting places for individuals. (2) As well as the clubs which were open to all who had a particular interest, more specialised societies, such as those for women, graduates and sociologists were established. Each society was established with its own particular goals, and pre-determined programmes for the achievement of those goals. Such programmes were required to be of benefit to the society's members, and citizens in general.

The women's society was one of the most significant established in the statehood period. The society was founded to increase an awareness of the importance of women's role in society, particularly in family care. This society gave women an opportunity to express their rights and discuss their status within society.

Also, these societies provided an ideal place for members to exchange ideas and views, which were, in most cases, related

directly to social matters. Gradually clubs and societies have replaced the mosques and divans which were the main gathering places for the people of traditional Kuwaiti society.

D. Child Care: The government also established an Institute for Child Care, the main function of which was to take care of orphaned children. In this case, care includes physical care and education. The aim of the programme is to ensure that the children become productive members of society. More generally, child care has been enhanced by the establishment of gardens where children can spend their spare time, under the supervision of play leaders.

E. Institutional Care: The government plays a major role in caring for individuals in society, particularly through the various institutions for care and rehabilitation. These institutes provide services for old people, the handicapped, delinquents and the blind. The Institute of Old People admits individuals in need of care, mainly on request from their families, who feel that the presence of their aged relatives at home would cause too great a burden on the family. Other families may also request the admission of their old people to the Institute because they are incapable of providing care and services for them at home.

The Institute for the Handicapped receives individuals who have physical disability and/or mental retardation. The admission of these individuals is also at the request of their families.

There is also an Institute responsible for the care of juvenile delinquents. Admission to this Institute usually follows the commission of petty crimes such as theft, drugs, violence and/or social misconduct. The inmates are frequently individuals who have been neglected by their families and/or experienced insufficient care by their parents. "Preventive care is extended to juvenile delinquents to help transform them into useful members of society". (State of Kuwait, 1986, p.186).

The main task of the Institute is to provide a controlled social environment in which the individuals learn the necessary social skills and personal control so that they can become productive individuals within society.

F. Youth Centres: The government has paid great attention to the problems of youth within the society. This concern has been reflected in the establishment of several centres for young people. These centres usually have programmes which train young people to become aware of their responsibility towards society. The centres also have a wide range of facilities for their members to occupy their spare-time and practice various activities. "In the year 1963-4 the number of these social development centres for young people reached 21. Membership amounted to 7,950 individuals". (Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.158).

G. Housing: The government has also the responsibility of providing a residence for each Kuwaiti family. This responsibility was implemented when it adopted a housing policy of building houses in

various areas of Kuwait. These residences have usually been of two kinds; the first for those on a limited income and the other for middle-income families. "In 1963, the houses for limited income families reached 4,036 units". (Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, 1965, p.158).

- H. The responsibility of the government extended further to include relations between management and labour and also in the sphere of the arts. Labour relations involved the direct intervention of the government in the relationship between labour, unions and employers. It also includes solving labour disputes. The organisation of the arts includes theatre, painting and music and is particularly active in those areas relating to folklore.

This move towards the establishment and maintenance of an all-encompassing welfare state was clearly spelled out in the constitution. The principles of civil liberties, welfarism and protection of Kuwaiti society are laid down as follows:

- (1) "Justice, freedom and equality are the bases of society. The relationship between citizens should be based on cooperation and mercy.
- (2) The state protects the bases of society and ensures security and equal opportunities.
- (3) The family is the basis of society, its basic principles are religion, morality and loyalty to the country. The law maintains the structure of society and strengthens its relations and protects motherhood and childhood.

- (4) The state cultivates youth, protects them from adulteration and guards their minds, body and soul from negligence.
- (5) The state ensures aid for all citizens in old age, sickness and work disability. The state also offers citizens social security, social aid and medical care.
- (6) The state maintains Islamic and Arabic traditions and promotes its participation in the development of human civilization.
- (7) Education is regarded as an essential element for the progress of the society, and is assured and cultivated by the state.
- (8) Science, literature and arts are cultivated by the state. The state also encourages scientific research.
- (9) The state is concerned with public health, methods of prevention and the cure of sickness". (Kuwait Constitution, p.13-15).

2.4.2.1 Social Structure in Modern Society

The trend towards classification and differentiation of the various groups in the population, already apparent in the transition period, has become more significant since independence in 1961. The multi-national population can be divided into two main categories, namely citizens and non-citizens of the State of Kuwait.

Non-citizens: This category includes all non-Kuwaiti individuals. They are the majority in Kuwait, being 58.3% and 59.9% of the population in 1980 and 1985 respectively. Arab and non-Arab groups are included, "the Arabs forming the majority of ex-patriots,

averaging 42.3% of the population in 1980 and 37.9% in 1985, followed by Asians forming 15% and 21%; the remaining 1% would be individuals from Africa, Europe and America". (State of Kuwait, 1986, p.27).

I. Arab non-citizens: This group consists mainly of people from Palestine, Jordan and Egypt. Most of these people belong to the Islamic religion, speak Arabic and have lived in Kuwait for many years. Social class within this group is varied, but the majority have a relatively low income. However, this group are in a better socio-economic position than Asians. It is worth noting that individuals of the same Arab nationality have a tendency to dwell in the same locality and develop distinct community characteristics.

II. Asian non-citizens: This group, from various countries in Asia, form a lower class in Kuwait society. Most are illiterate and represent cheap labour, working as servants and as unskilled labourers. Asians belong to one of two major religious groups, are Moslems and Christians. Within each of these religious groupings, the Asian social structure is very varied, and represents several different nationalities, languages and cultures. Asians, unlike the Arab group, do not show a tendency to dwell in distinctive communities within society. This is mainly due to the fact that most Asians work for Kuwaiti families as drivers, cooks and maids, and they live in the Kuwaiti family houses. Asians who work for companies have special accommodation provided by the companies.

Citizens: Kuwaiti citizens represent a minority group, being 41.7% and 40.1% in 1980 and 1985 respectively, of the whole population of Kuwait.

Social Class: Within the native Kuwaiti group, a degree of social differentiation exists, and in general is based on the socio-economic status of individuals. These classes are as follows:

1. The upper class which is a small minority and one either the members of the ruling family or the descendents of the traditionally influential families.
2. The middle class, which is the largest group amongst native Kuwaitis consists mainly of individuals who are the descendents of the craftsmen and small businessmen of traditional society. If their style of life is considered, then this group is homogeneous - little distinguishing them one from another.

Ethnic Communities, Religious Sects and Citizenship

The Kuwaiti citizens can be further subdivided into ethnic communities, religious sects and in terms of citizenship.

- A. Ethnic Communities: The Kuwait citizens belong to one of two ethnic communities. Those who are Arab, and those who are Persian in origin. The Arab community can be further subdivided into the city-dwellers and the tribal groups. The Persian community however is mainly city dwelling.

B. Sect: The patriots of Kuwait belong to one of two sects within Islam. The Sunni Sect which is in the majority, and the Shia Sect which is in a minority, and made up predominantly of Persian-Kuwaitis.

C. Citizenship: In addition to the above mentioned classification, Kuwaitis can formally be classified into holders of first and second class citizenship. The first class are Kuwaiti citizens by birth. Whereas the second class are those who obtain citizenship by naturalisation.

2.4.2.2 Customs and Values in Modern Kuwait Society

Although Kuwaiti society is dualist in nature, the situation is more complex than it at first appears. In fact Kuwait is an unusual type of multicultural society in that it contains individuals and groups from most parts of the world, in such proportions as to outweigh the indigenous population. Some of these multinational groups are large, others small, and they represent several different cultures. A further feature unique to these Gulf region states is that the cultural diversity is due entirely to migration into the state, much of which is of a short term nature.

2.4.2.3 Social Relations

There is little social interaction between those of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds within Kuwaiti society, social relations existing in the main within each ethnic or national group. These relationships are based almost exclusively on common nationality, and ethnic and/or cultural background.

The lack of interaction between the different nationalities is primarily due to the fact that the individuals of each community practice their own social customs and religious ceremonies within Kuwait as they would if they were at home. Although international gatherings do take place on certain occasions, such as the Moslem observance of prayers in the mosque on Friday, and of Christians in church on Sunday, such gatherings are largely formal and do not normally lead to further relationships developing. Members of some communities would take part in the social ceremonies of other communities, such as a marriage ceremony, or mourning, but even in this case the basis of social participation is directly based on relationships built up at work and in business.

Although there were limited social relations between the foreign communities and native Kuwaitis at the beginning of the statehood era, such relations have more or less vanished except for those based on the workplace occurring in the course of business. In fact, the lack of social interaction has created a degree of social distance between individuals within the society, a distance which is particularly marked between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis. From a Kuwaiti perspective, the native population forms one community, and all the foreigners, regardless of their nationalities or ethnic differences, forms another. These two major communities live within one small territory and there is hardly any social interaction between them. Even though there is daily interaction among individuals in business and trade, this has not narrowed the social distance between individuals of the two communities.

The nature of such social distance is perpetuated in several ways; each community dwells in distinct residential areas, the natives enjoy the right of ownership of all kinds of property, while the non-Kuwaitis have no such right to do so, inter-marriage is discouraged, the natives feel superior, foreigners inferior.

Because of the various changes which have taken place in all spheres of society since the 1950's, a modern Kuwaiti society has evolved, differing dramatically from that of the traditional one. Changes have been particularly marked with respect to customs and values. The emergence of this new modern society has been influenced in its customs and social habits, by the masses of immigrants who come from all over the world, bringing with them their own ways of living, by the mass media, by new technology within Kuwait and by the widening experiences of Kuwaitis through tourism.

Within this changing world, individuals have shown the tendency to unfetter themselves from traditional customs, and social, moral and religious values. Honesty, word of honour, cooperation and trust, which were important and valued customs in traditional society, have far less meaning today. These customs and values have been undermined by personal competition, selfishness and individuality, attitudes which are evident in almost all social groupings in Kuwait, including the modern Kuwaiti family.

2.4.2.4 The Modern Kuwaiti Family

Coinciding with the sudden increase in wealth, the size of the Kuwaiti family has become much smaller than it was in the traditional

and transition periods. Also the role of the family in supporting its individual members has become far less important. Furthermore, the social life within the family has become less central; today parents tend to spend relatively long periods of time outside their home. Most parents have jobs and/or are engaged in frequent social activities away from their homes. The absence of the parents from the family house for most of the day has brought about the introduction of new elements into family life, and subsequently into society as a whole. These new elements are foreign housekeepers, maids, cooks and/or drivers.

Nowadays it is rare to find a Kuwaiti family without one or more houseworkers. Most of them come from Asia and are Phillipino, Sri Lankan or Bangladeshi. As they spend most of their time inside the house, these foreign workers, with their different language and cultural backgrounds, undoubtedly have had an influence on the members of the Kuwaiti family, especially the children. Most of the houseworkers have in fact taken on the role of substitute parents in caring for the children.

The presence of servants, and their crucial role vis-a-vis the children has become so widespread that it amounts to a social phenomena, the effects stretching beyond the individual families. Several difficulties are associated with this phenomenon, centering mainly on the changing relationship between parents and their children. There is some evidence that parents give less attention to their children and play a lesser role they play in family life. Hence the intimate relations between children and their parents is

progressively weakened. Due to the fact that the servants are non-Kuwaitis, children become influenced by the values and customs of other societies, some of which are considered unsuitable by their parents, or at least inferior to Kuwaiti customs. Thus, parental control generally over the younger members of the family is weakened, and socialisation of the younger generation is in the hands of people of another culture.

In other ways too, relationships within the family have changed. The relationship between husband and wife is based on equality and equal participation to a far greater extent than it was traditionally. Wives no longer follow and remain dependent on their husbands as they did in traditional society. Also, sons and daughters have the right to express their own opinions in matters related to family affairs. Moreover, relationships between parents and sons are no longer built on blind obedience, but on discussion and persuasion.

Relationships between family members and wider kin are not as strong as they used to be during earlier periods. Relationships built on sacrifice and solidarity have given way to a far greater degree of concern with self. No longer does the individual so closely identify with the wider family, nor see his fortunes as bound up in the fortunes of his wider kin group.

Nowhere are these changes more apparent than in the modern approach to marriage. Today men and women are neither bound, nor need to rely on their families to choose their marriage partners, nor to determine their future lives. Agreement of marriage is often made

between men and women before their families are informed. However, potential partners will still seek the consent of their families before such a marriage will take place.

The basis on which marriage partners are chosen is also changing. Nowadays there is much less of a tendency to choose a partner from the same 'caste-class'. Rather, partners are more interested in the standard of living of the other partner, and there is a tendency for most young men to choose working women, preferably from a wealthy family. The traditional reason for choosing a partner, to start a family, is no longer central. Generally choice is based on mutuality and for materialistic reasons.

Today marriage is characterised by extravagance, so much so that many marriages could be theatrical shows rather than a marriage ceremony. In general, marriage is used to show the prestige and wealth of the respective individuals and their families. Dowries can be as much as 5,000 to 10,000 KD. The marriage ceremony is usually held in a big hotel and costs several thousands of Kuwaiti Dinars. The bride and groom often spend their honeymoon in a foreign country. In addition to all these expenses, most newly wedded couples move out of their family homes and settle in a house or flat of their own.

Social Problems of Modern Kuwaiti Society

New social problems have emerged during this period, and can be attributed to the changes that have taken place within Kuwaiti society. The main changes can be summarised as follows: (1) The development of a gulf between the younger and older generations; (2)

An increase in the importance of individuality, particularly amongst the younger generation, leading to feelings of isolation, and an abandonment of traditional support networks; (3) Phenomenon such as delinquency, broken homes and runaway children are emerging, and are attributed to the increase in polygamy in the earlier period; (4) There is an increased rate of divorce, particularly amongst the young; (5) Neglect by parents, of their children is evident in some instances; (6) And lastly there is the influence of foreign workers on family members, particularly in the area of childrearing.

2.5 Demographic Structure

The demographic structure of any society is influenced by three main factors, namely fertility, mortality and migration. "Persons are born into a society, some of them later move away and are perhaps replaced by others moving in, and eventually all that remain die. These processes of fertility, migration and mortality, taken together, determine not only the current size of the population of any area but also its structure, that is, the age and sex distribution". (Peterson, 1967, p.61).

Kuwait society is unusual, because unlike societies where the demographic structure is influenced by all of these factors, the demographic structure of Kuwait is overwhelmingly influenced by migration.

Since its origins, Kuwait, because of its geographical location and its stability, has experienced high levels of immigration, "from 1760

onwards the area's population grew, following the establishment of the East India Company's Gulf headquarters in Kuwait, and the consequent increase in trade". (Razzak, 1984, p.26).

In 1765 the population of Kuwait was estimated by a Danish visitor, Karsten Newer, to be in the region of 10,000 individuals. "On the other hand, J.G. Stocqueter estimated the population of Kuwait town to be 4,000 individuals in 1831. However, the population had increased since 1860 to reach 35,900 people during the period of 1900 to 1910". (Al Hatem, 1980, p.16).

The total population in 1918 was given by "the India Office of Foreign Affairs to be 65,000 of whom nearly 50,000 lived in Kuwait City. Of these figures, 25,000 were Kuwaitis, 15,000 Persians and 10,000 from Najid". (Razzak, 1984, p.27). In the late 1920's Al-Reshaid estimated the population of Kuwait to be more than 80,000.

It is evident that Kuwait has experienced a steady increase in population size since its foundation. The changes in population are partly due to external factors such as political instability, epidemics and disease, and shortages in economic resources in the neighbouring countries. However, with the onset of the period of oil discovery and exploitation, Kuwait entered an era of meg-migration.

From the late 40's onwards the influx of immigrants to Kuwait was incredible. They came both from Arab and non-Arab countries, but the majority were Arab (Table 2.13b).

Table No. 2.13b.

Foreign nationals arriving in Kuwait by individual years up to 1957

Nationality	% Male	Before 1947													Total
		1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957			
Iranian	96	1611	185	300	461	625	1345	1950	2024	3348	3795	1490	16754		
Iraqi	77	2476	190	371	450	513	1426	1304	1583	1999	2415	2361	15088		
Jordanian	82	665	59	113	139	263	813	1827	2457	2125	3201	1476	13143		
Lebanese	81	299	6	22	45	100	319	632	912	1011	1565	1294	6205		
Omani	93	917	96	187	196	249	352	434	552	656	1141	849	5629		
Indian	73	744	257	215	197	77	211	462	382	397	427	380	3749		
Pakistani	75	354	106	135	87	81	149	213	247	268	363	282	2285		
Syrian	86	239	6	16	27	34	98	211	227	320	491	451	2120		
English	55	99	92	141	138	118	183	250	227	204	301	200	1953		
Egyptian	50	333	2	5	6	12	76	111	197	365	484	284	1875		
Others	-	1038	17	169	144	127	255	386	545	550	762	622	4716		
Total	-	8775	1016	1674	1890	2204	5227	7420	9353	1124	14945	9669	73517		

C.F. Fatimah Abdul-Razzak Marine Resources of Kuwait, 1984. p.29

2.5.1 Migration and Population Growth

Although Kuwait has a very high birth rate, the influx of foreigners has been a major factor in population growth. "In the year 1980 the natural birth rate for Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis was 48.2 and 27.7 per thousand respectively, while in 1984 it was 43.0 and 24.4". (State of Kuwait, 1986, p.76).

The total number of non-Kuwaiti inhabitants has increased from 92,851 in 1957 to 1,016,013 in 1985. In fact the non-Kuwaiti inhabitants have increased by a factor of 1.5 each five years since 1957 (Table 2.14).

2.5.1.1 The Nature of Migration

Given the labour requirements in Kuwait, it was the case that the first major influx of immigrants to Kuwait were male. Only later did female immigrants follow their male counterparts. It is difficult to accurately describe the nature of early female immigration since no records exist to indicate its extent prior to 1957. The number of both male and female immigrants has increased steadily since the first population census in 1957. Of residential immigrants in 1957, 78% were male, for every 1,000 male migrants there were 274 female. During the next two decades, female immigration increased rapidly, so that by 1985, female immigrants accounted for 41% of the non-Kuwaiti population. Despite the enormous increase in female immigration, male immigration has remained dominant. Although the female proportion of the non-Kuwaiti population has continued to increase, they still only represented 597 and 622 for each 1,000 males in 1980 and 1985 respectively (Table 2.15).

Table No. 2.14

Population by Sex and Nationality in Census Year 1957 - 1985

Census Years	Population			Percentage			Sex Ratio*	
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total		
1957	Kuwaiti	54.468	59.154	113.622	26.3	28.7	55.0	108.6
	Non-Kuwaiti	19.947	72.904	92.851	9.7	35.3	45.0	365.5
	Total	74.415	132.058	206.473	36.0	64.0	100.0	177.5
1961	Kuwaiti	77.448	84.461	161.909	24.0	26.3	50.3	109.1
	Non-Kuwaiti	43.466	116.246	159.712	13.6	36.1	49.7	267.4
	Total	120.914	200.707	321.621	37.6	62.4	100.0	166.0
1965	Kuwaiti	107.490	112.569	220.059	23.0	24.1	47.1	104.7
	Non-Kuwaiti	73.537	173.743	247.280	15.7	37.2	52.9	236.3
	Total	181.027	286.312	467.339	38.7	61.3	100.0	158.2
1970	Kuwaiti	171.883	175.513	347.396	23.3	23.7	47.0	102.1
	Non-Kuwaiti	146.898	244.368	291.266	19.9	33.1	53.0	166.4
	Total	318.781	419.881	738.662	43.2	56.8	100.0	131.7
1975	Kuwaiti	235.488	236.600	472.088	23.7	23.8	47.5	100.5
	Non-Kuwaiti	215.581	307.168	522.749	21.6	30.9	52.5	142.5
	Total	451.069	543.768	944.837	45.3	54.7	100.0	120.6
1980	Kuwaiti	284.964	280.649	565.613	21.0	20.7	41.7	98.5
	Non-Kuwaiti	296.349	495.990	792.339	21.8	36.5	58.3	167.4
	Total	581.313	776.639	1,357.952	42.8	57.2	100.0	133.6
1985	Kuwaiti	342.492	338.796	681.288	20.2	20.0	40.1	98.9
	Non-Kuwaiti	389.512	626.501	1,016.013	22.9	36.9	59.9	160.8
	Total	732.004	965.297	1,697.301	43.1	56.9	100.0	131.9

* Male per 100 female.

Courtesy of Ministry of Planning, Kuwait, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1986, p.25.

Table No. 2.15

Kuwait state population by sex, age group and nationality in
sensus years 1957-1985.

Census Year	Total Population		Percentage distribution of sex, age group & Nationality			Number of females per each (1000) males
	Male	Female	0-14	15-64	65 & Over	
Kuwaities						
1957	59154	54468	43.8	50.1 *	6.1 **	921
1961	84461	77448	46.7	47.5 *	5.8 **	917
1965	112569	107490	49.1	46.1 *	4.8 **	955
1970	175513	171883	50.1	47.5	2.4	979
1975	236600	235488	49.4	47.8	2.8	995
1980	280649	284964	49.2	48.6	2.2	1015
1985	338796	242492	48.7	49.1	2.2	1011
Non-Kuwaities						
1957	72904	19947	16.5	81.8 *	1.7 **	275
1961	116246	43466	23.9	74.6 *	1.5 **	374
1965	173743	73537	28.2	70.5 *	1.3 **	423
1970	244368	146898	37.1	61.5	0.8	601
1975	307168	215581	39.7	58.8	0.7	702
1980	495990	296349	33.7	65.6	0.7	597
1985	626501	389512	28.9	70.5	0.6	622

c.f. Migration to Kuwait (1960-1985) unpublished paper, Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Planning, Kuwait, calculated from sensus 1957-1985, p.7.

* Age group 15-59

** Age group 60 and over.

Kuwaiti males and females also showed a steady increase in their number in the two decades since 1957. Since 1957 the number of females has increased more rapidly than the male population so that by 1980 there were 1,015 females for every 1,000 males and by 1985 1.011 females for every 1,000 males.

Table 2.16 indicates the age distribution of Kuwait population. Amongst the non-Kuwaitis, the predominant age is between 15-64 years old, 70% of migrants fall into this group, 28.9% are less than 15 years old, while only 6% are 65 years of age or over. The age distribution of Kuwaitis is very different, 49.1% of Kuwaitis are between 15-64 years old, 48.7% are less than 15 years of age, 2.2% of Kuwaitis are over 65 years.

The migrant population of Kuwait is not only composed of different nationalities, but these nationalities have arrived in the country at different times.

Since 1965, Arabs have represented the majority of the migrants, averaging 40.2% of total population of Kuwait and 76% of migrants. This dominance was maintained until 1975. Jordanians and Palestinians formed the bulk of Arab migrants. Non-Arab immigrants has remained more or less unchanged during the ten year period, between 1965-1975, non-Arab immigrants averaging 10.4 - 12.7% of the population of Kuwait (Table 2.16).

The flow of immigrants into Kuwait continued to increase after 1975, and reached its maximum level in 1985. The Arabs, although they are

Table 2.16
Population by Sex and Nationality, Census 1965, 1970, 1975

Arab Nationality	Census 1965				Census 1970				Census 1975			
	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Kuwaiti	107.490	112.569	220.059	47.1	171.883	175.513	347.396	47.0	235.488	236.600	472.088	47.5
Jordan & Palestine	27.968	49.744	77.712	16.6	67.762	79.934	147.696	20.0	96.408	107.770	204.178	20.5
Iraq	10.136	15.762	25.897	5.5	15.483	23.583	39.066	5.3	18.571	26.499	45.070	4.5
Saudi Arabia	1.751	2.881	4.632	1.0	4.872	6.025	10.897	1.3	5.907	6.620	12.527	1.3
Lebanon	8.067	12.820	20.877	4.5	11.242	14.145	25.387	3.4	11.568	13.208	24.776	2.5
Syria	4.774	12.075	16.849	3.6	10.037	17.180	27.217	3.7	16.321	24.641	40.962	4.1
Egypt	5.225	5.796	11.021	2.4	13.029	17.392	30.421	4.1	24.739	35.795	60.534	6.1
Tunis	-	-	-	-	24	50	74	-	54	73	127	-
Algeria	-	72	75	-	23	90	113	-	27	42	69	-
Libya	3	-	-	-	4	6	10	-	26	20	46	-
Morocco	-	-	-	-	8	32	40	-	21	38	59	-
Sudan	79	339	418	0.1	211	562	773	0.1	434	1.119	1.553	0.2
P.D.R. Yemen	75	2,560	2,635	0.6	765	7,839	8,604	1.2	2,021	10,311	12,332	1.2
Arab Yemen R	11	133	144	-	337	2,026	2,363	0.3	1,076	3,755	4,831	0.5
Bahrain	306	441	747	0.2	457	509	966	0.1	790	569	1,359	0.1
Qatar	61	98	159	-	38	79	117	-	50	62	112	-
Arab Gulf Emirates	283	822	1,105	0.2	1,590	2,845	4,436	0.6	1,203	1,382	2,585	0.3
Muscat & Oman	2,736	16,848	19,584	4.2	2,238	12,432	14,670	2.0	2,196	5,117	7,313	0.7
Other Arabs	96	5,973	6,068	1.3	-	-	-	-	350	404	754	0.1
Non-Kuwaiti Arabs	61,559	126,364	187,923	40.2	128,120	184,729	312,849	42.4	181,762	237,425	419,187	42.1
Total Arab Nationality	169,049	238,933	407,982	87.3	300,003	360,242	660,245	89.4	417,250	474,025	891,275	89.6

Table No. 2.1b (Cont'd.)

Non-Arab Nationality	Census 1965				Census 1970				Census 1975			
	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Iran	1.765	29.025	30.790	6.6	3.631	35.498	39.129	5.3	7.483	33.359	40.842	4.1
Turkey	12	9	21	-	44	34	78	-	66	52	118	-
India	3.964	7.735	11.699	2.5	6.826	10.510	17.336	2.3	15.326	16.779	32.105	3.2
Pakistan	4.102	7.633	11.735	2.5	5.274	9.438	14.712	2.0	8.020	14.996	23.016	2.3
Japan	16	72	88	-	77	323	400	0.1	101	260	361	-
Other Africans	67	345	412	-	188	488	676	-	123	317	440	-
Other Asians	61	110	171	0.1	55	207	262	0.1	249	1.122	1.371	0.1
United Kingdom	1.264	1.573	2.837	0.6	1.336	1.400	2.736	0.4	1.130	1.293	2.423	0.2
West Europe	215	231	446	0.1	407	494	901	0.1	392	583	975	0.1
U.S.S.R.	9	9	18	-	29	79	108	-	29	25	54	-
East Europe	121	187	308	0.1	151	211	362	-	273	292	565	0.1
North Europe	91	95	186	-	107	117	224	-	80	93	173	-
Other Europeans	15	19	34	-	149	336	485	0.1	49	41	90	-
U.S.A.	213	263	476	0.1	422	394	816	0.1	343	351	694	0.1
Canada	12	15	27	-	20	20	40	-	18	33	51	-
Latin America	20	24	44	-	21	20	41	-	31	38	69	-
Australia & New Zealand	19	14	33	-	17	18	35	-	22	25	47	-
Nonstated	12	20	32	-	24	52	76	-	84	84	168	-
Total Non-Arab Nationalities	11.978	47.379	59.357	12.7	18.778	59.639	78.417	10.6	33.819	69.743	103.562	10.4
Grand Total	181.027	286.312	467.339	100.0	318.781	419.881	738.662	100.0	451.069	543.768	994.837	100.0

now a smaller proportion of recent migrants, maintained their dominance in the migrant population. They account for 37.9% of the total population, and 63% of the immigrants (Table 2.17). While the total of Arab immigrants has passed its peak, the numbers of non-Arab immigrants continues to increase, particularly those of Asian origin. In 1975, Asian immigrants accounted for 9.7% of the Kuwait population. By 1980 this percentage had increased to 15%, and by 1985 to 21% (Table 2.17).

"Great change has taken place in the distribution of non-Kuwaiti residents. In 1975 Arabs accounted for 80% of the non-Kuwaiti inhabitants, and Asians for 19%. Jordanians and Palestinians taken together represented 39% of the non-Kuwaiti population, and other Arabs, such as Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians and Lebanese together represented 33% of the non-Kuwaiti population. Amongst Asians, Persians represent 8% and Indians and Pakistanis approximately 11% of the total non-Kuwaiti population. The shift in the type of immigration has led to a rapid increase in the proportion of Asian immigrants, since 1975. In that year Asians represented 18.7% of the total non-Kuwaiti population, but by 1985 that percentage had increased to 35. Most Asian immigration was from the Phillipines, Korea, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Accordingly, the Arabs, who represented 80.2% of the total non-Kuwaiti population in 1975, by 1985 made up 63.3%. This shift in the main pattern of immigration, from Arab to Asian, coincided with the increase in the rate of development of Kuwait, which took place after 1975. The restrictions which some Arab countries now place on the

Population by Sex and Groups of Countries

Table 2.17.

Census 1980, 1985

Groups of countries	1980				1985			
	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Kuwait	284.964	280.649	565.613	41.7	342.492	338.796	681.288	40.1
Arab	234.289	340.206	574.495	42.3	264.110	378.704	642.814	37.9
Asian	56.148	147.956	204.104	15.0	118.035	237.912	355.947	21.0
African	702	899	1.601	0.1	976	1.063	2.039	0.1
European	4.219	5.765	9.984	0.8	4.853	7.055	11.908	0.7
American	929	1.068	1.997	0.1	1.474	1.668	3.142	0.2
Others	62	96	158	*	64	99	163	*
Not stated	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*
Grand Total	581.313	776.639	1,357.952	100.0	732.004	965.297	1,697.301	100.0

* Negligible Figure
 * Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, Kuwait 1986, p.27.
 * Modified by Author.

supply of manpower to Kuwait has also played a part in this change. But a further reason for the shift may lie in the fact that Asian manpower is cheaper and more maleable than Arab labour". (State of Kuwait, 1987, p.6).

2.5.1.2 Labour Force

The high level of immigration is, of course, associated with a shortage of labour within Kuwait. The labour force had increased enormously by 1975. In that year it consisted of 304,582 individuals. But by 1985 it had increased further to 670,385 (Table 2.18). Although the indigenous Kuwaiti labour force increased from 91,844 in 1975 to 126,410 individuals in 1985, its proportion within the total labour force decreased from 38.5% in 1975 to 36.1% in 1985.

There was a corresponding increase in the numbers of the foreign labour force. In 1975 foreign labour accounted for 69.9% of the total labour force, and 81.2% by 1985. Furthermore, as Table 2.18 shows, a high proportion of these workers were female.

"The majority of economic sectors within Kuwait society could not be sustained without foreign manpower. Foreign labour divides as follows: more than 90% of the female labour force works in the service sector; of the males, 32% of them work in the service sector, 28% in construction, 15.3% in trade, restaurants and hotels and 10.4% in maufacturing". (State of Kuwait, 1987, p.15).

As long as migrants are in work or are dependants, accompanying job-holding relatives there is no restriction on their length of stay in

Table No. 2.18

Labour Force by Sex and Employment

Status in Census Years

Census 1975

	Employment Status	Female	Male	Total
	Employed	34.770	261.825	296.595
T O T A L	Persons seeking work for the first time	376	5.791	6.167
	Unemployed who worked before	60	1.760	1.820
	Total Labour Force*	35.206	269.376	304.582
	Population*	234.276	319.954	553.930
	% Labour force	15.0	84.3	55.0
N O N K U W A I T I	Employed	27.475	183.524	210.999
	Persons seeking work for the first time	204	1.090	1.294
	Unemployed who worked before	50	395	445
	Total Labour Force*	27.729	185.009	212.738
	Population*	114.159	201.125	315.284
	% Labour force	24.3	92.0	69.9
K U W A I T I	Employed	7.295	78.301	83.596
	Persons seeking work for the first time	172	4.701	4.873
	Unemployed who worked before	10	1.365	1.375
	Total Labour Force*	7.477	84.367	91.844
	Population*	120.117	118.529	238.616
	% Labour force	6.2	71.2	30.1

* Age 15 years and over

Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, 1986, p.117.

Table No. 2.18 (Cont'd)

Labour Force by Sex and Employment

Status in Census Years

Census 1980

	Employment Status	Female	Male	Total
	Employed	62.040	420.601	482.641
T O T A L	Persons seeking work for the first time	1.178	6.287	7.465
	Unemployed who worked before	59	1.344	1.403
	Total Labour Force*	63.277	428.232	491.509
L	Population*	312.963	499.266	812.229
	% Labour force	20.2	85.8	60.5
N O N K U W A I T I	Employed	48.229	331.942	380.171
	Persons seeking work for the first time	835	2.344	3.179
	Unemployed who worked before	41	358	399
	Total Labour Force*	49.105	334.644	383.749
	Population*	165.652	359.252	524.904
	% Labour force	29.6	93.2	78.1
K U W A I T I	Employed	13.811	88.659	102.470
	Persons seeking work for the first time	343	3.943	4.286
	Unemployed who worked before	18	986	1.004
	Total Labour Force*	14.172	93.588	107.760
	Population*	147.311	140.014	287.325
	% Labour force	9.6	66.8	21.9

* Age 15 years and over

Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, 1986, p.117.

Table No. 2.18 (Cont'd)

Labour Force by Sex and Employment

Status in Census Years

Census 1985

	Employment Status	Female	Male	Total
	Employed	129.499	530.996	660.495
T	Persons seeking work for the first time	2.345	5.452	7.797
O	Unemployed who worked before	284	1.809	2.093
A	Total Labour Force*	132.128	538.257	670.385
L	Population*	425.131	647.085	1,072.216
	% Labour force	31.1	83.2	62.5
	Employed	105.077	432.402	537.479
N	Persons seeking work for the first time	1.999	2.948	4.947
O	Unemployed who worked before	249	1.300	1.549
K	Total Labour Force*	107.325	436.650	543.975
U	Population*	245.549	476.324	721.873
W	% Labour force	43.7	91.7	81.2
A	Employed	24.422	98.594	123.016
I	Persons seeking work for the first time	346	2.504	2.850
T	Unemployed who worked before	35	509	544
A	Total Labour Force*	24.803	101.607	126.410
I	Population*	179.582	170.761	250.343
T	% Labour force	13.8	59.5	18.8

* Age 15 years and over

Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, 1986, p.117.

Kuwait. However, since 1975 approximately 40% of migrants have stayed less than 5 years (Table 2.19) and about 65% less than 10 years. There is some evidence to suggest that between 1975 and 1985, the proportion of those staying more than 15 years increased from 12.71% in 1975 to 21.06 in 1985.

"The duration of residency amongst the Arab subgroup, on average, is higher than that of the non-Arab. Among Arab immigrants there are more people who have lived in Kuwait for 10 years and over (36%), and only 18% among the Asians. This shows that the Arab subgroup has a greater tendency to settle down in Kuwait than non-Arabs.

For non-Arabs, work is the main reason of their residency in Kuwait, while many Arab migrants come to Kuwait to be with their relatives". (State of Kuwait, 1987, p.22).

2.5.1.2 Educational status of the population

The status of education has a direct and/or indirect impact on the demographic structure of the society and consequently on the development of the society at the individual's level.

The educational categories in Kuwait are as follows, illiterate; read and write; primary; intermediate; secondary and below university level: and University and postgraduate (Table 2.19). The table shows the distribution of educational achievement amongst the population. The small numbers with a university degree of higher education is immediately apparent. Among Kuwaitis, the percentage of University graduates reached 1.3% by 1975. Within one decade, the

Table No: 2.19

Duration of Residency of non-Kuwaiti Population 1975 - 1980 - 1985

Duration in years	1975				1980				1985			
	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
0-4	92.323	128.122	220.445	42.17	114.793	243.902	358.695	45.27	150.310	252.671	402.987	39.66
5-9	68.722	81.471	150.193	28.73	75.306	103.413	178.719	22.56	87.913	165.795	253.708	24.97
10-14	35.465	50.123	85.588	16.37	60.068	66.629	126.697	15.99	62.475	82.929	145.404	14.31
15+	19.046	47.412	66.458	12.71	46.182	82.046	128.228	16.18	88.808	125.106	213.914	21.06
Not stated	25	40	65	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	215.581	307.168	522.749	100	296.349	495.990	792.339	100	389.512	626.501	1,016.013	100

Modified from the Annual Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Planning, Kuwait 1986, p. 55.

number of Kuwaiti graduates trebled, reaching 4.1%. The corresponding figures for non-Kuwaitis were 6.4% graduates in 1975, and 9.3% in 1985. However, the number of non-Kuwaiti individuals with University degrees is much greater than their Kuwaiti counterparts, due to the larger size of the non-Kuwaiti population.

Nevertheless, illiterates and/or individuals with secondary school education only, constitute the majority amongst both Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis. Furthermore, it is significant that the proportion of non-Kuwaiti females with secondary education is greater than the proportion of either Kuwaiti females or males of both groups of society (Table 2.20).

Table No. 2.20

Educational Status of Population & Their Percentage

Distribution by Sex (10 Years and Over)

Census 1975

Educational Status and Sex		1975			
		Non-Kuwaiti		Kuwaiti	
		%		%	
Illiterate	M	27.5	61.889	30.0	44.880
	F	31.3	42.971	59.1	88.734
	T	28.9	104.860	44.6	133.614
Read and Write	M	24.7	55.786	20.9	31.287
	F	16.1	22.089	8.2	12.653
	T	21.5	77.875	14.7	43.940
Primary	M	17.3	39.067	26.7	39.989
	F	21.4	29.405	17.5	26.199
	T	18.9	68.472	22.1	66.188
Intermediate	M	11.6	26.036	14.0	20.919
	F	13.7	18.815	9.7	14.496
	T	12.4	44.851	11.8	33.415
Sec. & below Univ. level	M	11.2	25.311	6.6	9.806
	F	13.1	17.984	4.5	6.797
	T	11.9	43.295	5.5	16.603
Graduate & post graduate degree	M	7.7	17.314	1.8	2.755
	F	4.4	5.953	0.8	1.224
	T	6.4	23.267	1.3	3.979
Not stated	M	0.0	-	0.0	18
	F	0.0	2	0.0	17
	T	0.0	2	0.0	35
Total	M	100.0	225.403	100.0	149.654
	F	100.0	137.219	100.0	150.120
	T	100.0	362.622	100.0	299.774

Table No. 2.20 (Cont'd)

Educational Status of Population & Their Percentage

Distribution by Sex (10 Years and Over)

Census 1980

Educational Status and Sex		1980			
		Non-Kuwaiti		Kuwaiti	
		%		%	
Illiterate	M	25.0	98.975	22.7	40.655
	F	22.9	45.972	49.6	92.148
	T	24.2	144.947	36.4	132.803
Read and Write	M	25.0	99.212	18.0	32.259
	F	16.3	32.871	10.7	19.827
	T	22.1	132.083	14.3	52.086
Primary	M	14.1	55.881	26.7	47.682
	F	19.7	39.572	17.0	31.522
	T	16.0	95.453	21.7	79.204
Intermediate	M	12.8	50.650	19.3	34.481
	F	16.9	34.064	13.2	24.566
	T	14.2	84.714	16.2	50.047
Sec. & below Univ. level	M	13.5	53.716	10.2	18.211
	F	17.0	34.119	7.7	14.311
	T	14.7	87.835	9.0	32.522
Graduate & post graduate degree	M	9.6	38.261	3.1	5.508
	F	7.2	14.431	1.8	3.366
	T	8.8	52.692	2.4	8.874
Not stated	M	-	-	-	-
	F	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-
Total	M	100.0	396.695	100.0	178.796
	F	100.0	201.029	100.0	185.740
	T	100.0	597.724	100.0	364.536

Table No. 2.20 (Cont'd)

Educational Status of Population & Their Percentage

Distribution by Sex (10 Years and Over)

Census 1985

Educational Status and Sex		1985			
		Non-Kuwaiti		Kuwaiti	
		%		%	
Illiterate	M	21.2	109.800	15.5	33.466
	F	19.1	54.717	36.9	82.407
	T	20.4	164.517	26.4	115.873
Read and Write	M	23.5	122.067	13.3	28.670
	F	20.3	58.057	10.6	23.666
	T	22.4	180.124	11.9	52.336
Primary	M	13.4	69.453	26.9	58.150
	F	16.7	47.660	20.5	45.699
	T	14.5	117.113	23.6	103.849
Intermediate	M	15.1	78.514	25.4	54.694
	F	17.6	50.487	17.5	39.027
	T	16.0	129.001	21.3	93.721
Sec. & below Univ. level	M	16.6	86.285	14.0	30.299
	F	18.6	53.298	11.2	25.065
	T	17.4	139.583	12.7	55.364
Graduate & post graduate degree	M	10.2	52.926	4.9	10.625
	F	7.7	22.150	3.3	7.532
	T	9.3	75.076	4.1	18.157
Not stated	M	-	-	-	-
	F	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-
Total	M	100.0	519.045	100.0	215.904
	F	100.0	286.369	100.0	223.396
	T	100.0	805.414	100.0	439.300

Summary

Thus, to summarize, Kuwait society has undergone tremendous changes in all sphere of life after the discovery of oil. These changes have had a significant impact, not only on economic and political matters, but also on the way of life of people in the society. These changes have occurred during two eras of the country's existence; namely during the transition period, between 1950-1961, and statehood period from 1961/2 to date.

During the transition period, the role of the government has been increased at the expense of the individual's role in society. The governmental role has covered all spheres of life. Economically, it has created employment opportunities for all citizens, to the point that the majority of people have left their traditional vocation and become totally dependent on steady income from governmental institutions. The government has paid close attention to the construction and development of the country and given less consideration to traditional aspects of society. New commercial companies with their various expertise have been introduced into Kuwait together with their foreign manpower. In addition, regardless of the fact that Kuwait has experienced immigration since its foundation, the need for manpower for the development of the country has opened the door widely to migration of foreigners from all the countries of the world. The motive of this massive immigration has been primarily based on the needs of economic development.

Associated with economical changes, are changes in the political system. Indeed, Kuwait society has experienced a considerable

increase in formal political activity. The most significant political achievement has been the independence of the country in 1961 and the development of a constitution which has allowed a degree of participation in the country's affairs.

The social system has been the most significantly affected aspect of Kuwait society. The speed of change in the social system has been incredibly, in that changes have occurred in less than 30 years which took over 300 years in Europe. These changes have touched the social structure as well as the traditions and values of the society. The major changes in social structure have been determined by the increase of population and the dominant position of foreign immigrants in that population since the mid-sixties. These changes have also had their impacts on social traditions of Kuwait. Indeed, social relations, cooperation, honesty and family relationship have been remarkably weakened. Furthermore, the departure from traditional values and customs have been widely practiced and in fact have led to materialistic attitudes, individuality, distrust, disloyalty and worry about future.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCLUSIONS:

SOCIAL CHANGE IN KUWAIT

3.1 Introduction

The events that have taken place in Kuwaiti society since its foundation to date could be depicted in the following way:

"Their history provided them those elements of cohesion that have maintained the social and political unity of Kuwaiti Society for more than two centuries". (Khouja & Sadler, 1978, p.7).

Five factors appear to be associated with the establishment of Kuwait as an area of political independence. Firstly, the dominance of the area by the Bani Khalid tribe was weakened by the intense and widespread struggle with the Wahhabi, a sect of Islam dedicated to the establishment of religious fundamentalism. Secondly, the weakening of Portuguese influence in the area led to the emergence of the Omani Empire in the southern Gulf. This in itself, led to a series of conflicts which kept the rulers of the southern Gulf preoccupied and unable to respond to developments further north. Thirdly, plague and the ravages of the Turko-persian War (1776-1779) led to the decline of Basra as a trading station, a decline acknowledged by the decision of the East India Company to move its southern terminus of the overland mail from Basra to Kuwait. Fourthly, Kuwait capitalised on its geographical position, in that it

was the only feasible port for the northern area of Arabia and it had one of the best natural harbours in the northern Gulf. Finally, at a time of general disturbance in the area, Kuwait's small size was an advantage, for it was seen to present little threat to its neighbours.

All these factors gave an impetus to the development of Kuwait and to the establishment of a small closely-knit state with the possibility of quick response to opportunities offered by the changing fortunes of others in the area.

During the nineteenth century Kuwait's economic activities centred on trade and the sea.

Trade

1. By 1800 Kuwaiti sailors were very prominent of the sea routes to India and Arabia.
2. The trade routes followed definite patterns which allowed Kuwaiti merchants to build up an effective infrastructure and led to the development of strong inter-relationships between mariners, merchants and shipowners.
3. Merchants established strong links with their market areas and established agencies in and around the Indian Ocean.
4. Merchants invested in the production of their trading commodities, e.g. date growing in Iraq.

Pearling

1. This activity provided sailors with an important supplement to their main income. Generally they could earn 20% of their

annual income this way.

2. This supplement to income took the Kuwaiti sailor out of the class of peasant in developing countries.
3. By 1907 Kuwait had 461 boats and 9,000 men involved in the trade. (Admiralty War Staff, 1908, p.314).
4. By 1912 Kuwait had 812 boats and 30,000 men involved, approximately half the population was at sea during the 3 or 4 month pearling season. (El Mallakh, 1968, p.12).
5. After World War One the European market for Pearls began to decline and the death of the industry was finally caused by the development of the Japanese cultured Pearl Industry. By 1940 the number of boats had dropped to about 100, and by 1950's to 5.

Fishing

1. A major activity but not an industry in the same way as pearling. Fish was part of the food supply for the local people, in fact it was a major source of protein.
2. It was also important in that local sources of food were very limited so that any supplement to the local diet had to be purchased.

Smuggling

1. To a great extent this consisted of trading gold with India.
2. The 'trade' was particularly important up until 1947, when India and Pakistan tried to regulate it. But this proved to be ineffective.

3.2 Political Emergence

The factors contributing to the political emergence of Kuwait took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was a period in which the Turkish Empire, in its declining years, was attempting to maintain its political hegemony in the area, while at the same time the Arab peoples of the peninsula were beginning to assert their independence from the Turk and in relationship to one another. The situation was further complicated by the policies of the 'great' powers. Britain protecting her communications with India; Germany attempting to establish a route of trade and influence to the east; Turkey hoping, through alliance with Germany, to maintain its power in the area; and Russia suspicious of any developments on her southern frontier. All had an interest and all would exploit or could be exploited for sectional advantage.

During this period, from 1896 to 1915, Kuwait was ruled by Sheikh Mubarak who secured Kuwait's independence from potential local rivals and skilfully exploited the rivalry of the great powers to his own advantage. By 1915 Mubarak had removed Kuwait from Turkish influence, maintained Kuwait's separation from the influence of the House of Saud and linked the fortunes of the country with the growing power of the British in the Gulf. However, he was able to ensure that the British were never able to exercise direct interference in the internal affairs of Kuwait.

"Thanks to the exceptional ability of Sheikh Mubarak, and to a lesser extent of his successors, the political agent in Kuwait has never

been called upon to make representation to the ruler of Kuwait concerning the internal administration of the principality. Gunboats and aeroplanes have protected the town against Wahhabi incursions, but no troops have ever landed

In no part of the Persian Gulf have the relations of the Sheikh and his people with the British government, its representative and British merchants been more uniformly pleasant and cordial". (Wilson, 1928, p.252-3).

As a result of Kuwait's assistance to Britain, at the beginning of the First World War, the country was recognised as an independent state under British protection. Earlier, in October 1913, an agreement was reached regarding oil. In a letter the Sheikh agreed not to cede any power over oil, except to an appointee of the British government. In 1915 Mubarak died, but the relationships forged with the British remained substantially intact until the cessation of the Protectorate agreement in 1961.

All these activities were later to be overshadowed by developments in oil, the magnitude of which could never have been imagined. However, the combination of Kuwait's political and commercial history is the main foundation of the Kuwaiti character. The constant need to tread a path between antagonists has given it a flavour of 'neutral independence' and an ability, born of necessity, to turn affairs quickly to its own advantage. At the same time, the harsh forces of nature, and the type of activities open to its people, bred a very rugged type of citizen able to withstand much adversity, trade of the type described, requires a solid basis of mutual trust between merchants, owners and captains, at the same time the merchant

community depended upon the rulers of Kuwait to maintain favourable conditions for them to develop their activities. In return they provided the rulers with their revenue.

Modern Kuwait reflects all these elements. The state welfare system is a reflection of the pattern of inter-related responsibilities without which the commercial enterprises of the pre-oil era could never have had survived. At the same time it is a basis of support for a free enterprise system in which citizens are able to exploit opportunities as they arise and turn them to advantage, just as any merchant mariner would have done if faced with a good trading prospect, rather than a reflection of any socialist activity. This intricate inter-relatedness, which pervades the commercial and political structure, does more to explain the modern attitudes and methods of approach to major economic and social problems than any other single factor.

3.3 The Coming of Oil

The various negotiations relating to oil lasted for more than 24 years. From the first approach by the British resident in November 1911, until the signing of the agreement in 1953. Oil was not finally discovered, in commercial quantities, until 1938. The period of negotiations not only represents a fascinating insight into the relationships between state and international business, but it highlights the manner in which the Sheikh of Kuwait, Ahmad Al-Jabir, played the role of negotiator so adroitly that he effectively neutralised the power of his adversaries and obtained a very

favourable agreement for the country. Exploration and drilling continued, but the wells were plugged in 1942 and exploitation did not recommence until 1945. Until 1948 the Kuwait Oil Company, jointly owned by Gulf Oil and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, were the sole concessionaires in Kuwait. But in 1948 the Government, with Saudi Arabia, signed an agreement with the American Independent Oil Company for the exploitation of the Neutral Zone. In 1958 and 1961 further concessions were granted to the Arab Oil Company, Japanese owned and Royal Dutch Shell respectively. (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p.17-24).

3.4 The Impact of Oil

It is almost impossible to under-estimate the impact of oil on the economy and social structure of Kuwait. The growth Kuwait has experienced since 1946 has been unparalleled in human history. The Gross National Product in 1945 was estimated at less than \$5 million, and by 1961 the estimate was \$1.709 billion, and although from that date growth settle down to a more normal annual rate of 5%, this pattern is unique.

The enormous growth in oil soon overshadowed all other aspects of the economy, particularly when other sectors - seafaring, pearling and fishing - were already suffering some decline.

Kuwait's immediate reaction to this wealth was to develop the physical infrastructure of the country, an administrative structure, and establish a welfare state.

For a desert country with an ever present need for water it was not surprising that top priority was given to the development of water resources. In 1953 the government commissioned the first desalination plant and by 1978 this production had reached 102 million gallons a day, the highest in the world. Associated with this development was the rise in electrical generation capacity from 2.5mW in the early 1950's to 2618mW in 1978. During this period high priority was also given to the transformation of the city of Kuwait and to the development of roads, schools, hospitals and up to date communications. also new harbour, oil terminals and housing projects were commissioned.

Measures for the expansion and development of the civil service was soon introduced. Staff was needed to oversee the numerous infrastructure projects that were being implemented, and to staff the ministries and departments of state that were rapidly expanding. In addition to these a foreign service and a military force was required from 1961 onwards. This task could not have been accomplished without an influx into the country of Palestinians, Egyptians, Indians, Iranians and others. However, in later years this has had the consequence of imposing on Kuwait a slow and over-complex administrative system, more suited to countries with different problems and backgrounds.

The traditional customs and traditions of the Kuwaiti people were such that it was very likely that the new state would develop a somewhat paternalistic welfare state and this indeed was the case.

The outline of the present system was established in the 50's has been developed and expanded ever since.

Kuwait, like many developing countries, had suffered from two of the most serious diseases of the desert, namely smallpox and tuberculosis. Historically the struggle against these diseases had been very difficult. Within the first ten years of oil exploitation the people of Kuwait were enjoying a health service free of cost which few other countries were able to maintain. In spite of increased costs this service has continued to expand. With the influx of people in recent years this has not been an easy task, and there are indications that the quality of the service is beginning to decline.

Soon after the oil revenues began to flow, considerable investment was made in the area of education. Student population rose from 3,600 in 1945 to 250,000 by 1975. For women the change was even more dramatic - from 5% of the student population in 1945 to more than 45% in 1975.

Housing has also expanded. By 1975 it was estimated that 15% of the Kuwaiti population had been directly re-housed by government schemes. This under-estimates the significance of this development, for many more citizens were helped with housing by the provision of cheap land and soft loans for building.

Direct support was also given to Kuwaiti families in a number of different ways: financial support to needy families; subsidies on

water, electricity and petrol; and generous retirement pensions. Perhaps the most significant assistance lies in the area of employment in which each Kuwaiti citizen is guaranteed work. Thus over-staffing in government departments is common, and a feeling of indifference, apathy and disincentive is felt by many.

3.5 The Effect of these Developments

The rapid development of the economy and the consequent repercussions on the social structure of Kuwaiti society have been many and various. Given the transformation of the society within one generation it would not be surprising if many people felt a great tension between the traditional values of their past existence with the morals and values of the present world.

Three factors appear to have had the most dramatic effect on the social structure and social attitudes of the population of Kuwait: the rise in the numbers of non-citizens in the population; the existence of differences in levels of wealth amongst the population; and changes in residential location.

The population of Kuwait has risen by thirteen-fold over a period of about 35 years - from an estimated 90,000 people in 1946 to 1,355,827 persons in 1980. In this way Kuwaiti's have become a minority in their own state. They now represent less than 4 out of every 10 persons in the population. Yet this crude statement tends to underestimate the impact of the influx of immigrants. By the early 1980's Kuwaitis comprised less than a third of the totally active work force. Graphically, too, the Kuwaitis found themselves under siege,

crowding into defined residential areas and occupying the smaller portion of the residential zone of the state. The attitude of Kuwaitis to the immigrants is ambivalent. On the other hand, "Kuwaitis become quickly fearful of the tremendous human movements into their country which in certain periods reached several thousands per month". (Khouja & Sadler, 1979, p.48). This fear has been increased in recent years by a rise in the proportion of long term non-citizens in the population and the increasing tendency among non-Kuwaiti men to bring their wives and children to settle in Kuwait.

In spite of the high per capita income level in Kuwait, the pattern of income distribution suffers from a significant degree of inequality. This is related to the high proportion of non-Kuwaitis in the population, but to a lesser extent also involves the Kuwaiti segment of the population. The median family income per month of non-Kuwaitis in 1977 was KD150, compared with a median family income in the same year of KD225 for Kuwaiti families. The reason for this difference can be attributed to a number of factors: (1) the high percentage of non-Kuwaities employed as labourers; (2) the receipt of unearned income (rents and dividends) by Kuwaitis which does not accrue to non-Kuwaitis because of restrictions on ownership of property and company shares; (3) the preferential treatment given by the government to Kuwaitis in regard to employment and salaries as part of its policy to raise income levels of Kuwaiti nationals; and (4) the imposition of regulations that restrict non-Kuwaitis from operating certain businesses unless they have a Kuwaiti partner with 51% of the capital or a Kuwaiti sponsor who receives a fixed fee or a share of net profit. Amongst Kuwaitis, difference in income is

associated with: (1) differences in the level of education; (2) differences in social background; (3) the presence of market imperfections in the economy; (4) lack of appropriate fiscal and public policies; and (5) the land purchase programme, which while succeeding in spreading wealth, tended to accentuate the pre-oil disparity in income.

Population growth and differences in income have had direct effects on social conditions. It is, above all, in the area of housing that change has been most obvious. Housing stock grew from 33,748 dwellings in 1957 to 180,400 in 1980. Two types of residential areas have been established - one Kuwaiti occupied and the other open to immigrants.

"Each of the two residential zones has its own housing types and special environments. Kuwaiti districts are marked by low density villa housing within comparatively generously gardened and well maintained avenues. Immigrant areas are more mixed, though many carry high densities of population in apartment blocks surrounded by poorly cared for streets". (Al Moosa, 1982, p.198).

The effect of these changes on the attitudes and behaviour of the population, particularly Kuwaiti citizens, is a matter of some dispute. On the one hand it is suggested that: "In spite of the rapid economic growth which led to the emergence of the modern state, Kuwaitis have generally retained most of their traditional values and customs and have remained largely conservative and clannish in nature. The strength of the family as a social and economic unit is

still paramount". (Khouja ' Sadler, 1979, p.48). On the other hand "the attitude of the Kuwaitis shows considerable change in comparison with the situation before the coming of oil wealth. Whilst in the old city, Kuwaiti families in each neighbourhood lived under a traditional system of family life, where social and other aspects of welfare were the responsibility of the local community and the extended family. The teaching of Islam was that 'God orders people to take best care of the seventh neighbour, and social behaviour demands that food be offered to neighbours if the aroma of cooking reaches them. The well-being of children of the neighbourhood is the responsibility of the head of all families of that district'. Lastly, changes have meant that the traditional injunction, 'the neighbour is before the house', does not work any longer, as individuals become preoccupied with the concerns of their own house and household". (Al Moosa, 1982, p.48-49).

The differing conclusions of Khouja and Sadler on the one hand, and Al Moosa on the other, raises important questions as to the effect of social changes on the lives, beliefs and attitudes of the population of Kuwait. For these questions to be illuminated, if not answered, it is necessary to investigate and measure the reactions of individuals to that change. Such an investigation is not easy in a country that lacks the experience of empirical enquiry and in which the development of grounded concepts necessary to control such an enquiry has not taken place. The investigation which follows is therefore experimental in the true sense of the word and begins in Chapter Four by considering a conceptual basis of the study based on the concept of alienation.

CHAPTER FOUR

ALIENATION AND ANOMIE

The concept of alienation relates to a problem as old as society itself, and refers to the nature of the relationship between the individual and the society of which he is a part. In this usage, alienation indicates feelings of separation, meaninglessness and powerlessness, which are experienced by the individual both in his relationship to society and to his true self.

4.1.1 The social contract and the development of the alienation

The Reformation in Europe caused a questioning of the legitimacy and the usefulness of collective structures. As emergent Protestantism claimed that it was possible for the individual to know God, and to take responsibility for his own salvation, the necessity of a collective structure, namely the Church, to attain this end became questionable. Indeed the church was seen as having the potential, at least, to divert the individual from his essential interest, and in this way to turn him away from his true self, a self that could only be realised in his relationship with God.

The emergent belief that salvation was the product of an individual relationship with God, created yet another tension, that between spiritual and material survival. To survive spiritually, man should accentuate his individuality, whereas to survive materially, man

needed to enter into collective association with other men. This tension was represented as a conflict between the needs of the individual and the needs of society, between the true self and the socialised self. The preferred state was assumed to be the natural individual, but it was also realised that the individual needed the structures of society to ensure his material survival. Nevertheless the needs of society were seen to endanger man's spiritual survival.

As Europe became affected by the sudden increase in wealth (as new resources flooded in from the 'New World'), this moral crisis was joined by a material crisis. It was a time of rapid social change, conflict and chaos.

In his work, which set out to justify and legitimate the existence of society, and the political structures necessary for its governance, Thomas Hobbes questioned the reality of man's natural state. In Chapter XIII of 'Leviathan' he claimed:

"that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war, as is of every man, against every man ... In such condition, there is ... continued fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short ... justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no justice.

For Hobbes, the state of nature, the true self of the individual, was not a preferred state. Rather, he believed that individuals should have the foresight to organise their own preservation, and thus attain a more contented life, by covenanting every man with every other man. In this way the individual's own life was preserved, and orderly social relations made possible. Hobbes further claimed that

the problem of individual alienation within the collective structure was avoided, for the covenant was more than consent, or concord; it was a real unity of them all in one and the same person. But the question of alienation was not so easily avoided. In Chapter XXI of Leviathan Hobbs himself raises the question as to what liberty we deny ourselves "by owning all the actions without exception of the man, or assembly, we make our sovereign." (Hobbes, 1946).

The work of Hobbs began a discussion which, in this form, was to last for more than two hundred years, and greatly influenced the work of Locke and Rousseau.

The main concern of both Locke and Rousseau was to explain and legitimate the establishment of civil and political society. Central to this explanation was the idea of the social contract, embraced by Locke, but ultimately rejected by Rousseau. Social Contract Theory suggested that society was the result of a voluntary renouncement and relinquishment by individuals of their individual rights of benefit and advancement, which they held as being their natural right, for that of security, individually limiting, but necessary for survival.

Locke's idea of alienation was similar to that of Hobbes. His view, that individuals renounce their natural rights, and transfer them to society, and do this willingly for their own preservation, are almost identical to the ideas of Hobbes. "Locke speaks of resigning up and quitting rather than alienating, transferring or relinquishing. But his terms have precisely the same force as the latter, and in using them, Locke, like Hobbes, had in mind the voluntary sacrifice by the

individual of a right for the sake of the existence of political society and hence the individual's own security.

In this way Locke explained the existence of civil and political society; simply, it existed because it was necessary. It was legitimate because the relationship between the individual and society was based on a contract in which both sides had obligations, the individual to obey and society to protect the individual. Alienation for Locke was the act of giving up individual rights for the advantage of establishing overall security.

Rousseau was influenced both by the Social Contract Theorists, and also by the work of Hugo Grotius. He agreed with the former that it appeared possible for a man to give himself to all, to make a voluntary sacrifice for the sake of establishing a stable society. From the latter he took the view that man had sovereign authority over himself, an authority that was analogous to property rights and like property rights could be assigned or sold to another. "As other things may be alienated, so may sovereign authority". (Schacht, 1971, p.8).

While Rousseau felt that these views were possible, he attacked both of them. While "he agreed with Hobbs that alienation was a voluntary act, and that voluntary acts have as their object the good of the agent, nevertheless he maintained that the act of alienation had no validity when it did not serve the good of the agent. He attacked the view that it was possible for people to transfer sovereign

authority over themselves to another individual. In this matter Rousseau particularly attacked the work of Grotius. Rousseau's argument was that nothing comparable to giving up one's natural rights could be gained by so doing, and that therefore no such transfer of sovereignty was in fact valid, the opinion of the contracting parties notwithstanding". (Schacht 1971, p.10).

Rousseau therefore rejected the whole idea of contract, maintaining that such an exchange was fundamentally flawed, and led inevitably to the loss of individual rights and the loss of the individual's ability to control or influence his personal destiny. Thus Rousseau linked the idea of transfer of rights with that of loss and lack of control. The objective act of alienation was also subjectively alienating.

However, although Rousseau revealed the duality of the concept of alienation, he, like the Social Contract Theorists, failed to locate the concept in the context of man's social existence. This question was raised by Hegel's considerable contribution to the development of the concept.

4.1.2 Hegel's Understanding of Alienation

Hegel's initial understanding of alienation was influenced by Rousseau's discussion of the term. Hegel was familiar with Rousseau's work on the social contract; he says of it (in his lectures on the history of philosophy) that it "contains much that, while 'abstractly stated', we must allow to be correct". (Schacht, 1970, p.12-13).

Although Hegel was clearly influenced by Rousseau, the specificity of his approach owes a great deal to the work of Fichte and Schiller. For example, Fichte first used the German term "Entausserung" to denote alienation, and this term was to appear later in Hegel's work.

While Friedrich Schiller did not use the two German terms "Entausserung" and "Entfremdung" to refer to alienation. In his work "On the Aesthetic Education of Man" and in a series of letters he does speak of men experiencing the state as "alien" (fremd) under certain conditions, and he says that "the 'speculative spirit' had become alien in the material world". Schacht thinks that these remarks may have suggested the term "Entfremdung" to Hegel. (Schacht, 1970, p.16).

Hegel uses the term alienation in his book, "Phenomenology of Spirit". "In the sixth chapter of this book there are more than a hundred pages entitled the self-alienated spirit: culture". (Rajab, 1978, p.171). Hegel, in 'Phenomenology of Spirit' was aware of the relationship between social substance and the nature of man, and of their relationship to alienation.

In using the term 'social substance' Hegel indicated his belief that the world in which man lives was of man's own creation. 'Social substance' was used to denote social, political and cultural institutions. He considered the substance to be spiritual. "This world is a spiritual entity, it is essentially the fusion of individuality with being; thus its existence is the work of self-consciousness". (Schacht, 1971, p.31).

Hegel believed that with the emergence of social substance, the spirit took a form which is not merely subjective and ephemeral like individual life's, but universal. "He considered it crucial that the spirit should take on such a form; for it is of the very nature of the spirit, as he conceives it that it should be objective, enduring and above all universal". (Schacht, 1971, p.32). With respect to man's nature, Hegel recognised that man was an individual, but that individuality was only one aspect of his nature. "A more balanced characterisation of man's nature, he suggested, can be given in terms of "spirit", which balances the idea of individuality with that of universality". (Schacht, 1971, p.33). Hegel objected to the view that the nature of man consisted merely of nature and character. He believed nothing so ephemeral could have such importance. He considered that a correct understanding of man's nature must take into account the concept of reason, "and reason involves transcendence of particularity and the movement of thought at the general level. He therefore attached great importance to universality. He said of human consciousness, that universality is its essence. Its universality is its significance and its actuality ... its significance depends ... on having made itself ... conformable to what is universal. One example for Hegel of the universal is the system of reasoning and the second was the social substance". (Schacht, 1971, p.33). Hegel said that the social substance of a particular people is not universal in the sense that it extends to all men. "The idea Hegel wished to convey was that social substance transcended the particularity of individuals. The point was that the social substance was common to all the people in question. That which is universal in the realm of interpersonal

interaction is the social substance, and it follows from this that if the individual is to achieve universality, he must make himself conformable to it and live in accordance with it". (Schacht, 1971, p.34).

Hegel used the term alienation 'entfremdung' in two ways, both as separation and relinquishment. On the one hand "Alienation for Hegel was a condition which occurs when a certain change in a person's self conception takes place. It was neither something one did nor the intended result of a deliberate action. One simply finds that the condition has come to exist. Alienation on the other hand was also, as it was for social contract theorists, something deliberate. It involves a conscious relinquishment or surrender with the intention of securing a desired end: namely, unity with the social substance". (Schacht, 1971, p.36).

Hegel looked at the stages of human development. In the context of the earliest stage, he considered that the unity of the human infant with social substance was immediate and fundamental. This was so because of the absence of the consciousness of separation between the infant and the group. However, conflicts within the group could arise and drive the individual back on himself. Then the individual identified himself by his particularity rather than with the substance. Hegel considered this separation necessary if a human being's essential nature was to be realised. "After this original unity is lost, and until a new one is established, the relation of the individual to the social substance is discordant. Absorbed in

his new-found distinctness, the individual comes to regard the social substance with which he formerly was at one as something completely 'other'". (Schacht, 1971, p.38).

Alienation from the social substance also constituted self-alienation. He believed "that man is essentially spirit; and that universality is essential to anything spiritual. Loss of universality has the result that one thereby alienates himself from his inner nature and reaches the extremity of discord with himself". (Schacht, 1971, p.41). Universality can only obtain at the interpersonal level through reunification with the social substance. For Hegel, "the social substance is not merely the creation of spirit, but moreover its objectification. This means that the substance is spirit, in objectified form. From this, it follows that when the substance is alienated from the individual, it is his true self, objectified, that is alienated from him.

Hegel's first use of the term alienation was to denote separation. In its second use, the term alienation refers to renunciation, surrender or sacrifice, which Hegel believed was necessary for alienation through separation to be overcome. For Hegel, alienation in this sense was desirable and was contrary to the alienation of the individual from the social substance with its associated self-alienation. In using the term alienation in this way Hegel echoes many of the thoughts of the social contract theoreticians.

"Hegel often uses the term alienation to refer to this renunciation. Having emerged out of its original immediate unity with the

substance, the individual consciousness can again make itself one with the substance only through the alienation of itself. The individual for whom the substance is alienated can overcome this alienation and his self-alienation - his separation from his essential self - only through the alienation or surrender of his particular self (self-alienation). (Schacht, 1971, p.46).

Hegel, in his analysis, detached the concept from its particular usage in the area of politics and political theory. He re-grounded the concept in the context of man's relationship with society as a whole. He also emphasised the dynamic nature of alienation and how, in its various forms, it was an inevitable part of man's social existence. The nature of that existence was more clearly defined by Marx's contribution to the debate.

4.1.3 Marx - Theory of Alienation

Marx's theory of alienation emerged in his early writings (Economic and Philosophical Manuscript, 1844), and was firmly grounded in his understanding of man's relationship to the productive process. In modern capitalism, or at least the capitalism of the 19th century, man is atomised, separated from humanity, from other individuals, from his own activity and from his essential self.

To understand the nature and extent of this separation it is necessary to consider Marx's understanding of the productive process under capitalism. The key lies in the relation between the worker and his product. "The worker becomes poorer the more wealth he

produces, the more his production increases in power and extent. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he produces. The devaluation of the human world grows in direct proportion to the increase in value of the world of things. Labour not only produces commodities, it also produces itself and the workers as a commodity and it does so in the same proportion in which it produces commodities in general.

This fact simply means that the object that labour produces, its product, stands opposed to it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer. The product of labour is labour embodied and made material in an object, it is the objectification of labour.

The realisation of labour is its objectification. In the sphere of political economy this realisation of labour appears as a loss of reality for the worker, objectification as loss, of bondage to the object, and appropriation as estrangement, as alienation". (Marx, 1975, p.323-324).

The alienation of the worker from his object is expressed by Marx, according to the laws of political economy, as follows: "the more the worker produces, the less he has to consume; the more value he creates, the more worthless he becomes, the more his product is shaped, the more misshapen the workers; the more civilised his object, the more barbarous the worker; the more powerful the work, the more powerless the worker; the more intelligent the work, the duller the worker and the more he becomes a slave of nature". (Marx,

1975, p.325).

Thus Marx sees that or alienation originates in the worker's relationship to the products of his labour.

"But estrangement manifests itself not only in the result, but also in the act of production, within the activity of production itself". (Marx, 1975, p.326). In this way the worker is not only estranged from the object but he also experiences self-estrangement.

From these two kinds of alienation, that is, estrangement from the object of labour, and self-estrangement, Marx has derived two further kinds of alienation. The first is the one which turns man's species-being, his humanity, into a being alien to himself, and the second is the alienation of man from man. In this way, Marx's concept of alienation has four facets:

- a) Man is alienated from nature;
- b) He is alienated from himself (from his own activity)
- c) From his "species-being" (from his being as a member of the human species);
- d) Man is alienated from man (from other men).

The first of these four characteristics of alienated labour, estrangement from things, expresses the relation of the worker to the product of his labour, which is for Marx identical to man's relation to the sensuous external world, to the objects of nature.

The second, self-estrangement, is the expression of labour's relation to the act of production within the labour process, that is to say the worker's relation to his own activity as alien activity, activity which does not offer satisfaction in itself, but only by the act of selling it to someone else. "This means that it is not activity itself which brings satisfaction to him, but an abstract property of it: its saleability under certain conditions". (Meszaros, 1979, p.14).

The third aspect, man's alienation from his species-being, is related to the idea of the object of labour being also the objectification of a man's species life, for man "duplicates himself not in a world that he has created". (Meszaaros, 1979, p.14). Alienated labour, however, turns Man's species being, into a being alien to him, (merely) a means to his individual existence. It estranges man's own body from him, as it does his external nature and his spiritual existence, his very humanity.

The fourth characteristic, like the third, is implied in the first two characteristics, but whereas in formulating the third characteristic Marx took into account the effects of alienated labour on the individual's relation to mankind in general, in the fourth case he relates them to man's relationship to other men. To take directly from Marx's writings, "An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labour, from his life activity, from his species being is the estrangement of man from man. If a man is confronted by himself, he is confronted by the other man. What applies to man's relation to his work, to the product of his

labour, and to himself, also holds of man's relation to the other man, and to the other man's labour and the object of labour. In fact, the proposition that man's species nature is estranged from him means that one man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature". (Meszaros, 1979, p.15).

Marx's contribution to the study of alienation is central. Unlike earlier writers, he isolated a particular mechanism that connects the individual to the structure of society. This mechanism, which Marx refers to as 'productive relations under Capitalism', has an inevitable consequence, alienation, the production of atomised individuals.

Within his analysis, Marx accepted much of Hegel's work, particularly the distinction between man and structure. He also accepted the view that separation was inevitable. However, he is less accepting of Hegel's assertion of the possibility of reintegration through renunciation. For Marx, the genesis of alienation lies in the structure of capitalist society, and only change in that structure will change man's alienated state. Nevertheless, an important question remains, that of whether productive relations are the sole cause of alienation, or whether there are other mechanisms that produce this effect.

In general terms, the answer lies in the relationship between man and society. Put at its simplest, Marx claimed that man was alienated because of the nature of the structure of capitalist society; if

that structure was changed in a particular way, man would cease to be alienated.

4.1.4 Existentialist View of Alienation

Existentialists took a very different view, believing that "Man's alienation has neither beginning nor end. It is not an historical phenomenon but a metaphysical fate. It is a primordial, indestructable feature of human existence, the quintessence of "human nature".

In existentialist thinking the free and conscious human being is irreconcilably estranged from the world into which he has been hurled. Although he can interject meaning, value, and usefulness into it, this does not efface its alien and absurd nature.

Hostility is likewise built into the structure of interpersonal relations. The world, whose meaning I create, differs from that of others. This produces incessant friction between me and other people, who strive to impose their views on me, nullify my authentic existence and divert me from my own needs and aims to serve their alien needs.

Finally, the individual is ill at ease with himself. Our inner being is rendered unhappy by the perpetual tension of conflicting impulses and claims. The goals we set are unrealised or result in something other than we expected or desired". (Novak, 1966, p.336-7).

At first sight, the existentialist view does not appear to be reconcilable with Marx's position. However, existentialism points towards the complexity of modern society and the many aspects that may be associated with alienation.

4.1.5 The Development of the Concept of Alienation

More recent work on the concept of alienation points again to the duality of the concept. It is on the one hand the product of objective social conditions, and on the other, a felt experience. It has both objective and subjective aspects. These different aspects have been emphasised by different authors. The subjective experience is neatly summed up by Erich Fromm, when he says "by alienation, is meant a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien. He has become, one might say, estranged from himself. He does not experience himself as the centre of his world, as the creator of his own acts - but his acts and their consequences have become his masters, whom he obeys, or whom he may worship. The alienated person is out of touch with himself, as he is out of touch with any other person. He, like the others, are experienced as things are experienced; with the senses and with common sense, but at the same time without being related to oneself and to the world outside productively". (Fromm, 1960, p.120-121).

The objective aspect is stressed by Robert Nisbet when he says that the "community is the essential context within which alienation has to be considered". "Alienation", he says, "is not so much a state

of, as a matter of, the individual's relation to social function and social authority. In every community there always will be alienated persons". (Nagi, 1981, p.354).

The links between the individual, the subjective and society, are indicated by Grodzin, Nettler and Hajda. Grodzin defines alienation as "the state in which individuals feel no sense of belonging to their community or nation. Personal contacts are neither stable nor satisfactory". (Grodzin, 1956, p.134).

A further definition of the concept is offered by Hajda (Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals, 1961 "... Alienation is an individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self exclusion from social and cultural participation. It is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing ..." (Hajda, 1961, p.758).

Despite all attempts and efforts that have been made to clarify the meaning of the concept alienation and its condition, there is still no precise and global definition.

American social scientists of the 1950's and 1960's "have largely departed from Marx's macrosociological perspective on alienation and favour a micro social-psychological orientation. Contemporary definitions of alienation tend to over-lap, but the major themes can be identified. Firstly, alienation is viewed anthropologically as the pervasive cultural climate of our time. Alienation is seen as

cultural malaise, associated with a particular culture configuration. Observation, description, and intuition constitute the methodological approach for this viewpoint. Secondly, the psycho-social conception delineates alienation as a syndrome of personality disorder, which is basically societal in its origin. This approach is diagnostic, clinical and introspective. Somewhere in between is the social-psychological conception of alienation which places an emphasis not on alienated cultures but on alienated individuals or groups within a given culture. Social scientists who favour this latter conception of alienation normally pursue it through the "piecemeal approach", employing abstract generalisation backed up by an empirical inductive method. They aim to particularise various aspects of alienation into seemingly separate compartments". (Nagi, 1981, p.353).

The latter position has been the foundation of subsequent attempts to operationalise the definition. Melvin Seeman in his essay "On the Meaning of Alienation" attempted a classification of what he thinks are the most frequent uses of alienation, into five categories. (Seeman, 1959, p.783-91).

The first use of alienation is in the context of "powerlessness". By this, Seeman meant "the expectancy or probability held by an individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks". (Seeman, 1959, p.784).

According to Seeman, this type of alienation is probably the most frequently used in contemporary literature.

Seeman uses the term "meaningless" to describe his second category of alienation. This refers to the individual's sense of understanding the events in which he is engaged. Meaningless exists "when the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe - when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met". (Seeman, 1959, p.786).

Seeman pointed out that where powerlessness refers to the sensed ability to control outcomes, meaninglessness refers essentially to the sensed ability to predict behavioural outcomes.

The third variant of alienation identified by Seeman, he describes as "normlessness", an idea which has been derived from Durkheim's description of "anomie". In elaborating on the meaning of normlessness Seeman accepted Merton's notion that anomie is the utilisation of non-normative means to achieve normative ends. For Seeman, normlessness was a condition in which "there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals". (Seeman, 1959, p.788).

This type of alienation is independent from the two that were discussed before.

The fourth type of alienation is referred to as "isolation". Seeman, in discussing this, said that the common use of the concept in this context is to describe the intellectual role. His usage does not refer to isolation as a lack of social adjustment.

In his explanation, Seeman was focusing on the individual's expectations or values, so he defined isolation in terms of reward values. In this sense, the alienated are those who "assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are highly valued in the given society". (Seeman, 1959, p.789). This type of alienation again carries a different meaning from the three mentioned before.

The fifth variant of alienation was "self-estrangement". Seeman defined this type of alienation as "the degree of dependence of the given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself". (Seeman, 1959, p.790).

An example of this would be that of workers who work just for wages, or those people who act only for the effect of the reactions on others. Self-estrangement refers to the inability of the person to find activities rewarding in themselves.

Subsequently, Seeman added a further variant to his five previous types. In 1972 he "identified six historical and thematic variants: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, value isolation, self-estrangement and social isolation". (Otto & Featherman, 1975, p.701).

In an attempt to define the concept of alienation and clarify its meaning, the Encyclopedia Britanica has taken Seeman's five previous variants, in addition to a suggested sixth variant, to be the most common. These variants are stated as follows: (1) "Powerlessness;

the feeling that one's destiny is not under one's own control but is determined by external agents, fate, luck, or institutional arrangements; (2) meaninglessness; referring either to the lack of comprehensibility or consistent meaning on any domain of action (such as world affairs or interpersonal relations) or to a generalised sense of purposelessness in life; (3) normlessness; the lack of commitment to shared social prescriptions for behaviours (hence widespread deviance, distrust, unrestrained individual competition and the like); (4) cultural estrangement; the sense of removal from established value in society (as, for example, in the intellectual or student rebellions against conventional institutions); (5) social isolation; the sense of loneliness or exclusion in social relations (as, for example, among minority group members); and (6) self-estrangement; perhaps the most difficult to define and in a sense the master theme, the understanding that in one way or another the individual is out of touch with himself". (Britanica, 1969, p.574).

Seeman's piecemeal attempt to operationalize Alienation not only specified its most important dimensions, but also showed the inter-relationship between alienation and anomie.

4.2.1 The Meaning of Anomie

"Anomie refers to cultural or normative confusion within a group or society and, therefore, is the property of the group. Anomia refers to the normative confusion within an individual and , therefore, is the property of the individual". (Simpson, 1970, p.1002).

However, these two aspects are related for "when the controlling normative structure is upset and disorganised, individual conduct is equally disorganised and chaotic - the individual loses himself in a void of meaningless activities. Anomie is precisely this state of disorganisation where the hold of norms over individual conduct has broken down". (Parsons, 1937, p.377).

The classical demonstration of the relationship between the individual and the normative structure is contained in Durkheim's essay on suicide.

Durkheim's 'Suicide' is a study of the strains in the social structure as a result of the disruptions in the normative system. "Suicide is at once a work in applied and theoretical sociology. Durkheim's announced intent in making his study is to seek causes of and therefore remedies for what he regards as the alarming increase in rates of suicide in the Western Countries during the modern age. But while this is assuredly Durkheim's intent, so also is it his intent to demonstrate that Suicide, properly regarded as perhaps the most individual, the most intimately personal of all human acts, can be best understood through structural analysis; that is, by commencing with society, not the individual. What we have in Suicide is, then, a work of profoundest theoretical and methodological importance but also one that does not shrink from consideration of vital matters of social policy". (Nisbet, 1975, p.228).

Durkheim in 'Suicide' distinguished three types of normative conditions: egoism, anomie and altruism. "Egoism referred, in its

most general sense, to a state in which the principle of individuation was carried to the extreme of particularistic and self-centered atomistic individualism. Conversely, 'altruism' denoted a state of excessive community which in its figuratively incestuous intimacy, submerged the individual in the group and inhibited solidarity in society as a whole". (Lacabra, 1972, p.157). Anomie is a social state in which the society's norms and goals are no longer capable of exerting social control over its members.

The first two types of normative conditions, as mentioned above, in relation to Durkheim's 'Suicide' are ties that bind the person to the group. Egoism is a very weak tie and overlaps with the anomic suicide type, while altruism is very strong. "It must be acknowledged that the differences between egoistic and anomic suicide, as set out by Durkheim, are not always clear ... At several points in suicide, Durkheim admitted that the social origins of the two overlap. Even so, the general connections between egoistic and anomic suicide and the analysis of social development worked out in the Division of Labour are evident enough. Each of these types of suicide is the product of the social changes which undermine the mechanical solidarity". (Giddens, 1978, p.46-47).

4.2.2 The Development of the Concept of Anomie

It is anomic conditions which hold the greatest interest for the contemporary sociologist because these are mostly associated with rapid change, often occurring in the economic system. This is a characteristic of contemporary western society, and the Arab Gulf

states as well. Anomie is also said to occur when there is a lack of harmony between socially approved goals and the availability of the means to achieve those goals.

Merton, in his essay "Social Structure and Anomie" conceived of anomie as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals, and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. (Merton, 1965, p.162).

Talking about contemporary American society in his essay, Merton notes that there is a discrepancy between social emphasis on material success and failure to emphasise means of attaining this goal. "American culture continues to be characterised by a heavy emphasis on wealth as a basic symbol of success, without a corresponding emphasis upon the legitimate avenues on which to march toward this goal". (Merton, 1975, p.139).

Focusing on the social structure, Merton points out that the effects of this strain are greater for those social classes which have less legitimate means to attain these goals.

This means that the anomie will be greater among the lower-classes in America than among the upper and middle classes

"Anomie so construed is much more than the subjective counterpart of 'anomie' as conceived by Durkheim, for it is only in the Durkheimian anomic society that there cease to be clear norms of behaviour. In

Merton's anomic society, on the other hand, behavioural norms are clear enough; the problem rather is that the types of action they permit do not enable most people to realise social goals. These clearly are two quite different kinds of situation. And of the two, only the former may properly be characterised in terms of a condition of "normlessness". (Schacht, 1971, p.188).

Leo Srole was the first sociologist to attempt to systematically measure Durkheim's concept of anomie. Srole constructed a scale to measure anomie. His scale contained five items, each intended to measure different aspects of anomie.

"The first was to measure the individual sense that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to his needs. The second was designed to measure the individual's perception of the social order as essentially fickle, unpredictable, and orderless, giving rise to the feeling that he could do little to direct his life with any degree of time-perspective or planning ahead. The third was purported to measure the individual's view that he and other people like him were regressing from the goals they had already reached. The fourth was an attempt to measure the deflation or loss of meaning of internalised group norms, values and goals, resulting in extreme form in the individual's sense of the meaninglessness and futility of life itself. And the fifth was predicted to measure the individual's sense that the framework of immediate personal relationships was no longer predictive or supportive. (Bell, 1957, p.106-7).

Srole used his scale in a paper presented before the American

Sociological Association in 1951 and suggested that his data supported Merton's hypothesis.

"According to Srole, this scale measures the socio-psychological concept of anomie, which he refers to as the individual eunomia-anomia continuum so as to distinguish it from the sociological concept of anomie; the latter refers not to individuals as such but to the degree of normlessness of social systems or subsystems". (Meier ' Bell, 1959, p.190-1). Later Srole in a paper entitled "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study" set out to test the hypothesis that "Social malintegration or anomie, in individuals is associated with a rejective orientation toward out-groups in general and toward minority groups in particular". (Srole, 1956, p.709-16).

This study evolved from an earlier study in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1950. To test the hypothesis, Srole used his anomie scale (with a condensed five-item version of the California F scale of authoritarianism, and a measure of attitudes toward minority groups) on a sample of 401 white Christian adults.

The findings indicated that anomie and authoritarianism are related to prejudice, but anomie related to prejudice more strongly than authoritarianism. When authoritarianism is held constant, the relation between anomie and prejudice remains high, but when anomie is held constant, relation between authoritarianism and prejudice disappears. Social status, as measured by the respondent's education

combined with occupation of head of household, is highly related to anomie, and not strongly related to prejudice or authoritarianism. And when the effects of status are controlled, the correlations between anomie and prejudice, and authoritarianism and prejudice, are similar in the middle status stratum, but in the higher and lower stratum, the correlations between anomie and prejudice are appreciably higher.

4.2.3 The Measurement of Alienation and Anomie.

Seeman's variants of alienation have been widely used in measuring and analysing the concept of alienation and anomie. A number of theoretical and empirical studies have been undertaken to clarify the relationship between these variants of alienation, and other individual and social aspects of social phenomena, some of which are relevant to the present study. Early empirical investigation took place in the U.S.A.

Dwight D. Dean in an article entitled "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement" selected three forms of alienation from Seeman's five aspects of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Dean incorporated these three aspects into a scale of alienation". (Dwight, 1961, p.753-58).

In his study, Dean tries to discover the correlation between alienation - using these three forms of alienation - and occupation, education, income, age and rural background. The findings of this study indicated that, in general, there was a low correlation between these variables - i.e. Dean's three aspects of alienation, and

occupation, education, income, age and rural background.

Arthur G. Neal and Salomon Relling in their work entitled "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers" (Neal & Relling, 1963, p.599-608), used, in their testing, two variants of Seeman's five further variants of alienation. Those variants were powerlessness and normlessness.

Their concern was to probe Seeman's argument of conceptual independence of the different meanings of alienation. The main objective of the study "is to implement and extend Seeman's work by developing measures of powerlessness and normlessness and submitting them to factor analysis for tests of dimensional orthogonality. Following Seeman's lead, a three dimensional structure is hypothesized. Powerlessness, conceptualised as a low expectancy for personal control of political and economic events, will form a dimension which is separate from Srole's anomie measure. Normlessness, conceptualized as high expectancy for socially unapproved behaviour will, in turn, be empirically independent of both powerlessness and anomie". (Neal & Relling, 1963, p.600).

Their random sample consisted of 1,094 subjects, drawn from the Columbus, Ohio City Directory. The data was collected by means of a mailed questionnaire. The response rate on this questionnaire was 50.4% for manual workers, and 66.5% for non-manual workers.

The findings provided empirical support for Seeman's argument of the

independence of different meanings of alienation. "The findings support the hypothesized independence of the various alienation measures. In both the manual and non-manual categories, powerlessness, normlessness and Srole's anomie scale emerged as separate and unrelated dimensions". (Neal & Relling, 1963, p.605).

But the study did not support the hypothesized relationship between mobility commitments. The findings also approved a basic similarity of the alienation factor structure for manual and non-manual workers.

Later studies extended their scope to consider alienation in different cultural contexts.

Miles E. Simpson, in the study "Social Mobility, Normlessness And Powerlessness In Two Cultural Contexts" (Simpson, 1970, p.1002-1013), has examined the effects of occupational and educational mobility on two different cultures, Costa Rica and Mexico in Latin America, and the U.S. The major hypothesis is that occupational and educational mobility leads to normlessness in an ascriptive society. Powerlessness was expected to be a function of occupational level and downward occupational and educational mobility.

"The sample for the study was drawn from the "Five Nations Study", a coordinated research project conducted in the United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Finland and Japan. For this analysis, Finland and Japan were excluded. Both the United States and the Costa Rican samples were national probability samples of the adult civilian population over 21 years old; the sample sizes were 1,528 for the United States, 1,040 for Costa Rica and 1,126 for Mexico." (Simpson, 1970, p.1006).

The measures used for this work consisted of two-item scales, " with each item selected on the basis of pretests, using a large pool of items. The normlessness items were: (1) I often wonder what the meaning of life really is. (2) People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on. The powerlessness items used were: (1) Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me. (2) There is little chance to get ahead in this life unless a man knows the right people". (Simpson, 1970, p.1007).

The findings of the study indicate that people of United States experience less normlessness and powerlessness than those of Costa Rica and/or Mexico.

The finding also shows that educational and occupational mobility produces intense normlessness in Latin American countries, and downward educational mobility produces an intense sense of powerlessness in all three countries. The relationship between normlessness and occupational level appears in the United States only.

Other studies, of a more particular nature, Clark (1959) and Fisher (1973) supported the conclusions of Dean (1961); Neal and Salomon (1963), Simpson (1970) conclude that it was possible to operationalise Seeman's theoretical analysis namely that alienation was differentially associated with social structural characteristics such as age, education and mobility.

A major contribution to the study of alienation was made by Struening and Richardson in their article 'A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienation, Anomia and Authoritarianism Domain', reported in the American Sociological Review (1965).

They claimed that the three concepts alienation, anomia and authoritarianism overlapped, and that any attempt to measure them must take this into account. They further suggested that "currently available studies provide only an uncertain and oversimplified basis for a conceptual model of the three concepts and the relations among them". (Struening & Richardson, 1965, p.769).

Building on the scales developed by Adorno (1950), Nettler (1957), and Srole (1956), and from the concepts of Durkheim (1951), Fromm (1960), Marx (1844), May (1958), and Merton (1957) they developed a questionnaire consisting of 68 statements which they submitted to 422 subjects. The subsequent factor analysis revealed nine factors of importance.

TABLE 4.2.1

FACTORS IDENTIFIED BY STRUENING AND RICHARDSON

- I. Alienation via rejection.
- II. Authoritarianism.
- III. Trust and Optimism.
- IV. Authoritarian Family Orientation.
- V. Perceived Purposelessness.

- VI. Conventionality.
- VII. Religious Orthodoxy.
- VIII. Self-Determinism.
- IX. Emotional Distance.

Alienation via rejection was described as being composed of a "tightly organised syndrome of traits reflecting certain aspects of the respondent's perception of, and orientation to, society and interpersonal relationships. Agreement with the items defining this factor indicates feelings of uncertainty and pessimism, distrust bordering on suspicion, extreme pessimism about the future, cynicism about the motives of others, and a general perception of society as rapidly changing, with most people lonely, distrustful and unrelated to each other". (Struening & Richardson, 1965, p.770). It was also suggested that Alienation via rejection was related to Emotional distance, Authoritarianism, Perceived purposelessness and Self-determinism.

Authoritarianism was made up of items that emphasized obedience to and respect for authority, improvement of one's social position, careful planning, family loyalty, and the value of attending religious services and working hard. In other words, conventional lower middle class ideology.

Trust and Optimism reflected a very trusting and optimistic view of people and social institutions, a view bordering on the naive, suggesting a lack of contact with social reality. Authoritarian

family orientation, measures a positive evaluation of parents and family life in general.

Subjects scoring highly on the Perceived purposelessness factor considered others as leading lonely, goalless and meaningless lives. At least part of this factor is self projected and is likely to measure a type of anomie.

Conventionality emphasizes concern with the maintenance of conventional legal and family norms while Religious Orthodoxy indicates the necessity of a supernatural faith and its superiority over secular humanism.

Self Determinism describes a rather extreme form of upward social mobility through self-discipline and hard work, spiced with a measure of cynicism. Emotional Distance reflects a sense of emotional distance among people, with emphasis on the relationship between parents and children.

The results of this analysis indicate that Alienation via rejection incorporates all the items from Srole's Anomia Scale, fused with items measuring cynicism and suspicion, and together form a highly reliable scale, congruent with David's conception of alienation. Also its relationship with Authoritarianism, Perceived Purposelessness, Self-determinism and Emotional Distance form the core relationships within the concept of alienation itself.

This extended discussion of the history of the concepts of alienation

and anomie, and the attempts that have been made to measure them, (Al-Najadah, 1969) leads to an inevitable conclusion: it is not possible to analytically disentangle the concepts of alienation, anomie and authoritarianism. Because of this fact Alienation can only be understood at an operational level, and any advance in the area of theory depends on the application and development of present measurement procedures. Nevertheless, present procedures are sufficiently developed to be an important tool in the measurement of alienation in such a rapidly changing society as Kuwait.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MEASUREMENT OF ALIENATION AND ANOMIE IN KUWAITI SOCIETY

5.1 Introduction

Kuwait has undergone significant and dramatic change since the discovery of oil, change which has affected all aspects of society. The impact of such rapid and all-embracing change is difficult to comprehend, but some indication of its profound nature can be grasped when it is understood that changes which took over three hundred years to bring about in Europe, have been affected in Kuwait in less than thirty years.

Change has not only brought about a transformation of the physical, demographic, and social structure, but it has also exposed the population to a wealth of ideas and values quite different to those embedded in traditional Kuwaiti society.

For many individuals, the impact of this change has been fundamental, within their own lifetime, they have had to adjust to political, economic and social change, the magnitude of which was never remotely anticipated in their own childhood. The changes that have occurred, are in themselves, sufficient reason to predict that alienation could exist in Kuwaiti society, within both the citizen and non-citizen population.

The main focus of this chapter is a discussion of the levels, of alienation present in Kuwait, and a comparison of the degree of alienation felt by the citizen and non-citizen population. Consideration is given to the relationship between measured levels of alienation, and major indicators of social cleavage, namely: civil status, marital status, sex and education. (Appendix 9 & 10).

The techniques used in this study, for the measurement of alienation within the population, are adapted from the work of Struening and Richardson (1965). Building on the earlier work of Maslow (1943), Adorno (1950), Merton (1957), Dubin (1959) and Seeman (1959), Struening and Richardson concluded that alienation, authoritarianism and anomia were overlapping concepts, and 'that a model representing each of the three concepts, and especially the relations among them, would be complex and multi-form in nature' (Struening and Richardson, 1965, p.768). Following from this conclusion, they went on to develop a multivariate scaling procedure, which could 'identify attitudes underlying responses to statements designed to measure alienation, anomia, and authoritarianism'. (Struening and Richardson, 1965, p.769).

In all they identified nine factors which they believed enhanced the understanding of these concepts and the interrelations between them. The factors are labelled as follows:

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| Factor I | Alienation via Rejection; |
| Factor II | Authoritarianism; |
| Factor III | Trust and Optimism; |

Factor IV	Authoritarian Family Orientation;
Factor V	Perceived Purposelessness;
Factor VI	Conventionality;
Factor VII	Religious Orthodoxy;
Factor VIII	Self-Determinism;
Factor IX	Emotional Distance.

According to Struening and Richardson (1965), the correlations between the factor scores indicated that five factors - Alienation via Rejection; Authoritarianism, Perceived Purposelessness, Self-Determinism and Emotional Distance - were particularly closely related, and formed part of a general alienation syndrome.

Given the results of Struening and Richardson's work, the nature of Kuwaiti society, and the relative success of earlier attempts to use this scale to measure alienation of Kuwaiti nationals, (Al-Najadah, 1969) it was decided to select these five factors - the general alienation syndrome - to measure alienation and anomie in this study.

The first factor 'Alienation via Rejection' measures a tightly organized set of traits, reflecting the respondent's perception of, and orientation to, society and interpersonal relationships. A high score on this factor indicates feelings of uncertainty and pessimism, distrust bordering on suspicion, extreme pessimism about the future, cynicism about the motives of others and a general perception of society as rapidly changing, with most people lonely, distrustful and unrelated to each other.

The second factor 'Authoritarianism' deals with attitudes towards obedience, respect for authority, hard work, improvement of one's social position, careful planning, family loyalty, and the value of attending religious services.

A high score on the third factor 'Perceived Purposelessness' would perceive others as leading lonely, goalless and meaningless lives, suggesting that this factor measures a type of projected anomie. However, considering the statistical relationship of this factor with Alienation via rejection and Emotional Distance, at least part of the factor must relate to self-description.

The fourth factor 'Self-Determinism' measures attitudes to a rather extreme form of upward social mobility, through self-discipline and hard work, spiced with a measure of cynicism.

The fifth and final factor 'Emotional Distance' deals with perceptions of emotional distance between people, with an emphasis on the relations between parents and children.

To determine the value of the factors, they were scored in the following way. All items, regardless of the 'direction' of their content, are scored as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly agree	agree	not sure but probably agree	not sure but probably disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

Each factor was defined by a particular group of items. The items contributing to each factor score were identified by a number in the formulae below. (A complete list of these items appears in Appendix 1). To compute the factor scores, each item was scored according to the respondent's position on the agree-disagree continuum, as indicated above. The formulae are as follows:

FACTOR		CONSTANT		ITEM NUMBER
I	=	97	-	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9, 10,11,12,13,14,15,17.
II	=	49	-	19,23,24,25,26,27, 28,30.
III	=	37	-	20,31,32,33,34,35.
IV	=	31	-	21,29,37,38,39.
V	=	25	-	16,18,22,36.

Therefore on Factor I, Alienation via Rejection, the range of possible scores is from one to eighty-one; on Factor, II, Authoritarianism, from one to forty-one; on Factor III, Perceived Purposelessness, from one to thirty-one; on Factor IV Self Determinism from one to twenty-six and on Factor V, Emotional Distance, from one to twenty-one.

5.2 The Sample

This study represents the first large scale survey of the population of Kuwait, a fact which contributed to both a sense of pioneering spirit, and some not inconsiderable methodological limitations. Given the pioneering nature of the study, and the nature of Kuwaiti society, adequate sampling frames from which to construct probability samples were not easy to find. However, after much effort, and with

the assistance of the Central Statistical Office in the Ministry of Planning, it was possible to construct a sampling frame of family addresses. From this frame a probability sample of 690 units, stratified by citizenship/noncitizenship and by Governate, was selected.

Stratifying in this way ensured that the sample was representative on these two dimensions. However, other dimensions were more difficult to control. Table 5.2.1 shows that the distribution of the sample, in terms of sex, is clearly biased towards male respondents. Accurate figures on the distribution of the population between the sexes were difficult to obtain, but the balance is more likely to be nearer 50/50, than the 66/34 ratio obtained in the sample.

TABLE 5.2.1 Citizenship by Sex

CITIZENSHIP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
KUWAITI	160	100	260
NON-KUWAITI	298	132	430
TOTAL	458	232	690
% SEX	66	34	100

Effectively, the sample has produced two sub-samples, with different sampling fractions - one male and the other female. These are effective in terms of estimating male and female population parameters, but without re-weighting the sample, the male influence in the population as a whole is over-estimated. Re-weighting is only

possible if accurate population proportions can be obtained, and, as this was not possible, the figures have been reported without correction.

5.3 Data Collection

The individuals sampled were interviewed by a team of eight people, of whom seven were volunteers. The main role of the team was to distribute and collect the questionnaire, and to explain its purpose to respondents. In some cases it was necessary for the team members to interview people who were illiterate. Fieldwork took four months, from January 1986 until the end of April 1986.

In a number of ways, the collection of the data was fraught with difficulty. Not only were there the usual problems associated with respondent contact - inaccurate addresses, death, illness, and absence for holidays, but the fieldwork team had to contend with deep suspicion, expressed by both respondents and officials, towards the totally unfamiliar, and in many cases, the unintelligible phenomena, of a social survey.

5.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis employed three techniques. The distribution of scores on the factors was described by plotting relevant frequency distributions. The relationship between the factors was analysed by Pearson Product Moment Correlations, the relationship between the scores of the various sub-samples was measured by means of Student's t-test.

