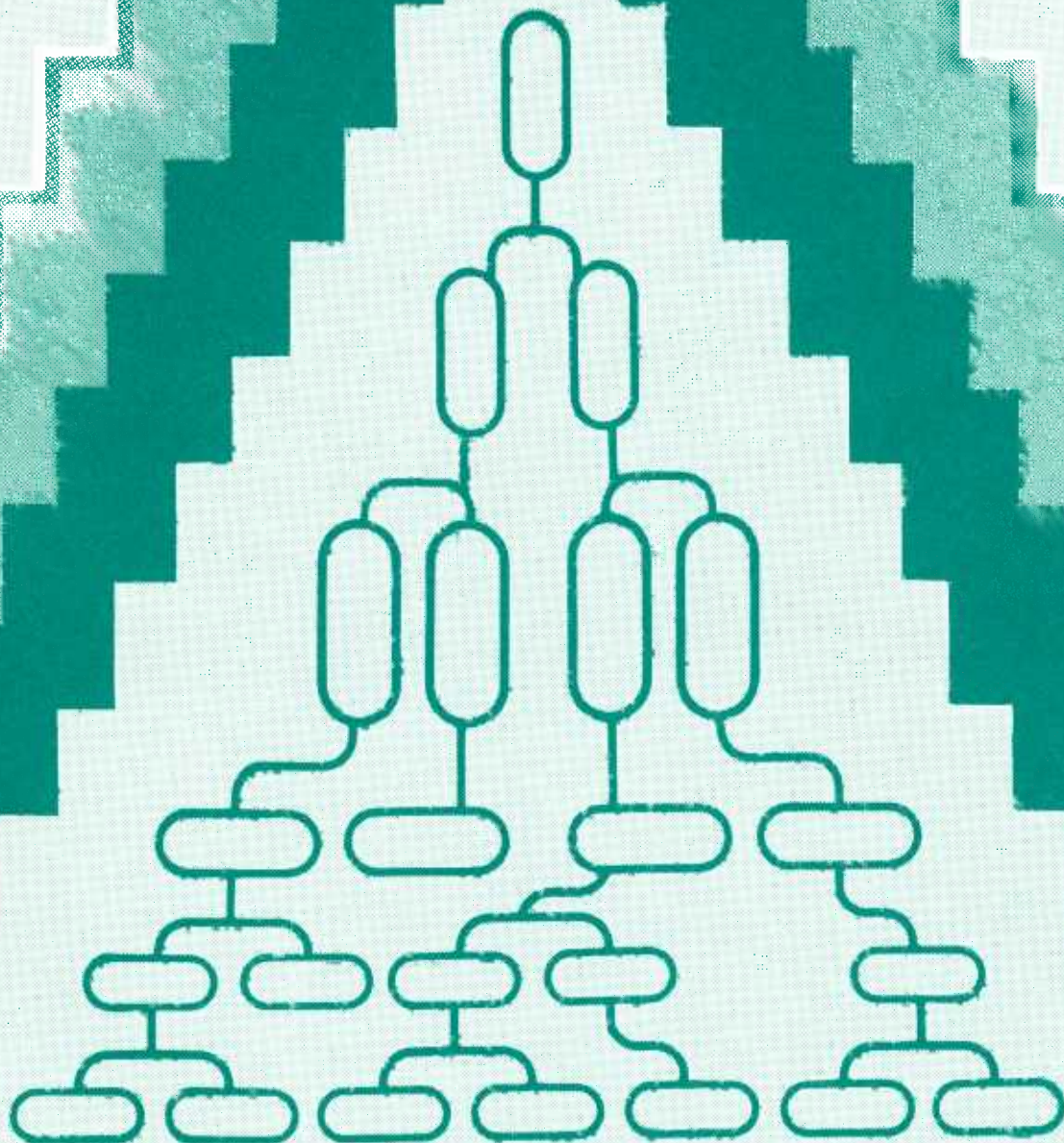


CASE STUDIES IN POPULATION POLICY:

Kuwait



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C A S E S T U D I E S I N P O P U L A T I O N P O L I C Y :

Kuwait



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PREFACE

This publication is one in a series of country case studies being prepared by the Population Division of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat that focus on selected issues in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of population policies in various developing and developed countries.

The objective of the series is to present broadly comparative, issue-oriented case studies that illustrate the myriad approaches countries have pursued in implementing, formulating and evaluating their population policies. The specific issues addressed include the manner by which policies, programmes and targets aim to influence demographic variables directly or indirectly, how they have been formulated, and the extent to which they have been implemented in relation to one another and to other social, economic and political goals. Emphasis is placed on the problems encountered and the strategies undertaken to resolve the problems. It is hoped that this series will be useful to persons responsible for population programmes and policies and, in general, for the sharing of experiences among countries in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of population policies.

The population policy overview for Kuwait presented on pages 1-5 of this publication is taken from World Population Policies, volume II (United Nations, forthcoming). The main body of the report was drafted by Lubna Ahmed Al-Kazi, Department of Sociology, Kuwait University, as a consultant to the United Nations. The views and opinions expressed are those of the consultant and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations. The estimates and projections presented in the population policy overview may differ from those presented in the main body of the publication, owing to demographic assessments, subsequent adjustments and differences of time reference. Special acknowledgement is due to the United Nations Population Fund for its support of project INT/84/P08, which made possible the preparation of this publication.

To date, reports issued in the Case Studies in Population Policy series are:

MALAYSIA

(ST/ESA/SER.R/80)

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Reference to "dollars" (\$) indicates United States dollars, unless otherwise stated.

The term "billion" signifies a thousand million.

Annual rates of growth or change refer to annual compound rates, unless otherwise stated.

A hyphen between years (e.g., 1984-1985) indicates the full period involved, including the beginning and end years; a slash (e.g., 1984/1985) indicates a financial year, school year or crop year.

A point (.) is used to indicate decimals.

The following symbols have been used in the tables:

Three dots (...) indicate that data are not available or are not separately reported.

A dash (—) indicates that the amount is nil or negligible.

A hyphen (-) indicates that the item is not applicable.

A minus sign (-) before a number indicates a deficit or decrease, except as indicated.

Details and percentages in tables do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

0.29 Kuwaiti dinars (KD) = \$US 1 as of 1985.

POPULATION POLICY OVERVIEW

DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS	CURRENT PERCEPTION
<p>SIZE/AGE STRUCTURE/GROWTH</p> <p>Population: <u>1985</u> <u>2025</u> (thousands) 1 811 4 828 0-14 years (%) 40.0 28.3 60+ years (%) 2.5 11.4</p> <p>Rate of: <u>1980-85</u> <u>2020-25</u> growth 5.5 1.4 natural increase 36.0 13.9</p>	<p>The Government considers current growth rates to be <u>unsatisfactory</u> because they are <u>too low</u>. The high growth rate is perceived as a positive contribution to socio-economic development.</p>
<p>MORTALITY/MORBIDITY</p> <p> <u>1980-85</u> <u>2020-25</u> Life expectancy 71.6 76.9 Crude death rate 3.3 5.5 Infant mortality 23.0 8.7</p>	<p>Levels and trends are considered <u>acceptable</u>; however, the Government continues to express concern over infant and child mortality and morbidity issues.</p>
<p>FERTILITY/NUPTIALITY/FAMILY</p> <p> <u>1980-85</u> <u>2020-25</u> Fertility rate 6.1 2.5 Crude birth rate 39.2 19.4 Contraceptive prevalence rate Female mean age at first marriage 20.5 (1975)</p>	<p>Current fertility rates are perceived as <u>unsatisfactory</u> because they are <u>too low</u>.</p>
<p>INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION</p> <p> <u>1980-85</u> <u>2020-25</u> Net migration rate 18.8 0.0 Foreign-born population (%) 59.8 (1985)</p>	<p>Immigration levels are considered <u>significant</u> and <u>too high</u>. Emigration is considered <u>not significant</u> and <u>satisfactory</u>.</p>
<p>SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION/URBANIZATION</p> <p>Urban <u>1985</u> <u>2025</u> population (%) 93.5 99.2</p> <p>Growth rate: <u>1980-85</u> <u>2020-25</u> urban 6.2 1.4 rural -2.8 -1.0</p>	<p>Spatial distribution is perceived as <u>partially appropriate</u>.</p>

GENERAL POLICY FRAMEWORK

Overall approach to population problems: The main goal of Kuwait's population policy is to achieve a balance between the size of population and economic resources in order to maintain an acceptable standard of living and to improve the well-being of individuals. A major problem is the lack of trained, native workers. Because of concern over the small proportion of native Kuwaitis in the population, the Government has opted to raise fertility among the nationals. Concern over the extreme concentration of the urban population has also prompted the Government to adopt strategies to deconcentrate the population.

Importance of population policy in achieving development objectives: The Government of Kuwait has designated population policy as an important and integral component of economic and social planning. The Government sees an organic link between population trends and socio-economic development and believes that social and economic change should serve as the basis for solving problems associated with demographic characteristics.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Population data systems and development planning: The first modern Kuwaiti census was taken in 1957. At independence in 1961 the Government held a census; subsequent censuses have been conducted at regular five-year intervals beginning in 1965, with the most recent census having been conducted in 1985. The registration of births and deaths was made compulsory in 1964. Vital registration is considered relatively complete. The Government only recently decided to formalize development planning with a new economic plan for 1985/86-1989/90. Prior to that, the Government had established sets of economic guidelines for 1967/68-1971/72 and 1975/76-1980/81.

Integration of population within development planning: No single governmental agency is responsible for formulating population policies. However, since 1972, the General Department for Planning Affairs within the Ministry of Planning has been responsible for taking into account population variables in planning. Since 1964, the Ministry of Planning has prepared population projections for use in the planning process. The Central Statistical Office is charged with conducting censuses and special demographic surveys to meet planning needs.

POLICIES AND MEASURES

Changes in population size and age structure: The Government's policy consists of encouraging an increase in the native-born population through the use of social measures and an emphasis on improved health care. The Government wishes to limit the size of its immigrant population. The social security scheme covers employed and self-employed workers.

Mortality and morbidity: The Government's policy is to provide the population with a well-developed, free health-care system. The goals are to promote and maintain the health of the population, improve their physical, mental, and social well-being, and reduce mortality, morbidity, and disabilities. The introduction of comprehensive health-care planning in 1979 was followed by the General Frame of Policies and Strategies to the Year 2000, which identified areas and problems for further study. In 1982, the Government introduced the Kuwait Health Plan to the Year 2000 and enunciated issues to be dealt with and targets to be reached. The Government established programmes for public health, licensing and training of medical service personnel, and health education. Morbidity issues for children are specified as infectious diseases, infant pneumonia, and intestinal diseases. Additional morbidity and mortality concerns are motor vehicle accidents and heart disease. The Government aims to reduce infant mortality to 10 per 1,000 and child mortality from mumps, rubella, and tuberculosis by 20-30 per cent every two years, and from intestinal diseases by 25 per cent every 10 years. Additional targets include reducing the rate of home and traffic accidents by 15 per cent every five years and reducing cardio-vascular diseases by 25 per cent every 10 years.

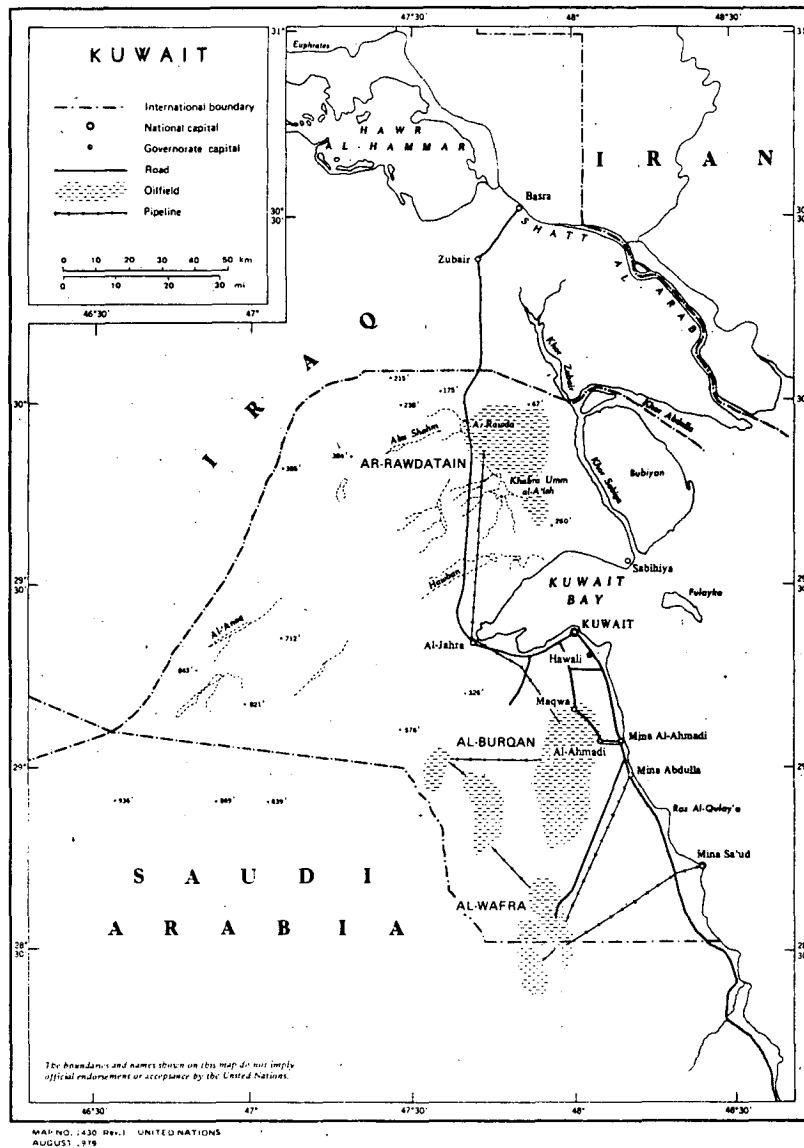
Fertility and the family: The Government has a policy to boost fertility rates among the national population. Government objectives are to improve the status of women and create conditions conducive to child-birth and parenting. The Government provides cash benefits by means of child allowances, maternity benefits and housing subsidies to families with a male Kuwaiti in government service. Since 1980, Kuwaitis marrying for the first time have been entitled to a marriage allowance. In 1986 the Government required both the public and the private sector to grant paid leave to employees marrying for the first time. The provision of family planning services is not considered a priority. Access to contraception is permitted, but without government support for information or access to methods. Abortion and sterilization are permitted only for medical or health reasons. In 1984, the highest religious authority in Kuwait gave approval to test-tube fertilization for married couples.

International migration: Immigration policy is to maintain the inflow of labour resources to alleviate shortages but to reduce the level in the future. The policy favours the migration of males, while discouraging the entry of dependents. The immigrant population in 1985 comprised approximately 60 per cent of Kuwait's total population and about 70 per cent of the labour force. Formal legislation regulates the employment of foreign workers. A 1979 decree requires work permits for foreigners in the private sector. Attempts are under way to encourage the replacement of non-nationals in important positions with Kuwaitis. In 1982 a new citizenship law was enacted which tightened restrictions on obtaining Kuwaiti citizenship. Arab nationals residing in Kuwait for at least 20 years or 15 consecutive years, may qualify for citizenship, provided other eligibility requirements are met. Concerning emigration, there is a desire to prevent a brain-drain by retaining migrant labour with important skills and expertise.

Spatial distribution/Urbanization: The Government's policy is to influence directly the pattern of urban settlement in order to resolve problems of urban overcrowding. The highly urbanized population is concentrated on 6 per cent of the land area, while 30 per cent of the total population resides in the

capital city agglomeration. Policy objectives are to redistribute the urban population and continue to provide a high level of public service. The basic strategy is the promotion of small towns and intermediate cities supplemented by the creation of new towns. In recent years, the Government has invested in three large industrial zones, a new port, and the reconstruction of Kuwait City. Additional measures include public infrastructure subsidies, financial incentives to new industry, the provision of housing and social services, human resource investment, and job training.

Status of women and population: Government policy consists of improving the status of women and encouraging greater female labour-force participation. The Women's Committee within the Government discusses women's problems and carries out research to promote the abilities of women. The Committee co-ordinates its work with the Women's Centre for Training. The mean age at marriage for Kuwaiti women is reportedly rising. Information on the minimum age at marriage for women is not readily available.



SELECTED SOURCES

The information contained in the overview is based on the continuous monitoring of population policies undertaken by the Population Division of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, as part of its work programme.

The Government of Kuwait's response to a United Nations questionnaire entitled "Fifth Population Inquiry Among Governments: monitoring of Government perceptions and policies on demographic trends and levels in relation to development as of 1982" constitutes an important source for the overview.

Except where otherwise noted, the demographic estimates and projections are based on the tenth round of global demographic assessments undertaken by the Population Division. The various demographic indicators are derived from data that were available to the United Nations generally by the end of 1985; therefore, the figures supersede those that were previously published by the United Nations. For additional information and data, see:

World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1984 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.XIII.3).

United Nations (1985). "The Mexico City Conference: the debate on the review and appraisal of the World Population Plan of Action".

Contraceptive prevalence rate

United Nations (forthcoming). Recent Levels and Trends of Contraceptive Use as Assessed in 1987.

Female mean age at first marriage

World Population Trends and Policies: 1987 Monitoring Report, United Nations, New York. (forthcoming).

Foreign-born population*

Kuwait Ministry of Planning (1983). The Demographic Features of Kuwait, 1980. Kuwait.

_____ (1986). 1985 National Census of Kuwait. vol. I. Kuwait.

_____ (1987). Research Studies on Population. Kuwait.

* Data are reported by nationality rather than by place of birth.

INTRODUCTION

A. Population concerns

Kuwait is a State that has gained particular prominence in the last three decades, for both its rapid economic growth and its phenomenal population increase. The country now ranks as a modern society with one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Its transformation from a homogeneous city/state into a rapidly industrializing country with a growing number of migrants from diverse cultures was made possible by its huge revenues from a single depletable resource - oil.

However, the availability of enormous capital was not a sufficient condition for economic growth. Labour, too, was needed to turn the wheels of development. Like many other Gulf States, Kuwait had a small and young population: the median age in 1957 was 14 years. The evolving economy opened new job opportunities for which many adult nationals were not fully qualified. Thus, unlike many other developing countries, Kuwait required foreign labour and not foreign capital in order to meet the objectives of its development plans.

Initially, labour was imported from the poorer Arab States, which had large populations (Birks and Sinclair, 1980; El Mallakh, 1968; Hill, 1979). However, as Arab migrants increased rapidly in numbers, the Governments of the Gulf States have shifted towards Asian labour (Birks and Sinclair, 1980; Fergeny, 1983; Saadidin, 1982). The trend is having significant political and economic implications. The changing demographic structure of the population poses unique challenges for social and economic planners, which will be touched upon in the analysis of labour and migration policies below.

In the first Kuwaiti census, in 1957, the total population was 206,473. The 1985 Kuwait census indicates that the population increased eight-fold in the next three decades, to reach 1,695,128. In most developing countries, population growth is due to relatively high fertility; that is in Kuwait, it is the increasing rate of in-migration that is responsible. Rapid population growth would not have been a major concern of the Government if those of Kuwaiti nationality were in the majority. However, in virtually every census, the nationals' share in total population has decreased, falling to only 41.6 per cent of the total in 1985.

Economic as well as social factors have led to the creation of a national minority in Kuwait. This study investigates many of the State's pronatalist policies, which have sought to encourage a rise in Kuwaiti fertility rates, and its labour policies, which have attempted to curb the increase in foreign migrants to the country.

B. Historical background

In Kuwait, the current era of industrialization did not begin with a new elite or a different political structure. It began when the ruling family (Al-Sabah) and the merchant class saw the advantages of modernizing their society and then smoothly phased in the transition.

Kuwait had been ruled by the Al-Sabah family since the early eighteenth century. The country has never been ruled by a colonial power. Because its position in the Gulf was important for the routes of the East India Company, the major British trading company, it had friendly relations with Britain during the nineteenth century.

In the late nineteenth century, the Turks several times attempted, unsuccessfully, to invade Kuwait. In 1904, the British, fearing for the safety of their ships, and Kuwait, wishing to safeguard its sovereign borders, signed a treaty for British protection against foreign invasions (Shaw, 1976, p. 17). The first political agent from Britain arrived in 1904, and Kuwait remained under British protection until 1961.

In the 1930s, oil prospectors arrived in Kuwait and in 1934 the Kuwait Oil Company was established (Shaw, 1976, p. 24). Due to the outbreak of the Second World War, oil explorations were suspended, and thus the oil era did not begin until the rule of Abdulla Al-Salem in 1950. Kuwait's infrastructure began to develop with the aid of the accumulating oil revenues. The economic depression of the earlier years began to fade, and by 1961, Kuwait had established its sovereignty and considered itself an independent State.

Abdulla Al-Salem was succeeded in 1965 by his brother Sabah, who ruled until 1977. Like his predecessor, he utilized the growing wealth for the country's modernization, and during his time, Kuwait witnessed a phenomenal transformation. Jabel Al-Ahmed, the heir apparent, who came to power in 1979 upon the death of Sabah Al-Salem, is Kuwait's present ruler.

Until the early 1930s, the Gulf sheikhdoms of Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates (formerly known as the Trucial Coast) were dependent on the pearl industry and maritime trade. The haul of the pearling season determined the economic prosperity of the people for any particular year (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 33). However, pearls were not the only commodity exported from the Gulf. Dates and Arab horses were also in great demand in Europe and Asia. The merchant families of the 1950s also contributed to the nation's economic growth by investing their capital in the country and establishing international

companies to facilitate the transition to industrialization. Those families also had commercial links with other foreign countries.

The country's oil was owned and managed by the State of Kuwait. When oil revenues became sizeable, the State decided to embark on national development. Since both economic and social development were desired, the Government formulated two major goals. Because oil is a depletable resource and the global demand and price for it fluctuate substantially, the creation of alternative sources of income through economic diversification became a primary goal. The declaration of oil as a national asset led to the adoption of the second major goal - i.e., the redistribution of part of the oil revenues to the population through free social services such as health, education and certain social benefits. The two goals made it necessary for the State to assume dual roles in structuring economic growth. In the private sector, which includes profit-making activities, the State is a corporate partner with local businessmen in addition to developing oil-related industries on its own, while in the public sector, the State uses oil revenues to provide free comprehensive social services. In both sectors the State is important in determining the future economy of the country (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 149).

Because of the young age structure of the Kuwaiti population, only a small proportion of Kuwaitis could actively take part in the development process. Thus, both the ambitious economic ventures and the establishment of welfare systems required the importation of labour. The migrant workers, in turn, required social services, which entailed a further influx of labour. Soon, migrant workers were joined by their dependents, and a further expansion of social services was needed. The interrelation between economic growth and the expansion of social services has given rise to a simultaneously growing two-sector (public and private) labour market - i.e., a parallel labour market (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 149).

I. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

A. General population trends

In the span of three decades, both the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti population has rapidly increased. Table 1 provides data from the first census, of 1957, to the latest census, of 1985. The increase in Kuwaitis is primarily due to natural increase - i.e., high fertility and low mortality. Among non-Kuwaitis, high in-migration and high natural increase account for the rapid growth. Table 1 shows that between 1957 and 1965, non-Kuwaitis grew at a faster rate than Kuwaitis. However, with more single males migrating to Kuwait in the late 1960s, the growth of the migrant population that was due to natural increase stabilized. Thus, in the 1970 and 1975 censuses, a decline is observable in the annual growth rate of migrants, from 11.8 per cent per annum in 1965, to 9.6 per cent per annum in 1970 and 6.0 per cent per annum in 1975. The decline in the growth rate of Kuwaitis from 1970-1980 is partly due to a decrease in the crude birth rate in the late 1970s, and partly to a more rigid quota for the granting of Kuwaiti citizenship.

The decline in natural increase of Kuwaitis has persisted. The crude birth rate dropped from 49.2 per thousand in 1970 to 47.1 per thousand in 1980 (Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, 1982, p. 59). It has risen very slightly since 1980, to 47.4 per thousand (Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, 1982b, p. 15). The decline in the birth rate of Kuwaitis has raised fears among Kuwaiti officials that, according to demographic projections which assume a continuation of the trend, Kuwaitis will only constitute 25 per cent of the total population by the year 2000. (MEED, 19 June 1981, p. 30).

The growth in the non-Kuwaiti population is due more to migration than to high natural increase. The growth rate for non-Kuwaitis between 1975 and 1980 was more than twice the rate for Kuwaitis - i.e., 8.7 versus 3.7 per cent, respectively. While natural increase accounted for 64 per cent of migrant population growth between 1970 and 1975, it accounted for only 38 per cent of their increase between 1975 and 1980 (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 102). Whereas in 1974 the crude birth rate for non-Kuwaitis was 36.8 per thousand, in 1983 it had declined to 24.7 per thousand (Kuwait, 1985d, p. 67), indicating that the net in-migration of non-Kuwaitis became the significant component contributing to their growth after 1975.

It is not only changes in population growth that are important, but also changes in population characteristics, such as age and sex distribution, educational attainment and marital status. For example, age distribution influences a country's labour supply and demand. A very young population places an economic burden on society, at least in

the short run. Since the young are not in the labour force, a reliance on migrant workers is likely to develop.

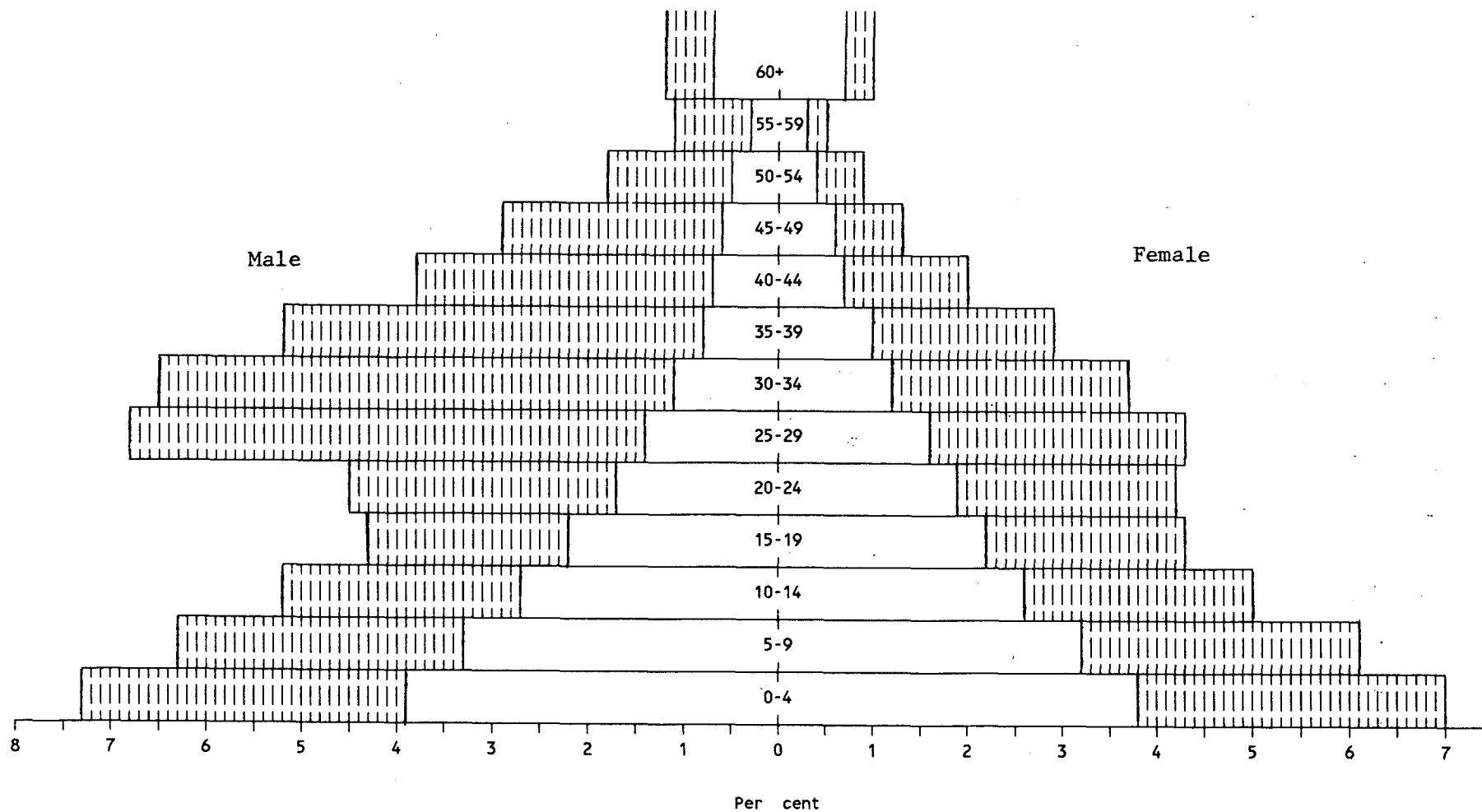
Table 1. Population growth, by nationality, Kuwait, 1957-1985

Census year	Population				Average annual growth rate		
	Number Kuwaiti	Percentage Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total
1957	113 622	55.0	92 851	206 473	-	-	-
1961	159 448	49.6	162 173	321 621	8.7	13.7	11.1
1965	220 059	47.1	247 280	467 339	8.1	11.8	10.1
1970	347 396	47.0	391 266	738 662	9.6	9.6	9.6
1975	472 088	47.5	522 749	994 837	6.3	6.0	6.1
1980	565 613	41.7	792 339	1 357 952	3.7	8.7	6.4
1985	681 288	40.1	1 016 013	1 697 301	-	-	-

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Bureau, Population censuses for 1957 to 1985.

In Kuwait, the very young age distribution is an important factor in explaining the reliance on migrant labour. Other factors are policy considerations, such as delayed entry into the labour force and options for early retirement, which reduce the years spent in the labour force. These policies will be discussed in a section below.

Figure 1. Population pyramid of Kuwait, 1985*



* The clear and shaded areas in the population pyramid represent Kuwait and non-Kuwaiti populations, respectively.

B. The growth of the Kuwaiti population

The Kuwaiti population has undergone rapid growth. For example, it doubled in size between 1965 and 1975 (table 1). The high fertility of Kuwait is desired and encouraged by the State's pro-natalist policies since Kuwaitis constituted only 40 per cent of the total population in 1985. Between 1970 and 1980, the total fertility rate fell from 7.2 per Kuwaiti woman to 6.6 per Kuwaiti woman (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985d, p. 65).

The Kuwaiti population is young with the majority of them in very young age groups (see fig. 1). For example, in 1985 approximately half of Kuwaitis were below 15 years of age (table 2). This preponderance of children and youths is a consequence of the high birth rate. The age distribution implies a high dependency ratio (inactive persons per 100 economically active). In 1975, the dependency ratio for Kuwaitis was 414 (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1980, p. 18). In 1985, it had increased to 451 for Kuwaitis (Kuwait, 1986:109).

Table 2. Population, by nationality and broad age group, Kuwait, 1975 and 1985
(Percentage)

Nationality and census year	Below age 15	15-59	60+	Total
Kuwait				
1975	49.4	46.8	3.8	100.0
1985	48.5	48.1	3.4	100.0
Non-Kuwait				
1975	39.7	58.8	1.5	100.0
1985	28.9	69.9	1.2	100.0

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Human Resources Development Department, The Demographic Features of Kuwait, 1980 (Kuwait, 1983), p. 7; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Human Resources Development Department, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), table 17, p. 109. vol. 1,.

Kuwait's pyramidal age structure (see fig. 1), with a wide base for the younger ages, is typical of developing countries in the second stage of the demographic transition - i.e., high fertility and low mortality countries, (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1983b, p. 8). High dependency ratios are frequently considered to be an obstacle to a nation's development. Youth populations are viewed as consumers, not producers of goods, and require large expenditures for social services. In Kuwait, however, national youths are viewed as a primary means of diminishing the demand for migrant labour in the future, and as "a huge potential for continued population increase as the young population grows up into the childbearing years" (Hartley, 1982, p. 168).

The sex distribution of Kuwaitis was nearly equal between 1970 and 1975. However, in 1980, the ratio changed to 98.5 males per 100 females. This increase of women in comparison to men was probably due to a rise in the number of marriages of Kuwaiti men to non-Kuwaiti women, who then acquired Kuwaiti nationality. The trend towards mixed marriages and subsequent naturalization has led to an increase in the number of Kuwaiti women in the ages 20-35 years.

The marital status of the population has also had an influence on population growth. In Kuwait the demand for education, entry into the labour force and urbanization have led to a decline in the proportion of the population that is married. Table 3 illustrates the marital status of Kuwaiti males and females over two decades. In 1965, only 34.1 per cent of Kuwaiti men above age 15 were never married; in 1975, the proportion never-married increased to 38.8. The rise in Kuwaiti single men has been much slower in the past decade, reaching 39.3 per cent in 1985.

Table 3. Kuwaiti population by marital status,
1965, 1975 and 1985
(Percentage)

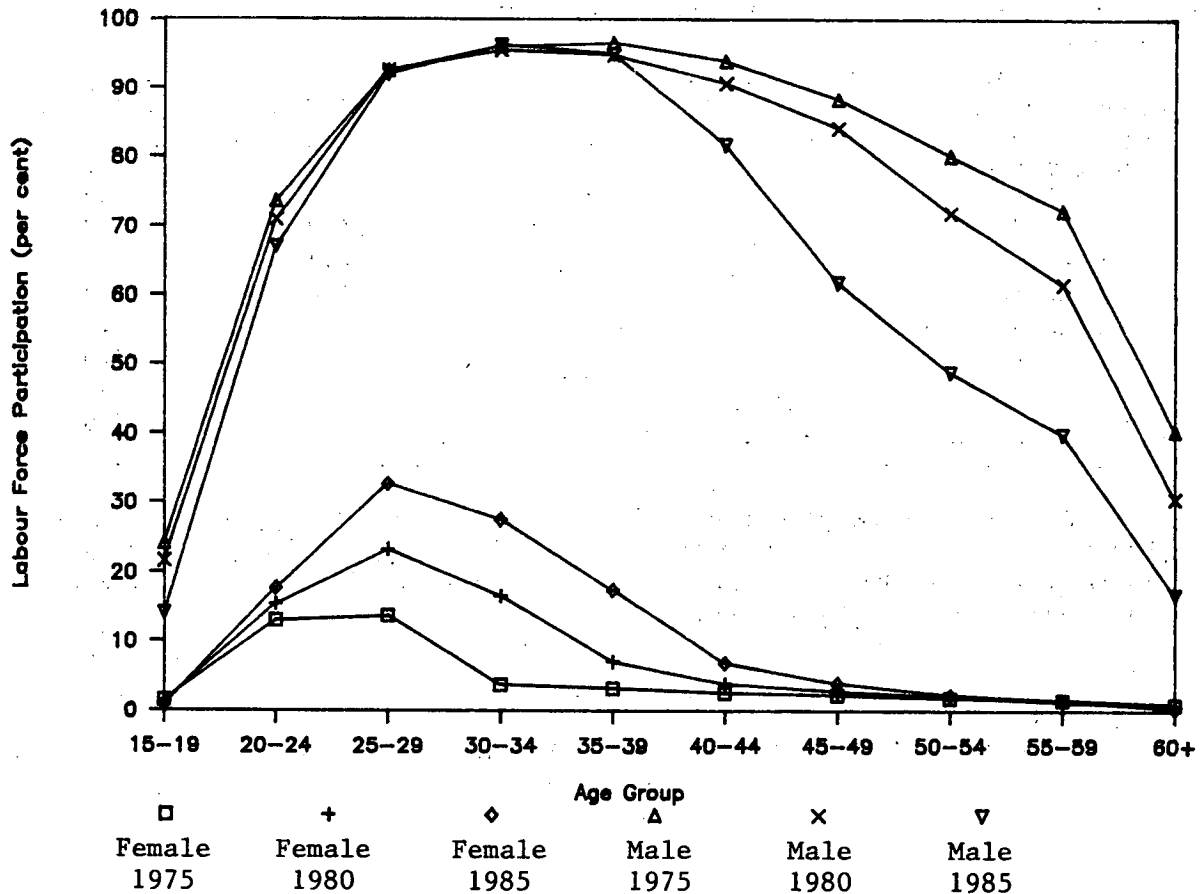
Marital status	1965		1975		1985	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Single	34.1	15.7	38.8	24.0	39.3	28.5
Married	62.5	66.6	59.4	64.0	58.9	60.0
Divorced	1.1	2.7	0.6	2.6	0.8	2.6
Widowed	2.3	15.0	1.2	10.4	0.9	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Human Resources Department, The Demographic Features of Kuwait, 1980 (Kuwait, 1986), p. 11.

Among Kuwaiti women, there has also been a significant rise in the proportion never married, from 15.7 per cent in 1965 to 24.0 per cent in 1975 and 28.5 per cent in 1985. The entry of women into the labour force (see fig. II) and higher educational attainment have led to a change in women's roles. Women are now more likely to select their marriage partners and, if necessary, delay marriage. In addition, as may be observed in table 3, the proportion of widows and widowers has declined. Among Kuwaiti women, the factor that is believed to be most significant in reducing widowhood is the increasing social acceptability of and opportunities for remarriage.

These marital trends among Kuwaitis have led to government policies aimed at encouraging early marriage. These policies are presented in chapter III.

Figure II. Kuwaiti labour-force participation rate, by sex and age, 1975, 1980 and 1985



Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1985 (Kuwait, 1986).

While marital status affects population growth through fertility, the educational attainment of Kuwaitis affects the indigenous labour supply and thus exerts an influence on the demand for imported labour. In Kuwait, the availability of free education up to the university level has led to higher educational attainment among the entire population. Furthermore, eight years of compulsory education (or up to the intermediate degree) has prompted illiterate workers to enrol in evening schools.

Table 4 gives the educational qualifications of nationals from 1965 to 1985. In 1965, more than half (56.3 per cent) of Kuwaitis above age 10 were illiterate, and 28.3 per cent were able to read and write but had not completed primary school. Therefore, 84.6 per cent of Kuwaitis had no or little educational training in 1965. By 1975, however, tremendous improvements in the educational levels of Kuwaitis had occurred, and only 59 per cent were without primary school education. Furthermore, by 1985 the proportion of illiterates had fallen to 26.3 per cent.

Table 4. Kuwaiti population, 10 years and above,
by educational attainment, 1965 and 1985
(Percentage)

Educational attainment	1965	1975	1985
Total uneducated	84.6	59.3	38.2
Illiterate	56.3	44.6	26.3
Read and write	28.3	14.7	11.9
Primary	8.8	22.1	23.6
Intermediate	4.6	11.8	21.3
Secondary and below university	1.5	5.5	9.4
University	0.3	1.3	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: For 1965 and 1975: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Human Resources Development Department, The Demographic Features of Kuwait, 1980 (Kuwait, 1983), p. 45; for 1985: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), p. 11, table 4.

In 1965, less than 2 per cent of Kuwaitis had high school certificates or a university education. The 1985 census shows that 9.4 per cent have high school certificates and 7.5 per cent have completed university degrees. This rapid improvement in the educational status of nationals is expected by the State to have a significant impact on the future development of the society. For the present, however, free education has led to a rise in the proportion of full-time students, particularly at the university levels, and therefore a delay in their entry into the labour force. With the length of time spent in educational institutes by nationals increasing markedly, the number of years in the labour force is decreasing accordingly.

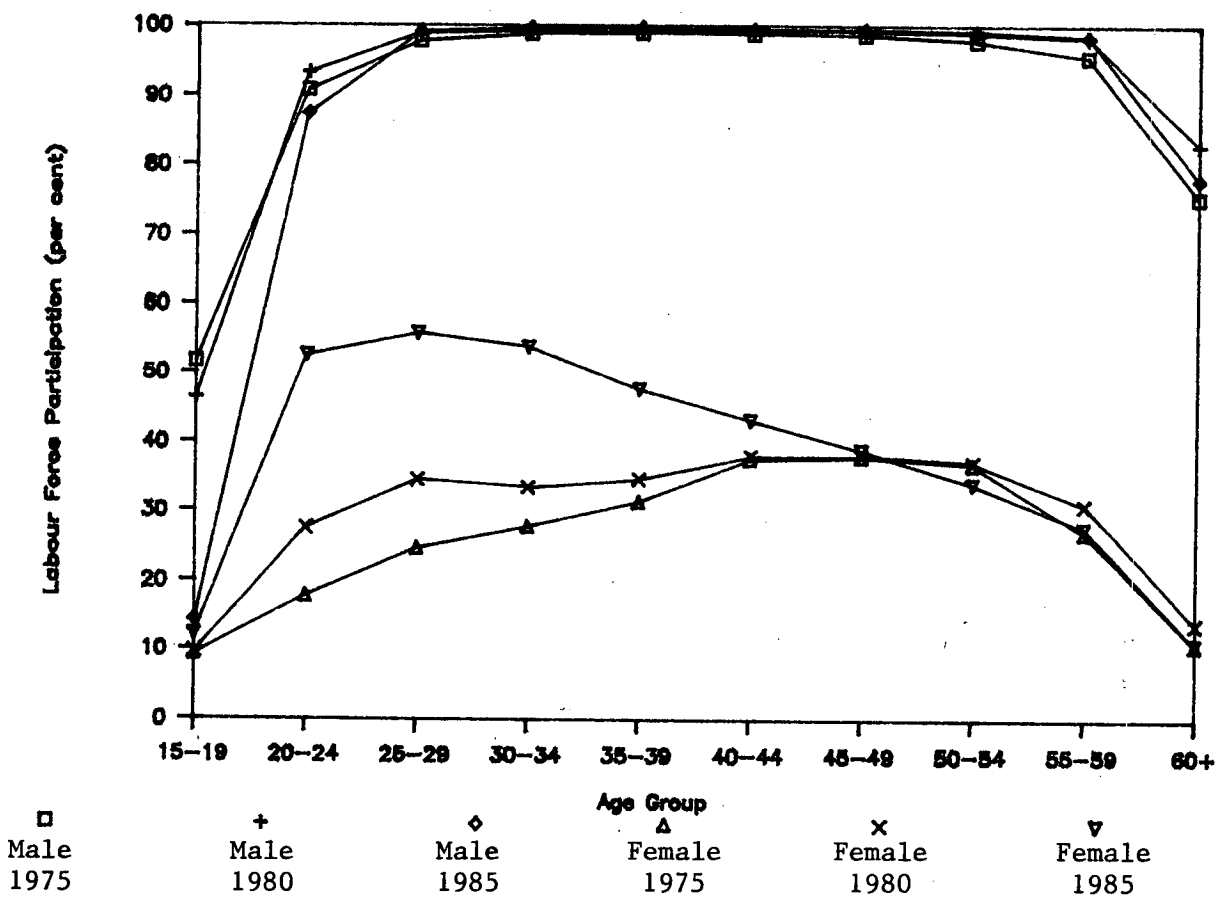
In Kuwait, the system of free education through the university level has eliminated the cost of obtaining an education. Furthermore, the State has now "forbidden" students to work in the government sector, viewing part-time work as delaying the completion of their education. One important consequence of free education has been the upgrading of the educational level of the indigenous labour force. While in 1975, only 40.7 per cent of the Kuwaiti labour force had an educational degree, in 1980, 58 per cent had some qualifications, with 17.3 per cent having at least a secondary school degree and 7.6 per cent university degrees (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1980, p. 27).

Table 5 shows the growth of the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti labour force (also refer to figs. II and III). While the Kuwaiti labour force grew by 117 per cent between 1965 and 1975, Kuwaitis constituted only 30 per cent of the total labour force. However, in the last decade - i.e., 1975-1985, the growth of Kuwaiti labour has been much slower, increasing by only 37.6 per cent. In contrast, non-Kuwaitis in the labour force have increased rapidly, more than doubling in size between 1975 and 1985. The slackening in the growth rate of Kuwaitis reduced their proportion in the labour force to nearly 19 per cent in 1985, as compared to 30 per cent in 1975 (table 5).

The activity rates and the labour force participation rate for the population aged 15 and above for Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis by sex are shown in table 6. Among Kuwaiti males, the participation rate declined from 71 per cent in 1975 to 59.5 per cent in 1985. Among Kuwaiti women, although labour participation rates are low, a rise in women's employment is evident (see fig. III). Table 6 indicates that the number of females in the labour force tripled between 1975 and 1985 and the activity rate for women doubled, from 6.2 per cent to 13.8 per cent. The growth of the Kuwaiti female labour force has offset to some extent the rapid decline among Kuwaiti males, so that the total Kuwaiti labour force participation rate declined from 38.5 per cent in 1975 to 36.1 per cent in 1985. The labour force participation rates for non-nationals, in contrast, increased from 67.5 per cent in 1975 to 75.3 per cent in 1985. Both migrant males and females had relatively high rates in 1985.

- 91 per cent for non-Kuwaiti males and nearly 43 per cent among non-Kuwaiti women.

Figure III. Non-Kuwaiti labour-force participation rate, by sex and age, 1975, 1980 and 1985.



Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, 1986. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1985 (Kuwait, 1986).

Table 5. Growth of the labour force, by nationality, 1975-1985

	Labour force	Kuwaitis	Non-Kuwaitis
		<u>1975</u>	
Number	304 082	91 844	212 738
Percentage of total	100.0	30.2	69.8
Percentage growth, 1965-1975	66.0	117.2	51.0
		<u>1985</u>	
Number	670 385	126 410	543 975
Percentage of total	100.0	18.9	81.1
Percentage growth, 1975-1985	120.5	37.6	155.7

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Bureau, The Characteristics of the Labour Force in Kuwait in 1980, (Kuwait, 1980), p. 8; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), p. 177, table 28, and p. 184, table 29 (calculated by the author).

In the past two decades, the Kuwaiti labour force has increased steadily in number, from 42,278 in 1965 to 91,844 in 1975 and to 126,410 in 1985. These increases imply a doubling of the Kuwaiti labour force between 1965 and 1975 and a further 27 per cent increase by 1985. As mentioned above, the slower increase in the past decade is due to the prolonged period of education, since Kuwaitis are entitled to free education in the national university and abroad through scholarships supported by the Civil Service Commission. Thus, the activity rate for those below 30 years of age is viewed as low in comparison to other countries.

Table 6. Labour participation and activity rates
for population 15 years and above, by
nationality and sex, Kuwait, 1975 and 1985

Nationality/ sex	Population 15 years and above		Total labour force		Activity rate	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Kuwaitis						
Males	118 529	170 761	84 367	101 607	71.2	59.5
Females	120 117	179 582	7 477	24 803	6.2	13.8
Total	238 646	350 343	91 844	126 410	38.5	36.1
Non-Kuwaitis						
Males	201 125	476 324	185 009	436 650	92.0	91.7
Females	114 159	245 549	27 729	107 325	24.3	43.7
Total	315 284	721 873	212 738	543 975	67.5	75.3

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Bureau, The Characteristics of the Labour Force in Kuwait in 1980 (Kuwait, 1980), p. 8; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), p. 162, table 26; p. 177, table 28; p. 184, table 29.

Data on occupational distribution is useful in determining whether the new entrants are moving into the same occupations as previously. Table 7 indicates that the highest concentration of Kuwaiti labour is in service-related occupations in 1965 and 1985; clerical work was another area favoured by nationals in 1965 and increased three-fold in the past two decades. In 1965, when the indigenous labour force was not adequately trained to meet many of the new needs of the labour market, a large number of workers were in skilled crafts and building, thus explaining their concentration in production and related labour - nearly 24 per cent.

In the 20-year span from 1965 to 1985, the new entrants have become better educated and more capable of assuming the new responsibilities of the evolving Kuwaiti labour market. In 1985, only 8 per cent of Kuwaitis were working in production and manual labour. In contrast, there has been a rise in the proportion of Kuwaiti professional and technical workers in the past two decades; 20.5 per cent of the labour force was in those occupational fields in 1985, as compared to 3.6 per cent in 1965.

Table 7. Labour force, by occupation and nationality, Kuwait, 1965 and 1985

Occupation	1965			1985		
	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Percentage Kuwaiti	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Percentage Kuwaiti
Professional and technical workers	1 528	12 093	11.2	25 963	82 963	23.8
Administrative and managerial workers	1 469	2 494	37.1	4 011	6 623	37.7
Clerical and related workers	7 690	12 521	38.0	24 061	48 676	33.0
Sales workers	4 626	10 597	30.4	5 910	31 679	15.7
Service workers	14 051	30 670	31.4	40 615	148 446	21.5
Agricultural, animal husbandry, fishermen etc.	754	2 887	20.7	2 657	10 383	20.4
Production, related labourers	10 048	68 368	12.8	10 343	210 257	4.7
Not adequately defined	2 112	1 252	62.7	2 850	4 947	36.5
Total	42 278	140 882	23.1	126 410	543 975	18.9

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1980, p. 126, table 111; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), p. 221, table 34; p. 225, table 35.

Certain occupations have expanded more rapidly than others according to the country's developmental needs. In Kuwait, the 1960s were a period of infrastructure development - i.e., roads, electricity, desalinated water supply and major housing projects. Consequently, manual labour was very much in demand. In the 1980s, following the oil glut, Kuwait has invested heavily in other developing countries, rather than importing labour. National development projects have been also more selective than in the 1970s. In addition, the new labour needs were more for professional and technical workers. Thus, while in 1965, manual and production labour accounted for 42.8 per cent of the total labour force, in 1985, production workers were only 32.9 per cent of the total labour force. Also, professional and technical occupations grew steadily, so that workers in these occupations accounted for 16 per cent of the total labour force in 1985 as compared to 7.4 per cent in 1965.

For economic planners and demographers it is helpful to determine whether the increase of nationals entering the labour market has reduced the dependence on migrants. Table 7 illustrates the share that Kuwaitis have held in each occupational division over two decades. Kuwaitis are a minority in all occupational divisions in 1985. In fact, only in professional, technical and administrative, managerial occupations has their share not declined. Kuwaitis do not constitute more than 38 per cent in any occupation. While their growth has been very rapid in the labour market and the channelling of nationals has been influenced by many factors, the reliance on migrants appears to have grown.

Table 8 presents data for the period 1975-1985 by branch of economic activity. It may be observed that Kuwaitis are overwhelmingly concentrated in the service sector, which employed 72.6 per cent of the native labour force in 1975 and 75.2 per cent in 1985. The large majority of Kuwaitis are, therefore, working in the government sector and are not distributed uniformly among the country's developmental programmes.

Since the State offers comprehensive educational services, the educational attainment of the native labour force has been greatly enhanced. Table 9 shows that in 1965, over one half of the Kuwaiti labour force was illiterate, whereas in 1985 only 14 per cent were illiterate. Furthermore, those with secondary or school certificates or diplomas have doubled between each census. Thus, in 1965, they constituted less than 2 per cent, grew to 10.6 per cent in 1975 and 24.4 per cent in 1985. Kuwaiti university graduates in the labour force increased to 12.8 per cent in 1985; they were less than 1 per cent in 1965 and only 4 per cent in 1975. This educational upgrading of the indigenous labour force will no doubt have long-term benefits. At present, however, it has led to a delay in Kuwaitis entering the labour market.

Table 8. Labour force by industry and nationality
Kuwait, 1975 and 1985
(Percentage)

Industry	1975			1985		
	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total
Agriculture, hunting fishing	4.6	1.7	2.5	2.2	1.8	1.9
Mining and quarrying	2.0	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.7	1.0
Manufacturing industries	2.6	10.5	8.2	3.8	8.6	7.7
Electricity, gas, water	2.3	2.5	2.4	1.3	1.1	1.1
Construction	2.0	14.4	10.8	1.2	22.7	18.7
Wholesale, retail, trade restaurants and hotels	7.3	15.7	13.3	4.9	13.0	11.4
Transport, storage and communications	5.3	5.3	5.3	6.2	5.5	5.6
Financial insurance, real estate and business services	1.6	2.4	2.2	3.1	3.0	3.0
Social services, public services and personal services	72.6	46.1	53.7	75.2	43.4	49.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, The Characteristics of the Labour Force in Kuwait in 1980 (Kuwait, 1980), p. 21; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), pp. 383-446, tables 41-42.

Table 9. Educational attainment of the labour force, by nationality, 1965, 1975 and 1985

Educational attainment	1965		1975		1985	
	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
Illiterate	51.5	42.6	35.8	32.9	14.1	24.7
Read and write	39.0	37.6	23.5	25.4	10.5	27.7
Primary	3.6	3.8	14.2	9.6	13.2	6.7
Intermediate	3.2	3.7	11.9	8.1	24.8	9.8
Secondary	1.4	7.9	10.6	14.1	14.2	15.2
Below university	0.4	1.3			10.2	3.5
University	0.9	3.4	4.0	9.9	12.8	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: For 1965, 1975: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, The Demographic Features of Kuwait (Kuwait, 1983), p. 79; for 1985: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. II (Kuwait, 1986), pp. 215-224 (calculated by the author).

C. The growth of the non-Kuwaiti population

International migration has played a major role in reshaping the destiny of Kuwait. Initially, the entry of migrants was to satisfy the labour demands of a rapidly modernizing country. However, as the proportion of migrants grew, the pull factor in Kuwait was not only job opportunities but also the reunification of migrant families due to the availability of welfare services and a laissez-faire entry policy.

Until 1975, the annual rate of growth of non-Kuwaitis and Kuwaitis was roughly the same. Between the 1965 and 1970 censuses, the average annual growth rate for Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis was 9.6 per cent; between 1970 and 1975 it was 6 per cent. By 1980, however, the increase was more rapid for migrants. Kuwaitis grew at the much slower rate of 3.7 per cent annually, due to a decline in fertility, a decrease in the proportion of married nationals and a strict quota on migrants granted Kuwaiti citizenship. Migration to Kuwait increased during the late 1970s as a rise in oil prices led to an expanding economy. As a result, non-Kuwaitis grew at a rate of 8.7 per cent annually - i.e., at twice the rate of increase for Kuwaitis. This large increase in growth rates explains the rise in the proportion of non-Kuwaitis between 1975 and 1980, to 58.3 per cent of the total population (see table 1).

Furthermore, an increase in the dependency ratio took place due to the high fertility of migrant families that arrived in the early 1970s.

The proportion of males and females is an important factor, facilitating or hindering population growth. In Kuwait, the sex ratio has undergone continuous change over the two decades 1965-1985. Previously, migrants were largely single males since there was demand for production and manual labour. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, job opportunities diversified and female migrants began to enter the labour force. In fact, between 1965 and 1975, more female migrants entered the country than their male counterparts. As the number of dependents increased due to high natural increase of migrants, stricter control on the entry of migrant families was enforced. Also, more contracts were being granted to Asian companies, which generally employed single males. Therefore, migration of families slowed down substantially. Between 1975 and 1980, the number of male migrants grew rapidly, so that the sex ratio was 520 males to every 100 females (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1983, p. 10).

As previously stated, the age composition of migrants also underwent a change in the past decade, due to the migration of single male workers. The burden on welfare services, as well as the increasing proportion of migrants remaining longer in the country, heightened concern among government officials. Policies to control the entry of migrants as well as selective entry into governmental schools led to a decline in the number of children below 15 years of age. Table 2 shows that in the 1975 census, 39.7 per cent of non-Kuwaitis were below 15 years. By 1985, however, their proportion had declined to 28.9 per cent. In addition, data from a study by the Planning Ministry indicate that between 1975-80, 90 per cent of new arrivals among migrants were in the ages 20-39 years (Kuwait, 1983, p. 15).

The same study found that in the age groups 0-4, 10-14 and 55 years and above, those leaving Kuwait exceeded those entering Kuwait (Kuwait, 1983, p. 15). The ages 0-4 showed negative growth due to a decline in the fertility of non-nationals as compared to the proportion in the early 1970s. The decline in growth of ages 10-14 in the 1980 census may be due to the outmigration of adolescents who return to complete secondary school in their native countries in preparation for higher studies. This is true mainly for Asian dependents; Arab dependents often continue in Kuwait's centres of higher education as language is no handicap. The negative growth in the ages 55 and above is due to the fact that most migrants retire in their native countries as their employment terminates and their residence permits expire.

This trend favouring adult migrants does not imply that there are fewer migrant dependents than Kuwaiti dependents. Since migrants are a majority, their dependents are also greater in number than the nationals.

One of the most important characteristics of migrants is their nationality distribution. In Kuwait, Arab migrants integrate into the social fabric more easily, since their language and culture are shared with the nationals. In contrast, Asian, African and Western migrants generally are not able to assimilate as quickly and easily, because various obstacles, such as language and culture, intervene.

In Kuwait, the major pull factor has been the economy and the availability of employment with relatively high wages. However, some Arab nationalities have entered Kuwait due to political upheavals in their own land, (e.g., Iraqis, Lebanese and Palestinians). Recently, the State, as the major employer, and private enterprises have opted for Asian labour from South-east Asia. In 1979, for the first time, labour entry permits issued to non-Arab Asians exceeded those issued to Arab migrants (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 112). The contractual arrangement for importing labour from Asia is on short-term basis, mostly for skilled labourers who are by and large single males. The purpose was to reduce the burden placed on welfare services and create labour enclaves.

In table 10, the nationality distribution for non-Kuwaitis is shown for the period 1965-1985. While Arabs increased by 53 per cent between 1975-1985, Asians grew by 264 per cent. Consequently, while Arab migrants were 80 per cent of the total migrant population in 1975, by 1985 they were only 63 per cent. In contrast, Asian migrants grew from 18.7 per cent in 1975 to 35 per cent of the total in 1985. The largest numbers of Arab migrants are Jordanians and Palestinians: Indians are the single largest Asian nationality. One of the major reasons for shifting to Asian labour was to reduce the proportion of long-term migrants. However, available data indicate that the strategy has not been as successful as had been planned.

Data on the duration of residence in Kuwait are shown in table 11. In 1965, more than half the migrant population had been in Kuwait for less than five years, whereas 3 per cent were resident aliens for over 15 years. Progressively, as new nationality groups have entered, the trend towards short-term residence has decreased. In fact, in 1985, 39.6 per cent of migrants had been in the country for less than five years, in comparison to 42 per cent in 1975. On the other hand, an increase was found in migrants remaining in Kuwait for over 15 years. In 1975, 12.7 per cent of migrants had lived for over 15 years in Kuwait, but in 1985, 21 per cent had resided there for the same length of time. Thus, a shift in nationalities did not change the long-term residence of migrants. Table 12 gives the duration of residence by nationality groups. Because Arabs have been migrating to Kuwait since the 1950s, their length of residence has been longer than that of other groups. In 1980, the average length of stay for Arabs was 8.87 years; for Asian nationals, 6.19 years; and other migrants, 3.3 years (Kuwait, 1983, p. 12).

Table 10. Distribution of non-Kuwaitis by region of origin, 1965, 1975 and 1985

Region of origin	1965		1975		1985	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Middle East	187 923	72.0	419 187	80.2	642 814	63.2
Asia	54 504	22.0	97 813	18.7	355 947	35.0
Africa	412	0.2	440	0.1	2 039	0.2
Europe	3 829	1.6	4 280	0.8	11 908	1.2
North and South America	547	0.2	814	0.2	3 142	0.3
Other	33	---	47	---	163	---
Unknown	32	---	168	---	---	---
Total	247 280	100.0	522 749	100.0	1 016 013	100.0

Sources: For 1965, 1975: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Characteristics and Estimates of Net Migration to the State of Kuwait, 1975-1980, p. 14; for 1985: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. II (Kuwait, 1986), p. 458, table 135.

Table 11. Migrant population, by duration of residence, 1957-1985
(Percentage)

Duration of residence (years)	Migrant population			
	1957	1965	1975	1985
0-4	71.7	59.7	42.2	39.6
5-9	16.3	27.4	28.7	25.0
10-14	3.8	8.9	16.4	14.4
15+	2.3	3.1	12.7	21.0
Not stated	5.9	0.9	---	---
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, The Demographic Features of Kuwait in 1975 (Kuwait, 1980), p. D; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol II (Kuwait, 1986), p. 458, table 135.

Table 12. Migrant population by region of origin and duration of residence, 1985
(Percentage)

Region of origin	Duration of residence (years)				Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15+	
Middle East	27.5	26.6	17.6	28.3	100
Asia	59.5	22.4	9.1	9.0	100
Africa	66.6	26.7	5.5	1.2	100
Europe	78.7	14.9	2.8	3.6	100
North and South America	78.1	15.4	4.2	2.3	100
Australia and New Zealand	72.4	18.4	4.3	4.9	100

Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. II (Kuwait, 1986), p. 458, table 135 (calculated by the author).

Non-Kuwaitis constituted 69.8 per cent of the total labour force in 1975. In the past decade, as labour migration gained momentum in Kuwait, the non-national's share in the labour force increased to 81 per cent. Table 5 shows that between 1965 and 1975, the non-Kuwaiti labour force grew by 51 per cent and in the past decade, 1975-1985, more than doubled - an increase of 156 per cent.

A significant proportion of migrants - 46.5 per cent in 1985 - are dependents and not in the labour force. However, migrants aged 15 years and older have an activity rate of 74.7 per cent in 1985 (see table 6). Among migrant males, the activity rate is 91 per cent, as compared to 59.5 per cent for Kuwaiti males. Among non-Kuwaiti females, the activity rate has shown a tremendous increase, from 24.3 per cent in 1975 to 43 per cent in 1985 (see fig. III). Since female migrants must be employed in order to join their families in Kuwait, the number of working non-Kuwaiti females has risen recently. Moreover, the growing demand for domestic or personal services provided by female migrants has led to an increase in their numbers.

The educational attainment of migrants has changed according to the demands of the Kuwaiti market. In 1965, the demand was greater for production and manual labour. Table 9 shows that during that time, 42.6 per cent of non-Kuwaiti labour was illiterate and 37.6 per cent could only read and write. Thus, in 1965, 80 per cent of the non-Kuwaiti labour had no educational qualification. In 1975, as established

infrastructure contributed to the demand for white-collar workers, nearly 60 per cent of non-Kuwaiti labour had no educational degree.

The 1980s heralded a new period of development, with a slackening in the construction and building sector and an increase in demand for professional and technical labour. From table 9 it may be seen that the proportion of migrant labour with high school certificates and diplomas (including those below university) were 18.7 per cent in the 1985 census, compared with 9.2 per cent in 1965. In addition, non-Kuwaitis with graduate degrees also increased from 3 per cent in 1965 to 12 per cent in 1985.

As the educational attainment of the non-Kuwaiti labour force has improved, the demand for educated manpower in Kuwait is increasing. Non-Kuwaitis are not only found in low paying occupations but are equally represented in white collar and blue collar occupations. In addition, they hold positions of power in many government offices.

From table 8, the importance of various economic activities over the last decade is apparent. Kuwait's investment in welfare services has led to a concentration of about one half the total labour force in the service sector - i.e., 53.7 per cent in 1975 and 49.3 per cent in 1985. The proportion of the foreign labour force in services was 46.1 per cent in 1975 and 43.4 per cent in 1985. Another area that has increased its employment of non-Kuwaitis is construction. In 1975, 14.4 per cent of non-Kuwaitis were in construction. Due to implementation of development projects such as the highway network, the proportion rose to 22.7 by 1985.

II. THE POPULATION POLICY SITUATION

For the past three decades, Kuwait has channelled some of its oil revenues to the general population through welfare services. Improvements in the quality of health and educational services have led to a decline in mortality and the virtual eradication of illiteracy. However, the process of change has not been without difficulties and obstacles. Many issues have emerged that concern policy makers.

Global economic recession and fluctuating demand for oil have further heightened the need for rational planning. The first development plan for Kuwait was formulated for the period from 1967/68 to 1971/72. However, many development goals were not realized due to the lack of implementation of some policies. Labour immigration has continued to be based on the open-door policy of the decades before the plan.

The oil glut of the early 1980s led to declining oil revenues. Nevertheless, government spending on welfare services continued to rise at a rate of 8.3 per cent annually for the period 1979-1984 (Kuwait, 1985, p. 14). It places a substantial financial burden on the State. In accordance with various social and economic policies, the Government has assumed numerous responsibilities on behalf of nationals and non-nationals. For nationals the responsibilities include housing, child allowances, and guaranteed employment in the governmental sector. For non-nationals, they include free welfare services, subsidized private education for those unable to study in governmental schools and the expansion of infrastructure such as electricity, water and housing.

The growth of services has led to the need for additional migrant labour. In the 1970s, many migrants were joined by their families, which required a further expansion in services. The evolving demands of the labour market led to continuous change in demographic characteristics. The parallel labour market structure referred to in the introduction above explains to a large extent the persistence of population growth at such high levels. The consequences of past growth necessitated a re-evaluation of earlier strategies and the formulation of new policies. Since similar development goals have been reiterated in each five-year plan, an analysis of the present situation and the latest development plan, 1985-1990, is pertinent.

A. Policies on the composition of the national population

Since Kuwait is concerned with its small population, its policy is to encourage nationals to have larger families, through various incentives from the State. The other major concern is to reduce the

growth rate of migrants to Kuwait. By achieving a higher Kuwaiti growth rate and a slackening in the non-Kuwaiti growth rate, it is hoped that the proportion of Kuwaitis - currently a minority (40 per cent) - will increase.

Policy makers have been attempting to adjust the composition of the population since the first development plan (1966/67-1970/71). Table 13 presents the relevant policy goals and strategies.

An increase in the proportion of Kuwaitis in the total population has not taken place, owing to the influx of migrants. The current slight decline in fertility among Kuwaiti women is a major concern. If a decline in the rate of natural increase of Kuwaitis takes place, as is suggested by recent declines in fertility rates, it will constitute a further obstacle to increasing the proportion of Kuwaitis.

Vital statistics indicate that the number of live births per woman declined to 6.6 in 1980, as compared to 7.1 in 1975 (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 6). That decline is positively associated with the increasing educational attainment of mothers. According to Shaw, "Unlike any other index of socio-economic development in the Arab region, differences in the levels of female education are strongly and consistently associated with differences in family size" (Shaw, 1983, p. 103).

Studies conducted in Kuwait by Hill (1978), Moustafa (1980) and Moustafa and Al-Kazi (1984) have shown that educated women had smaller families and were more serious about family planning. Consequently, fertility is not expected to remain at the current high rate. Child-spacing and rational planning of families is also likely to increase. Thus, it is projected that the mean number of live births per woman in 1990 will decline to 5.9 (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 6).

Education is also an important factor affecting the mean age at marriage. As women's educational attainment improves, Kuwaiti women are more likely to delay marriage, thus reducing the total time at risk of conception during the reproductive cycle (Shaw, 1983, p. 105). In 1980, the mean age at marriage increased for the first time among Kuwaiti women to approximately 18.7 years, compared to 17.8 years in 1957 (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 5). The data indicated that the higher a woman's educational level, the older she was at the time of marriage.

Table 13. Development policies to influence the composition of the population in Kuwait

Policy goals	Implementation strategy
Decreasing demand for migrant labour	Joint ventures abroad; use of technology in the local market instead of manual labour
Lowering dependency rates of migrants	Enforcing rigid rules on wages limit for those allowed to bring families; giving incentives to those who migrate alone
Granting citizenship	Following selective factors for granting citizenship - e.g., importance of skills, personal features, social status etc.
Stabilizing present fertility rates for Kuwaitis	Health services early marriage housing

Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Graphs and Plans for the Five-Year Development Plan, 1985-1990 (Kuwait, 1985).

One reason for the association between education and delayed marriage is that educated women are more likely to choose their spouses directly. Furthermore, as women invest in education, the motivation to acquire a degree and an occupation is likely to increase. Marriage is often seen as an obstacle to attaining those goals since familial responsibilities may arise later.

Data from the 1985 Kuwaiti census presented in table 14 show that while less than 1 per cent of the illiterate Kuwaiti women are actively employed, 26.4 per cent of those with secondary degrees and 80 per cent of those with university degrees are in the labour force. The comparatively low participation of uneducated Kuwaiti women, who are older than the educated women, is due to higher participation rates among younger cohorts of women (see table 15) as well as to labour market conditions, which are discussed below.

Table 14. Kuwaiti women 15 years and above, by educational attainment and labour force participation, 1985

Educational attainment	Kuwaiti women, 15 years+		
	Population	In the labour force	Activity rate
Illiterate	78 505	598	0.8
Read and write	14 053	474	2.7
Primary degree	17 633	1 096	6.2
Intermediate degree	36 794	5 236	14.2
Secondary degree	17 452	4 620	26.4
Above secondary and below university	7 613	6 394	84.0
University degree and post graduate	7 532	6 039	80.1
Total	179 582	24 457 ^{a/}	13.6

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I, pp. 10-11, table 4, and vol. II, p. 321, table 123.

^{a/} Excludes 346 newly unemployed women

Table 15. Kuwaiti women 15 years and above, by age and labour force participation, 1985

Age group	Kuwaiti women, 15 years+		Activity rate
	Population	In the labour force	
15-19	37 882	357	0.9
20-24	31 908	5 664	17.7
25-29	26 557	8 693	32.7
30-34	20 651	5 681	27.5
35-39	16 395	2 864	17.5
40-44	12 517	867	6.9
45-49	9 825	390	3.9
50-54	7 434	170	2.3
55-59	5 053	78	1.5
60+	11 360	39	--
Total	179 582	24 803	13.8

Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), p. 17, table 8.

A major objective of the Government is to prevent the decline in natural increase among Kuwaitis by sustaining or boosting the fertility rates of nationals. One measure for achieving that objective is believed to be the provision of free comprehensive health services. The high quality of health services in Kuwait has led to a continuous decline in mortality, especially among infants. After the creation and introduction of social welfare services, death rates declined while birth rates remained high in the period 1965-1975. By the 1980s population growth had slowed down, as a result of many social and economic factors, which in turn were leading to declines in fertility rates. Prominent among those factors was increased educational opportunity, the employment of women outside the home and greater health awareness among women.

Other governmental policies for achieving or maintaining high fertility are aimed at encouraging early marriage and larger families. For example, since 1980, the State has granted a marriage allowance of 1,000 Kuwaiti dinars (KD) to nationals marrying for the first time. This was recently increased to 2000 KD to match the rise in the standard of living with the additional 1,000 KD as a loan. The allowance was to compensate men for the expenses incurred by the custom of mahr or bride gift, which the groom offers. Census results however, indicate that the

proportion of single males and females in the Kuwaiti population has increased.

The increase in the age of marriage is partially due to the prolongation of education. Also, with greater educational attainment, Kuwaiti women have begun to choose their spouses and have become more selective. Many women set conditions, such as freedom to pursue their careers, an independent residence etc. Marriage is no longer a one-sided decision. The attitude towards single women has also changed, so that women are generally not pressured into marrying early. Recently, State policy has required that private companies as well as governmental agencies grant a one week paid leave to those marrying for the first time (Kuwait Times, 9 November 1986).

Besides the marriage allowance, governmental housing had been a means of encouraging higher fertility. The Ministry of Housing had been giving homes to Kuwaitis, with the size of the home and area of residence varying according to the income of the national. In the 1960s, the Government provided loans and land to Kuwaitis. However, residential areas with constructed homes were seen as a quicker and more economical solution for both the State and the individual. This housing scheme was one reason for the influx of construction workers to Kuwait. The State offers the house and deducts a nominal sum from the salary of the head of household so that he can acquire full ownership in about 30 years.

Initially, any Kuwaiti could apply for a house. Since 1975, however, only married Kuwaitis may apply. The restriction was imposed because of the increasing numbers of single Kuwaiti men who received homes and then, instead of marrying, rented them out. Since the purpose is to ease the housing crisis for married couples, applications are thoroughly screened and preference given to couples with young children.

However, houses cannot be built quickly enough to meet the demand among nationals. Therefore, since 1982, the State is now offering a rent allowance of 100 KD per month to young married Kuwaitis whose total monthly income does not exceed 500 KD and who can prove that they are living in rented apartments (Kuwait Council of Ministers Decree, 1981). The rent allowance has helped ease the burden of costly housing. However, the lack of apartments is beginning to be a problem and in some cases is delaying marriage.

Another governmental policy to encourage high fertility has been to grant a social allowance for each child to any Kuwaiti male head of household working in the governmental sector. In 1963, the Civil Service Commission began to grant social allowances to government employees for each child, up to a maximum of three children. The monthly amounts were 8 KD for the first born, 7 KD for the second child

and 6 KD for the third child. In 1965, the number of children eligible for the allowance was raised to six, so that the fourth child received 5 KD, the fifth child 4 KD and the sixth child got 3 KD (Kuwait Council of Ministers, 1965). In 1971, the allowance was increased by 1 KD per child (Kuwait Council of Ministers, 1971, Finance Ministry) and in April 1974, it was again raised by 1 KD (Kuwait Council of Ministers, 1974,). In 1979, after the increase in oil prices and a rise in the standard of living, the Government decided to grant an allowance of 20 KD per child, up to six children, to every Kuwaiti male working in the government sector (Kuwait Civil Service Commission, 1979). In August 1982, the State declared that since large families were a goal to be attained, the social allowance would be given for all, not only six, children of government employees (Kuwait Civil Service Commission, 1982). In April 1985, the social allowance was increased to 30 KD per child (Kuwait Civil Service Commission, 1985). The allowances were seen as assistance from the Government towards meeting the expenses of large families. The Government also views them as a means of redistributing oil revenues to the nationals through the heads of household.

Only male Kuwaitis working in the government sector are eligible for the social allowance. Therefore, if a Kuwaiti woman is working in the government sector and her husband is employed in the private sector, she is not eligible to receive the child allowances. If either partner could receive the allowance, the husband might be encouraged to move into the private sector where wages are higher but working hours are longer.

Since increasing numbers of married Kuwaiti women are becoming actively employed, the State has attempted to reconcile female careers with child-bearing. Kuwaiti women may apply for child-care leave from work, varying from six months to four years (Kuwait Civil Service Commission, 1979b). The leave is without pay, but the woman can return to the same position without loss of seniority. As social pressures mount against small families, such leave is becoming a significant factor for women. Mothers may more easily combine familial duties with careers. Consequently, a woman need not necessarily delay child-bearing because she can conceive the number of children desired early in her career and then work if she wishes.

Another benefit provided by the Ministry of Education are kindergartens which have been operating since 1954. In the 1960s, pre-schoolers had to be at least four years old. Since the 1970s, however, the age for enrolment has been reduced to three years. Since kindergartens are free, with meals and recreational facilities provided, working mothers with children between three and five years of age are relieved of maternal responsibilities during working hours.

As referred to above, various allowances as incentives to marry early have been provided. However, a rise neither in fertility nor in the proportion of Kuwaitis who are married has taken place. Though an increase in the average number of children has occurred among those married, the rise in single Kuwaitis has offset it. In addition, various other conditions instituted by the Government have actually contributed to smaller families. For example, large families are no longer needed in order to ensure social security for parents in their old age since the Government provides that security to the elderly.

B. Policies on international migration

In the 1950s the single male labour immigrant to Kuwait remained only a few years before returning to his country. As development progressed and the need for professional and service labour grew, the new migrants brought their families to Kuwait. The presence of welfare services and the open door policy of the 1960s and early 1970s have given rise to a migrant population which is now relatively permanent.

Earlier migrants were mainly Arabs, but in the past decade, the Asian community has grown rapidly. The shift to Asian workers was perceived as a means for employing short-term labour. But the census of 1985 reveals that even Asians are beginning to remain longer in Kuwait than expected. In contrast to Arabs, Asians have not been assimilated into the national culture owing to language and other ethnic differences. Gradually but systematically, enclave economies of immigrant communities have emerged. The development of such enclaves sets "two conditions: first, the presence of immigrants with sufficient capital and initial entrepreneurial skills, second, the renewal of the enclave labour force through sustained immigration" (Wilson and Portes, 1980, p. 302). Asians from the Indian subcontinent - i.e, India and Pakistan - have established, besides trading establishments, their own schools, private hospitals and clinics, restaurants, clubs and other recreational facilities. Those organizations are owned and managed by the Asian communities and cater largely to their needs.

By 1985, 35 per cent of the non-nationals had been in Kuwait for more than 10 years, and 21 per cent, for 15 years or longer (see table 11). Not only are migrants settling for longer periods than before, but the inflow is higher than the outflow. At present, for every migrant who leaves the country, there are four new ones entering the country (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985c).

The growth rate differs among non-national groups by type of migrant - i.e., families, groups of single men (or collective housing) and domestic servants. The largest proportion is composed of family units of non-Kuwaitis, comprising 73.8 per cent of total non-Kuwaitis in

1980. However, their share was higher in 1975, when they constituted 82 per cent of the total (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 10). Strict control over the entry of dependents may have slowed their growth by 1985. The second largest group is composed of single men living in communal residences. They are not related but either work for the same employer or originate from the same country and may have kinship contacts. In 1975, they comprised 13 per cent; and by 1980, they had increased their share to 21.6 per cent (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 10). The rapid increase in single men has been deliberately sought by the Government of Kuwait. Most labour contracts, such as those in the construction sector are being granted to South-east Asian companies, which bring in large numbers of workers and place them in satellite work camps until the projects are completed.

The third group that has gained in absolute number is composed of domestic household servants (see table 16). Part of the growing demand for their labour has been due to the increasing role of Kuwaiti women in the labour force (see fig. II) and part to the rise in the standard of living. The non-Kuwaiti community has also been employing household servants, since both husband and wife often work outside the home. Since non-Kuwaitis cannot obtain a visa for servants, they request their Kuwaiti employers or friends to complete the formalities on their behalf. The need for such labour has grown rapidly as migrant families have settled in Kuwait.

Table 16. The growth of various non-Kuwaiti population groups, 1975 and 1980

Non-Kuwaiti population group	1975		1980		Annual rate
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Families	428 533	82.0	584 487	73.8	6.4
Single men	68 328	13.1	171 076	21.6	20.1
Domestic servants	22 951	4.4	33 636	4.2	8.1
Students	1 649	0.3	1 589	0.2	0.6
Hotel residents	1 298	0.2	1 541	0.2	3.5
Total	522 749	100.0	792 339	100.0	8.7

Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan, 1985-1990, vol. I (Kuwait, 1985), p. 11.

Table 16 indicates the average annual growth rate for the three groups. The highest growth rate is for single men (20 per cent) while domestic servants grew at a rate of 8 per cent and migrant families at a rate of 6 per cent (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985b, p. 11).

A point that needs to be clarified concerning the number of household servants is that although her visa may state that a woman is arriving in Kuwait as a domestic servant, in some cases it is a guise for a non-Kuwaiti to bring his spouse into the country. Therefore, a number of domestic servants are actually unemployed dependents.

Another problem faced by the Government of Kuwait in the early 1980s, was the high dependency ratio among migrants, despite various constraints to check the entry of dependents. In 1985 the dependency ratio was 89 per 100 non-Kuwaitis in the labour force. That figure is significantly lower than the one for 1980, which was 108 per 100. The decrease of 19 per 100 in five years was an important achievement. However, the decrease may be slightly inflated due to the number of non-Kuwaiti women who are recorded as actively employed in personal services but who are actually full-time housewives.

One policy aimed at discouraging the entry of wives and families was introduced on 24 March 1985. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs announced that any non-Kuwaiti applying for a visa for his family must provide a statement to the effect that he has a minimum income of 450 KD if employed by the Government or 600 KD if employed in the private sector. The difference in required income can be explained by the fact that most government employees are entitled to certain services such as free education for their dependents, while those in the private sector are not. However, since the Government does not verify income statements, employers often inflate the amount, under the impression that they are aiding family reunions, without fully understanding the legal and social consequences.

Among oil-producing Gulf States, Kuwait has the largest proportion of migrant dependents. For example, in 1980 the dependency ratio was 107, compared to 91 in Saudi Arabia, 54 in Qatar and 53 in the United Arab Emirates (Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985, p. 14). One reason for the higher dependency ratio is the availability of educational institutions for most nationalities, such as Indian, English, American, and French schools, which follow the curriculum of the migrant's country.

Since the language used in governmental schools is Arabic, mainly Arab migrants enrol their children in those schools. Private Arabic schools are loaned land and buildings, and receive financial aid. In addition, 50 per cent of the tuition of each student is borne by the Government. The role of the Ministry of Education in private schools was to assist those migrants whose dependents could not be accepted in

governmental schools. The cost of each student in private schools is much lower than that incurred by the State in governmental schools. Furthermore, the fact that migrants must bear 50 per cent of the cost of education often acts as deterrent to educating their children in Kuwait. Since non-Arabic schools do not receive any financial assistance, only non-Arabs from middle- and high-income groups can afford to educate their children in Kuwait. But because many migrants in those income groups are professionals in the Government or private sector, employers often bear the cost of the dependents' education.

The growth rate of migrants in governmental schools has slowed down. Table 17 indicates that fewer migrants are studying at the primary level than at the intermediate level. The data for private schools show that the opposite is true there - i.e., a greater proportion at the primary level. This implies that there is a significant proportion of migrant families who remain in Kuwait in order to complete the education of their children.

Table 17. Students in governmental and private schools, by nationality, 1985/86.

Type of school and nationality	Educational level				Total
	Kindergarten	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	
Governmental					
Kuwaiti	25 772	62 963	56 189	36 720	181 644
Non-Kuwaiti	1 708	61 103	65 507	47 207	175 525
Total	27 480	124 066	121 696	83 927	357 169
Arabic (private)					
Kuwaiti	213	384	107	47	751
Non-Kuwait	9 774	34 161	9 343	8 126	61 404
Total	9 987	34 545	9 450	8 173	62 155
Non-Arabic (private)					
Kuwaiti	211	458	301	163	1 133
Non-Kuwait	5 374	14 265	9 889	5 381	34 909
Total	5 585	14 723	10 190	5 544	36 042

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Education, Students by Nationality in Government Schools 1985/86, vol. III (Kuwait, 1986); Kuwait Ministry of Education, Annual Summary on Students and Teachers in Private Schools (Arabic) (Kuwait, 1985), p. 6; Kuwait Ministry of Education, Annual Summary on Students and Teachers in Private Schools, (Foreign) (Kuwait, 1985), p. 11.

Furthermore, owing to political and social pressures, the Ministry of Education has opened enrolment to various groups, so that only a minority are excluded. Previously, only those who had been residing in Kuwait prior to 31 December 1965 could enrol their children in governmental schools. However, as stated above, conditional enrolment has been approved for numerous other groups.

Also to be kept in mind is the fact that in 1985, 68 per cent of the teachers in governmental schools were non-Kuwaitis, and 100 per cent of the teachers in private schools were non-Kuwaitis. Those professionals are entitled to bring their dependents, creating a further need for expansion in schools and teachers.

Another major goal of the Government, as stated in the latest development plan, is to retain migrant workers who possess skills that are crucial to the development process - i.e., to prevent a brain drain from Kuwait to other countries.

Kuwait has been granting citizenship to migrants ever since its independence. However, as the number of migrants has increased and their backgrounds become more diverse, selective criteria have been applied. Recently, the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers discussed the introduction of a "permanent visa". Such a visa was to be the first step in acquiring Kuwaiti citizenship. It was also seen as a means for granting security to migrants, without the State committing itself to providing facilities that are granted to Kuwaitis. However, in December 1986, an official of the Ministry of the Interior stated that granting permanent visas was no longer being considered (Kuwait Times, 12 December 1986, p. 1).

Citizenship Law No. 15 of 1959 on the granting of Kuwaiti citizenship to non-Kuwaitis was modified through Law No. 1 in 1982. Stricter conditions have been set by the Government in order to preserve the social and political identity of Kuwait. Citizenship is granted to the individuals who meet any of the following conditions:

(a) Individuals who have been in Kuwait for 20 consecutive years or, in the case of Arab migrants, 15 consecutive years;

(b) Individuals of non-Arab origin who have been in Kuwait prior to 1930 or those of Arab origin, prior to 1945;

(c) Individuals born to Kuwaiti mothers and non-Kuwaiti fathers, after the mother's divorce or widowhood;

(d) Non-Kuwaiti women, married to Kuwaiti men, who wish to change their nationality;

(e) Individuals who have rendered important services to the country.

Data from the Ministry of Interior indicate that 15,198 people were granted Kuwaiti nationality between 1975 and 1982, an average of 1,900 cases per year. The number is in accordance with Decree Nos. 5 and 7 of the citizenship law. The State does not wish to inflate the proportion of nationals through the naturalization of migrants. If the nationalities that have consistently increased in size in Kuwait continue to grow, there is a risk that they may become too large a proportion of the total population. When the 1959 citizenship law was promulgated, the proportion of long-term migrants was not significant. As migrants remain for longer periods in Kuwait, they have a social and political impact on Kuwaiti society, and place a burden on infrastructure and welfare services.

A major goal of the Government of Kuwait is to reduce the number of the dependents of migrants living in Kuwait. For nearly a decade, the Ministry of Labour has tried to restrict the entry of migrant families. Stricter control and monitoring of the information provided by migrants is one strategy that is likely to be applied more vigorously. Migrants signing new contracts will be asked to be without dependents for a certain period. If strictly applied, this stipulation would work in the following ways:

(a) The activity rate of migrants would rise, and during the initial period of their stay, the need for their long-term presence could be assessed;

(b) There would be greater likelihood that they would return to their homelands in a shorter period;

(c) The absence of dependents would reduce the need for services, thus decelerating the growth in the size of migrant labour.

The Government of Kuwait also actively seeks to reduce the demand for migrant labour so that the proportion of migrants will decline in the long run. One way is by investing abroad in joint ventures so that the local labour market is not burdened. "Foreign investments was envisaged as another source of income which in the future could add to the oil income" (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 299). The goal was achieved to a large extent by 1983 when non-oil income was higher than oil income, reaching 3 billion Kuwaiti dinars (Arab Times, 28 April 1983). In the 1970s, many financial institutions and agencies were established by the Government in Kuwait and abroad. They were supervised by the Ministry of Finance and each specialized in investing in certain regions and sectors of the World (Al-Kazi, 1983, p. 299).

Another way of reducing labour demand is by decreasing the growth of manual and unskilled labour, especially marginal labour such as that performed by domestic servants. However, as long as nationals can begin a project without careful government monitoring, marginal labour will continue to grow. Recently, the Ministry of Labour introduced rules limiting the number of workers that each Kuwaiti can import, so that the actual number of workers required for a project is examined before approval is granted.

Another method being considered to reduce the need for migrants is the introduction of capital-intensive technology, since mechanization requires fewer workers. Kuwaitis have been sent abroad to acquire the skills needed, and centres offering training in computers and computer-assisted equipment have mushroomed throughout Kuwait.

III. POPULATION POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES

While oil revenues were the main catalyst for substantial population growth in Kuwait, the nature of the country's human resources was also an important factor. It is difficult to determine whether the nature of those resources led to the need for immigration or whether the presence of migrants affected the development of the resources. In the 1970s, the rising oil revenues prompted policy makers to find ways to develop Kuwaiti human capital. Every development plan since the first five-year plan of 1967-1972 has outlined the need for maximizing the productivity of the indigenous labour force and training future generations. Table 18 gives the major policies and strategies adopted for developing the country's human resources.

One major concern of policy makers has been the size of the native labour force. It was presumed in earlier development plans that with higher educational attainment and a slight aging of the native-born population, labour force growth would exceed population growth. However, that has not been the case.

The age composition of Kuwaitis is relatively young (see table 2). Among those in the working ages, there are significant numbers who are not employed. The low activity rate is more pronounced in Kuwait than in many other developing countries. Furthermore, the trend at present is towards declining activity rates among Kuwaiti men (see table 6). Among Kuwaiti women, although the activity rate more than doubled from 6.2 per cent in 1975 to 13.8 per cent in 1985, it is still very low.

The activity rate of Kuwaiti men varies from one age group to another (see table 19 and fig. II). Although the participation rate in 1975 was low in the age group below 20 (24 per cent), by 1985 it was only 14.3 per cent. Table 17 also indicates the decrease in the proportion of men aged 20-24 in the labour force, from 73.7 per cent in 1975 to 67.1 per cent in 1985, which may be due to prolonged education. Furthermore, participation rates in the middle aged group (45-49 years) declined from 88 per cent in 1975 to 64 per cent in 1985, while the participation of those aged 50-54 fell to 51 per cent as of 1985; thus little more than half the men 50-54 were in the labour force, compared to 80.2 per cent in 1975.

It appears that a problem exists in effectively utilizing native human resources. There is a noticeable and wide disparity between the participation rates of men aged 40-44 and those aged 45-49, a difference of 18.4 per cent. That is unusual, since men aged 45-49 are usually well established in their careers. In a country that is investing substantial capital in the training of the native-born, the premature departure from the labour force is a serious loss of experienced workers.

Table 18. Policies on the development of human resources in Kuwait

Policies	Strategies
Reducing nationals in the government sector	Giving incentives to work in the private sector Encouraging Kuwaitis to employ nationals
Co-ordination among the various centres for education	Adapting enrolment in university to labour market needs; Synchronization of curriculum between university and applied education centres
Raising availability of skills and low enrolment in technical colleges	New strategy for enrolment policies Adapting of curriculum Adapting wages of semi-professionals and skilled labour Raising awareness of the utility of skills
Increasing labour force participation of Kuwaitis	
Eradication of illiteracy	Co-ordination between the graduates of the centres and the labour market

Source: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Graphs and Plans of the Five-Year Development Plan, 1985-1990 (Kuwait, 1985).

Table 19. Kuwaiti men 15 years and above, by age and labour force participation, 1975 and 1985

Age group	1975		1985	
	Total	Activity rate	Total	Activity rate
15-19	23 513	24.0	37 768	14.3
20-24	20 411	73.7	29 483	67.1
25-29	15 653	92.6	23 673	92.0
30-34	12 838	96.2	18 372	96.5
35-39	11 784	96.7	13 295	95.3
40-44	8 611	94.0	11 577	82.8
45-49	7 228	88.4	10 785	64.4
50-54	5 365	80.2	7 841	51.5
55-59	4 094	72.3	5 915	42.6
60+	9 032	40.4	12 052	18.1
Total	118 529	71.2	170 761	59.5

Sources: Kuwait Ministry of Planning, The Characteristics of the Labour Force in Kuwait in 1980 (Kuwait, 1980), p. 8; Kuwait Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait, vol. I (Kuwait, 1986), table 8.

Retirement age in Kuwait is 65 years for Kuwaitis and 60 years for non-Kuwaitis (clause 8, section 32 of Law No. 13, 1984, and Law No. 59, 1986). However, Kuwaitis can retire "voluntarily" at an earlier age under the following conditions for a man:

(a) After age 50, on condition that he has worked for a minimum of 15 years;

(b) Under 50 years of age, if he has served in the labour force for a minimum of 20 years (Law No. 59).

For Kuwaiti woman, the conditions are:

(a) If married, if she has worked for 15 years;

(b) If unmarried and below 50 years of age, when she has worked for 20 years;

(c) If unmarried and over 50 years of age, when she has worked a minimum of 15 years (Law No 59).

Those retirement rules make many Kuwaitis eligible for voluntary retirement, allowing them to receive a pension only 10 per cent less than those who work until the normal retirement age.

Table 20 gives data on those retiring in each fiscal year from 1981/82 to 1985/86. Among Kuwaiti women, increasing proportion are retiring prior to age 40. The growing trend towards early retirement will depress the already low level of participation of Kuwaiti women. Only 13 per cent of Kuwaiti women in the working ages are in the labour force. While 22 per cent of Kuwaiti women who retired in 1981 did so before they reached age 40, the proportion retiring in the same ages in 1985/86 rose to 29.6 per cent of total retirees. The trend of early retirement among men is also evident. For example, in table 20 it may be observed that while in 1981/82 15.5 per cent of the men retiring were below age 50, in 1985/86 24.7 per cent were below that age. The trend is apparently an unanticipated consequence of the State's retirement policy. It adversely affects the viability of pension funds as well as the size of the Kuwaiti labour force. In addition, it is inconsistent with the Government's goal of increasing the labour force participation of nationals.

Another factor, in addition to retirement laws and regulations, may account for the relatively low labour force participation. In Kuwait, as in many other oil-rich Gulf States, non-nationals may not begin a commercial venture without a Kuwaiti partner. That policy was implemented in order to involve nationals in the multitude of projects that were being undertaken. It was believed that migrants with experience and capital would share their knowledge and train a new generation of native entrepreneurs. However, the policy did not result in the emergence of a large numbers of native businessmen. Instead, a new group appeared in the labour market, commonly referred to as "sleeping partners", composed of nationals who are believed to play a minimal role in the economy, merely signing contracts and completing ministry formalities. The formalities involve importing workers with the sponsorship of a Kuwaiti and obtaining labour permits for the workers. In return, the "sleeping partners" generally receive 51 per cent of the profits. Another arrangement is that of Kafil, a sponsor who obtains the entry visa and labour permit for a migrant in return for a fee.

Table 20. New pension recipients in each fiscal year ending 30 June, by age and sex, 1981-1986 a/

Age groups	Men	Percentage	Women	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1981/82						
Less than 40	189	2.0	110	21.9	299	3
40-49	1 269	13.5	93	18.6	1 362	13.7
50-59	3 716	39.5	97	19.4	3 813	38.5
60 and above	4 241	45.0	201	40.1	4 442	44.8
Total	9 415	100.0	501	100.0	9 916	100.0
1982/83						
Less than 40	188	1.6	146	24.3	328	2.7
40-49	2 005	17.8	138	23.0	2 143	18.1
50-59	4 262	38.0	109	18.1	4 371	37.0
60 and above	4 768	42.5	207	34.5	4 975	42.1
Total	11 217	100.	600	100.0	11 817	100.0
1983/84						
Under 40	257	1.8	212	26.3	469	3.0
40-49	3 691	24.8	216	26.8	3 907	24.9
50-59	5 691	38.1	157	19.6	5 838	37.2
60 and above	5 263	35.3	219	27.2	5 482	34.9
Total	14 892	100.0	804	100.0	15 696	100.0
1984/85						
Under 40	236	1.5	247	25.9	483	3.0
40-49	3 655	24.1	303	31.8	3 958	24.6
50-59	5 827	38.4	171	17.9	5 998	37.1
60 and above	5 472	36.0	231	24.3	5 703	35.3
Total	15 190	100.0	9,521	100.0	16 142	100.0
1985/86						
Under 40	229	1.5	357	29.6	586	3.5
40-49	3 655	23.2	412	34.2	4 067	24.0
50-59	5 958	37.8	187	15.5	6 145	36.3
60 and above	5 895	37.5	250	20.7	6 245	36.8
Total	15 737	100.0	1 206	100.0	16 943	100.0

Source: Unpublished data of the Social Security Fund, Kuwait.

a/ Excluding posthumous recipients and those in the armed forces. Non-Kuwaitis are not eligible for retirement wages but only receive service compensation.

An important national goal specified in the five-year development plan, 1985-1990, states that Kuwaiti women must be encouraged to be more active in the labour force and to enter occupations that do not contradict social norms and mores - the teaching and medical professions, social services and educational research.

Kuwaiti women have made significant progress in upgrading their educational qualifications. As the educational levels attained by them rose, their labour force participation rate also increased - e.g., it doubled between 1975 and 1985. Among Kuwaiti women in the labour force in 1985, 70 per cent possessed secondary school and university degrees. Among Kuwaiti men in the labour force, only 29 per cent had similar qualifications.

One reason for the large number of highly educated Kuwaiti women in the labour force is the lack of job opportunities for less educated women. For example, since 1982, certain programmes such as free meals for all school students were terminated due to the decline in oil revenues. (At present, only kindergartens offer free meals to the students.) The meal programme had required large numbers of personnel such as caterers. Kuwaiti women formerly in such occupations are now working elsewhere, or were encouraged to retire.

Another dilemma facing Kuwaiti women with little formal education is the result of the Government's policy on "appropriate" areas of employment. On the one hand, "appropriate" areas are considered to be the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs and Health. Yet, due to overstaffing in clerical occupations, new applicants with less than a secondary certificate are virtually unable to find employment in those ministries. Since a significant proportion of Kuwaiti women have not completed schooling, they are not employable outside the home.

As for professionals such as teachers, a unique problem exists. In the teaching institutes and universities, there is a clear propensity for Kuwaiti women to choose the liberal arts as areas of study. After completing their education, they apply to the Ministry of Education for teaching positions. Since the number of graduates in liberal arts is greater than the demand for them, a growing number of graduates - highly educated nationals - are forced to wait until a vacancy arises in order to be recruited.

Another concern of the State concerning human resources is the concentration of nationals in the government sector. In the census of 1985, 85 per cent of the Kuwaiti male labour force and 96.5 per cent of Kuwaiti female labour force were employed by the Government. The situation has existed for the past two decades. In the first five-year development plan, 1967/68 - 1971/72, the redistribution of Kuwaiti labour away from the government sector was a major goal. The plan

stated that the majority of Kuwaitis worked in areas of occupation where they were not productive and were only superficially employed, or "hidden unemployment" (Kuwait Ministry of Planning 1968, p. 102).

One reason for the attraction of the government sector is the policy of "Kuwaitization", which guarantees every Kuwaiti a job with the State. The stated aim of the policy is to reduce reliance on non-Kuwaitis. Although Kuwaitis have increased in number, the dependence on migrants in professional, technical, skilled and unskilled occupations has continued. Nationals are concentrated in white collar occupations, as administrators and managers, and in clerical and secretarial activities (Al-Kazi, 1983).

Various studies have shown that natives in the Gulf states prefer the government sector (Birks and Sinclair, 1980, and Al-Essa, 1981). One study examined the causes of recent increases in Kuwaiti employment in the government structure (Stanford Research Institute, 1974). A major cause was found to be a series of laws enacted in 1971 which granted to government employees an increase in allowances, while Kuwaitis, in addition, received an increase in salaries. As the rise in oil prices increased State revenues, the compensation system was seen as a means for redistributing wealth to the public, especially to Kuwaitis in lower-income groups. Later, in April 1979, all civil servants received a further 15-25 per cent pay increase to cover the rise in the cost of living. The increase cost the Government of Kuwait an additional 57 million KD annually (Middle East Economic Digest (London), 13 April 1979, p. 34).

Salary incentives and shorter working hours (7:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., as compared to 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. in the private and mixed sector) also make government employment more attractive. Since non-Kuwaitis received only an increase in allowances in 1971 rather than salary raises, wages for non-Kuwaitis performing the same occupation were slightly lower than those for Kuwaitis.

In 1985 non-Kuwaitis outnumbered Kuwaitis in the government sector (see table 21). However, only 25 per cent of the total non-Kuwaiti labour force works in the government sector. Because the private sector is generally viewed as the more productive sector of the labour market, it may be concluded that Kuwaitis are not participating directly in many areas of the country's development. Hoping to redress that undesirable situation, the Government seeks the redistribution of nationals to the private sector and within the government sector.

Table 21. Total labour force (15 years and above),
by sector, nationality and sex, 1985

Nationality and sex	Sector			Total
	Government	Private	Mixed	
Kuwaiti				
Male	85 254	13 428	1 321	100 003
Percentage	85.2	13.4	0.7	100.0
Female	23 673	675	175	24 522
Percentage	96.5	2.7	0.7	100.0
Non-Kuwaiti				
Male	108 937	311 206	13 560	433 703
Percentage	25.1	71.8	3.1	100.0
Female	27 057	77 233	1 036	105 326
per cent	25.7	73.3	1.0	100.0

Source: Kuwaiti Ministry of Planning, 1985 National Census of Kuwait (Kuwait, 1986), tables 127 and 128.

One of the recent government policy decisions was to reassess the distribution of nationals in the government sector. Because of a shortage of nationals in some occupations and bottlenecks or overstaffing in others, the possibilities for redistributing workers is under study. Kuwaitis might, for example, receive on-the-job training for new jobs or receive incentives for enrolling in such training programmes.

New measures for Kuwaitis desiring to pursue higher education are being implemented. In the past Kuwaitis could receive government scholarships even if only recently recruited and could also choose their specific field of study. Now, however, stricter measures are to be applied: scholarships are not to be given until after at least three years of service, and the field of specialization is to be decided by the ministry employing the applicant.

The Government had granted incentives and loans to nationals in order to encourage them to establish private business ventures. However, when nationals did so, they generally employed more

non-Kuwaitis than Kuwaitis since migrants are willing to accept lower salaries. In addition, the lack of sufficient co-ordination in the 1970s led to the duplication of many ventures. Even in small scale industries, there was insufficient demand to justify the number of establishments operating. In addition, for every Kuwaiti businessman, there were at least 10 non-Kuwaiti employees who required welfare services, thus causing a simultaneous growth in the government sector.

The five-year development plan, 1985-1990, contains a policy directive that may indirectly influence the private sector to employ nationals. It states that corporations and private businesses should be made to bear the costs of their non-Kuwaiti employees such as medical care, education etc. It is believed that if employers bear those costs, they will reduce the amount of labour they import and plan rationally their labour needs. Thus, government revenues spent on non-nationals would decrease. The policy change might encourage the recruitment of nationals by the private sector. The development plan also states that government incentives are to be provided to those nationals in the private sector who train and employ other nationals.

An important objective of the Government's population policy on human resources has been co-ordination between vocational training and higher education. The development plan for 1985-1990 gives a number of directives for improving vocational education - referred to as "applied education and training":

- (a) A new strategy for applied education and training;
- (b) Reassessment of the admission policies of institutes and of counselling services;
- (c) Improvement of current programmes in institutes and training centres;
- (d) Reformulation of the system of wages and of employment laws pertaining to the hiring of technical and skilled personnel;
- (e) Increasing awareness of the advantages of vocational skills, not only locally but also universally.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Kuwaiti society has grown rapidly since the 1950s. High fertility and low mortality have led to a very young population. Increasing oil revenues helped to raise the standard of living. Better educational facilities have improved the indigenous human resources. However, just as the quality of human resources is important, so is their distribution. Although the educational attainment of Kuwaitis has improved enormously in the past three decades, occupational preferences among nationals have persisted. There have been significant increases in the number of Kuwaiti professionals and technicians but Kuwaitis continue to favour the service sector. With three fourths of the Kuwaiti labour force in public, social and personal services, reliance on migrants has further increased. The situation has proved a handicap to utilizing effectively national human resources, both male and female.

The country's planners are faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, employment policies are not effectively investing national human capital, because most nationals are concentrated in services, thus leading in some cases to hidden unemployment and underemployment. On the other hand, economic expansion has fostered an increasing demand for labour, necessitating the entry of more migrants and making nationals an even smaller minority.

Migrant society in Kuwait is no longer homogeneous in culture, language and religion. The proportion of Asian migrants from diverse cultures has grown in the past decade. In addition, as the developmental needs of Kuwait have changed, the newly arrived migrants of the early 1980s have been better educated than those who arrived in the 1960s. The impact of the predominantly non-Arab migrants is obvious in the numerous enclave communities that have arisen in Kuwait.

As the demand for migrant labour has continued, a large proportion of the migrants have settled in Kuwait and raised families. The permanency of migrants is a result of the continued reliance on them for sustaining economic development in Kuwait. Some of the migrants have invested many years of service in Kuwait, and their experience and skills are considered worthwhile over the long term. Therefore, although one of the Government's goals is to reduce the size of the migrant population, various population policies have aimed at retaining those migrants whose skills and experience are deemed vital to the country's economy.

Various Government policies have been outlined in this study. There are also some demographic processes that may contribute to reducing the migrant majority. As the Kuwaiti cohorts of "the baby boom of Kuwait" enter their twenties in the next decade and fertility rates stabilize (or decrease), more Kuwaitis will be in the labour force ages

and relatively fewer very young Kuwaitis will require government-financed services. Furthermore, since the younger generations have been better trained, they are likely to take a more active role in the country's development process.

In order to reduce the need for migrants, Kuwaiti human resources will have to be optimally developed, with a variety of different strategies considered. For example, for a country wishing to increase the size of its national labour force, early retirement seems counter-productive. If, for social and political reasons, the State is not able to eliminate early retirement options, it could, perhaps, widen the difference in retirement income between those who retire early and those who continue to work until the normal retirement age.

Another possible strategy is the provision by the Government of vocational training to Kuwaitis with little education in those areas where there is a demand for labour. Also, to accommodate Kuwaiti women with diplomas and university degrees, female work groups could be created in public agencies and ministries. Agencies having staff shortages could also accommodate sex segregated offices for those Kuwaiti women who deem it necessary.

In order to expand the Kuwaiti labour force, it is not only necessary to encourage women to participate actively but also to reassess past employment policies concerning both sexes. Kuwaiti women should be encouraged to enter and be trained in emerging non-traditional areas. Since they are one half of the Kuwaiti population, they constitute a great potential that could be readily realized.

The Government recognizes that the pattern of development that has taken place in Kuwait in the past decade cannot continue in the future. The need to modify previous development strategies is evident. The increase in oil revenues has slowed, and new sources of income are being actively sought. As the non-oil sector expands, the need for labour will certainly increase. Those sections of the population that have contributed minimally in the past should be drawn into the developmental process so that all Kuwaitis may participate and benefit in the country's development. A total involvement of the population in the developmental process is a realistic approach to self-reliance in Kuwait.

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GLOSSARY

Contraceptive prevalence rate: percentage currently using contraception; usually based on married or sexually active couples with women in the reproductive age.

Crude birth rate: the number of births in a year per 1,000 mid-year population.

Crude death rate: the number of deaths in a year per 1,000 mid-year population.

Dependency ratio or age dependency ratio: the ratio of the combined child population under 15 years of age and adult population 65 years and over to the population of intermediate age per 100.

Foreign-born population: persons born outside the country or area in which they were enumerated at the time of the census.

General fertility rate: the annual number of births divided by the mid-year population of women aged 15 to 49 years multiplied by 1,000.

Gross reproduction rate: a measure of the reproduction of a population expressed as an average number of daughters to be born to a cohort of women during their reproductive age, assuming no mortality and a fixed schedule of age-specific fertility rates. More specifically, it is the sum of age-specific fertility rates for the period multiplied by the proportion of the total births of girl babies.

Infant mortality rate: the probability of dying between birth and age 1 multiplied by 1,000; commonly calculated as the number of deaths of infants under one year of age in any given calendar year divided by the number of births in that year and multiplied by 1,000.

Life expectancy at birth: a life-table function to indicate the expected average number of years to be lived by a newly born baby, assuming a fixed schedule of age-specific mortality rates.

Mean age at first marriage (females): the average age at which women marry for the first time.

Median age: the age which divides the population into two groups of equal size, one of which is younger and the other of which is older.

Natural rate of increase: the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate, expressed per 1,000 mid-year population.

Net migration: the difference between gross immigration and gross emigration.

Net migration rate: the difference between gross immigration and gross emigration per 1,000 of the mid-year population.

Net reproduction rate: a refined measure of the reproduction of population expressed as an average number of daughters that a cohort of newly born girl babies will bear during their lifetime, assuming fixed schedules of age-specific fertility and mortality rates. In other words, it is the measure of the extent to which a cohort of newly born girls will replace themselves under given schedules of age-specific fertility and mortality rates.

Rate of growth: the exponential average annual rate of population growth, expressed as a percentage.

Sex ratio: the number of men per 100 women.

Survival ratio: the probability of surviving from one age to an older one; it is often computed for five-year age groups and a five-year time period.

Total fertility rate: the sum of the age-specific fertility rates over all ages of the child-bearing period; if five-year age groups are used, the sum of the rates is multiplied by 5. This measure gives the approximate magnitude of "completed family size", that is, the total number of children an average woman will bear in her lifetime, assuming no mortality.

Urban population: population living in areas defined as urban by national authorities.