

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION IN KUWAIT:

A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF AN INDIGENOUS SOCIETY

By

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to illustrate the various aspects of social and ethnic differentiation in Kuwait. In order to understand these aspects, the study will investigate two main elements:

- (1) analysing the origin and the current aspects of differentiation through time, i.e. 1710-1980, and
- (2) tracing the spatial aspects of socio-ethnic differentiation over the inhabited area of the country.

The study as a whole is a contribution to social and spatial studies of Kuwait society. In addition, it also contributes to other branches of geography like social, urban and electoral geography as it examines related aspects of group segregation and other socio-ethnic aspects. The study consists of 7 chapters each of which examines separate aspects but all with one common feature in relation to the theme of the study. The first chapter is primarily an introduction, concerned with three main elements, i.e. the importance of such studies to Kuwait, the objective and approach to the study, and the relation of such studies to the field of social geography. Chapter two is a socio-geographical perspective about the area under study. Chapter three examines the aspects of differentiation in Kuwait since its appearance on the map of the Peninsula until the discovery of oil, i.e. 1710-1946. Chapter four keeps on the same approach of chapter three but for the oil

era, i.e. from the year 1946 until 1980. Chapter five is about the segregation of the groups over the inhabited area of Kuwait. It also involved a field work study in relation to the spatial aspects of differentiation in the oil era. Chapter six, follows the year of National Assembly elections and other related aspects, i.e. early features of legislative participation, voting potential of each group and election returns for the election years 1963-67, 1967-71, 1971-75 and 1975-76. Finally chapter seven gives a summary of findings and the conclusion of the study.

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To a great many friends of mine like Mr. Sa'ad Al-Qadeeri, Mr. Mohammad Najmul-Haq, and Mr. Wajeeh Abd Al-Rahman, I owe so much which is indescribable.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

- Purpose of the Study
- Approach and Methodology
- The Area Under Study
- Social Differentiation in
relation to Social Geography

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Studies which are concerned with social and ethnic differentiations in Kuwait (and probably throughout the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, as they represent similar situations) are relatively new to the area. There are many impediments to the completion of such studies that arise from the social character of the societies in the region. The subject has also been neglected because most research has been diverted towards economic studies and the evaluation of the impact of oil.

There are, however, some studies which throw light on certain incidents that have a bearing on the question of social and ethnic differentiation. These are concerned either with a specific period of time¹ or with the whole area of the Gulf States, particularly after the discovery of oil, as the region was considered as a, presumably homogeneous "cultural pool".²

The need for an elaborate study which connects ethnic origin with current aspects and features of

-
1. For example, the study of Al-Jasim, N., 1973, The Political and Economic Development of Kuwait between the two Wars: 1914-1939, ciro.
 2. The studies of Al-Rumaihi, M., Oil and Social Changes in the Arabian Gulf States (1975); The Social Roots of Democracy in the Contemporary Societies of the Arabian Gulf (1977), etc, Kuwait.

differentiation has become important. It is believed this will provide a main solution to the understanding and interpretations of the many internal events which have occurred in Kuwait.

This type of study has some significance to the society of Kuwait. It is significant in the sense that it tells us a great deal about the nature of Kuwaiti society, to which many claim to belong. It defines the legitimacy and illegitimacy of differentiation in the society, and it serves to teach about many of those who are involved in society in terms of their ethnic backgrounds, from whence they came, what they have done and what their present position in the social hierarchy is.

Purpose of the Study

The study is concerned with the origin and current features of social and ethnic differentiation from 1710, when Kuwait was established, until 1980. The peculiar nature of differentiation dictates to divide the entire period into two distinct eras, i.e. pre-oil era (1710-1946) and post-oil era (1946-1980). Each period witnessed many incidents and events which have shaped the socio-ethnic differentiation in it: The Pre-oil Era witnessed the following:

1. The establishment of Kuwait by a tribal Arab Community in 1710;
2. Later the involvement of this community in sea

and trading activities brought it into close contact with other societies, such as Iran, East Africa, the Gulf States and communities of the Peninsula etc.;

3. The relative prosperity resulting from marine and trading activities brought multi-ethnic influxes to the society;
4. Indigenous society remained tribal and traditional in essence between 1710 and 1962 despite an eventual history; and
5. The involvement of society with a foreign mandatory power affected differentiation in the society between 1899-1961.

The Oil-Era witnessed,

1. The discovery of oil and the beginning of oil revenues in the 1950s caused:
 - (a) changes in livelihood and sources of living;
 - (b) further multi-ethnic influxes into the society; and
 - (c) declaration of nationality laws which divided the society into three groups each of which enjoys certain social, political and economical privileges on the basis of its degree of citizenship,
2. The appearance of constitution in 1962 has provided guarantees to end all sorts of differentiation in the society. However, the real situation in the society is quite different. It appears that in both eras there were distinct differentiations, but

because of the emergence of multifarious factors in the post oil era this created differentiation of peculiar nature. The differentiation is expressed in legal, occupational and regional patterns within the state.

Approach and Methodology

The approach to the study is historical-analytical, and is illustrated with some measurements of social-ethnic aspects in the society. The whole study is divided into two main periods: (1) the pre-oil era 1710-1946, and (2) the oil era (1946 until the present). (1) Study of the pre-oil era depends primarily on library research of existing literature, including the India Office records and the British Political Agents' reports on the affairs of the Gulf and the society of Kuwait. (2) Information on the oil era is based on contemporary literature and incidents witnessed by the author. It also involved fieldwork with special reference to

- (a) Property documents (a random sample of 113 documents) in order to follow the intra-migration of groups after kin, tribe, and so on, and
- (b) a questionnaire of 65 questions prepared for a sample of 120 people over three selected regions, believed to represent certain segregations. The questionnaire was undertaken in winter and spring 1980 by interviewing in the Diwans, traditional

places where the people of a certain area or block meet together. Approximately 40 people from each area were interviewed.

This part of the study is very significant because it shows the manifestation of the socio-ethnic aspects over the inhabited area of Kuwait. Likewise, in Chapter 6 the study is also concerned with following similar aspects and their blue-prints over the inhabited area. By testing the social and ethnic characteristics of the electoral districts and seats won by each group this will manifest another sort of segregation which will also throw some light on the segregation of the urban areas.

The Area under Study

The area of our study is Kuwait within its political boundaries. Present political boundaries have a significant background. In the early period, the boundaries of Kuwait were variable. For instance, they expanded significantly during the reign of Sheikh Mubarak (1896-1915). Subsequent history shows that the boundary did not remain at the same lines. Thus, the Kuwaiti boundary used to increase and decrease depending upon the strength of rulers and the prevailing regional situation.

The boundary of Kuwait was demarcated in the famous Conference of 'Uqair' in 1922 with the participation of Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The net effect was

that Kuwait became smaller than it used to be in the time of Skeikh Mubarak.

The theme of our study is to extract the salient features of social and ethnic differentiation in Kuwait and show the reasons behind them. We will, occasionally, come in touch with the neighbouring societies of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and Iran.

Finally, it is also important to clarify that the study will use the name 'Arabian Gulf' instead of 'Persian Gulf' as it is used in Kuwait.

Social Differentiation in relation to Social Geography

A close look at the title reveals the use of sociological terms, although it arose from the interest of a geographer. The sociologist runs no risk in distinguishing social terms, the anthropologist need not worry about classifying ethnic groups with the aspects related in the society, since these phenomena are the very essence of their subjects. However, if a geographer uses these concepts, he must not only explain carefully in which of their many meanings he wishes them to be understood, but he must also expect objections from his fellow-geographers and from the sociologist. To avoid these kind of problems, we simply say this is how a geographer views social differentiation in the society.

However, social geography (if we consider

ourselves as approaching on this line) has great relevance to sociology -

The obvious academic connection is between geography and sociology and we shall argue that most social geographical theory is likely to be sociological in its derivation.¹

Hagget (1979) included the studies of social and ethnic differentiation in some sorts of "culture differences" and "inequality within the state".² He also showed the links between geography and some branches of sociology, i.e., "urban sociology" as it was linked to "urban geography".³

Geography as a social science is concerned with people, society and spatial patterns resulting from social behaviour. According to Fielding (1974) there are two kinds of patterns which result from social behaviour, one of which is

status patterns that result from the social characteristics of individuals including distribution of socio-economic class, religion, family status, role and political affiliation.⁴

It is important, he added,

to remember that the significance of these patterns should not overshadow the underlying social processes that created them.⁵

-
1. Jones, E., and Eyles, J., 1977, An Introduction to Social Geography, Oxford University Press; Oxford, pp. 1, 12, 23.
 2. Hagget, P., 1979, Geography: A Modern Synthesis, Harper and Row: New York, pp. 244, 521 and 606.
 3. Ibid., p. 606.
 4. Fielding, G., 1974, Geography as Social Science, Harper and Row: New York, p. 173.
 5. Ibid., pp. 173-4.

In Kuwait, for example, existing social patterns of class and ethnic groups results from certain socio-economic aspects, therefore it is almost impossible to study these patterns and their position in the social hierarchy without looking at the underlying social processes that created them.

Moreover, Jones and Eyles, suggested that, "social groups must provide the social reference points for social geography".¹ For that purpose they have prepared a group framework to produce a group-oriented social geography. Three main conceptual concerns are included in the suggested framework; "group structure", "group categorization and differences", and "groups in society".²

"Group structure", according to Jones and Eyles (1977), stands for the behaviour of groups likely to be influenced by cultural, economic and psychological conditions leading to groupings in the society. "Group categorization and differences" is the second level of analysis on which to consider inter-group relationships. It is also necessary to know how different groups are categorized by the rest of the society, and the effects of group differences on spatial structure.

1. Jones and Eyles, 1977, op.cit., p. 13. See also E. Jones (ed.), Readings in Social Geography (Oxford University Press, 1975); B. Coates, R. Johnston and P. Knox, Geography and Inequality (Oxford University Press, 1977).

2. Jones and Eyles, 1977, op.cit., pp. 17, 19, 21.

Finally, the "groups in society" considers the wider issue of groups in relation to society itself, and particularly to social economic, political and cultural changes that affect society.¹

It appears that our study falls into the same category as Jones and Eyles (1977) have observed. For instance, their remarks prove that social geography is concerned with the study of social differentiation and groupings patterns in the society. Social and ethnic differentiation, in fact, are part and parcel of the field of social geography.

The suggested framework of group studies of social geography is likely to be useful for the study as a whole, although we do not intend to apply or examine it in our study. We started with testing the background of the Kuwaiti society in relation to the potentiality of groupings and categorization (as an Arab tribal society)², and we moved from that stage to where groups were formed on the basis of the previous aspects. These two stages may relate to "group structure" concept and the concept of "group categorization and differences" when certain groups tended to appear by virtue of economic and social adherences.

The final aspect of the suggested framework - "groups in society" - also sheds some light on the stage where each group managed to occupy a certain

1. Ibid.

2. See, for example, Chapter 3.

position within the social hierarchy.¹

On the other hand, social ethnic differentiation demonstrates certain spatial pictures over the inhabited space. Social geography was defined as the geographical study of social space.² In a study of the social space of Paris,³ it is suggested that the social space is made up of economic, demographic, cultural, and other kinds of space which, when superimposed on the physical space of the city, serve to isolate areas of social homogeneity. In this manner one is able to build up a comprehensive picture of urban social structure and to single out relatively uniform social areas for more detailed studies of social dynamics within the urban system.⁴

Likewise, the 'social space' resulted from the social ethnic differentiation in Kuwait had superimposed certain pictures over the physical space or the inhabited area where segregation of groups under ethnic adherences is salient.⁵

-
1. See, for example, Chapters 3, 4 and 6.
 2. Anne Buttner, 'Social Geography', International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (ed.), David L. Sills, VI (1968), 134-45, quoted in, R. Murdie, 'The Social Geography of the City: Theoretical and Empirical Background', In, Bourne, L., 1971, Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Space and Environment, Oxford University Press: New York, pp. 279-290, see pp. 279 and 280 etc.
 3. Chombart de Lauwe, P.H., Paris et l'agglomeration parisienne, (Paris Presses Universitaires de France, 1952), quoted in Bourne, L., 1971, ibid., p. 279.
 4. Ibid.
 5. See Chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER TWO

KUWAIT: A SOCIO-GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Location and Physical Geography

Climate

1. The Oil
2. Industrial Sector
3. Agricultural Sector
4. Population
 - (i) Age Structure
 - (ii) Religion Structure
5. Social Welfare
 - (i) Health Services
 - (ii) Education

CHAPTER TWO

KUWAIT: A SOCIO-GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Location and Physical Geography

The state of Kuwait occupies the North Western corner of the Arabian Gulf. It is bounded on the coast by the Gulf, in the south west by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and in the north and west by the Republic of Iraq. It is due to this location that Kuwait is the veritable gateway to the Arabian Peninsula.

Extension between the extreme points of state boundaries from south to north is about 200 kilometres (124 miles) and from west to east along parallel 29° about 170 kilometres (105 miles).

The total length of frontiers is about 685 kilometres (426 miles). The land frontiers being 490 kilometres, of which 250 kilometres (155 miles) from the frontiers with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the south and west, 240 kilometres with the Republic of Iraq in the north and west and the remaining 195 kilometres (145 miles) the length of the Gulf coastline.

The location of Kuwait between latitudes $28^{\circ} 45'$ to the south and $30^{\circ} 30'$ to the north and $48^{\circ} 30'$ to the east of Greenwich which determines the weather of the country which is typical of the Sahara Geographical Region, (see Figure 1).

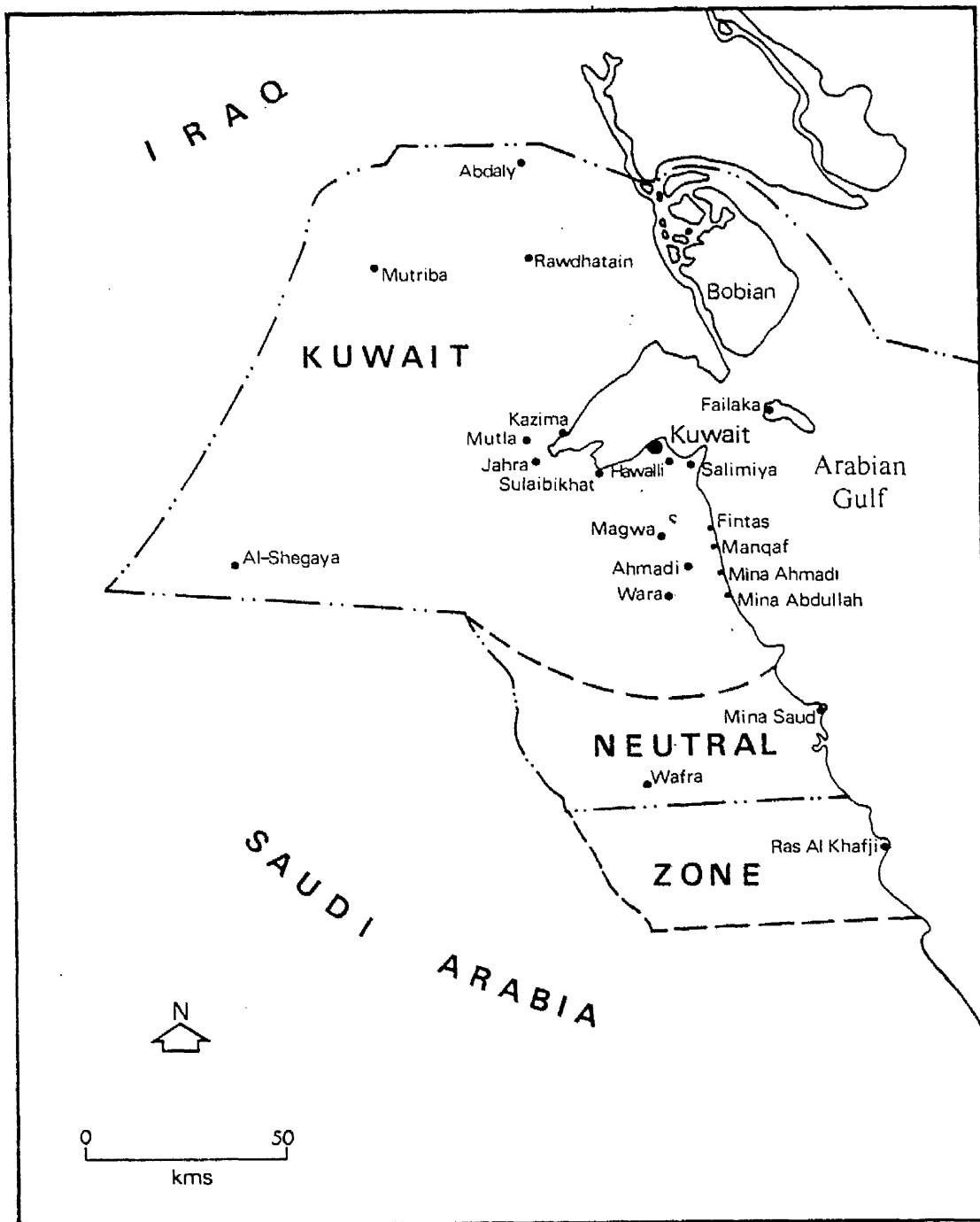


FIG 1 . State of Kuwait.

The total area of the State of Kuwait is approximately 17,818 square kilometres or about 7,000 square miles. The earth surface slopes down gently from west to east. Kuwait's surface lacks bold relief. In the west land rises to just over 300m above sea level, shelving gradually eastwards so that the eastern third of the state is less than 150m above sea level.

Eastwards, the gravel plains fade gently into an area of low relief, where the surface is mainly composed of windblown sand. Three notable relief features stand out from this almost flat landscape, the first of which is the Jal az-zor escarpment running along the north shore of the Bay of Kuwait in an arc 80 km in length. Local relief reaches 130m at Mutla' near the south-west corner of Kuwait by where lower Fars formation limestones (lower to middle Miocene¹) outcrop in a jagged ridge.

Second, the Ahmadi ridge on which is situated the oil town of Ahmadi, stands out as a long whale-back rising to 115m above sea level, paralleling the east coast and just 8kms inland. The feature is possibly the result of horizontal compression in post-Eocene times and is hence related to the Zagros orogeny.² The Ahmadi ridge provides the necessary elevation for

1. French, G. & Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, Springer-Verlag: New York, p. 7.

2. Ibid.

gravity-feed-storage tanks supply the tanker terminals of Mina Al-Ahmadi, an important element in the low production cost of Kuwait oil. In addition, the ridge provides a slight cooling effect in summer and a pleasantly undulating site for the town of Ahmadi.

The hills of Wara, Burgan, and Gurain at the south-west corner of the State provide the third physical feature of note in eastern Kuwait. Rising to about 30m above the surrounding plain, these hills are composed of limestones of the Kuwait group (Miocene-Pleiocene age), often capped with hard siliceous sandstone and chert which weathers to a dark brown colour (see Figure 2).

Several islands are scattered in the Arabian Gulf. The largest in area is the uninhabited 'Bubian' Island which is located in the north-east corner. 'Warba' Island is located to the north of 'Bubian' and is also uninhabited. In the entrance of the 'Bay of Kuwait' lies the ancient 'Failaka' Island which is densely populated.¹ 'Maskan' and 'Oha' are two small islands near 'Failaka'. Three other deserted islands, namely 'Kobbar', 'Qarwa' and 'Om-el-Maradem' are located along the southern coast. Inside the Bay of Kuwait are 'Korein' Island near Shuwaikh coast, and another small island 'Om-al-Namel'.

1. Recent excavations on Failaka Island indicated Greek settlement around 600 BC, and probably it was also a stopping point for other old civilizations of Mesopotamia whose influence spread to other parts of the Ancient World through these sea-going cultures. Contemporary studies have shown that the Babylonians and Sumerians crossed the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

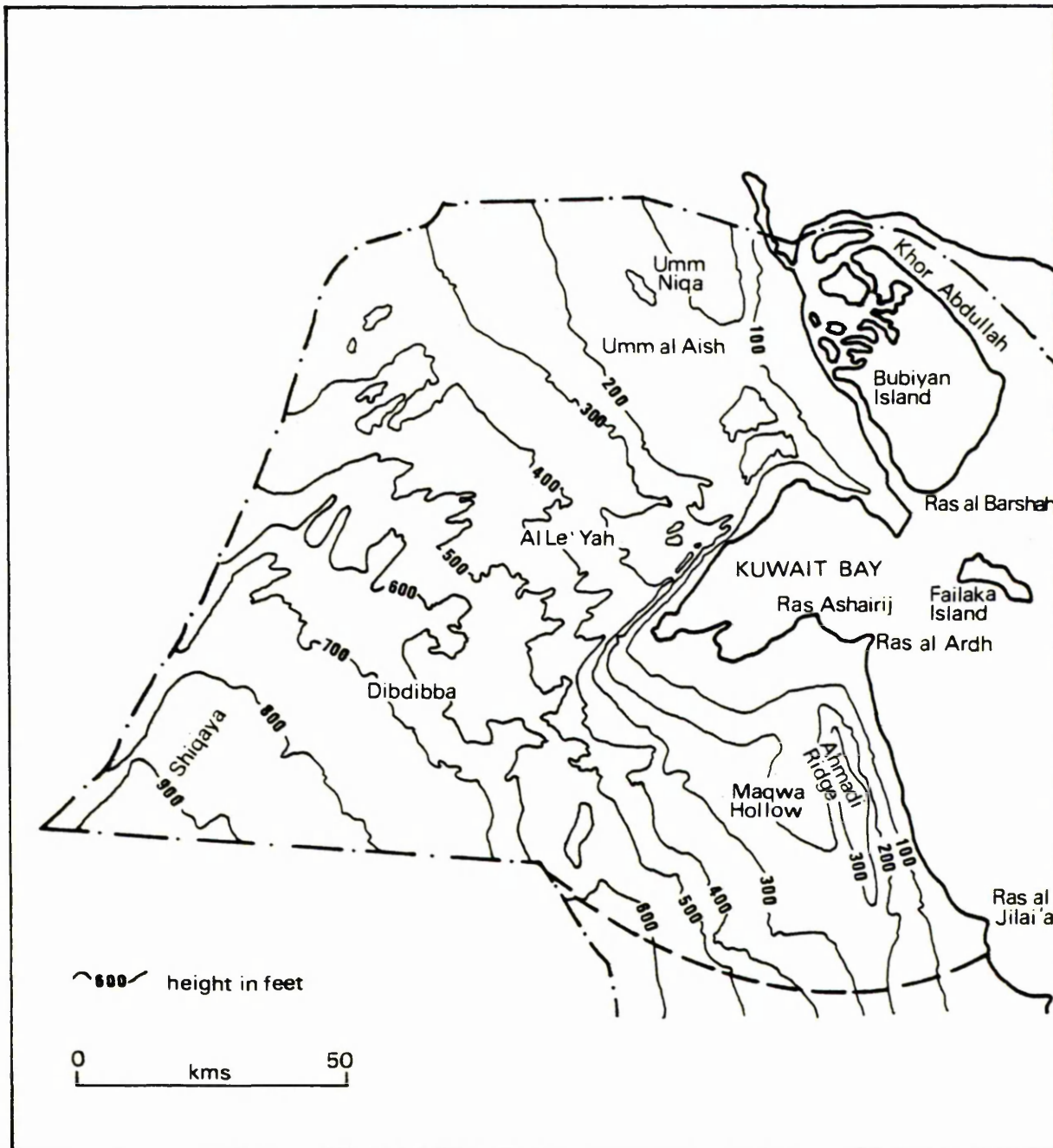


FIG 2. Topography.

Climate

The climate is semitropical, tempered somewhat in the coastal regions by the warm water of the Gulf. If there is enough rainfall, the desert turns green from the middle of March to the end of April. But during the dry season, between April and September, the heat is severe - the temperature sometimes reaching 125°F (52°C) during the day.

Winter:

6th December - 15th February

A remarkable drop in temperature occurs, with clouds and rains driven by very cold northwesterlies.

Weather is cool, especially at night or during the prevalence of the dry, cold northwesterlies (daily maximum 13°C may drop to 3.3°C).

Clouds start invading the sky and rain falls after the prevalence of the southeasterlies which are occasionally strong enough to raise dust storms. Behind the southeasterly currently, cold and dry northwesterlies - especially in January - prevail. Temperatures may drop to below zero and frost may occur. The absolute minimum is -4.0°C recorded at Kuwait International Airport on 20th January 1964. Fog may occur, particularly during calm nights. The general winds during this period are the cold northwesterlies.

Spring16th February - 20th May

Mild - Temperatures are very changeable - rains and thunderstorms - hot southerly winds.

"Mild to cold spring", (16th February - 8th April).

Temperatures start rising after 16th February. From 15th March to 10th April southerly hot current (suhaili) may prevail and lasts for several days during which maximum temperature may reach 41°C (13th degree C above average). However, semi-cold northwesterly winds usually prevail after, causing temperature to drop to a noticeable degree. The prevailing winds during day time thunderstorms frequently occur particularly during the period: 10th March - 8th April and are associated sometimes with violent dust storms during which visibility may drop to zero. These storms are very dangerous due to their rapid development and their sudden attack that the small boats off-shore mostly become unable to escape. The mean speed of the storm is 40 mph. It is noteworthy that the air behind the thunderstorm is remarkably cold (sometimes 12°C cooler than the ambient air just before it).

"Warm Spring" (9th April - 20th May)

This is the season of Sarrayat (local thunderstorms). Thundery clouds usually develop in the afternoon, or during the night and are occasionally accompanied by severe dust storms during which visibility may fall to zero.

The resultant rain may be very heavy and usually occurs during a few minutes (maximum intensity of 38.4mm during 20 minutes was recorded on 4th April 1976 at Kuwait International Airport). The southeasterly winds during this period become hot and humid. Air temperature is characterized by sudden changes and may drop to 10°C within one minute.

Temperatures from day to day are changeable particularly during the period 11th - 30th April. They may rise to the summer mean level for a few days, then they drop to a noticeable degree due to the influence of the northwesterly winds. Sea-breeze is predominant during May, shifting the northwesterly winds of the morning to easterly current in the afternoon. Temperature starts rising gradually; mean maximum temperature ranges between 30°C at the beginning of this period and 40°C at the end. Thunderstorms are likely to occur during the intervals: 8th - 12th, 16th, 22nd and 26th April and 7th - 10th May.

Summer

21st May - 4th November

Considerable increase in temperature and humidity, with severe dust storms characterise this period.

"Transitional Interval", (21st May - 5th June). Winds are mostly variable; they blow from north-east, north-west and south-east, light to moderate. It is the transitional interval between the end of Spring and the

actual Summer. Maximum temperature range between 40°C and 44°C. The sky is nearly cloudless.

"Dry Summer" (6th June - 19th July) :brings very hot winds (Simoom) and dust storms. Dry and hot north-westerly winds (Simoom) prevail during this interval; it might be continuous and not interrupted by winds from any other direction. They range between strong to light. Winds freshen sometimes and raise extensive dust storms during which visibility deteriorates to a few metres particularly at noon-time. Dust storms are liable to occur during four main intervals: 9th-12th and 17th-24th June, and from 1st-7th and 9th-17th July. During these intervals strong north-westerly winds blow and reach a peak during day-time hours, thereafter winds tend to become light throughout night, but it resumes its activity during the next day. The daily mean maximum temperature ranges between 42° and 46°C. The highest temperature ever recorded in Kuwait was 50.8°C at Shuwaikh on 25th June 1954. Clouds completely disappear and humid south-easterly winds rarely occur.

"Humid Summer" (20th July - 4th November)
Remarkable increase in temperature and humidity occurs. The humid spells mostly begin on 20th July and may continue with interruptions until the end of October. During these intervals, light easterly and south-easterly winds predominate, moderate in the noon-times and, because it is coming from the Gulf, it is burdened with huge amounts of water vapour. Humidity during the wet intervals serves to make the heat more trying particularly

when it is associated with calm winds. During some intervals, winds are north-west until noon-time but due to the sea-breeze it moves to northeasterly and easterly up to the afternoon time, southeasterly up to the evening, southerly up to midnight and then westerly until sunrise. The humid spell ranges between two and twenty continuous days, especially during the 18th-29th July and 6th-29th August. Clouds may appear during these intervals and the occurrence of thundery rain is not unexpected although it is rare. The daily mean maximum temperature ranges between 45° and 46°C .

"Transitional Interval" (1st September - 4th November). Temperatures decline with continuous humidity and calm winds. Humid intervals continue to predominate during this period, particularly during the intervals 15th-29th September and from 12th-26th October. No more "Simoom" winds prevail and heat starts decreasing rapidly after 11th September. Maximum temperatures range between 42°C at the beginning of this period and 30°C at the end. Land and sea breezes are remarkable and clouds start forming noticeably. It is noteworthy that the weather is trying if the winds are humid southeasterly, meanwhile it is mild if the winds are north-westerly.

Autumn

(5th November - 5th December)

The hot season mostly ends on 5th November. Hot and

humid southeasterly air currents are experienced, accompanied by temperatures of 20^o and 30^oC. It is noteworthy that nights are cool, meanwhile days are warm. The warm south-easterly current prevails for a week during this period, particularly at the beginning of November, then the cold north-westerly winds prevail for nearly five days; and the clouds gradually dissipate. Later, the warm southeasterly winds prevail again for nearly four days, and the clouds, sometimes thundery, gradually cover the sky. Calm winds are frequent, especially at night, (see Figure 3).

1. The Oil

It is said that Kuwait is one of the 80 undeveloped countries of the world of which more than 30 depend on a single commodity or single crop for more than half their foreign exchange earnings.¹ Unlike most of the developing countries where agriculture is almost the only main source, Kuwait has only oil and natural gas, as main sources from which domestic capital could be accumulated. Thus, government exerted an impressive effort to develop the economy and diversify

1. G.K. Wood, 'The Development Decade in the Balance', Foreign Affairs, January 1965, p. 207, quoted in Al-Abdul-Razzak, F.H., 1980, 'Marine Resources of Kuwait: Their Role in Development of Non-Oil Resources', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Geography Department, University of London, SOAS, p. 79.

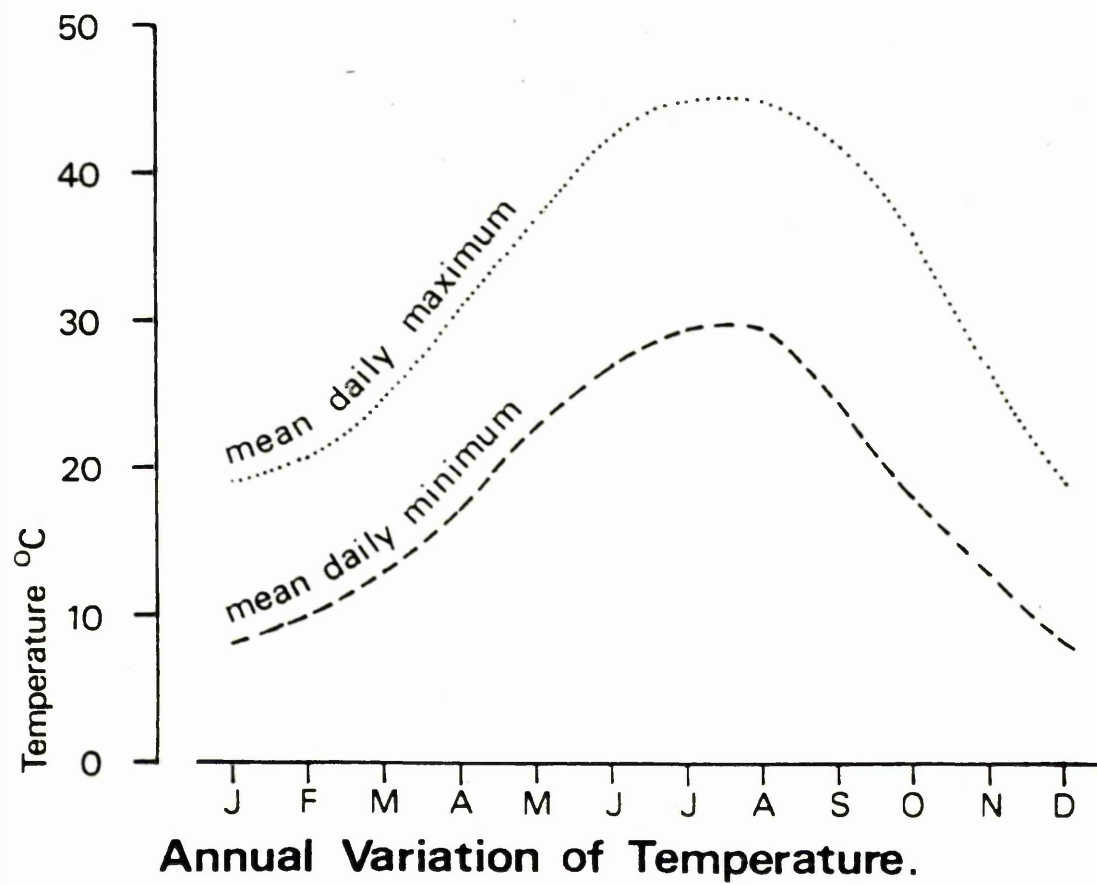
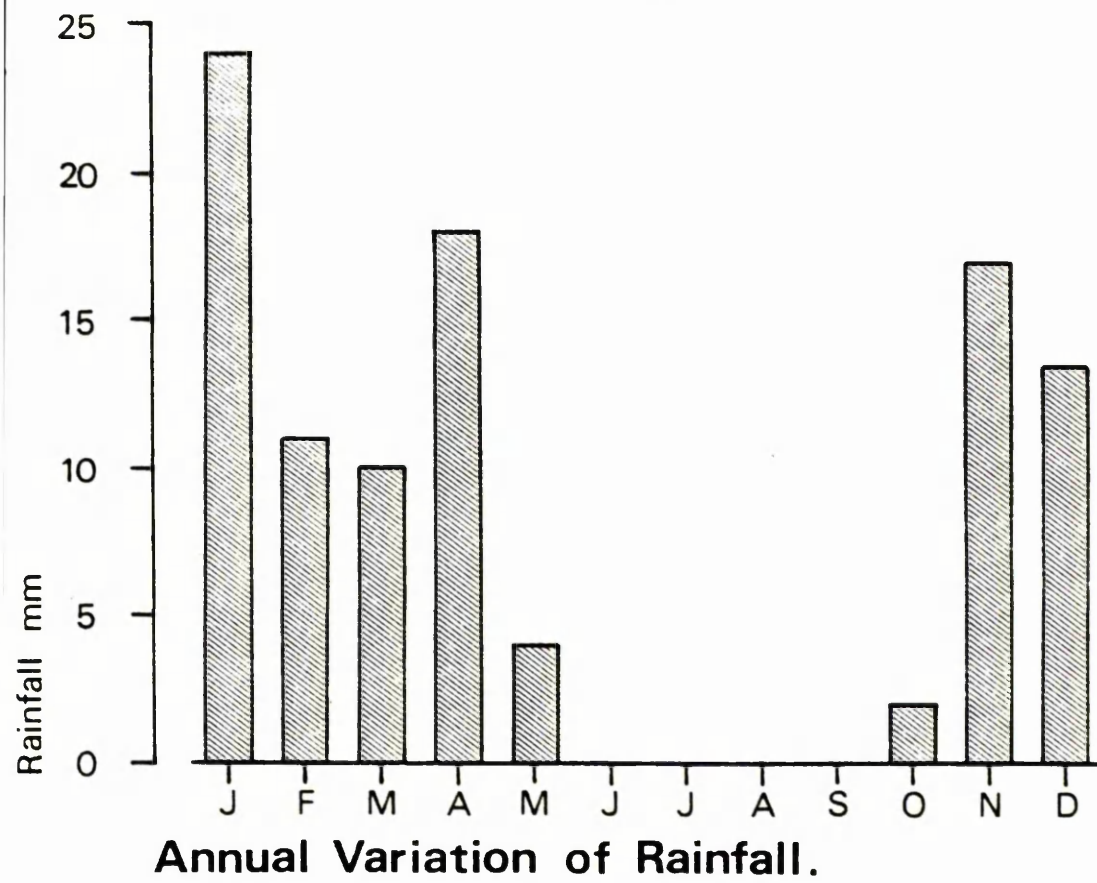


FIG 3.

the source of the national product is highly expected, Although Kuwait's economy depends primarily on a single commodity, it has also the highest per capita income in the world which puts it on a level with the most developed countries.

The contribution of oil sector to Kuwait's economy was put at 61.5 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) for the year 1966-67 and 70 percent for the year 1975-76.¹

Estimates of the extent of the country's oil reserves vary. One authority puts total reserves at 9 billion tons (about 11% of the world reserves),² At present levels of production (approx. 150 million tons annually), this would give the Kuwaiti oil industry a productive life of a further 60 years, while official statements give a figure of about 90 years.³

The oil industry in Kuwait dates from 23rd December 1934, when the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) obtained a concession covering the entire territory of Kuwait proper, the Islands and coastal waters (out six miles). Oil was discovered before World War II, but development operations were suspended during the

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1. Al-Sabah, Y., 1980, The Oil Economy of Kuwait, p. 49, he added, the national income accounts in Kuwait tend to underestimate the real contribution of the oil sector to the GNP for political reasons.
 2. Ibid., Abdul-Razzak, 1980, p. 82.
 3. Askari, H. and J.T. Cumming, 1976, Middle East Economics in 1970s, A Comparative Approach, p. 31, quoted in ibid., p. 3.

War, and commercial production did not start until 1946 when the first oil shipment departed Kuwait, KOC is a British registered Company which is owned in equal portions by the British Petroleum Company and the Gulf Oil Company of the United States.

Three other foreign companies operate in the neutral zone and the offshore areas. The American Independent Oil Company (Amin Oil) shares the Neutral Zone operation equally with Getty Oil Company. The Japanese-owned Arabian Oil Company (AOC) obtained a concession in 1958 from both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to seek and produce oil off the coast of the Neutral Zone, (see Figure 4).

Kuwait occupies the third position among the Middle East countries in the production of oil. It is ranked the 7th in the world production and the 5th among the oil exporting countries. In 1978, the total output of crude oil reached 707,090 million barrels, which works out to a daily average of 2,129,013 barrels. Production of oil refineries amounted to 130,525 million barrels, i.e. 357,602 barrels per day. Production of liquified gas amounted to 19,268 million barrels, i.e. 52,789 barrels per day.

Kuwait Oil Company contributes with the highest proportion in the total production. Next are the Arabian Oil Company (Japan) and the American Independence Oil Company respectively.

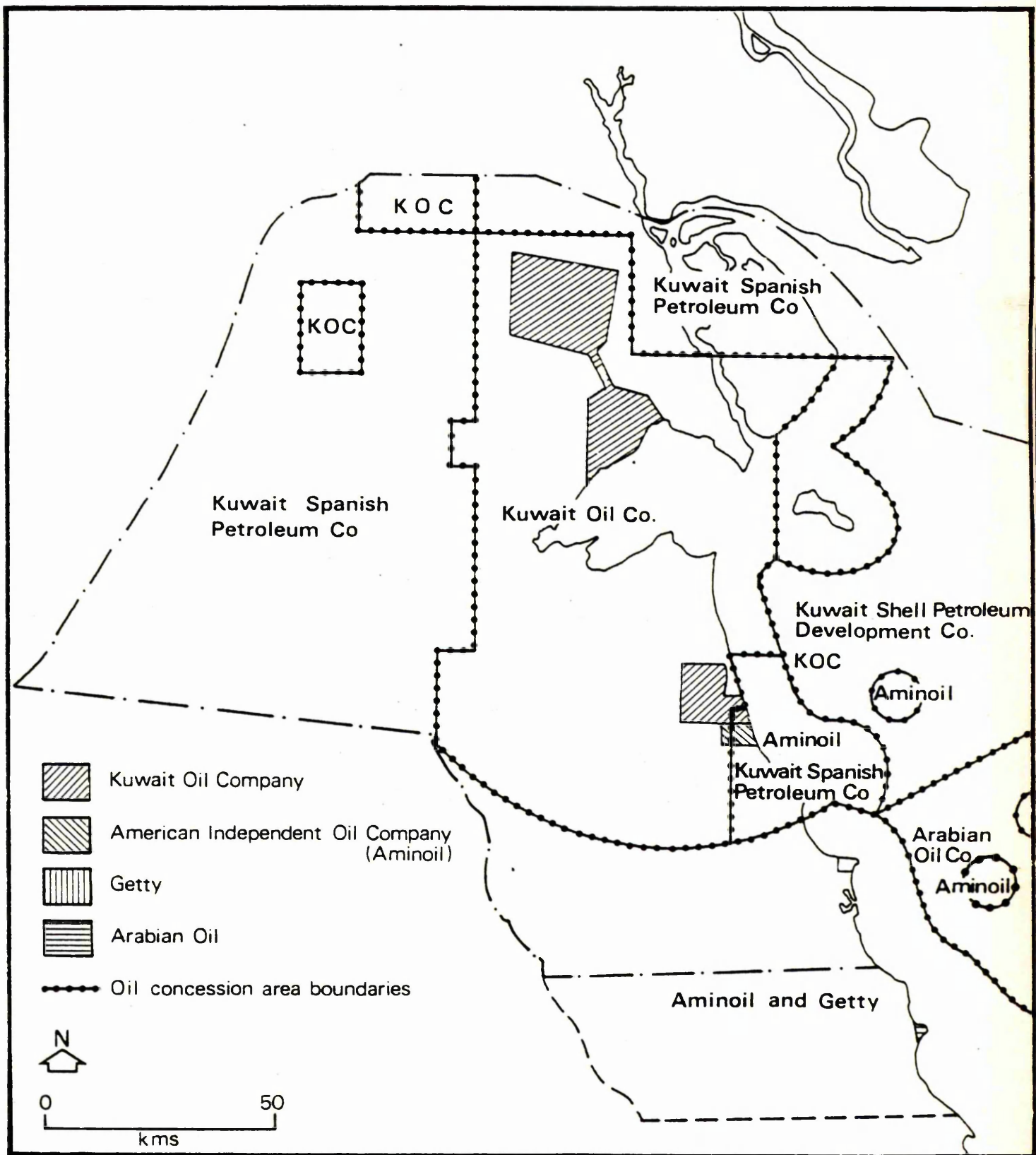


FIG 4 . Oil company concession areas.

Source: Buchanan, C. Colin Buchanan and Partners, Studies for National Physical Plan and Master Plan for Urban Areas: The Long-term Strategy, First Report, March 1970, Kuwait, p.1-6.

Exports of refined products amounted to 105,909 million barrels, i.e. at the rate of 290,145 barrels per day, (see Figures 5 and 6).

Oil refinery products are distributed to the local and foreign markets by the Kuwait National Petroleum Company (KNPC). The oil revenues of Kuwait flow in the first instance to the government in the form of foreign exchange.

2. Industrial Sector

Kuwait sought the diversification of resources other than oil. The non-oil sectors, however, are very limited due to the absence of the essential factors. Industry in Kuwait is facing many obstacles such as the narrowness of the domestic market, the lack of raw materials, the lack of skilled labour force and the climate which lowers the productivity of the workers.¹ Large scale industrial activity in Kuwait is primarily focused on oil refining and the manufacture of petrochemicals. The Kuwait Chemical Fertilizer Company came into operation in 1967. The four units of the KCFC²,

1. F. Al-Abdul-Razzak, 1980, ibid., 94-96.

2. KCFC, Kuwait Chemical Fertilizer Company.

SOURCE: Statistical Abstract, 1979,
Figure 157, p.171.

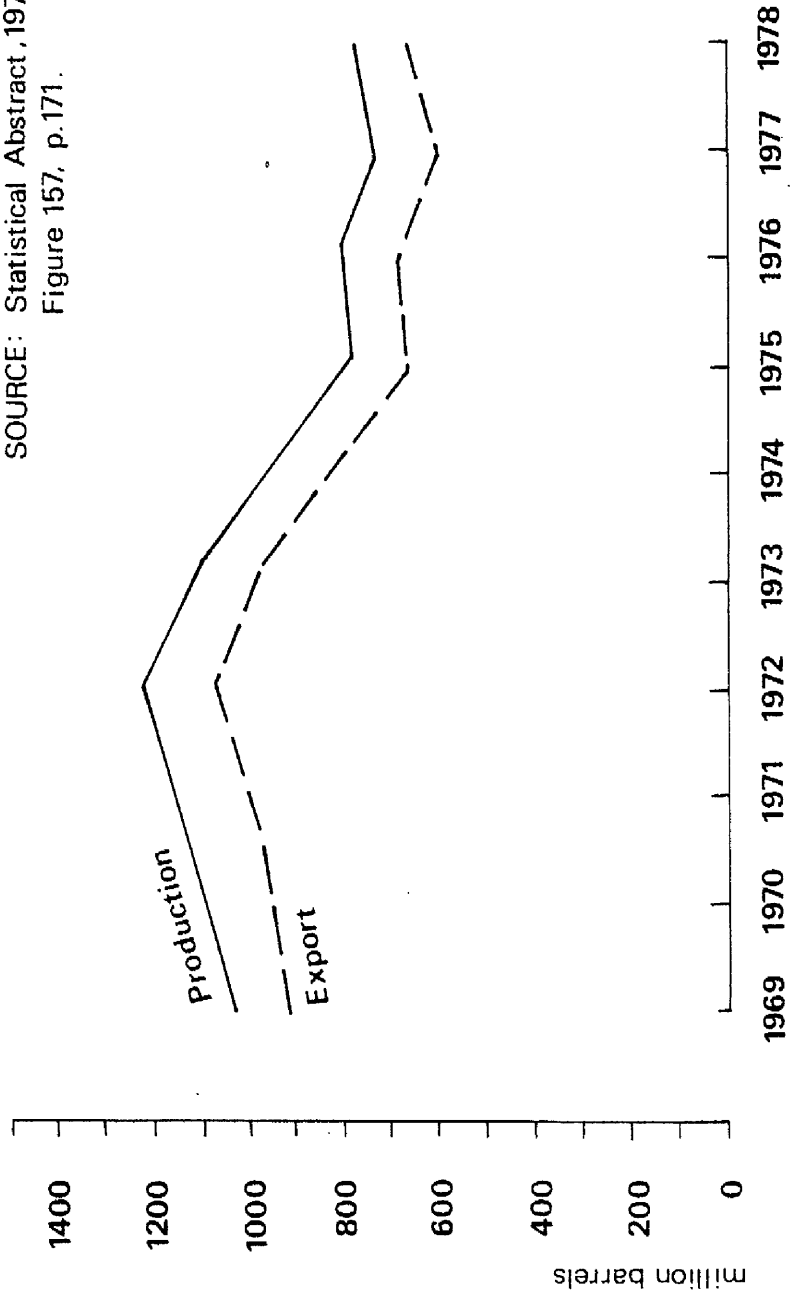


FIG 5. Kuwait's Production & Export of Crude Oil, 1969 to 1978.

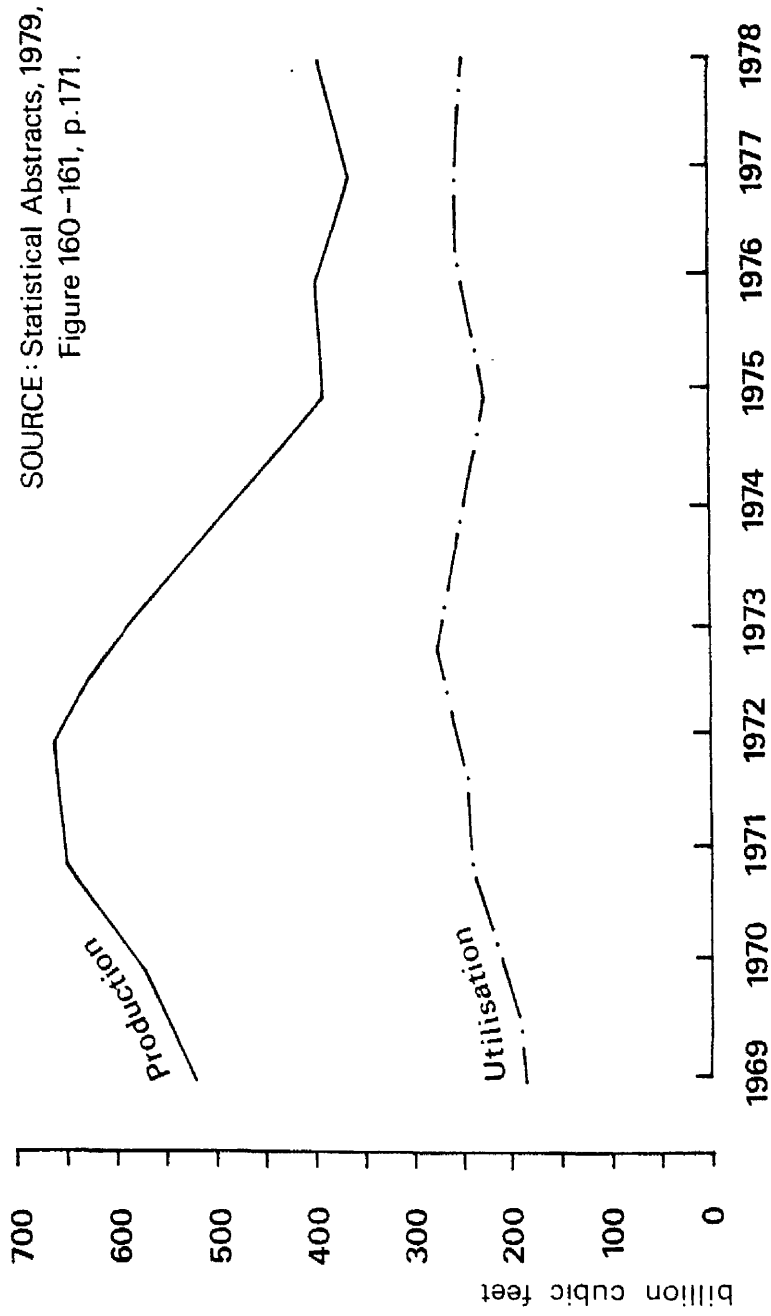


FIG 6. Production and Utilisation of Natural Gas, 1969 to 1978.

namely Ammonia, Urea, Ammonium Sulphate and Sulphuric Acid began to operate at capacity in 1969. The total production amounted to 663,654 tons in 1978.¹

Due to the urban expansion which the country is now witnessing, the construction industries developed. The lime bricks industry witnessed further growth. In 1978 the total production of sand lime bricks reached 262,52 m³. Four main companies undertook the production of building materials, i.e. the NIC, KCC, KMPI and the KCFB.² Each company produced numerous types of building materials which supply the local market. For example, the NIC production of sand lime bricks reached 262,528m³ in 1978.³

The lack of drinking water, forced the country to make use of the sea water through desalination. Over the last twenty years, Kuwait has built up the most advanced continuously operating desalination capacity in the world. The total installed capacity of distillation plants in 1978 was 62 g.d.⁴ A series of brackish water fields are located in the south-western quarter of the state and have recently been developed. The average consumption of fresh water is estimated at 48 gallons per head per day. Overall brackish water consumption averages approximately 23 gallons.⁵

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1. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p. 192.
 2. NIC = National Industries Company, KCC = Kuwait Cement Company, KMPI = Kuwait Metal Pipe Industries, and KCFB = The Kuwaiti Company of Fabricated Buildings.
 3. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p. 194, table 179.
 4. g.d. = gallon per day.
 5. Ibid., 194.

It is said that industry in Kuwait does not seem very inviting for development on a large scale, but other activities may take place side by side with industry. Thus the oil sector still dominates the state economy. The contribution of industry to the Gross National product was estimated approximately 4.5% of the national income.¹

3. Agricultural Sector

It is said that from the third millennium and B.C. onwards we have archaeologically attested evidence of centres of settled agriculture dispersed along the coast extending from Failaka Island in the Bay of Kuwait, through Dilmun in Bahrain to Southern Oasis Complexes of Buraimi and Ras al-Khaimah. Between and around these islands of cultivation by the desert ranges carrying the herds of nomadic pastoralists.²

Before the oil discovery, there were cultivation spots along the coastal villages, and over Al-Jahrah village towards the interior. The economic importance of agriculture in the oil era, however, has so far been very limited. The contribution of this sector to domestic output does not exceed 0.04 percent. Reasons for this marginal role of agriculture in Kuwait economy

1. F. Al-Abdul-Razzak, 1980, p. 99.

2. Bowen-Jones, H., 'Agriculture in Bahrain Kuwait Qatar and UAE', in M. Ziwar-Daftari (ed.), 1980, Issues in Development: The Arab Gulf States, MD Research; London, pp. 46-64, see p. 46.

are to be found in the deficiencies of soil, scarcity of irrigation water, climatic conditions and the limited supply of manpower trained in agricultural skills.¹

However, the cultivable areas as well as the agricultural production have recently acquired some expansion. Local production of vegetables now represent about 46 percent of the total domestic consumption, milk 41 percent, eggs 18 percent, poultry about 34 percent, and fish 99 percent.²

The total cultivable area in Kuwait is estimated at 18 thousand donums, of which vegetables and crops occupy about 10 thousand, and another 1,340 donum being occupied by orchard and wood trees. The total number of agricultural holdings amount to 524. About 312 holdings are specialized in vegetable production, 78 in poultry, 37 holdings for breeding milk cows, 96 private holdings, and the remaining is multi-purpose (see Table 1).

The major crops in Kuwait are tomatoes, raddish, melons, and cucumber. Clover is grown on a relatively large scale as animal feed.

The number of livestock on the holdings amounts to 5,941 heads in 1978. In addition to about 1,145,

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1. Taha, F.K., 'Agricultural Development in Kuwait with special reference to water resources', In Jahl, S.S. (ed.), 1980, Irrigation and Agricultural Development, Published for the United Nations by Pergamon Press: Oxford, pp. 347-357.
 2. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p. 218.

TABLE 1. Utilization of Land.

Total Area	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Utilized Land	17818	17818	17818	17818	17818	17818
Vegetables & Crops	11	13	11	10	9	8
Fruit & Wood Trees	23	23	23	23	23	23
Pastures	1,340	1,340	1,340	1,340	1,340	1,340
Unused Cultivated Land	161	163	165	166	166	167
Total	1,535	1,539	1,539	1,539	1,538	1,538
Non cultivated land	16,283	16,279	16,279	16,279	16,280	16,280

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p. 219, Table 196.

640 chicken in the same year. The household sector contributes to agricultural production in general, and to livestock production in particular.

Underground water is the main source of irrigation. Water is pumped from deep wells in holdings through water pipes. Salinity of water ranges from 0.3 to 1.1 percent.¹

In general, agriculture is not an attractive sector for the Kuwaitis, and primarily undertaken by government and non-Kuwaiti labour. Most of the Kuwaitis involved in this sector were farm owners, or were employed in the government agriculture department. However, higher grade technical and administrative work associated

1. Ibid.

mainly with the government operated experimental farms and other government agencies concerned with land resources, is almost entirely carried out by Kuwaitis.

Agriculture in Kuwait is a socio-economic residual sector. The paucity of high-quality ground water resources and the increasingly heavy demands made by the urban population with high living standards and also the expanding of industrial sector, combined to restrict the area of cultivation to a very small proportion of the limited area of land on which cultivation is technically feasible on the basis of social and topography.¹

Agriculture nowadays is receiving more attention and more money from the state than ever before as a result of the prevailing situations internally and externally which might alter the numerous obstacles to the development of this sector.

4. Population

The figures of population along with other detail census shows quite a unique social picture in a small society like Kuwait. Official population census were not seen until early in 1957 when the first general population census was undertaken, followed by similar census every 5 years until 1980.

1. Bowen-Jones, H., ibid., pp. 55-56.

Since the establishment of Kuwait in 1710, until the year 1957, when the first census was taken, all the population figures were estimated by some officials in the government, travellers or local traditions. Early in 1765, a Danish traveller (Carsten Niebuhr) described Kuwait as

Kouiet, or Graen as it is called by the Persians and Europeans is a sea port town ...; with population of about 10,000...¹

In 1831, Stoequeler, another European traveller, estimated the population not more than 4,000.² Balgrave, another European traveller in 1862 estimated the population (1862-1863) as such

about 35,000, 3,000 houses, 500 shops, 3 places for caravan unloading, 6 Caffies and many stores.³

Lorimer also estimated the population in the late 1800s as much as 35,000 with 13,000 Badu.⁴ In 1916, they were estimated more than 40,000 and in 1944 they were estimated at 70,000. Dickson estimated the population as 160,000 in 1952.⁵

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1. Quoted in Winston, V. & Freeth, Z., 1972, Kuwait: Prospect and Reality, p. 62.
 2. The population in that year was so scarce perhaps for two main reasons: (a) the plague which hit Kuwait on that year and (b) he (the traveller) must have visited the town in summer where "It is left almost desolate", in Niebuhr's words; see Al-Feel, M., 1972, Historical Geography of Kuwait, p. 586, for details.
 3. Al-Feel, M., ibid., p. 587.
 4. Lorimer, J.G., Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Vol. 4, 1969, p. 1764, (the Arabic Impression).
 5. Dickson, H.R.P., 1956, Kuwait and her Neighbours, p. 40, quoted in Ffrench and Hill, 1971, Kuwait Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 20.

In 1957, however, when the first results of the official census appeared the population was 206,473 followed by 321,621 (in the 1961 census), 467,339 (in 1965), 738,662 (in 1970) and 994,837 (in 1975) and 1,355,327 (in 1980) the last population census, (see Table 2).

The population in general is distributed over four main governorates in the country:

- (a) Capital Governorate,
- (b) Hawalli Governorate,
- (c) Ahmadi Governorate, and
- (d) Al-Jahrah Governorate.

According to the 1980 census, about 750,713 of the total population were in Hawalli governorate. Other portions of population were distributed over the other governorates particularly the Capital,

(i) Age Structure

The age structure of the Kuwaitis, with almost half of their numbers under the age of 15, Kuwaitis were among the "youngest" populations in the world - if not the youngest.¹ Moreover, less than half of the total population is in the active age group (15-59).

The non-Kuwaitis active age group (15-59) contained over 70% of the total alien population for the era of the first 3 census. It then dropped to 62%

1. Ibid., p. 27.

TABLE 2: Population in Kuwait

<u>Census Year</u>	Kuwaitis			Non-Kuwaitis			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1957	59154	54468	113622	72904	19947	92851	132058	74415	206473
1961	84461	77448	161909	116246	43466	159712	200707	120914	321621
1965	112569	107490	220059	173743	73537	247280	286312	181027	467339
1970	175513	171883	347396	244368	146898	391266	419881	318781	738662
1975	236600	235488	472088	307168	215581	522749	543768	451069	994837
1980	278516	283549	562065	49709	296153	793762	776125	579702	1355827

Source: Ministry of Planning, Preliminary Results of the 1980 Census (May 1980), p. 1.

in 1975 census. The high proportion of women in the childbearing age groups of the total population of Kuwait is a result of migration of alien workers and their wives to the country.

Finally, Kuwaitis population is probably among the fastest growing population in the world, 4.1% natural increase in 1975.

(ii) Religion Structure

Islam is the religion of the state, where 95 percent of the total population (Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis) believed to be Muslims. Christians are believed to be the second main religious group in Kuwait where it represented a 4.5 percent or 44,718 according to the 1975 census. Arabic language is said to be the language which ties up most of the population, no matter what their religious or cultural beliefs, because the non-Arab Muslim immigrants deal with the Qur'an language, while many of the Christians are Arabs, i.e. Jordanians, Palestinians, Syrians, Egyptians, etc.

5. Social Welfare

(i) Health Services

Early this century, modern medical facilities were unknown in Kuwait although a traditional medical code was in use. An American Doctor, together with

several semi-trained nurses, arrived in Kuwait in 1909, as part of the Arabian-American Mission of Dutch Reformed Church and began the establishment of modern medical facilities on a small scale. By 1911 a small men's hospital had opened, followed 8 years later by a one-storey hospital for women. Finally, a larger hospital was opened in 1939 - the Olcott Memorial Hospital - with 34 beds, one or two doctors, 4 nurses and 10 illiterate women helpers and servants. While the KOC provided a tended hospital for its employees in the pre-war period, and a more permanent Clinic at Magw'a subsequently, it was not until 1954 that it opened a small clinic for wives and children of its Arab employees at Ahmadi.

Formed in 1936, the Ministry of Health in Kuwait took over the responsibilities for its citizens in the post-war period, beginning with a 100 bed hospital opened in 1949. Inside 10 years the number of beds had increased to 582 whilst a variety of specialist clinics have been added, notably those dealing with maternity disorders and womens diseases. Numbers of doctors employed and hospital beds available grew rapidly as the state Health Scheme expanded the scope and the quality of its service. Clinics hospitals and special care clinics were opened with bewildering speed throughout the 1950's.

Today, this is a full-fledged health ministry. All residents are registered with Clinics which are distributed over the residential blocks in each locality

in any governate. All residents have their own "family doctor" type services and which maintain the individual medical files. Polyclinics are attached to each three or four clinics, providing 24 hour emergency services and special services such as dental treatment. Medical services are free to residents of Kuwait both Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis.

The ministry of Public Health took over establishing a number of Health services Institutes and services, i.e. First Aid Teaching Centre; Institute of Nursing; Health Education Family Centres, etc. Moreover, a number of new hospitals being built to be ready for the coming 1980's, i.e. Adan hospital, Mubarak Al Kabeer Hospital, other than Alsabah hospital and Al Ameeris Hospitals. Also there are some non-governate hospitals being established by some wealthy families or cooperative groups and companies; about 9 private hospitals provide health treatment even more complex like those abroad.

Thus, in terms of its range and quality, the medical and health services of Kuwait can be favourably compared with those of any other country in the world. Remarkable progress has been achieved during the last years. The number of doctors employed by the Government by 1976 reached 1,138. The number of private doctors being 203. There is one doctor in the country for every 793 persons. The total number of visits to public hospitals and dispensaries was 7,849,470 in 1976. The public expenditure on health services on

current as well as capital account in 1976/77 was around K.D. 60 million, which works out to 6.5 percent of the total government outlays.

(ii) Education

Education today is considered an investment of human resources which is the keystone of economic and social development. In most of the developing nations because of exchange shortages and other obstacles, investment in human capital, that is, social overhead, the capital has been very small. Thus, the basic problem facing some developing countries is not the poverty of natural resources but the under-development of their human resources. Hence, their first task is to invest their capital in improving skills, and manpower, because the progress of a nation depends first and foremost on the progress of its people.

In the 1950's, Kuwait suffered from the lack of this commodity and turned to importing manpower to develop the country. In order to solve this problem an examination has been undertaken below to evaluate quantitative and qualitative terms.

An abundance of capital and the small size of the population, has enabled Kuwait to make fast strides in education.

The increase of primary and secondary education in the 1936 to 1978/79 corresponds to the rapid rise in wealth due to oil reserves. The total number of

students in public schools increased from 4,665 in 1948/49 to 267,518 in 1978/79. The number of teachers increased from 198 to 20,624 during the same period.¹

Compulsory education in Kuwait is now required from between 4 to 16 years of age. Stress has been placed on adequate secondary education on which depends the success of higher education. Schooling is free in Kuwait. Private education has also recorded rapid growth in recent years. The expansion has taken place in response to the needs of the large and varied expatriate community in the country. The number of students in private schools and institutes during the academic year 1978/79 was 59,424 compared with 46,382 in 1975/76.²

Good progress was also registered in the student-ship of evening classes for adult literacy and education. The number of centres increased from 33 in 1965/66 to 140 in 1978/79. The number of participants also increased from 10,829 to 21,305 between 1965/66 and 1976/77.³

The number of students at Kuwait University reached 17,123 during the academic year 1978/79 compared with 7,528 in the previous year. The Kuwaiti nationals counted 11,498, i.e. 67% of the total university student-ship.⁴

1. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p. 331 - Table 289.

2. Ibid., p. 330.

3. Ibid., p. 354, Table 311.

4. Ibid., p. 358, Table 316.

With a view to meeting its future requirements of instructors and professors, the university each year sends for higher study abroad, a number of graduates. The total number of fellowships offered to students per doctoral degree in external universities was 194 in 1976/77.

The total expenditure on public education in Kuwait in 1978/79 on both current and capital account was around K.D. 129 million, and the total expenditure on University education in Kuwait was around K.D. 50,830 million in the year 1978/79.¹

Apart from primary and secondary schools in Kuwait, there are other Institutions such as the Commercial School, the Technical College, two Teacher Training Institutes (one for boys and one for girls), the Religion Institution and an Institute which comprises of three schools for the Blind, Deaf and the Mentally Retarded.

In 1960, two major Institutions of higher education and training were opened, namely Kuwait University and Arab Institute of Economic and Social Planning.

1. Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION

IN THE PRE-OIL ERA, 1710-1946

The Rise of Kuwait

Early Features of Economic Development in Kuwait

The Formation of Main Groups in the Society

1. The Ruling Family

(i) Tribal Leadership (1756-1896)

(a) Trad and Pearl Fishing Development

(b) The total collapse of Bani-Khalid
Authority

(ii) The Single-Family Rule (1896-1915)

2. The British

(iii) The Dual-Family System (1915-1950)

3. The Influential Families

4. The Judges

5. The Working Class

(i) The Najdis

(a) Pearl Fishing Industry

(ii) The Badu

(a) Badu Tribes of Kuwait

(iii) The Baharnah

(iv) The Hasawiyah

(a) The Baharnah and Hasawiyah Techno-
craf Families

(b) Factors Behind the Influx of the
Baharnah and the Hasawiyah into Kuwait

- Push Factors

- Pull Factors

(v) The Persians

(a) Group 'A' Migration

(b) Group 'B' Migration

6. The Slaves

- Factors Behind Slavery in Kuwait

- Slavery in Kuwait

- Their Affairs in Town

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION

IN THE PRE-OIL ERA, 1710-1946

Social and ethnic differentiation in Kuwait had developed since its early history and were influenced by certain incidents and circumstances over time, until the present day situation, which remains dynamic. X

This chapter is intended to follow the social and ethnic differentiation and groupings in Kuwait since its appearance on the map of the Arabian Peninsula until the discovery of oil, a period of some 236 years, from 1710-1946.

The Rise of Kuwait

The emergence of Kuwait as a coherent entity has not been clearly traced in recorded history. The country was said to have been established by a group of nomadic tribe called "Anezah"¹ who were driven out

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1. Anezah: used to be one of the superior powers over the Peninsula during the 16th and early 17th centuries, controlling the whole of Najd province. Now it is the largest Arab tribe. Its original habitat extended from Najd to Al-Hijas to Wadi Sarhan, Hamad, Badiyat Ash-sham, to Homs, Hamah and Halab. It is divided into three large clans - Meslim, Wail and 'Ubaid. According to Al-Reshaid (1926), Al-Subah, the ruling family in Kuwait, descended from Wail, from Jumailah sub-clan, from Al-Shamlan lineage. Geographically, Anezah is now divided into Anezah of Iraq, Anezah of Jazirah, Anezah of Hamah, Anezah of Homs, Anezah of Damascus and Horan. See, for example, O.R. Kahhlah, Gazetteer of Arab Tribes, vol. 2, pp. 628, 846 (1949), and A. Al-Reshaid, History of Kuwait, p. 12 (1926).

of the central parts of the Arabian Peninsula¹ by a combination of severe drought and domestic conflict.²

Although most of the local traditions propose different dates of foundation, they all agree that Kuwait was established before the eighteenth century.³ During the early years it lay within the territories of the Bani-Khalid, the powerful tribe which controlled all eastern Arabia from Kuwait in the north to Qatar in the south during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Kuwait was a small fishing

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1. Sheikh Uthman bin Sanad Al-Basri who was born in 1766 (after the death of the first ruler of Kuwait in 1762, Subah I), argued that they were not related families, rather their relations strengthened afterwards when they gathered together to live in Kuwait. However, he suggested that they belonged to the Anezah tribe. See Uthman b. Sanad, "Sabai'k al-Asjad fi Akhbār Ahmad Najl Rizg al-As'ad", ms British Museum (No.Or.7565), possibly the first history book to deal with Kuwait. It was originally prepared as a monograph of a Kuwaiti merchant named Ahmad b. Rizg al-As'ad; see p.9 on Kuwait.
 2. It was said that Al-Subah and Al-Khalifah and Al-Jalahmah as the leading lineages of the early settlers, were seeking independence from the mother tribe in an attempt to establish themselves in sedentary groups. In consequence, Al-Subah ruled Kuwait from 1756, and Al-Khalifah ruled Bahrain from 1782 until the present. While Al-Jalahmah failed to do so, and were dispersed between Kuwait and Bahrain.
 3. Most local Kuwaiti historians, in fact, have stated that Kuwait was founded in the late 17th century. Al-Reshaid (1926), in History of Kuwait has argued that Kuwait was founded in the late 17th century: Al-Qinā'i (1946), in Safahat min Tarikh Al-Kuwayt, reported that it was established in 1688: Al-Nabahan (1924), quoted it as early as 1611; Khaz'al (1972), put the year as 1613: Al-Farhan (1968), considers the year to be 1711, while Abu-Hakmah (1965), in History of Eastern Arabia, stated "All the historians agreed that Kuwait was established before the 18th century".

centre where some Badu and fishing communities had settled around the kut built by the Emir of the Bani-Khalid.¹

The first recorded date in Kuwait history was 1710.² However, it was not until 1756 that Kuwait was able to elect its first ruler. This was after a domestic conflict among the clans of the Bani-Khalid tribe, together with later attacks by Imam Mohammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and the army of the Wahhabi Movement. Then, the Utub³ chose Subah I to administer the affairs of the growing trading

1. The name "Kuwait" is the diminutive of kut, which in the language of southern Iraq and its neighbouring communities in Arabia and parts of Persia, is "the house", that is, built in the shape of a fortress or like it. The name kut is given to such a house only when it lies near water, whether a river, the sea, a lake or even a swamp. See the article "Fi Tasmiat Madinat Al-Kuwayt" (In naming Kuwait City), by Al-Mashriq (Bayrut, 1904), pp. 449-58, quoted in Al-Ebraheem (1972), Kuwait: A Political Study, p. 26, from Abu-Kahmah, 1965, p. 47. See also most of the history books about Kuwait, i.e. Al-Reshaid (1926), etc.
2. Mr. Warden and others of the Bombay Government reported that it was 1716. Moreover, Abu-Hakmah (1964) added, "nothing definite is known about the rulers of Kuwait during the first half of the century from the consulted records of the English East India Company, the writings of travellers, or local traditions". It appears that until the early 1750s Kuwait was under the direct rule of the Bani-Khalid Emir. See Abu-Hakmah (1965), History of Eastern Arabia: 1750-1800, p. 52.
3. "Utub" or "Otub" (singular "Utbi" or "Otbi") is a name derived from the Arabic root "ataba", meaning to travel from place to place. During the second half of the 18th century and the early 19th, according to Abu-Hakmah (1965), Arabic sources refer to the collection of families who arrived in Kuwait during early history as Utub. In an interview with Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salem (ruled Kuwait, 1950-1965), Freeth and Winston (1972) argued, Sheikh Abd Allah stated that the term "Utub" was not the designation of a clan, but merely the name by which the colonists came to be known after long migration, meaning "the people who moved or trekked", p.49. According to Yusif bin Esa (1946), "Safahatmin...", the leading families of the early settlers were Al-Subah, Al-Khalifah, Al-Zayed, Al-Jalahmah and Al-Ma'awdah, p.8.

town¹ early in 1756 without the Bani-Khalid interfering. Abu-Hakmah explained that by saying that the point of real development seems to have coincided with the death of the local Bani-Khalid Sheikh in 1752 and the election of his successor from the Utub, Subah bin Jabir, the first in the long line of the present ruling family of Kuwait.²

Early Features of Economic Development in Kuwait

Kuwait became very famous for pearl-trading activities, as described by European travellers during its early period. Carsten Niebuhr who visited Kuwait in 1765, said,

Kouiet (Kuwait) or Graen as it is called by the Persians and Europeans, is a seaport town, three days' journey from Zobeier (an old town in southern Iraq). The inhabitants live by the fishing of pearls. They are said to employ in this species of naval industry more than 800 boats with a total population of 10,000 people.³

Kuwait continued to grow, helped by favourable events and circumstances. The first 50 years after

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1. The Town was also known to the 18th century European travellers as "Grane" and sometimes spelled "Grain" or "Graen", which is in turn a diminutive of the Arabic "Garn" meaning a small hill.
 2. Abu-Hakmah (1965), History of Eastern Arabia, p. 54.
 3. Freeth, Z. and Winston, V., (1972), Kuwait: Prospects and Reality, p. 62.

choosing the first Sheikh witnessed a doubling in the population and area of Kuwait. There were three main factors behind the increase in importance of early Kuwait:

- (a) The position of Kuwait in Bani-Khalid territory,
- (b) The conveyance of trade through the Gulf and along the desert route, and
- (c) The lack of centralised power in Persia, Ottoman Iraq and Arabia.¹

Kuwait reached its peak as a thriving port and caravan centre after the decline of the port of Basrah, an event caused by the plague of 1773/4, and the Persian occupation of that port in 1776, thus bringing about the migration of goods and merchants with all their wealth to Kuwait. It now became an important commercial centre as well as a famous port. Many desert caravans from as far north as Aleppo in Syria came to Kuwait, unloading their goods to be imported to India by Kuwaiti vessels. Kuwait's importance as a caravan transshipping centre between Aleppo and Syria and Bombay derived from the harbour facilities in the Bay. Caravans often numbered 5,000 and 1,000 men.² The journey would usually take about 70 days between Aleppo and Kuwait. The continual nervousness in Basrah, the attraction of a deep-water harbour and good transshipping facilities and rapid mail

1. Abu-Hakmah (1965), p. 43.

2. The charge for a camel-load of 700 English pounds was 130 Rupees, ibid., p. 63.

transit to Aleppo combined to recommend Kuwait to the British East India Company. Hence, the British mail continued to be landed at Kuwait instead of Bushire in Persia.¹

In 1831, Kuwait was said to be the centre for large ships called Baghlahs, 20 smaller vessels known as Battils, and about 1,000 smaller craft.² Some of these were involved in the pearl industry. At the time of the seventh ruler (Sheikh Mubarak) it was said that the pearl industry yielded about 22,800,000 Rupees.³ Troubles in Al-Hasa in the form of domestic conflict among the Bani-Khalids and the later attacks by the Imam Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab's army, contributed to the flow of goods to Kuwait, which took about 50 years to develop from a fishing centre into a town of consequence.⁴

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1. Ibid., p. 97.
 2. There were various types of dhows involved. The Baghlah, for example is a deep-sea dhow. The Battil is another type formerly used for pearling. The Boom, in fact, has taken the place of the Baghlahs as the general sea-going Arab dhow. Other types were Sambuk the most common type for pearling and other uses such as movement between ports. The Jalboot was also common on the Gulf pearling banks. For details, see for example, Al-Shamlan, S., 1975, History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, pp. 457-474.
 3. Ahmad bin Bishr estimates, quoted in Al-Feel, M., (1972), Historical Geography of Kuwait, p. 332.
 4. Abu-Hakmah (1965), History of Eastern Arabia: 1750-1800, p. 71.

The Formation of Main Groups in the Society

The gradual growth of the town both in area and population necessitated some sort of administration over its activities and other related affairs. The leading families of the early settlers agreed to spread the authority among themselves. They allowed the lineage of Al-Subah through Sheikh Subah bin Jabir - who later became Subah I - to administer the affairs of the town; the Al-Khalifah lineage under Sheikh Khalifah bin Mohammad was responsible for pearl fishing affairs, and the care of the sea and the port was in the hands of the Al-Jalahmah lineage through Sheikh Jabir bin Rahmah.¹

This distribution of responsibilities among certain lineages in the society is reminiscent of the criteria of leadership and superiority in the tribal societies of Arabia.² Subah I was chosen primarily to oversee the affairs of the town. Throughout his reign (1756-1762) it seems probable that the affairs of the town in general were shared among these families with no signs of distinction. The first appearance, however, of the two leading social groups in the society occurred afterwards when Subah I appointed his son Sheikh Abd

1. Abu-Hakmah (1965), op.cit., pp. 63-4.

2. Khaz'al termed this agreement as the alliance of three, stated that they have agreed to divide the outcome of their activities and administration equally among them; see Khaz'al, H., 1962, Political History of Kuwait, vol. 1, p. 42.

Allah as his successor in administering the town. This appointment marked the appearance of a "ruling family class", as opposed to other families who were assigned to relatively lower positions on the social ladder as "the influential families class". Beside the leading groups in the society, there was a third class, which provided the labour for the activities and enterprises of the leading two classes. They were the "commoners" or the "working class". Patai, put this stratification very clearly:

The presence of social classes is characteristic of Middle Eastern towns only, not of villages and nomadic tribes. The class structure shows a great vertical nobility. By far the numerical majority of the townspeople belong to the lower class, comprising such occupations as small shopkeepers, porters, people employed in services, loafers, beggars, etc. The slim but growing middle class is made up of master craftsmen, merchants and others who 'do not belong' to the 'great families', lower officials, small house-owners and other people of moderate means.

He went on saying

The very thin, but extremely powerful upper class, consists of a few of the 'great families', whose members are sometimes referred to as 'notables'. They occupy key positions in many fields and are the mainstay of the feudal oligarchy. They were, as a rule, the leaders of society, the owners of economic, financial, industrial enterprises and the top figures in political life.¹

1. Raphael Patai, "The Middle East as a culture Area", in Middle East Journal, vol. 6, Winter 1952, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

This account by Patai accurately describes much of the class structure at that time. He says little about the "ruling class", which was probably included within what he terms "the great families" - as had happened in Kuwait. In fact, most observers agreed on the existence of three main social groups in the society, no matter what names or titles they referred to; i.e., the sheikhs or "shyoukh" referred to here as the "ruling family", great families or leading families, etc., referred to here as the "influential families", and the "working class".

Some, however, have argued that four main groups existed in the society:

- (a) ruling family;
- (b) merchant families;
- (c) commoners (middle and lower classes), and
- (d) slaves.¹

Others put forth three groups in the society, "the nobles of the town", like the sheikhs and merchants; "the nobles of the desert" - sharif Bedu tribes who were loyal to Kuwait - and finally, the "low-class townsmen",²

1. Rushdi, R., (1955), Kuwait and Kuwaitis: studies of old and Presentday Kuwaitis, p. 73.

2. Freeth, Z. (1954), Kuwait was my Home, p. 70; the present Emir, Sheikh Jabir Al-Ahmad, divided the pre-oil era society into, Merchants-Badu-working class, besides the ruling family, ... see Al-Shamlan, S. 1975, History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, p. 259-60.

An interesting classification was proposed by Hay, who suggested that in addition to the ruling family, society was divided into two main groups, (a) those who want both power and money, and (b) those who want only money. The former, he added,

can be compared to the barons of the Middle Ages and their activities are encouraged by the present system of succession while the latter class is far more numerous.¹

Although these analyses of social groups in Kuwait society indicate rigid stratification, the truth was quite the opposite. Undoubtedly certain social groupings existed, but all participated and suffered the hardships of life in the town. Wahbah points out that

Class differences exist in Arabia, but there is little or no difference between the ways of life of one class and another. Commoners, tribal shiekhs, large-scale rulers, all dress, eat and live alike, and enjoy a freedom which can scarcely be equalled anywhere else in the world.²

The study agrees with the previous classification suggested by Rushdi (1955), when he added the 'slaves' to the social hierarchy. Most of the local traditions, and other recent studies have not mentioned any information about this group. We were able to trace it through time during the pre-oil era, until they were totally assimilated within the society during

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1. Sir Rupert Hay (1959), The Persian Gulf States (ME Institute, Washington DC), p. 30.
 2. Wahbah, H. (1964), Arabian Days, p. 24.

the late years of pre-oil era.¹ By investigating each group separately during the pre-oil years, we shall be able to find out how social and ethnic groupings maintained certain characteristics which relate very much to presentday Kuwait society.

1. The Ruling Family

This class group is described by more than one name, both by the society and by historians. Sometimes they are called the Shyoukh - the Kuwaiti term - primarily by the people of Kuwait, while they are called the "ruling family" by most observers.

As a matter of fact, putting this group at the head of the list of other groups does not necessarily mean that they were the most significant group. Although it was important, its seniority appeared only as a result of certain circumstances and events which resulted in them being put at the top of the social pyramid. The Al-Subahs, primarily the descendants of Sheikh Mubarak, are the leading house here. The whole family was named after the late Subah I (1756-1762) who was the founder of the line. The Al-Subahs were not able to fix their total dominance over the society until early in the 19th century. Before that it was almost an "administrative group" in a tribal society from which a certain

1. See Slaves in Kuwait, p. 151.

individual was selected to oversee the affairs of the town with the participation of the leading houses in the society who carried other tasks. Until the end of the pre-oil era, that is for 190 years (1756-1946), this family had provided ten Sheikhs:

Subah I	1756-1762
Abd Allah I	1762-1812
Jabir I	1812-1859
Subah II	1859-1866
Abd Allah II	1866-1892
Mohammad	1892-1896
Mubarak	1896-1915
Jabir II	1915-1917
Salim	1917-1921
Ahmad	1921-1950. ¹

Their rule passed through three main stages:

- (a) tribal leadership;
- (b) single-family rule, and
- (c) dual-family system rule.

These stages describe how the group gradually increased its power.

(i) Tribal leadership (1756-1896)

This refers to the early period when groups of the original settlers chose Subah I to administer the affairs of the town. The period of Subah I is particularly representative of this stage and involved

1. Oil was discovered in the 1930s, but the first crude oil shipment to leave Kuwait was in 1946. Sheikh Ahmad bin Jabir (1921-1950) witnessed this incident. See Chapter 4 for some details on the reasons for defining the post-oil era, etc., as from 1950.

the Al-Khalifah in the pearl industry and the Al-Jalahmah's control over the sea and the port. This stage covers the reign of the first six sheikhs of the Al-Subah dynasty who ruled for a total of 140 years from 1756 to 1896. The outstanding rulers here were Subah I (1756-1762), his son Abd Allah I (1762-1812), and his son Jabir I (1812-1859). The first sheikh, Subah I, is the dominant character for he placed the throne firmly in the hands of his family by designating as his successor his son, Abd Allah I. Sheikh Abd Allah was at least as important as his father if not more given his immensely long sheikhship of 50 years, from 1762 to 1812. His son, Sheikh Jabir I, also had a long reign ruling for another 47 years, from 1812-1859. Ibn Khaldun comments:

One leadership is firmly vested in the members of the family qualified to exercise royal authority in the dynasty, and once royal authority has been passed on by inheritance even among generations and through successive dynasties, the beginnings are forgotten and the members of that family are clearly marked as leaders.¹

The Al-Subah influence appeared clearly when the Al-Khalifah, the leading house of the other major lineage, departed from Kuwait to Bahrain since they believed that the town administration should pass into their hands after Subah I.² They were, however, also

1. Ibn Khaldun, translated by A. Rosental (1967), etc., p. 124.

2. Abu-Hakmah (1965) argued, "Al-Khalifah's grandfather, Fisal, gave his daughter in marriage to Jabir, the father of Shaikh Subah I. When Shaikh Subah was chosen as ruler, his uncles did not object, hoping that the next ruler would be chosen from Fisal's branch. However, the choice of Abd Allah, the youngest son of Sabah, irritated Khalifah, who planned to succeed Sabah, he therefore left Kuwait", etc., p. 66.

attracted by the rich pearl locations near Bahrain. In 1766, Al-Khalifah departed from Kuwait after exactly four years of Abd Allah I's rule, with Al-Ma'awdah and Al-Bin Ali.¹ The other distinctive lineage, Al-Jalahmah, must have had similar experiences, for as Abu-Hakmah says,

The more powerful clan of the two, the Al-Subah, soon felt the absence of their commercial brethren (Al-Khalifah) in a deficiency of their finances; and, following the example of their runagate brethren, first refused the Al-Jalahimah their share of the revenue, and ultimately expelled them from the port and town of Kuwait.²

There were other factors which increased the Al-Subah influence as the ruling class. One was the development of trade and the pearl fishing industry, and the other was the total collapse of Bani Khalid control over eastern Arabia.

(a) Trade and pearl fishing development

The outstanding growth in trade and pearl fishing described by European travellers occurred during this period. The first 50 years of Kuwait's

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1. Yusif Bin Esa (1946), "Safahat min Tarikh Al-Kuwayt", p. 8. Al-Khalifah later went on to establish their dynasty in Al-Bahrain, 1783 until now.
 2. Abu-Hakmah (1965), History of Eastern Arabia, p.74, from "Historical Sketch of the Uttoobee Tribes", in Bombay Selections XXIV, p.363, in Abu-Hakmah, p.75; see also Khaz'al, H. 1962, Political History of Kuwait, vol. 1, p.47.

foundation were marked by a "high degree of Prosperity". Sea-faring activities continued and were described in 1790 as follows:

the Utub Galliot and Boats are numerous and large and they engrossed the whole of the freight trade carried on between Muscat and the parts of the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, and a principal part of the freight trade carried on between Muscat and Basrah.¹

The sea-borne cargoes and pearl fishing, along with the desert caravans, were of great importance in building up Kuwait as a power, both politically and economically during this period and increased the authority of the Al-Subahs over the society.

(b) The Total Collapse of Bani-Khalid Authority

The internal conflict in the house of Bani-Khalid coupled with the Wahhabi attacks, led to their demise after defeat in 1792. The result was to give Kuwait independence since most of the attacks occurred in the Al-Hasa region where the leading clans of Bani-Khalid had settled.

As a result of the following factors;

- (a) the departure of the leading Al-Khalifah and Al-Jalahmah and their followers,
- (b) the long period of Al-Subah sheikhships and
- (c) the influx of wealth and increasing commercial activity,

1. Ffrench G., and Hill, A. (1971), Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p.14.

resulted in the Al-Subah family becoming dominant in Kuwait society and the ruling family period began.

In terms of ethnicity, this period must have produced the original forebears of the present-day ethnic groups in Kuwait who came to the town, attracted by its relative prosperity. According to Al-Reshaid, the early ethnic influxes to the town occurred during the time of sheikh Abd Allah I, because of three main factors,

- (1) the increasing wealth and business in the town as a result of the migration of wealthy families to it,
- (2) building large ships and dhows which brought more commodities and immigrants and
- (3) Kuwait's importance as a developing trading centre serving the Peninsula and Mesopotamia.¹

(ii) The Single-family rule 1896-1915

This period marked a clear separation, not only between this family and other groups in society, but also within the Al-Subah house itself.

On the death of Sheikh Abd Allah I in 1892, there followed four years when the Ottoman state tried to include Kuwait within its limits. The ruler at that time was Sheikh Mohammad, who was much influenced by the Sheikh of Zubair, Yusif Al-Ebraheem, who was in

1. Al-Reshaid, A. 1926, History of Kuwait, p. 39, 40 and 41.

favour of the Ottoman control,¹ Mohammad's brother, Sheikh Jarrah, was the ruler's closest confidant next to Al-Ebraheem.

Sheikh Mohammad bin Subah had a younger half-brother Mubarak, whose character was the very opposite of the effete ruler. He was raised among the Badu and was thus physically able to cope with desert existence. He hated Mohammad's pro-Ottoman adviser and felt understandably bitter about the anarchy prevailing in Kuwait due to his brother's incompetence. Mubarak spoke out fearlessly in open council against his brothers and the affairs of the state. To get rid of him he was sent to the desert with strict instructions. Once there he was able to gather about him a small nucleus of Bedu, but he lacked financial support and failed to overthrow his brothers. In the spring of 1896 Mubarak decided to assassinate his two brothers with the aid of his sons Jabir and Salim. His familiarity with the layout of the group of Subah houses in the town enabled him to carry out this plan

1. Sheikh Yusif bin Esa Al-Qinā'i in "Safahatmin Tarikh Al-Kuwayt", praised Sheikh Mohammad throughout his life. "I'm not exaggerating if I say that Mohammad bin Subah was the only one (through the line of rulers probably) who was famous for his good behaviour and hospitality", etc., p. 20.

on 17 May 1896.¹

From that moment, the Al-Subah rule became single-family rule; Al-Qinā'i described Mubarak's as "absolute rule".² The outstanding results of Sheikh Mubarak's rule were

- (a) coming to power by force produced lasting dominance of the Al-Subah house particularly his branch over other lineages in the society, and
- (b) the critical important fact that the Emirate became hereditary, not only in the Al-Subah house, but in the Mubarak branch.³

Mubarak later signed a treaty with the British in 1899, similar to those already signed by other Gulf

1. The full story narrated by Jabir, the son, was elaborately written in *ibid.*, pp. 21-2. "In the following morning, at the great council hall where individual members of the Sheikh's family and leading merchants proceed to pay their morning salutations, people were surprised by the new members sitting in the place of Sheikh Mohammad; after a long silence, "Mubarak slowly drew his sword from its sheath and laid the bare blade across his knee; glancing round the assembly he said in harsh quiet tones 'O ye people of Kuwait, and blood-relatives of mine, be it known to you that Mohammad and Jarrah my brothers died last night, and I rule in their stead. If any man has anything to say, let him stand forth and say it'; by H.R. Dickson in Freeth and Winston (1972), *op.cit.*, pp. 70-1; Lorimer also comments on the 1896 incidents, saying, "in 1896 an internal revolution occurred at Kuwait resulting in the accession of Mubarak, a new shaikh to power ... etc.", Lorimer, J.G., Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, etc., vol. 1, part 1, p. 314.
2. Al-Qinā'i (1946), p. 22.
3. In fact, this attitude, i.e., sheikhship in the branch of Mubarak, was declared officially in the written constitution which appeared later in the Constitution of the State of Kuwait, see Chapter 4, on the Ruling family.

Emirates in 1892. It gave additional strength to the house of Al-Subah, and in particular to Mubarak's lineage.

Meanwhile, Kuwait flourished under Mubarak's rule. The weekly British India steamship service, suspended a few years previously, was resumed in 1901, and Kuwait's own shipping and mercantile trade expanded and prospered. With expanding trade connections and a forceful leader in Mubarak, Kuwait prospered in the early years of this century.¹ In Dickson's eyes, Kuwait became

to the Arab mind, a most attractive place to live in and the population of the town nearly doubled itself,²

Most credit for this prosperity goes to Mubarak. He was also responsible for the provision of customs and warehouse facilities which were instrumental in increasing trade, but his demands for higher import duties and a tax from householders on his lands caused local dissatisfaction.³

During this stage (1896-1915), both the ruling family and the influential families witnessed further changes. For the ruling class, it was the peak of

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1. Freeth, Z., and Wilson, V., Kuwait: Prospect and Reality, op.cit., p. 74.
 2. H.R.P. Dickson (1956), Kuwait and Her Neighbours, p. 153. Also, Y. Al-Qina'i (1946), "Safahatmin ...", op.cit., p.23.
 3. Number of leading merchant families left Kuwait for Bahrain and Qatar, see the Influential Families group, p. 92 , footnote 3.

influence for Mubarak's branch, as the pearl catches, customs, trade, etc., reached their maximum. Lorimer, for example, was able to obtain the following estimate of the Sheikh's income from one of the merchants,¹

<u>Type of Tax</u>	<u>Amount in Dollars</u>
Tax on sheep entering the town	2,000
Tax on camels entering the town for trade	1,500
Customs (sea customs)	150,000
Customs (on imports)	20,000
Tax paid by pearl divers	60,000
Tax on importing fish	7,000
Interest on loans of merchants	8,000
	<hr/>
Total	248,500
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Lorimer added,

The Sheikh (Mubarak) denies that he takes money from the pearl divers or through interest on the money that he loans to the people. However, it was declared openly in 1904 that the Sheikh obtains equal share of a pearl diver on each pearl boat and he once loaned local merchant called 'Al-Shamlan' with interest reaching 20%. It is believed that the Sheikh accumulated a big fortune beside the farms in Al-Fao, and about 300 shops and stores in the town. His fortune is believed to be all in cash in addition to that he changed some of the cash into Turkish gold...²

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1. G. Lorimer (1969), Gazetteer..., Geog. Division, Vol. 4 (Arabic impression), p. 1769; see Al-Hatim, A., 1961, History of Kuwait, p. 224-225, see also Al-Shamlan, S. 1975, History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, p. 319-331, an elaborate explanation concerning taxes on Pearl Industry, etc.
 2. Ibid.

The ruling family, mainly those descended from Mubarak (for his half-brothers' families had migrated to Zubair) had become more powerful than other groups in society. Here also the group of influential families, as well as the working class, had grown both in wealth and numbers. Further ethnic groups joined the working class until it became the most heterogeneous class in the society. This stage has also been described by other concerns as the dictatorship stage of single family rule, or more specifically, as the dictatorship of Mubarak. As a result conflict with other families began immediately after his death.

Lorimer was able to define the "Utub" as mainly the ruling family and their kin in the early part of Mubarak's reign. He said

Utub, or Bani Utbah, to which belong the ruling families in Bahrain (the strongest) and in Kuwait consisted of Al-Fadhil who have 35 houses in Manamah and Muharraq, Al-Jalahmah from which came Al-Zayed who have 40 houses in Kuwait town. The power of the Utub reaches 5,000 men, those in Kuwait have 1,000 men. The "Utub" are Mawalik (following the school of Imam Malik bin Anas). The Subahs are called the 'Northern Utub' ...¹

The reign of Sheikh Mubarak from 1896-1915, had witnessed the largest influx of groups from neighbouring regions. They included Badu tribes, Najdis, Baharnah, Hasawis, Iranians, Iraqis, Africans and Gulf Arabs. Al-Reshaid explained the reasons for

1. Ibid., pp. 3682-3.

these migrations as follows;

- (1) Mubarak controlled security within the town and protected trade routes both in desert and at sea,
- (2) this external security enabled neighbouring societies to settle in Kuwait primarily from Persia, Iraq, the Najd and Al-Hasa regions,
- (3) he encouraged the building of large sea-going vessels which made long voyages to India, East Africa, possible and this brought further multi-ethnic groups into the society,
- (4) the agreement with the British and their companies provided further social-ethnic contacts,
- (5) the rising pearl prices reached their maximum,
- (6) the World War provided considerable revenue to Kuwait, as it was far from blockades like those over Mesopotamia, Iraq, and Al-Hijaz. This caused Kuwait to be the centre for serving almost most of the surrounding societies, which also provided further influxes to the society.¹

2. The British

Before discussing the final stage through which the ruling family passed in the pre-oil era, i.e. the dual-family system 1915-1950, it is important to explain the appearance of another group during the

1. Al-Reshaid, A., 1926, History of Kuwait, pp. 41-42.

reign of Sheikh Mubarak. This new group is the British who signed an agreement with Sheikh Mubarak in 1899 which lasted until 1961.

The increase in British trade with India led to the Gulf acquiring an important role for Britain in the eighteenth century. A large proportion of British trade was transported by sea from India through the Gulf to Basrah in Mesopotamia, then overland to Aleppo in Syria and from there by ships across the Mediterranean to Britain. In this way the East India Company avoided the Red Sea route which was uncertain because of the presence of Egyptian and Venetian vessels operating there. The route via Cape of Good Hope was less convenient because the journey usually took longer and cost more. The East India Company also used the Gulf route to carry mail to its headquarters in London. This was another important factor giving the Gulf route a lead over the other two routes to Britain.¹

The establishment of British trade agencies had two major functions:

- (1) to distribute British goods, and
- (2) to forward British mail between India and Britain.

The rapid delivery of mail via the Gulf was a determining factor for recommending the Gulf region for the East India Company activities.² These

1. Al-Roumi, M., Kuwait and Malta: British Imperial Policy, 1899-1939, unpublished Master Thesis, University of Malta, Dept. of History, May 1980, p.9; a copy of this thesis is available in SOAS Library, London University.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

decisions were also influenced by the lack of a strong power in Persia or Mesopotamia. The Bani-Khalid, who controlled the eastern parts of the Peninsula were also weakened by their internal conflicts and their total defeat by Iman Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab in 1795.

Early relations between Kuwait and the British developed during the time of Sheikh Abd Allah I's reign, "The recorded history of British relations with Kuwait opens in 1775".¹

From 1775-1779, caravans transporting goods on behalf of East India Company were unloaded in Kuwait to be taken over land to Aleppo, thus avoiding Basrah as a result of the Persian Occupation at that time. However, actual political relations with Britain began only in 1899. This was two years after the assassination of Mubarak's two brothers. Their deaths had destabilised his position in Kuwait and he was threatened by their clients, as well as by the Ottoman presence in Iraq.²

1. Lorimer, p. 1004, quoted in Al-Roumi, ibid., p. 16.

2. After the assassination of Mohammad and Jarrah brothers of Sheikh Mubarak, the situation was described by Lorimer as follows: "The circumstances were such as to place better enmity between him and some members of his own family and to render his position at first extremely insecure. The attitude of the Turkish authorities, who regarded Kuwait as Turkish possession towards Mubarak was at first neutral or equivocal; they acquiesced in, and subsequently recognized, his usurpation of the chief power, but seemed inclined to attribute it to British machinations; and ultimately they endeavoured to profit by the Shaikh's weakness in order to substitute authoritative control over him for the indefinite influence which was all that they had previously wielded at Kuwait ...; and the Shaikh at once made overtures to the British Government for political protection...". Lorimer, p. 314, quoted in Al-Roumi, M., 1980, ibid., p. 37.

The 1899 agreement provided political stability for the Mubarak branch of the ruling family as it included

- (1) Sheikh Mubarak was not to accept or receive agents or representatives of any power or government at Kuwait without the permission of the British government,
- (2) he was not to rent or sell any part of his land to any power or government without consulting the British.¹

Al-Reshaid adds, that it also required that political control should be in the branch of Mubarak and his descendants only.²

In order to ensure that the terms of the Kuwaiti-British treaty were properly observed, the appointment of Political Agents began early in 1904. In Kuwait, there were 20 British Political Agents from 1904 until 1961.

1904-9	Col. S.G. Knox
1909-15	Capt. W.H. Shakespear
1915-16	Lt. Col. W.G. Gray
1916-18	Lt. Col. R.E. Hamilton
1918-	Capt. P.G. Lock
1919-20	Capt. D.V. McCollum
1920-9	Maj. J.C. More
1929-36	Lt. Col. H.R. Dickson
1936-9	Capt. G. de Gaury
1939-41	Maj. A.C. Galloway
1941 (part)	Lt. Col. H.R. Dickson
1941-3	Maj. T. Hickinbotham
1943-4	Mr. C.J. Pelly
1944-5	Mr. G.N. Jackson

1. For details see I.O.R.-R/15/1/472, i.e. the original papers of the agreement; quoted in Al-Roumi, *ibid.*, p. 175.

2. Al-Reshaid, A., 1926, p. 71.

1945-8	Mr. M.P. O'C Tandy
1948-51	Mr. H.G. Jakins
1951-5	Mr. C.J. Pelly
1955-7	Mr. G.W. Bell
1957-9	Mr. A.S. Halford
1959-61	Mr. J.C. Richmond (became the first Ambassador to Kuwait). ¹

The British political agents played a significant role in society through their direct relation to the ruling class under the 1899 agreement. They were able to trace the relations among groups in the society through their extensive coverage of activities over the eastern coasts of the Gulf. The reports prepared by the political agents indicated that the British were interested in preventing any pro-Ottoman attitudes in the society together with protecting the position of the ruler, (see Chapter 6).

(iii) The dual-family system (1915-1950).²

This stage was the final one through which the ruling class passed in the pre-oil era. Although the oil began to be exported in 1946, it was not until 1950 that the post-oil era really began.

After the death of Sheikh Mubarak, three sheikhs controlled the administration of the sheikhdom - Jabir Ibn Mubarak (1915-1917), Salim Ibn Mubarak

1. Freeth, Z. and Winston, H. 1972, Kuwait: Prospect and Reality, p. 78.

2. The stage of the "dual-family leadership" in fact exists until now in Kuwait in the house of Al-Subah.

(1917-1921), and Ahmad Ibn Jabir Ibn Mubarak (1921-1950). The experiences that Kuwait underwent during this period particularly those of the ruling family, were very different from anything that had occurred before. The reign of both Jabir (1915-1917) and Salim (1917-1921) and even Ahmad (1921-1950), until 1946 when oil exports provided new prosperity, were full of hardships and difficulties for all classes in society. During this stage pearl fishing collapsed in the face of Japanese competition which overwhelmed the markets with cultural pearls. After Mubarak, pearl fishing was no longer viable because of this competition.

Early in 1918 Britain imposed a naval blockade on Kuwait, believing that supplies were reaching the Ottomans in Damascus by the desert route from Kuwait. Sheikh Salim was informed in July that the friendship and protection of Britain was conditional upon his preventing any actions in Kuwait prejudicial to British interests. In the second decade of the 20th century, a new and dynamic force appeared in Arabia - the Ikhwan "Brethren". Fifty years after the Wahhabi force in Najd fell into decline with the death of Faisal the Great, the "Ikhwan" revived Wahhabi zeal. Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia joined the movement and became its Imam or religious leader. In 1920, the Ikhwan attacked Kuwait and the battle of Jahrah created a major social and economic crisis. The population had to build a huge wall surrounding Kuwait from sea to sea. However, later when Ibn Saud separated from

the movement, he was concerned about the supplies reaching his opponents through Kuwait so that he too enforced a strict blockade on trade between Najd and Kuwait from 1923 to 1937. Many merchants were bankrupt due to this blockade, basically because their commodities were sold to the Najdis in payment of debts. The period was described as a "long drawn-out agony". The crisis linked into the financial crisis in Europe and North America in the late 1920s and early 1930s and also involved the two world wars which heightened its effects.

It (wartime) was a difficult time for everyone especially the poor of the town and in the desert, for food, clothing, and medicines were almost unobtainable and great distress prevailed.¹

However, during the reign of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir (1921-1950), (early 1930s) oil was discovered in Kuwait and provided a major change. The Sheikh signed an agreement on 23 December 1934 with the KOC² which brought new changes to the economic status of the ruling family;

This agreement granted the Sheikh 475,000 rupees (i.e. around \$178,000) on signature, 3 rupees (around \$1.13) per ton 'won and saved', or 95,000 rupees (about \$35,000) per annum whichever be the larger until oil be declared obtainable in commercial quantities and after that date 250,000 rupees (about \$94,000) per annum or the

1. See H.R.P. Dickson, Kuwait and Her Neighbours, op.cit., p. 450; also Ffrench and Hill, Kuwait Urban and Medical Ecology, op.cit., p. 16.

2. Kuwait Oil Company.

3 rupees per ton royalty whichever be the greater, plus, in lieu of all taxes and dues, annas (9c) per ton of oil on which royalties were payable. This agreement was written for a period of seventy-five years.¹

The oil revenues thence produced more power for the family. The outstanding features of this period were:

- (a) that a new system for ruling Kuwait was devised. The two sons of Mubarak - Jabir and Salim - divided the throne between them and their descendants with a ruler first from the branch of Jabir bin Mubarak and then a ruler of the branch of Salim bin Mubarak. This first occurred when Ahmed bin Jabir bin Mubarak ruled from 1921 to 1950, followed by Abd Allah bin Salim bin Mubarak from 1950 to 1965,
- (b) the first part of this period - before the 1920s - was a time when many Badu tribes, Persians, as well as Kuwaitis migrated in search of a livelihood. Some Kuwaitis migrated to Basrah, others to Bahrain. However, at the beginning of 1946, when the oil began to be exported with its new job opportunities, huge heterogeneous ethnic groups migrated to Kuwait,
- (c) for the first time during this period a clash occurred between the influential families and the ruling family, starting in the late 1930s. The conflict marked the growing influence of the influential families,

1. M.W. Khouja and P.G. Sadler (1979), The Economy of Kuwait: Development and Role in International Finance (Macmillan), p. 22.

which has been under pressure since the time of Sheikh Mubarak, who had absorbed all the powers of the society to his own hands. The Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir period marked a suitable moment for the influential families to insist on participation in decision-making with the ruler by means of a council.¹

The life of this class was circumscribed by many local traditions and other concerns. The ruling families, for example, held status, wealth, and the power that goes with them. It is the largest single economic unit in any Gulf state. The shiekhdom is hereditary, thus no member of another family can become an Emir. The tribal authority of the Sheikh is strong, and he can truly say "L'etat, c'est moi"; but, because of the commercial nature of the state which tolerated many different social groups, the Sheikhs were less despotic than might have been expected.

The appearance of a ruling group in Kuwait was due to five factors:

- (1) It created a society by being part of the original settler group, hence able to establish itself more effectively comparing to others,
- (2) It was protected by the Bani-Khalid tribe. After Bani-Khalid collapse, it was able to establish itself as an independent entity,
- (3) its tribal solidarity as members of a powerful tribe

1. See Chapter Six on Councils and Legislative power.

a dominant form of solidarity, as Ibn Khaldon says:

group feeling results only from blood
relationship ... the goal to which
group feeling leads is royal authority...¹

and as demonstrated by the transfer of authority from
the single to the dual family,

- (4) the economic development which provided the group
with further wealth which added to their power, i.e.
trading activities, administrations, and later oil, and,
(5) the British agreement of 1899, which provided
further support to the position of the ruler.

Through time, this group, was able to occupy
the highest position in the social hierarchy. When
the oil era started new changes came into existence
providing further privileges to this group (see Chapter 4).

Hay (1959) said:

Although a ruler may have little trouble
with his people, his relations are often
a thorn in his flesh. There may be a
few who are of real assistance to him,
but his main trouble was that of the
influential families class.²

This issue leads us to study the second important group
in the society - the influential families.

3. The Influential Families

Nearly all those who have written about Kuwait,

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1. Ibn Khaldun, translated by Rosental, 1967, p. 98.
 2. Sir Rupert Hay, (1959), op.cit., pp. 29-30.

have agreed that this group is socially and economically important. It is known by more than one name. To the ruling family they are "People who want power and money", whilst to the working class, they are "At-tujjar", (merchants), the source of capital and vital to livelihood.

Over time, this class has seen gradual changes in terms of their status in the society. Their status originally depended totally on their tribal background, but was coupled later first with economic status and then on their relations with the ruling class. During the first years of the establishment of Kuwait, they were equal both socially and economically to the Al-Subahs. As we have seen, this was before the development of the authority of the ruling class. They participated in administration and in regulating town affairs, when Al-Subah were merely chosen to oversee the town. Later on they became subordinate after Al-Subah due to migration of the leading two influential families, Al-Khalifah and Al-Jalahmah.¹ They kept on striving for access to power and this long-term hidden conflict with the ruling class led to an open dispute in the time of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir (1921-1950). The class group of influential families had some characteristics which placed it above other classes and below the ruling class.

1. The remaining kin of Al-Jalahmah are even today occupying high positions in the society. They include Al-Nisf (former Works Minister).

For instance,

From the start, the merchants played a great role in running the daily affairs of Kuwait, so there was no danger of its ruler, in the case of the Sheikh becoming a despot. Kuwait was a community where merchants had the upper hand because of the wealth which they accumulated in the early days of the rise of their town, and so their influences on the political attitudes of their ruler was important. And members of the ruling family might also be called merchants, in the sense that they have always had their own business.¹

When compared to the ruling class before the discovery of oil, they were far more significant, for they represented the social and economic power within the society through their enterprises and ownership of product aspects, such as capital, ships of trade and pearl fishing. They were greater in number when compared to the ruling family group, combining about 15 families. In terms of their tribal background they also descended from notable tribes similar to Al-Subah - which provided them with the social prestige which is very important in a tribal society. On the contrary, many individuals of Al-Subah tended to strengthen their position in the society through marrying into these families as well as into Badu tribes to gain more power. The Subahs themselves were not economically distinguished when compared to this class. Suffice it to say that some members of this class once

1. Abu-Hakmah, A., "The Development of Gulf States", in D. Hopwood (ed.), 1972, The Arabian Peninsula, pp. 33-4.

owned more than all the Al-Subahs' wealth. Merchants such as Hlal Al-Mutairi who lived in the time of Sheikh Mubarak was said to own eight million Rupees.¹ Many of the Al-Subahs had gone into business partnership with these merchants.

This is why the members of this class regarded themselves as "equal to, or better than the Subahs", for they believed that "the Sheikhdom had always been theoretically elective and would no longer put up with the Subahs' stronghold on the economy".² They were annoyed by the ruling class especially during Mubarak's rule who tended to require high taxes and duties on their enterprises.³ The Al-Subahs obtained their income

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1. Al-Shamlan, S. (1978) Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Gulf, Vol.2, pp.80-1. See also Y. Al-Qinai (1946), op.cit., "The sheikhs of Kuwait except Mubarak were suffering from lack of sufficient finance for their own needs, hence borrowing from the people. Among these people some wealthy families like Y. Al-Bader, Y. Al-Sager and Y. bin Ibraheem who are richer than the sheikhs..."
 2. Hewins, R. (1963), A Golden Dream; The Miracle of Kuwait, p. 306.
 3. For example in the early 1900s Sheikh Mubarak enforced high taxes on the people for the purpose of his war with Sa'adun Basha; as a result the pearl merchants were strongly influenced by these taxes causing some of them not to pay. Sheikh Mubarak thus declared the law of 1911 which prevented any diver to prepare for the season for the army preparation. When the leading merchants approached Mubarak for cancelling the previous law he refused their request. The leading merchants of all, i.e. like Hlal Al-Mutairi, Shamlan bin Ali, and Ibraheem bin Mudaf, decided to migrate to Bahrain and Al-Hasa respectively. The economic structure and business in the town was greatly influenced forcing Mubarak to send his son Sheikh Jabir to call them back. When they refused, Sheikh Mubarak himself went to them in Bahrain and was able to come with them together to Kuwait - hence cancelling all the previous procedures against them etc. See for example, Khaz'al, H., 1962, Political History of Kuwait, Vol. 2, pp. 280-286.

primarily from these taxes and in participation with these families in pearl and trade activities. This class has grown in number through time beginning with Al-Khalifah, Al-Jalahmah, Al-Zayed, or Al-Ghanim now, Al-Bader, Al-Qinā'at, Al-Saif and others. However, the outstanding pearl merchants during the pre-oil era were

Ahmed bin Rizg, who lived until the 1800s, followed by Ali bin Asfoor, Hlal Al-Mutairi, Shamalan and Husain, sons of Ali bin Saif, Al-Khalid and Ibraheem bin Mudaf;¹

while the merchants of essential sources of living were

Al-Ebraheem, Al-Hemaidhi, Al-Bader, Ma'arafi, Al-Khdair.

Finally, the owners of ships were

Al-Sager and Abd Al-Jalil at the early times of shipping trade, but later they increased to include Al-Ebraheem, Al-Mudaf, Al-Gnaim, Al-Ghanim, Al-Bader, Al-Zaben and others.²

Many historians have tried to estimate the numbers of families in this class at about 12 to 15 families. When Dickson (1956) was in Kuwait, he estimated there were as many as 12 families which numbered about 3,180 living males. He said "The leading families in Kuwait in order of number of living males are as follows:

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1. Yusif bin Esa, Safahat min ... etc., p. 67.
 2. Ibid., pp. 70-67.

<u>Family</u>	<u>Approx. number of men</u>
Jana'at	2,500
Al-Khalid	200
Al-Zayid (Al-Ghanim)	150
Al-Saif + Al-Rumi + Al-Shamlan	150
Al-Bader	50
Al-Abd al Jalil	50
Al-Saleh	50
Al-Sager	30

The late Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir (1921-1950), married from the Al-Ghanim Family..."¹. However, when the pearl fishing industry flourished the pearl merchants increased to reach about 77 families, which explains how this class of families was so important.² Al-Reshaid managed to prepare monographs about most of these families in terms of their businesses, charities and hospitality and their importance in the society.³

The influential families were different from the ruling family in the sense that they interacted far more effectively with the people of the society. In other words, they represented face-to-face interaction where they ran their enterprises openly under their supervision with the working class.

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1. Dickson (1956), op.cit., p. 41.
 2. Al-Shamlan, S. (1978), op.cit., pp. 154 and 174.
 3. Al-Reshaid, H. (1926) History of Kuwait, see for example Al-Khalid House, Al-Bader House, Al-Ghanim House, Al-Nageeb House, etc., pp. 214, 281, 223, 227, 228. See also Al-Saidan (1972) The Shorter Kuwait Encyclopedia Vol.1, pp. 23, 169, 477, 468; Vol.2, pp. 777, 790, 825, 875; Vol. 3, pp. 1183, 1184, 1426, 1469, 1538.

Furthermore, they also undertook charity enterprises - schools, mosques, as well as feeding the poor, lending money, helping moneyless merchants, and so on. Al-Mubark'iyah School, for example, the first school in Kuwait (founded in 1910), was established almost wholly by this group, for their contributions reached 78,100 rupees, which came from the families as shown below:

<u>Families</u>	<u>Rupees</u>
Ibraheem bin Mudaf	600
Shamlan bin Ali	5,000
Sons of Khalid Al-Khdair	5,000 + land for the school
Hlal Al-Mutairi	5,000
Kasim Al-Ebraheem	30,000
Abd Al Rahman Al-Ebraheem	20,000
People of Kuwait	12,500
Al-Khalid	land

This class has experienced three distinct stages in relations with the ruling class:

- (a) the period of equal participation where the influential families shared equal authority in the society;
- (b) the subordinate stage, where the ruling class were able to hold on to authority leaving the influential families as the second class in society; and
- (c) the period of balance in which the influential families were able to rebuild their power after having lost some of their importance when authority was

transferred into the hands of the ruling class.

However, after the discovery of oil, as we shall see later, the Al-Subahs became the paramount class in the society, in spite of the fact that these families have increased in number and in wealth.

It is possible to finalise the factors which strengthened the position of this class in this era;

(1) their tribal backgrounds which effected their status in such a society,

(2) their early migration with the original settlers which helped them to build their socio-economic status in the society,

(3) their numbers which were so large particularly because of inter-marriage providing them with solidarity and,

(4) their access and dominance over the business and economic activities in society.

Their relations with the British were not of salient importance except maybe those who were kin to the ruling family.

4. The Judges

Though the ruler had in his hands to settle the disputes among the town's people, local traditions speak of "Qudat" or judges (singular qadi) who used to settle matters relating to Islamic Law (shariah). Some observers had considered the judges a socio-religious class with an apparent social position in the

societies of the Peninsula. The case of Kuwait, in fact, was different in the sense that the society was characterized by a commercial spirit which emphasized little on the issues of intensive Islamic Law particularly from the side of the rulers. This was primarily due to their nomadic background - which was overwhelmed by ignorance. The two Kuwaiti historians who tackled this matter, were Al-Reshaid (1926) and Al-Qinā'i (1946), followed by Al-Hatim (1961), wrote that the Shari'ah law was not used in Kuwait during the entire eighteenth century and even later.¹ Al-Qinā'i puts it clearly, saying:

since the establishment of Kuwait until the present, there were no such shariah or a constitution on which all the laws based or extracted. The sources of law in Kuwait were the Emir and the Shariah judge; however, the latter were changeable; for example if the Emir is just and the Qadi is expert laws will pass smoothly and justice will be established, but if the contrary is true, corruption and injustice are the results ... etc.²

The authority of the ruler and even his family numbers was superior than that of the Judges. According to Khaz'al, Sheikh Mubarak (during his youth) used to act as judge, solving the problems of the people with the

1. See for example Al-Reshaid, A. (1926), History of Kuwait, p. 75, 76; Al-Qinā'i, Y. (1946), Safahat min... etc., pp. 33-37; and Al-Hatim, A. (1961), Min Huna bad'at Al-Kuwayt, pp. 17-21; see also Abu-Hakmah, A. (1965), History of Eastern Arabia, p. 58-60.

2. Al-Qinā'i, Y. 1946, p. 33.

attendance of his father the ruler. Khaz'al added:

like any emirate in Kuwait whenever any verdict is taken by a member of the ruling family, it is valid, except in the cases of crimes, which were the concern of the ruler.¹

Until the time of Sheikh Salim bin Mubarak (1917-1921) there were about nine judges who undertook the Islamic law in the town, through small courts.²

The judges in the society were highly respected by the people, yet they were always on the margins comparing to the ruler, his family and the leading merchants.³

However, according to Abu-Hakmah, "the sheikh sought the advice from the merchants and the Qadi".⁴

The position of the 'Qadis' in the society was characterized by two main aspects: firstly a continuous

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1. Khaz'al, H. 1962, The Political History of Kuwait, Vol. 2, p. 11.
 2. Al-Reshaid (1926) op.cit., and Al-Qinā'i (1946) mentioned the names of these judges; sheikh M. bin Firoz, sheikh Ibn Abd Al-Jalil, sheikh M. Al-Adsani, sheikh M.M. Al-Adsani, sheikh M.S. Al-Adsani, sheikh A. bin Sharikh, sheikh M.S. Al-Adsani, sheikhs A. bin Nashwan and M. bin Mhmoud, sheikh A. Al-Adsani, and sheikh M. Al-Adsani. The latter was followed by his son Abd Al-Aziz, and A. Al-Adsani. It is noticed that Al-Adsani family was almost dominating this position. They are originally from Al-Hasa region; see for example Al-Saidan, H. (1971), The Shorter Kuwaiti Encyclopedia, Vol. 2, pp. 982, 983, and 984 on this family; at the present, M. Al-Adsani is the head of the parliament, his brother A. Al-Adsani is the head of Municipality.
 3. See for example, Al-Hatim, A. (1961), op.cit., regarding the disputes between sheikh Ibn Sharikh, and sheikh M.S. Al-Adsani with relation to sheikh Abd Allah I, p. 19.
 4. Abu-Hakmah, A., 'The Development of the Gulf States' in Hopwood (ed.), The Arabian Peninsula, 1972, pp. 31-53, see p.34.

contact with all groups in the society, particularly the Muslims, and secondly, that they represent a socio-religious position in the first place far from involvement in any political or economical authority. People usually approach them for marriage requirements, divorce, inheritance, and the like, and to settle their disputes. They were also famous for being teachers who carried on education besides preaching the religion. The position of the Ulamā'a in Kuwait, in general was less effective than in Saudi Arabia for example. In the latter, their influence on the people and their rulers was great, like, for example, Iman Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab the great Wahhabi reformer in Najd.

Their social position, of course was higher than the working class, but at the same time lower than the ruling family and the influential families. However, they were always in close contact with the two.

5. The Working Class

This group is the largest in Kuwait among other groups. The bulk of the population of pre-oil Kuwait came into this category.¹

The working class was almost totally different from the ruling family and the influential families. One

1. About 95 per cent of those interviewed said that the majority of the Kuwaiti society were under this class ... see question 11, part 3, general questions on pre-oil era society, Appendix 2.

of its most outstanding features was that it represented a "heterogeneous stratum" combining a mixture of ethnic groups of different backgrounds when compared to the "homogenous" structures of both the ruling family and the influential families.

In fact it combined a growing but small lower-middle class with a larger working class. Some writers have tried to extract a middle class from this group, but it was small and lacked many of the criteria usual in the middle class. The middle class only began to appear during the later years of the pre-oil era and more clearly in the present day.¹ It is possible to suggest some sort of inter-class grouping within this class as for instance the existence of upper-lower, middle-lower and lower-lower classes.² In Lorimer's words:

The lower and middle classes of Kuwait almost lived by seafaring occupations such as fishing, pearl diving and the coasting trade.³

He classified them all under the term 'working class'. In terms of ethnic structure they were Arabs, Baharnah, Persians, Africans, Jews and other minority groups.

By exploring the main sub-groups in this class with their social and other related aspects, we shall be able to define its position in society in relation to the leading social groups. The main sub-groups in this class were (a) the Najdis, (b) the

1. See Chapter 4.

2. Barker, B. (1957), Social Stratification (New York, Harcourt and Brace), p. 178.

3. Lorimer, Gazetteer, quoted in French and Hill (1971) op.cit., p. 15.

Badu, (c) the Baharnah and Hasawiyah, (d) the Persians. Other groups, like the slaves were special case as they were connected to the family system of the leading two classes.¹

(i) The Najdis

This group dominated the other sub-groups in the working class. When we speak about the Najdis who came from Najd, and those Najdis from other Gulf shiekhdoms, that implies more than one common background. Najd is a very large region in the Peninsula combining many groups. However, there are some localities in Najd province which are considered the home towns of many Kuwaitis in this group. They include Al-Zelfi, Anaizah, Braidah, Riyadh, Sdair, Hayel and others. Al-Zelfi, for example, combined

settled families from Duwasir,
Utaibah, Shammar, Fdual and Bani-
Khdair.²

Elsewhere Lorimer argued that

More than 100 Arab households in
the town of Kuwait are immigrants
from Zilfi in Najd.³

Similarly, Anaizah, Braidah (in Riyadh), Sdair and Hayel

1. See The Slaves in Kuwait, p.

2. Lorimer, (1969), op.cit., p. 3825.

3. Quoted in A. Hill (1972), op.cit., p. 124. In Social Patterns in Cities (ed.) by B.D. Clark and M.B. Gleeve (1973), Institute of British Geographers.

combined families from Bani-Hajer, Shul, Bani-Khalid Seba'a, Bani-Tamim and Bani-Khdair (in Riyad), Bani Tamin (in Sdair) and Shammar (in Hayel).¹

If we look through the Gulf states which provided further Najdi families to Kuwait we shall also find many groups, such as Bahrain, combined

Arab families from Najd, families
from Basrah, Baharnah from Al-Hasa,
and from Al-Qutaif, Huwalah²

Qatar (Dohah), as a source of immigrants to Kuwait combined families from Najd, Duwaser, Al-Bin Ali, Huwalah.³ Zubair, in fact, contained a majority of Najdi families, i.e. Al-Watban, Al-Zuhair, Al-Rāshid, Al-Mishāri, Al-Oan, and Al-Meshri.⁴

The outstanding characteristics of this group were that they involved in one way or another in seafaring activities, primarily as pearl divers, sailors, small merchants and labourers. However, the outstanding occupation is seafaring, in particular, pearl fishing. This occupation as a matter of fact absorbs the bulk of the population here, "there are (in Kuwait) 9,200 men involved in pearl diving".⁵ In the time of Sheikh Mubarak (approx. 1912), pearl

1. Lorimer (1969), op.cit., pp. 2913, 2344, 3825.

2. Ibid., p. 1966, Vol. 5.

3. Ibid., p. 757, Vol. 2.

4. Khaz'al, H., The Political History of Kuwait, 1962, Vol. I, p. 84.

5. Lorimer (1969), op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 1713.

fishing ships numbered 812, whilst the income of that year reached six million Rupees in the season.¹ The peak of his industry was in 1348 AH (1928) called Sanat Attafha (the year of surplus) in which 10,000 divers were involved in the pearl industry. Later it was destroyed by competition from Japanese cultured pearls and the discovery of oil.²

(a) Pearl Fishing Industry

In fact, most Kuwaitis from all classes, worked in pearl activities in one way or another - fishing, selling, buying, etc. It is thus essential that we describe the way in which the pearl divers operated during the pearl fishing season. In comparison with other activities under the wide term 'sea activities' - trading or fishing, pearl fishing is the premier industry of the Gulf. It is also an occupation almost unique to that region and the principal or only source of wealth among the residents of the Arabian side of the Gulf. Were the supply of pearls to fail, the trade of Kuwait would have been severely crippled. Pearl fishing took place particularly in the season called "Al-Ghows" in Kuwait. In the year 1919, it is said that there were 1,200

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1. Al-Qinā'i, Y., (1946), "Safahatmin ...", op.cit., p. 71.
 2. Al-Farhan, R., (1968), Shorter Kuwait History, p. 38, quoted in M. Al-Feel, (1972), Historical Geography of Kuwait, pp. 33, 357.

ships, small and large, involved in the pearl fishing industry.¹ The pearl diving period - "Al-Ghows" - is divided into two main sections: (a) Al-Ghows Al-Kabeer (the big diving season), which runs for 4 months and ends in September, usually when the divers and ships return to fast for Ramadan. This return was called Al-Gfal taken from "gufl", which means "locker", to indicate the end of that period or the "return" season more clearly; (b) "Al-Raddah" when the divers and ships return to the sea again after the Eid-Al-Fitr (breaking fast festival after Ramadan), in October, usually when the sea is cold. The Raddah is a short period because winter is approaching. The Al-Ghows season in general extends from May to September.

It is important to know something about work at sea, in an attempt to understand the hardships which the divers suffered.

Work on pearl fishing ship was classified as follows:-

- (a) Nokhedah (the captain of the ship): he is in charge of the ship to whom all are subject. He gets three shares from the ship's takings.
- (b) Al-J'ai-'adi - the deputy captain: he is the second man in charge of the ship after the Nokhedah. He also receives three shares.

1. Al-Qitami, A., Fishing, Transportation and Trade in Seas, quoted in Al-Shamlan, History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, Vol. 1, pp. 262-3.

- (c) Al-Mjaddimi is the senior sailor on the ship: he also receives three shares.
- (d) Al-ghais is the diver, who dives after pearls in deep water: he also receives three shares.
- (e) As-saib, the man who pulls the diver from the bottom of the sea: he receives two shares.
- (f) Al-Ridhaif, is the boy, or boys, serving on the ship: they receive one share. He is sometimes known as "tabab". The share that he gets is different from the others, as it is a kind of charity given to him by the Nokhedah. He is also allowed to practise diving for further pearl fishing journeys.

The amounts distributed to the people of the ship, depend on the following three main factors:

- (a) the amount of pearls obtained;
- (b) the type of pearls - because pearls have different prices, depending on the quality, and
- (c) the prices of the market. However, the shares usually range from 600-800 Rupees, but in a favourable season, the share might reach up to 3,000 Rupees.

The total number of people on board a pearl fishing ship ranges from between 30 and 100.¹ The average time below for divers was one minute and

1. Al-Shamlan, S. (1975), *op.cit.*, p. 274. See also A. Villiers, 1940, *Sons of Sinbad*, pp. 368, 369, 370, 371 and 373 for an eye witness of the diving procedures while he was on board of a pearl fishing boat.

sometimes more if the diver was expert and fit. They performed ten dives, then rested, and an average of four shifts per day made a total of 40 dives. The pattern was one minute's dive, then two or three minutes' rest, and another dive. Day after day, for four months the diving continued and when the season was over, the diver had probably done over 3,000 dives in 30 to 40 feet of water and had spent more than 50 hours under the surface without air.¹

Every ten days or so the divers were given a rest, and if the shamal blew, work ceased, as the sea became cloudy and the divers could not see. After several weeks at sea, they were apt to get convulsive shivers when they came up to rest, even though the temperature might be 110°F. They sickened with scurvy and progressive fatigue. The "bends" were a common affliction, causing severe joint pains, paralysis and even death. They did not eat while working, but instead drank a heavy liquid thus cleaning their stomachs for work, as food causes nausea. At the end of the day, a few dates, a little plain rice and some tea sufficed. Even apart from the hazards implicit in diving to such depths, there were other dangers - such as sharks and other sea creatures which killed many divers, who dive almost naked wearing only a very light cloth, or "sea-trunk". As the season draws on, they become progressively weakened and

1. Molly Izzard (1979), The Gulf (John Murry, London), p. 87.

emaciated and sleep is the only energy restorer they had. The diver is the individual who suffers the most in this class.

The industry operated on a "debt system". Divers and their haulers were given cash advances during the off-season when there was no work, and their families were given food and supplies from this cash so as to prepare for the diving season. After each season they settled their debts with their earnings, and resumed the weary cycle, rarely escaping from it.¹ In this hereditary debt system where a man's debts are passed on to his son or brother in the event of his death or breakdown and they in their turn went on to incur their own debts. Once in debt, a diver was prohibited from hiring himself out to another Nokhedah for he had first to repay the man who owned his ability to work, while he still had to support himself.

1. Al-Shamlan, S. (1978), pp. 93-5, argued that this system had four sections - "Al-Salaf", that is before the diving season the authorities announced officially the amounts of loans for the divers and the saibs; 'At-tesgam" concerned with the amount of money given to the sailors in winter (before the season); "Al-Kharjiyah" when a certain amount of money given to the sailors (in debt) when arriving in some ports; and "Al-Barwah" a term used for the small paper given to the sailors to indicate that they owe the captain some money and he (the captain) allow the sailors to work for whom they like; according to Villiers who visited the town in the 1930s, explains about the debt system by saying: "... everybody was in debt - the diver to the nokhedah, the nokhedah to the merchant who financed him, the merchant to some other merchant bigger than himself, the bigger merchant to the sheikh. Even broker who came to buy the pearls was probably heavily in debt to some money lender who financed him. The whole business was based on debts, debts which were rarely paid because the paying of them was impossible - see for example, Villiers, A., Sons of Sinbad, p. 353 etc ...

The nokhedah himself was usually bound to some merchant in the same way, to whom he was indebted for cash advances to maintain his divers and their haulers. This merchant is usually called "Al-Musaggim". The nokhedah gives the merchant, in addition to the catch pearls, unopened pearl shells less than 15-20% of the market value from which the musaggim benefits the differences.

The industry was regulated by a "diving court", run by the pearl merchants which enforced its arbitrary laws and dealt with labour disputes, taxes, spurious pearls, and so on. If a nokhedah could not pay his debts to the musaggim, or the merchant who financed the ship, he could lose his boat and his divers, but not his personal property, whereas the diver whose only property was his labour, was prohibited from offering it on the open market.¹

What is interesting in the working class as a whole is that it contained unusual members who could suddenly escape to enrol in the influential classes. Hlal Al Mutairi, for example of the Mutair tribe (we shall deal with the Badu separately) who used to collect date pits, had found a pearl which he

1. The "Ghows" in the early days was controlled by "urf" or customs courts, and called Al-salfah. However, in 1934 the authorities officially published the "Ghows Law" and the "Trading Law". Nonetheless, the elaborate "Ghows Law" which covers all the procedures in it declared in 1940. See Al-Shamlan, S.(1978),op.cit., for that law with its 52 articles, pp. 104-13.

sold for thousands of Rupees. He was able to use this to create a fortune worth some millions of Rupees and to move to the top of the influential families class.

Many Kuwaiti families can be classified within this group by an analysis of their family names which indicate their occupations. Many Kuwaitis in this group had ordinary jobs which are typical of the working class and there were family names which indicate that the family was working in sea-based activities, Al-Ghais (diver), and Al-Saib (who pulls the diver up to the ship); Al-Ammar (who sells building materials), Al-Najjar (carpenter who also builds ships), Al-Haddad (blacksmith), Al-Mubayyedh (person who polishes the houses with whitewash); families involved in foodstuffs, etc., Al-Tammar (who sells dates), Mгахwi (who sells coffee), Al-Tarraһ (who sells fruits), Al-Mejren (who separate the pits from dates for animals); families involved in social activities, Al-Mullah (teacher and Imam), Al-Mutawwa'a (teacher and Imam), Al-Meth-thin (person who calls for prayer). There was also the Al-Hattab family (person who cuts small trees and shrubs to sell them in town), and similarly Al-Hashash;¹ see Table 3, which deals with their wages and rates

1. For details see Al-Saidan (1971), *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 1502. See also pp. 1396, 1342, 1334, etc. Lorimer, also provided elaborate information about this group in the 1800s and early 1900s saying "there were 21 goldsmiths, 13 leather smiths, 212 tailors, 13 barbours, 12 Arabian headcover makers, 11 blacksmiths, 8 bakeries, 11 fishmongers, 36 butchers, 147 grocery stores, 132 Badu commodities makers, 7 gunsmiths, 12 metal boxes smiths, 37 Arabian clock makers, etc...." See Lorimer, G., 1969 (Arabian Impression), Vol. 4, Geog. Division, p. 1715.

in certain crafts. According to the local traditions, this group was estimated as much as 25,000 souls.

TABLE 3. Wage rates before and after the First World War (in rupees).¹

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>
Head Mason	5	10	10
Asst. head mason	2	5	7
Master carpenter	5	10	10
Asst. carpenter	2	5	8
Nail-driver	1½-2	3-4	6
Cooli	1	2	3

These names are all well-known contemporary Kuwaiti families which indicate that they originated from the working class before the discovery of oil. The Baharnah and Hasawiyah do have similar jobs, but their family names indicate that they are Baharnah or Hasawiyah. Hence the names listed above are almost all those of Najdi families.

(ii) The Badu

This working class group is the most ancient one, not only in Kuwait, but throughout the Arabian Peninsula. It is thus the basis of the social structure of Kuwait and of all societies in the Peninsula.

1. Al-Sabah, Y., 1980, The Oil Economy of Kuwait, p. 26, Table 1.7.

The Badu used to be the dominant power throughout the Peninsula and particularly in the eastern Peninsular - from Kuwait to Qatar - because of Bani-Khalid tribes rule. However, after establishing secondary settlements in selected spots in Eastern Arabia, as in Kuwait, where Anezah lineages were established, states separated off from their nomadic roots, leaving the Badu isolated in the desert.

In fact, the Badu whom we classified as part of the working class represented a sort of socio-cultural group as well as being with its own way of life, traditions, ways of gesturing, type of settlement and even sometimes its own physical features.

The early settlers were able to accept their new sedentary life which involved them in permanent settlers' activities - pearl fishing, sea trade and establishing settled administration. Some Badu were not able to convert totally from their nomadic life, so they became gradually isolated from the settlers of the town (little by little) until the settler could be clearly distinguished from the Badu. From their residences, on the borders of the town, they went back and forth to and from the town sometimes as desert merchants, or sometimes with part-time involvement in pearl fishing. They were forced to interact with the early settlers because summer is the busy season for townspeople, while it is the quiet season for desert Badu. Thus, in summer, they participated in the town, whilst in winter they remained in the

desert and only had contact with the town for their essential needs or to sell their commodities.

In the very active summer season the Badu came in from the neighbouring tribes in the desert seeking work because the desert produced nothing in this season while the town was flourishing. Coming from the desert, they obviously knew nothing of the sea, yet they did not give up easily. As an eye-witness puts it,

Bedouins from the desert, who have never learned to swim, starting nonchalantly to dive with the more experienced men. Occasionally, they drowned. Sometimes they start out even at the age of ten to work as cooks and minor helpers, receiving at first a small fixed wage. Later they are promoted to the position of assistants and soon as divers, if they so desire.¹

In fact, 90 per cent of the Badu who came to work in town during the summertime chose pearl fishing, particularly as divers (ghais), primarily because

- (a) the pearl divers' share was more than the 'Saib' (the person who hauls the ghais by rope to the deck),
- (b) the position of the diver or ghais was far better than the saib, either at sea or in the town, and

1. Harison, P, 1925, The Arab at Home, p. 75; Villiers, A., 1940, ibid, comments on the Badu: "I saw many among these (divers) who were obviously Beduins, with long hair, the explanation was that the Beduin had inherited the obligation to dive. They were young men who had inherited their parents' debts ... etc ...", p, 353.

(c) the ghais never touched anything on board,
his only job was diving.

Through this occasional activity many Badu left their tribes and became town settlers, attracted by the relative ease of the town. Moreover, some of them were able "through their work as divers" to catch very valuable pearls and in consequence became one of the rich families, like Hlal Al-Mutairi, of the Mutair tribe.¹

It seems that the majority of Badu who participated increasingly in sea activities were from Mutair, Ajman, Bani-Hajer, and the Awazin tribes in addition to others like Reshydah.² Usually those from Mutair, Ajman and Bani-Hajer worked as nokhedah (captains) whilst those from the Awazin and Reshydah were mainly divers.³ In general, most of the tribes known in Kuwait participated in pearl fishing. According to Al-Shamlan (1978) there were about 35 nokhedah from these tribes, i.e. Ajman, Hawajir, Dwasir, Utaibah, Anezah and others who came from the southern parts of Kuwait.⁴ They were also attracted by desert trading. Each tribe in the Peninsula, particularly those on the borders of Kuwait, maintained

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1. Al-Shamlan, S., 1975, History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, p. 380.
 2. Al-Shamlan, S., 1975, op.cit., pp. 317, 443, 379.
 3. Al-Saidan, H., 1972, op.cit., p. 1446.
 4. Al-Shamlan, S., 1978, op.cit., pp. 137-92.

trading connections with a particular town, for, "Kuwait has traditionally been the supply town for Mutair, Harb, Shammar, Awazim and northern Arabian tribes".¹ These tribes usually visited Kuwait to sell some of their products. The movement to market towns was known as "Musabilah", usually occurring when peace existed between the tribes and market towns like Kuwait. Many merchants worked in connection with Badu caravans which came to the Safat² where they unloaded their commodities. Some of the Badu managed to remain in town to specialise in satisfying Badu needs. Most of them were probably from Badu tribes, and there were some 132 small merchants specialising in selling the Badu needs.³ The caravans sometimes numbered as many as 5,000 camels and 1,000 passengers.⁴ The Badu were also famous for such skills as tentmaking and the making of special kinds of carpets and mats in addition to particular kinds of heavy clothes, like the Arab Aba-ah. When they came to town they tended to arrive in winter, which is the idle season in town.

1. H.R.P. Dickson, 1949, The Arab of the Desert, p. 49.

2. Safat or sufat (As-sufat) is a yard located to the interior beyond the sea port for the Badu where they unloaded their products.

3. Lorimer, Vol. 4, op.cit., p. 1715.

4. Abu-Hakmah, A., 1965, History of Eastern Arabia: 1750-1800, pp. 171-3.

The Badu also had social relations with the townsfolk. When in the town they could cater for marriage requirements, since a marriage had to be approved by a sheikh of Islam,¹ or be registered in the town. They also came to town to have their ailments cured. They also went there to pay the duties on their animals which grazed within the borders of the Sheikh of Kuwait's land. The Badu were estimated to be as many as 13,000 in the early 1900s when pearl diving was at its peak.

It is important here to realise that although most of the Badu were on the borders of Kuwait, within their tribal grazing areas, they were considered as subjects of the Sheikh of Kuwait, and hence were added to the population of the town.

Their impact on the history of Kuwait was much more powerful than any group of the working class group. Moreover, if the merchant group was the strongest in the town, the Badu were the same in the desert around Kuwait. Kuwait was so dependent on

1. Attending on the sheikh of Islam for marriage is an invention (Bid'ah). Marriage needs only two witnesses (who must be Muslims) with the father or guardian of the bride to approve the marriage, for more details on the characteristics of the witnesses, see for example, Sahih Al-Bukhari, Vol.VII, (Arabic-English), M.M. Khan, Islamic University, Al-Medina Al-Munawara: Saudi-Arabia, p. 62-72.

their protection that it is important to know who the Badu of Kuwait were. According to what has been written about Kuwait by historians, the tribes of northern and eastern Arabia are the origins of the Badu of Kuwait. Palgrave (1868), a European traveller visited the Arabian Peninsula in the years 1862/63, and was able to see the area at a time when the tribes were a dominant power before the emergence of the political states. He drew a map of tribes that used to camp on the borders of Kuwait. From this map it is clear that the Badu who had their territories close to, and inside the borders of Kuwait were the

Ajman, Shammar, Bani-Hajer, and also Bani-Khalid, which was the dominant power before his visit and hence there must have been some groupings of that tribe.¹

Zwemer (1900) who also visited the area in the late 1800s had stated that the Badu who interacted with Kuwait were of the tribes of northern Hasa and Najd, i.e. Anezah, Mutair, Bani-Khalid, Ajman, Bani-Hajer and Autaibah.² Raunkiaer (1912), another European

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1. Palgrave, W., 1868, A Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, (Macmillan, London), quoted in Waleed Al-Monayes, 1978 (June: "Impact of Urbanization on the Resettlement of the Badu of Kuwait", unpublished thesis, University of Ohio, Department of Geography, p. 29.
 2. Zwemer, S., 1900, Arabia the Cradle of Islam (Ferring H. Revell, New York), quoted in ibid., p. 29.

traveller indicated that Kuwait tribes belonged to Ajman and Mutair and those of eastern Arabia, i.e. Shammar, Harb and Utaibah. Wahbah (1935) agreed that Kuwait Badu before the year 1912 were from tribes of Anezah, Mutair, Bani-Khalid, Ajman and Bani-Hajer, Awazim and some Sluba.¹ Dickson (1949) however, who was perhaps an expert on the tribes of Kuwait argued that Kuwait was surrounded by tribes like Mutair, Awazim, Sbai'a, Sahul, Harb, Shammar, Dhafir and Muntafiq. One can easily judge that the tribes which had their tribal territory close to Kuwait must have been the source of influx to Kuwait. Such tribes like Mutair, Awazim, Ajman, Shammar, Bani-Hajer and Bani-Khalid, according to local traditions, must have been the main sources especially the first three tribes - Mutair, Awazim and Ajman. Also tribes like Reshydah were mentioned, with the Awazim.

(a) Badu tribes of Kuwait²

After defining the main tribes of Kuwait

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1. Raunkiaer, B., 1912, Through Wahhabi Land on Camel-back (Frederick Prager, New York), quoted in Waleed Al-Monayes, op.cit., p. 30.
 2. About seven main sources were used for this part, i.e. Al-Azzawi, A., 1937, Tribes of Iraq, Vol. 1, Dickson, H.R.P., 1949, The Arab of the Desert, and Kuwait and her neighbours (1956); Kahhalah, O., 1949, Gazetteer of Arab Tribes, 3 vols., Lorimer, J.G., Gazetteer of Persian Gulf etc., the Geog. Division, Scoville, S. (ed.), Gazetteer of Arabia: A geographical Tribal History of the Arabian Peninsula, 1979, Vol.1; and our own prospect and survey.

it is important to study their internal structure in order to trace the families which belong to these tribes in Kuwait. It is noticed that individuals who belong to the leading lineages of these tribes always represented the whole tribe in times of events that took place in the society (see Chapter 6).

Anezah¹.

To this tribe as we have seen earlier, belong the elites of society. Numerically, it is the largest group of all Arab tribes. The paramount sheikhs of this tribe came from Al-Hathal family from Al-Jibal lineage of Al-Imarat clan. It is said through many local traditions that Al-Subah belonged to Al-Imarat clan from Al-Dahamshah lineage. To this tribe also belong Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia (descended from Al-Mesaleakh lineage), and Al-Khalifah of Bahrain the cousins of Al-Subah.

Mutair

It is a very large tribe over the central parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Its original places were over the western parts of the Peninsula. The main clans of this tribe are the 'Ilwah', 'Brah', and 'Bani-Abd Allah'. According to Lorimer Mutair had some 40,000 warriors over the Peninsula. Sheikh Mubarak has intermarried with this tribe and is thus must be related to Kuwait. The paramount sheikhs of

1. See footnote 1, p. 59 in this Chapter.

this tribe are the descendants of Al-Duwaish lineage. An outstanding sheikh of this lineage was Sheikh Faisal Al-Duwaish of the 'Ikhwan'.

Ajman

It was an important tribe over eastern Arabia. The head quarter of this tribe used to be over the district of Al-Hasa. The main clans of this tribe are 'Marzoog' and 'Wabyr'. This tribe played a significant role in the events that took place in Arabia, particularly between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The majority of the Ajmans sought refuge in Kuwait after the battle with Ibn Saud 'Day of Kanzan', and were able to gain the friendship of Sheikh Mubarak and later his son sheikh Salim. The paramount sheikhs of this tribe came from the lineage of 'Al-Hithlain'. An outstanding personality in this tribe was the late Rakan Al-Hithlin, the former paramount sheikh of the Ajman.

Shammar

It is an important tribe to the north west of Kuwait. The main clans of this tribe are 'Abdah', 'Aslam',¹ 'Sinjarah', 'Tuman', and 'Dgairat'. The largest of all are the 'Abdah' and 'Aslam' clans. The paramount sheikhs of this tribe are from the Al-Resheed lineage from Abdah clan. However, Al-Resheed as Al-Azzawi argued, were able to occupy the sheikhship position only for certain times. The real sheikhship is in the

1. The present Emir of this branch is sheikh Salim bin Mishal Al-Twalah. An elaborate interview about 'Shammar' tribe and 'Aslam' clan was made with him, during his visit to London, Marble Arch, Winter 1979.

hands of Al-Jarba family from Al-Mohammad lineage. Before their defeat in 1921 by Ibn Saud, they were powerful and able to control almost all the central parts of Arabia, under the sheikhship of Abd Al-Aziz Al-Mit'ib Al-Resheed who forced the-King-to-be Abd Al-Aziz Ibn Saud and his father to flee away to Kuwait.

Utaibah

This was a powerful tribe over west central Arabia, occupying the eastern side of Hijaz. The main clans of this tribe are the 'Rugah' and 'Bargah'. The 'Rugah' are chiefly in Hijaz, while the 'Bargah' to the east of Hijaz. The paramount sheikhs of the Bargah and the Rugah were Ibn Hindi, and Ibn Rubai'an respectively.

Bani-Khalid

In the pre-Wahhabi movement, this tribe was the most powerful tribe over the eastern province of Arabia as we have seen when the Al-Subah arrived in Kuwait. The main clans of this tribe are Al-Amayer, Al-Subaih, Bani-Fahd, Al-Megdam, Al-Mahasher, Al-Jbur, and Al-Humaid. The paramount sheikhs are from the Al-Humaid clan, from Al-Urai'ar lineage.

Bani-Hajer

This tribe is found on the east coast of Arabia over Al-Hasa and adjacent to Qatar. The main clans of this tribe are 'Al-Mukhaddabah', and 'Al-Mohammad'. The paramount sheikh of this tribe was Shafi bin Shafi. The original place of Bani-Hajer was Wadi Al-duwasir.

Sbai'a

Their original places were Wadi Sbai'a in the Peninsula. It is normally a small tribe because many clans separated from the mother tribe and preferred to be recognized as independent, i.e. the Shual tribe which is believed to be originated from Sbai'a.

Another large clan is found in Anezah known as Sib'ān under sheikh bin Marshad. The main clans of this tribe are Bani-Omar, Bani-Āmir, 'Al-Graishat', 'Al-Sudan' and Al-Umair.

Awazim

Usually found inside the limits of Kuwait principality, hence well-known as a Kuwaiti tribe. The Awazim appeared to have migrated to Kuwait about three generations before 1917. The Awazim of Kuwait are divided into two main sections, the 'Ku'ah', 'Aiyal Kuwai', or 'Awlad Kuwai', and the 'Aiyal Ayadh'.

Observers trace the origin of this tribe to Al-Bin'Ali of Harb tribe, or to Talhah of Rugah of Utaibah tribe. They usually intermarry among themselves and with the Reshydah, but not with the previous tribes. The present sheikh of this tribe in Kuwait is bin Jami'a.

Reshydah

It is also another tribe found in Kuwait, and also over Al-Hasa. They look like the Awazim in their physical features. The main clans of this tribe are th-Sayyad Al-Ownah, Al-Khalawiyah, Al-Mhaimzat, Al-Ajarmah, and Al-Rwajeh. The sheikhs of this tribe at the present are the descendants of Al-Mesallam lineage. They usually serve as bodyguards for the ruling family.

Not all of the above tribes were inside the limits of Kuwait. Some had the majority of their tribes in Kuwait, i.e. the Awazim; others had certain clans together with individuals from other clans like the Mutair and the Ajman, while the remainder had small collections of their tribes in the town, i.e. Shammar, Utaibah, Anezah, Bani-Hajer, Sbai'a, and Bani-Khalid. In the oil era, however, the numbers of Badu had increased and able to absorb almost 50 percent of the Kuwaiti society, (see Chapter 6 and Appendix 3).

Three main characteristics distinguish this group from other groups in the society, these were:

- (a) almost all belong to the working class group in society as their jobs indicated, i.e. divers, farmers, guards, soldiers, policemen, etc.
- (b) It is the closest group to the shyoukh or the ruling family. The shyoukh usually intermarry with them in order to strengthen their position by obtaining the loyalty of the wife's tribe, and obtain strong backing from those tribes. The power of each sheikh was usually determined by the tribes which were loyal to him. Their relation in fact might have been more favourable to the Sheikh of Kuwait than his relations with merchants. The merchants always caused trouble to him, and in the words of Hay: "His (the Ruler's) relations with them (the merchants) are often a thorn in his flesh".¹

1. Sir Rupert Hay, 1959, The Persian Gulf States, p. 30.

(c) The Badu represented the 'army' of Kuwait or the majority of the army in the pre-oil era of the country. Early in 1938 there was a martial race in Kuwait called 'Fdawiyah', which was used by the ruling family as bodyguards and which was disbanded in 1949 when the regular army was established. The Fdawiyah were all Badu with some freed African slaves.¹

The Baharnah and Hasawiyah

The members of these groups are the Shi'ah Arabs as they are known in eastern Arabia and in Kuwait. These two groups used to be known only as Al-Baharnah. However, when each group settled in certain areas, for instance Bahrain and the Al-Hasa region, coupled with other circumstances which we shall discuss later, each contrived to acquire such names, although the term "Baharnah" is widely used.

According to Al-Reshaid, "The Shi'ah of Kuwait divided into three main schools, i.e. Osuliyah, Ekhbariyah and Shykhayah".² The three groups belong to the Imamiyah school, although each has certain distinct conceptions of some aspects of Islamic interpretations.

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1. Al-Saidan, H., 1972, op.cit., p. 1122.
 2. Al-Reshaid, A., 1926, History of Kuwait, p. 68.
See also, Lorimer, op.cit., p. 3371.

(iii) The Baharnah

Many writers presented vague interpretations about their origin. However, they all agreed on two main points, (a) that their mother tongue is Arabic, and (b) that they are an old Shi'ah group (if not the oldest) in the history of Shi'ah doctrine over these areas particularly Bahrain and Al-Hasa.¹

The terminology Baharnah has significant background. Baharnah is the name of the race or class to which this group belongs. To this group nearly all the Shi'ah of Bahrain Island and the oasis of Al-Hasa, Al-Qatif and the Peninsula of Qatar belong.² The very name Al-Baharnah (plural), Bahrani (singular) has some nationality-sectarian implications. We must be

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1. In a recent study by one of the Baharnah, Mahdi Abd Allah Al-Tajir argued that "Shiism in Bahrain is often erroneously associated with the Carmathian movement of the Persian sway of the region (286 to 366 AH); in fact the appearance of Shiism in the area dates back to around 656-661 AD, the years that mark Ali Bin Abi Talib's Caliphate. Shi'ism in the region dates back to the time of the Prophet when Aban ibn Sa'id al-As was appointed Wali of al-Bahrain. He was a staunch follower of Ali and it was he who preached Shiism in the region. He supported Ali's right to the Caliphate of Islam and enjoined the inhabitants to rally behind him". From M.A. al-Tajir, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the Baharnah Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Present-day Bahrain", PhD thesis, University of Leeds, Department of Semitic Studies, June 1979, p. 66. Commenting on Al-Tajir's account we say: it is true to some extent if we consider the meaning of the word shiah that is shi-ah are the people who agree on a matter who follow and conform with one another. That is when they joined the Caliph Ali. However, the Shi'ah doctrine is our concern, as it became a school with almost all the basic features which differentiate it from the meaning of the term shi-ah.
 2. Lorimer, G., 1908, op.cit., p. 285. See also p. 1010.

aware, Lorimer said, of the misconception

that Baharnah means the people of Bahrain Island; on the contrary, the Sunni Bahrainis who live in the Island refused this name and prefer to be called Ahl-al-Bahrain (people of Bahrain), i.e. Bahrainis (plural) or Bahraini (singular). On the other hand Bahrani is used to distinguish only the shi'ah Arab whose mother tongue is Arabic.¹

In sum, the term Bahraini is used for nationality, describing only the Sunni Muslim who is a citizen of the Island of Bahrain, while the term Bahrani is a sect indicator which describes the Shi'ah Muslims who live permanently in Bahrain, where they may also be citizens.

In a report concerned with people of eastern Arabia, Al-Baharnah were described as a :

"large number of the population of Hasa and Katif and the Island of Bahrain belongs to a race or class known as Baharina (Bahrnah) these may number 100,000. The origin is doubtful, and they are regarded as an aboriginal tribe conquered by certain Arab tribes to Shi'ism".²

Al-Tajir,³ refutes all the interpretations by Europeans or others who have traced the origin of the Baharnah into misleading backgrounds. Under the title "Misinformed accounts of the Baharnah", Al-Tajir follows the accounts of some writers who studied the origin of

1. Ibid., p. 285.

2. Foreign Office, London, Persian Gulf (HMSO, London, 1920), p. 29.

3. Al-Tajir, M.A., op.cit., p. 15.

the Baharnah, such as B. Hakken (1933), R. Serjeant (1968) and others, and remarked on their studies as "inadequate", "inaccurate", etc., particularly that of Serjeant who said

The Shiah of Al-Bahrain, called al-Baharnah, form about half the population... and are regarded as a class inferior to the Arabs. It has been supposed, though proof is not yet forthcoming, that they descended from converts from the original population of Christians (Arameans), Jews and Majus inhabiting the Island ... at the time of the Arab conquest...¹

On the contrary, Al-Tajir opines that the Baharnah are Arabs, and they are the descendants of

the Abd al Qais tribes of eastern Arabia. They are (Abd al Qais) adnanites and meet with Anezah tribes in 'Asad' from Rabiah.²

When Al-Khalifah and their followers left Kuwait, as stated before, ultimately they were able to establish themselves in Bahrain in 1783. When they arrived in Bahrain, the Baharnah were already a settled community whose economy was primarily based on land through palm trees and the like, along with some pearl fishing activities. They were overcome by the new arrivals and since that time they have been accorded a secondary position in the society.³ The Baharnah probably migrated to Kuwait since its establishment, possibly because of various political incidents which took place in eastern Arabia. It is likely that they

1. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1976, Problems of Political and Social Changes in Bahrain, p. 48.

were able to move freely throughout the area from Bahrain to Kuwait during the rule of the Bani-Khalid tribe who controlled most of eastern Arabia. This must have been a large contributory factor to their early migrations to Kuwait.¹

In the early 1920s, Baharnaahs in Kuwait were estimated to the extent of 3,000.²

(iv) The Hasawiyah

As stated above, the Hasawiyah used to be known also as Baharnah, but it is thought that their name changed when they separated from the Baharnah of Bahrain to remain in the Al-Hasa region. The separation, in fact, must have some relation to the changes occurring in the doctrine of the Shi'ah over Al-Hasa region. In any case, Hasawiyah appear to be the co-equal group with that of Baharnah.

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, there came one of the Baharnah called Ahmad Al-Ehsai, who was originally an inhabitant of Al-Hasa region (Ehsa'i). He called for new alterations in the teachings of the Shi'ah doctrine, known, later, as Shykhayah Shi'ah. His name became well known between 1785 and 1825 in Al-Hasa, and his followers grew in numbers. It is likely that the large percentage of the Baharnah of the Al-Hasa

1. Al-Tajir, M.A., 1979, op.cit., pp. 17-18.

2. IOR:L/PS/12/3894A, No.30, File 158, by T.C. Fowle, Pol. Res. in the Gulf, dated 19 October 1938.

region who adopted the Shykhiyah doctrine which distinguished them from those in Bahrain, did so round about this time.¹ The Baharnah and Hasawiyah were estimated at about 28,000 in Al-Hasa (including Hufof and al-Mubarraz). In Bahrain they numbered 38,000 and in Qatar about 500 during the early 1920s.²

It is difficult to distinguish between the Hasawiyah and the Baharnah because both of them sometimes carry similar names, and even their physical features coincide. However, the British Residency was able to produce estimates of each group in Kuwait. The Hasawiyah, for example, were estimated to number as many as 2,000 people in Kuwait, which is less than the Baharnah who were estimated at 3,000 as stated earlier.³

These groups from eastern Arabia had their influences in the Kuwaiti society as an active working class. Due to their long residence on the coast of the Gulf, they specialized themselves in significant skills to the extent that they were known only as their own crafts. These skills were needed very much by the society, like, for instance, ship building, which was the vital means for pearl fishing and trading activities

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1. See Lorimer (for the movement of Al-Ehsa'i), op.cit., p. 3372.
 2. Foreign Office, London, Persian Gulf, op.cit., p. 29.
 3. IOR:L/PS/12/3894A; No.30, File 158, by T.C. Fowle, Pol. Res. in the Gulf, dated 19 October 1938.

on which the earliest economy depended; The Baharnah appeared significantly here,

for the shipbuilders are a community of their own, known as the Baharna, they are people of Shiah religion who for centuries practised this craft, and until recent events changed their traditional pattern of Kuwait life, did no other work.¹

They also have their own mutual social characteristics.

The shipbuilders have a highly developed community spirit and a clannishness which sets them apart from the rest of the townsfolk; if one Bahrani shipwright dies, every man in the community stops work for a day in sympathy with the dead man's family.²

(a) The Baharnah and Hasawiyah techno-craft families:

The al-Gallaf family (the name means ship builder) serves as a clear example of Baharnah families under this craft. They were also famous for another craft, that of the goldsmith. Al-Arabash (who might be Hasawiyah) is still the leading family in this craft in Kuwait. Interestingly, enough, here we have the Al-Sa-eg, a

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1. Zahrah, F., 1954, Kuwait was my Home, p. 106.
 2. Dickson, H.R.P., 1954, Kuwait and her Neighbours, p. 37.
 3. According to L. Lockhart this group was one of the early groups to settle in Kuwait, i.e. "at some unrecorded date after the establishment of the settlement of Kuwait, the demand for shipbuilders there led to the advent of the original members of the Baharnah or boat-building community, who as their name implies, came from Bahrain. In later times, many more came from Qatif and elsewhere ... despite the lack of Kuwait timber, ropes, etc. ... the Baharnah have built up a thriving industry". See L. Lockhart, "Outline of Kuwaiti History", in Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. XXXIV, 1947, pp. 262-274, see p.264 etc.

family name which means goldsmith in Arabic, who also specialize in this craft. They were, and still are, famous for making Arab Aba-ah (Bisht-singular, Bshoot-plural). Some of them, mainly the Hasawiyah, have specialized in making the Aba-as of Al-Saud ruling family and the ruling family in Kuwait. However, quite a large number of them are still pursuing this craft here, and it is known simply as Hasawiyah craft mainly. Under the shipbuilding craft there were about 1,000 Bahrani involved,

the outstanding families here were Hasan Al-Bagli, Ibraheem Al-Bagli, Taher Al-Al Qattan, Hasan Al-Mzaidi. Moreover, the largest weaving and spinning craft factory was owned by Husain Al-Bahrani in 1935.¹

Hayy al-Hasawiyah (Hasawiyah-Ward) was famous for this craft, and was dominated by this group. They also practised their own religious activities through which they built their own mosques and husainiyas.

(b) Factors behind the Influx of Baharnah and Hasawiyah into Kuwait

There were some sort of 'push' and 'pull' factors which have caused the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah to migrate from their original homes in Bahrain and Al-Hasa to Kuwait.

Push factors

For the Baharnah in Bahrain, Al-Tajir suggested

1. Al-Hatim, A., 1961, History of Kuwait, p. 87.

four main incidents which might have caused some sort of migration from Bahrain to Kuwait. These are:

- 1) During the Anezah rule, by which he meant the time when Al-Khalifah arrived in Bahrain from Kuwait to establish their dynasty in 1783,
- 2) During the Wahhabi control of the Island of Bahrain between 1803-1811,
- 3) During Muscati occupation on separate occasions and during 1800-1801, and
- 4) During the influx in 1845 and after the arrival of Dawasir tribes into Bahrain and their settlement in Zallaq̄ and Budayyi, and the subsequent tension these created, culminating in the attacks in 1923 on Baharnah villages.¹

For the Hasawiyah, the 'push' factors were probably concentrated around the impact of Imam Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab movement in Al-Hasa region (1703-1787).²

1. Al-Tajir, M.A., op.cit., p. 18.

2. The Islamic community founded by Imam Mohammad Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab was given its name Wahhabiyya by its opponents. This term is also used by European scholars. The Wahhabis, however, refer to themselves as Muwahhideen (Unitarians), and regard themselves as Sunnis, principally following the school of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. The principles of this movement, as interpreted by Sheikh Al-Islam Ibn Taymiah, are as follows: "An immediate return to the teaching of the Quran and the example of the Prophet Mohammad and his early companions in their interpretations of the Quran and Sunna, and the rejection of the later interpretations of the Quran by the philosophers, Sufis and Batinees (al-Batiniyah). It forbids seeking intercession from any but Allah. It forbids all objects of worship other than Allah making vows to any other being and forbids the interpretation of the Quran by Ta'weel". Quoted in H. Al-Ebraheem, 1975, Kuwait: A Political Study, p. 31. There are four major schools of religious law in Islam: The Hanafite, founded by Imam Abu-Hanifah; The Malikite founded by Imam Malik bin Anas; the Shafiit founded by Imam Al-Shafi-i, and the Hanbalite founded by Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. Imam Ibn Hanbal's schools have great appeal to the scholars of Najd. "The majority of Muslims in Kuwait are Hanbalite and most of them came from Najd - the ruling family are primarily Malikite ..." See, Al-Reshaid, A., 1926, op.cit., p. 68.

The movement of Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab is important because it helps us to know the areas of Shi'ah concentrations where many attacks occurred and also to know the areas of Shi'ah destinations, where they retreated searching for peaceful areas.

The doctrine of Imam Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab was not a new religion. It was a reform movement. Through his extensive travels in the Muslim world, Imam Abd Al-Wahhab had reached the conclusion that the true Islam was wrongly practised. To avoid that, Muslims should return to the original law as laid down by the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet.

Imam Abd Al-Wahhab sought unity of the Peninsula by returning to the teaching of Islam. His army was destined to fight many wars in the Peninsula, particularly with the Bani-Khalid tribe, which used to control eastern Arabia. Thus areas under Bani-Khalid control such as Al-Hasa region, especially al-Qatif, Al-Hufuf, then Qatar, Bahrain and even later but through the Ikhwan army, Kuwait, were attacked by the Imam's army. These areas represent the original places of the Baharnah and

Hasawiyah concentrations.¹ From 1792-1795, the army of Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab was able to subdue the Bani-Khalid and having done so to turn their attention to Iraq and other parts of the Gulf, including Zubara of Qatar.

What concerns us here principally is that this movement caused a continuous influx of Baharnah and Hasawiyah to areas already settled. Many migrated to Kuwait as well as to the southern coasts of Iran. At that time Kuwait was far from being influenced by such incidents. Khaz'al suggested certain years of great influx of the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah to Kuwait in the years 1676, 1748 and 1767.²

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1. Ibn Ghannam, who was the first historian of the movement, explains elaborately how the wars against Bani-Khalid territories occurred. He goes on to explain how the army dealt with areas under their control, and he completed the defeat of the Bani-Khalid over these areas and declared the sanctions of the army over them, that is, Al-Hasa region. These sanctions were (a) to demolish all the shrines and high constructed graves, etc.; (b) to perform the five prayers in mosques; (c) to spread the teachings of the Prophet as they were without innovations, and (d) to appoint Imams from the followers of Sheikh Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab to lead the prayers in the mosques. Husain Ibn Ghannam was the first chronicler of the Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab movement. His work Rawdat al-Afkar wal-Afham (see bibliography for the title) is in two volumes. The second volume entitled Kitab al Ghazawat al-Bayaniyyah, is the earliest chronicle of Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab. We have consulted the second volume, p. 80, "of eastern Arabia" (the territories of the Bani-Khalid), events of 1206 AH; two manuscripts copies are in the British Museum, Nos. Add. 23,334-5 and 19-799, 19,800.
 2. Khaz'al, H., 1962, op.cit., p. 38.

Pull factors

There were also 'pull' factors which attracted the Baharnah and Hasawiyah to settle in Kuwait. These pull factors were probably the relatively peaceful situation in Kuwait; its importance as a growing trade centre, the freedom of religions in Kuwait, and the like.

Kuwait's importance as a settled town and the relationship to the growing trading activities

The country's importance as a trading and pearl fishing centre throughout the history of the Peninsula was probably strongly connected with the settled situations that Kuwait witnessed. For instance:

Kuwait maintained its independence always in the time where Hurmoz, Musqat and Al-Hasa have dominated by power.¹

The economic growth with pearl fishing and trade on both the sea and in the desert, coupled with political stability, made Kuwait a suitable place for settlement.

The freedom of religion in Kuwait

With the passing of time and the subsequent development of the trading spirit of the people, the

1. Abu-Hakmah, A., 1973, op.cit., p. 163, description by Buckingham.

society of Kuwait became more moderate. There was religious freedom and the teachings of Imam Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab were not strong in Kuwait.¹ It is a place for everyone who sought a better life. No official papers were required from newcomers, and

a remarkable feature of Kuwait is the lack of political influence of religious leaders; Qadis assist in their settlement of disputes and law suits, but although much respected, they remain in the background.²

This very factor of religious freedom made Kuwait a favourable place for the settlement of many ethnic groups of different religious backgrounds. There were, for instance, about 100-200 Jews. This caused Hewins to say:

Kuwaitis were free to fraternise with Shiahs and Christians, without turning the head or stalking away.³

They usually gave protection to other religious denominations. These aspects must have attracted the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah to settle in Kuwait, which enjoyed a similar culture to that of their motherlands.

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1. It was this factor, perhaps, which led the Ikhwan to attack Al-Jahrah in 1920. See, for example, the letter of Sheikh Faisal Al-Duwaish, the leader of the Ikhwan army to Sheikh Salim, in Al-Hatim, A., 1961, Min Huna bada'at Al-Kuwayt, p. 220, also pp. 217-8.
 2. Rupert Hay, 1959, The Persian Gulf States, p. 35.
 3. Hewins, R., 1963, A Golden Dream: The Miracle of Kuwait, p. 113.

(v) The Persians

This is also another significant group in the Kuwaiti society. Many of them were of mixed blood, not Persians and not Arabs, but a mixture of the two, with two mother tongues, Arabic and Persian. They came from two main places, those of southern parts of Iran which are the sources of the majority of the Persians who came to Kuwait, and those who came from other parts mainly the centre and the surrounding parts of Iran.

The Persians who came in this period, since the establishment of Kuwait, until the early years of oil production, were much more than those who came after the oil era. The main difference was, the former were accepted in the society while the latter remained Persians and unable to obtain the citizenship with some exceptions.

Looking at the early history of Kuwait, there were many indications which showed the old relations between this group and Kuwait. In fact, even before the coming of those who established Kuwait, there were a number of small communities scattered along the Arabian side of the Gulf, depending on fishing activities.¹ which combined many small Persian communities. Those must have been mixed Persians (Persian + Arabs) who were famous in sea activities. Other historians,

1. Al-Qinā'i, 1946, "Safahat Min ...", p. 8; see also Winston & Freeth, 1972, "Kuwait: Prospect and Reality", p. 57.

however, introduced some sort of interaction with the southern islands of Iran which used to combine majority of Arabs, even before the establishment of Kuwait;

After they (the 'utub' = the group which established Kuwait) have left 'Zubara' (in Qatar) they travelled by sea to 'Qiebs' or 'Al-McKrag' Islands near the Persian Coast of the Gulf, they did not like the place there, so they travelled toward Kuwait.¹

Moreover, after travelling from Qatar, they separated from each other, some went to live in the Persian Coast, while some went to 'Abadan' and Al-McKhrag' and others went to 'Sabiyah' (northern Kuwait). Afterwards, they began to travel to Kuwait from these places followed by Arabs and Persians.²

Kuwait itself, was an attractive town for immigrants, its subsequent development as mainly a 'trading-town' where every ethnic group free to live and interact, compared for example, to closed societies like Central Arabia. Most of the travellers and political residents had included the Persians in their description of Kuwait society before oil discovery;

though the early settlers were nomads, once settled their interests, took a new direction as their lives were modified, and racially they became more mixed as they intermingled with Persians who had long been settled in scattered groups along the Arabian Coasts of the Gulf.³

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1. Al-Reshaid, A., 1926, History of Kuwait, p. 15.
 2. Al-Qinā'i, Y., op.cit., p. 8.
 3. Winston & Freeth, 1972, p. 57.

Kuwait kept growing under the impact of trading activities and consequently attracting many people from outside:

a clean active town, with a broad and open bazaar, and numerous solid stone dwelling-houses, containing some 20,000 inhabitants, and attracting Arab and Persian merchants from all quarters by the equity of rule.¹

In their early influxes to the town, the Persians were easily distinguished by their activities;

'Persians' passed in the dusty streets carrying the burdens of the town. They seemed to do the portage, the water deliveries, and most of the coolie work of the port as well as the labours in the dockyards. There were thousands of them, unloading water-booms, driving their asses into the sea to take their dripping loads of water skins, they carried the firewood, the bags of rice, the packages of dates, and everything else, which being taken to the warehouses of the merchants; 'Persians' were doing the work of the town, the 'Kuwaitis' were doing the work of the sea.²

Another European traveller explained about the Persians in town;

They were readily distinguished from the Arabs, by their dress, which is generally a dark blue coat, white trousers and their high black felt hats.³

They were scattered over the town particularly in the centre where the port and markets were located. However, they were poor when they first arrived;

Their places of living were very poor, some Persians who recently immigrated from Persia, had no home, except the

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1. Ibid., description "of Kuwait in 1880's by Col. Lewis Pelly, the Political Resident in the Gulf".
 2. Villiers, A., (1940), Sons of Sinbad, p. 283.
 3. Raunkiaer, B., 1912, Through Wahhabi Land on Camel Back, p. 46.

sand beside the boats drawn up on the shore.¹

Subsequently, many Persians were able to establish themselves so quickly and therefore joined the "Merchants" in Kuwait as in Lorimer's words,

There were two very rich Persian Merchants, in addition of 20 Merchants who invest about 5,000-10,000 Rupees in their business, 100 shopowners with another 200 who work as labourers, while 1,500-2,000 work in sea activities.²

These groups according to Lorimer, move occasionally between the two shores, where they go to their hometowns and return back to Kuwait in the favourable seasons. However, many of them lived in Kuwait since then and become Kuwaitis like any Arab Kuwaitis. Some of them, in fact had been a permanent residence even before so many Kuwaitis who came later from the Peninsula.

The Persian Kuwaitis immigration to the society had taken place in two main periods. In the first period, immigration occurred some 150-200 years ago,³ in the 1800's, when Kuwait trading activities were at their peak. It also later coincided with the period of Sheikh Mubarak, when the golden era of of sea activities both pearls and trade were at the

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1. Calverley, E., 1958, My Arabian Days and Nights, p. 74.
 2. Lorimer, Vol. 4, p. 1743, 17.9, 1710 & 1713, quoted in Al-Feel, M., 1972, Historical Geography of Kuwait, p. 374.
 3. Razavian, T., 1975, Iranian Communities of the Persian Gulf - a Geographical analysis, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London University (SOAS), p. 166.

peak, in the second period which had happened some 60 years ago.¹

(a) Group A Migration

The immigrants of this group were largely of businessmen and overseas merchants.² Several reasons are identified as having affected immigration of these people. Among them the most important are (a) the uncontrolled taxation pressures of local rulers due mainly to the disorganized policy of Qajar central government, (b) oppressions and injustices perpetrated by these local rulers upon businessmen and especially foreign traders, (c) lack of adequate transportation facilities and road networks to connect the southern parts with the interior country (except for scattered caravan routes), (d) wide-spread insecurity caused by nomadic tribes which frequently plundered towns and other settlements, which have affected the trading activities and (e) the commercial policy of the British East India Company which diverted goods from Iranian ports to the harbours of the Arabian side of the Gulf.³

On the contrary to all these problems, Kuwait was a rapid growing trading town able to run its affairs so smoothly and therefore attracting immigrants influx

1. Ibid., p. 185.

2. Ibid., p. 166.

3. Ibid., p. 167.

from different places. These factors have caused the Iranian immigrants to transfer their commercial headquarters and their families to Kuwait. Their total number was around 10,000. They entered into the country and started working and, when the laws of nationality appeared, they became Kuwaitis on the basis of duration of residence.¹

The influx of immigrants from the Persian side can be seen by looking through the economic history of Kuwait. Beginning with the establishment of Kuwait by the 'Utub', Kuwait grew rapidly, in its first 50 years of existence. A further spur to rapid growth was provided by the Persian occupation of Basrah and the diversion of most of Basrah's trade to Kuwait. The second phase saw a slackening in the pace of development of overseas commerce and pearling. Estimates suggest that between 1770 and 1870, the population of Kuwait roughly doubled. Following a phase of more active economic activity and rapid urban growth began, in the 30 years to 1908, the population again doubled itself. After that, both the British and Saudi blockades severely curtailed commerce in Kuwait, so this period must have been an interval of less influx by the immigrants of the Persian side. This phase of economic recession followed by the inter-war period, relieved only by illegal activities such as piracy, and especially smuggling of arms and gold,

1. See for example Chapter 4, Citizenship laws, etc., p.163.

finally the real expansion and growth was followed until the year 1946, when the oil exporting activities appeared. Through these prosperous intervals of Kuwait history immigrants must have lived in Kuwait and acted with the society with the sufferance of some difficulties and finally they were accepted as Kuwaiti subjects by law.

Although many southern Iranian citizens were among immigrants, 'Behbahan' is the source of the largest and economically most influential Iranians who are responsible for many economic activities of this community. In the local tradition, the name of Ma'arafi family was occasionally seen among the names of the merchant families in Kuwait. In fact, even before many Kuwaitis who were able to appear in the contemporary Kuwait. Some Kuwaitis argued that this family has a deep rooted relation with Kuwait - since more than 150 years.¹ The Ma'arafis, a Kuwaiti-Persian family, was originally from the Badiyah locality of Qanawat.² Although they had commercial links with Kuwait for several years it was not until 1824, that for the first time, a house was purchased and the first member of the Ma'arafi family moved his family from Iran to become permanently resident in Kuwait. Usually this group of

1. According to Al-Hatim, A., 1961, the largest 'Majlis' in the eastern side of the town was that of Abdul Nabi bin Al-Haj Ma'arafi the head of Al-Ma'arafi family. His place (Majlis) was established in the time of Jabir I, p. 59.

2. Razavian, ibid., p. 173.

immigrants spends some time in one of Iran's southern ports like Bandar Daylam, Bandar Mahshahr and Hendijan.¹ The Ma'arafi family are among those who resided in Bandar Mahshahr, another branch of the same family called Ja'afar Khani came from Bandar Daylam, while at the same time, a third group, known today as the Yusefi, moved from Hendijan.

The Ma'arafi's main business both at Behbahan and later in Bandar Mahshahr was concentrated on trade in grains and cereals, and therefore, when they established their settlements in Kuwait they became the most active traders in these products. Further extensions of trade in food-stuffs and access to the markets of India encouraged them to deal in various commodities. In Kuwait they became the first people to own a fleet of trading vessels of all the northern and southern ports in the Persian Gulf, were covered by their activities. In fact, Kuwait at this point was concerned increasingly with Pearl and Trading activities which facilitated this action to them. Usually, the Merchant families in Kuwait as a result of their business in trade must have facilities to encourage and build up their trading activities, i.e. ships, boats, places for fixing boats, or building boats and usually these places were named after the merchant who owned them. The Ma'arafis used to own a dock yard for their fleet, i.e. 'Nig'at-Ma'arafi'.

1. Ibid., p. 173.

In 1914, it has been recorded that Ma'arafi family owned eight cargo ships running both inside and outside the Gulf.¹ They carry dates from Kuwait to India and in exchange brought back timber for ship-building. This also indicates another thing, that this family was a source of ship-building materials in the town which explained more about their economic status.

Among the Behbehani families in Kuwait, the family of Yusif Behbehani is also a very famous one from the economic point of view, one of the largest capitalists in the Sheikdom (primarily in the oil era). This family has a different situation, which helped to put it on the top of the Persian-Kuwaitis, even higher than the Ma'arafis, because it had and still has, a strong relation with Al-Subah, the ruling family. It is known that the former Yusif Behbehani, was the manager of Sheikh-Ahmad Al-Jabir's private business which in fact is a very big business in Kuwait. Suffice it to say that the oil production had begun in the last 10 years of his rule and in ever greater quantities.

This family was not able to appear to the scene until when their grandfather Yusif Behbehani worked for the Sheikh of Kuwait. Now, in the oil era, it is indeed the largest single capitalist family among the Persian-Shi'ah-Kuwaitis,

1. Ibid., p. 174.

Behbehani family, originally came from the Lar locality of 'Qanawat' where they were engaged in trade in agricultural and livestock products, the regular business between citizens and nomads which had long been established in Behbehan and is still playing a particular role in the town's economy.¹ They aim to expand their activities and to gain access to foreign-trade-routes the family undertook an internal migration from Qanawat to Hendiyan about 160 years ago.² There they grew the commercial activities and succeeded to establish a small fleet of dows to run their own sea trade. They chose Kuwait as a stop-over port on this regular sailing route within the Persian Gulf, which attracted them strongly because of its free taxation and duties. The first of the Behbehanis who actually settled in Kuwait in 1829 was a man called Mohammad Qassim Behbehani.³ He first built a house on the shore and later brought his wife and children there. Using his experience of the sea trade, he gradually expanded his commercial contacts through the other Arabian Gulf Ports and extended his activities to reach India and Muscat, i.e. trade route of Bushehr, Basrah, Kuwait, Muscat and Bombay was attained by Haj. M. Qassem Behbehani.

Having lived and worked for 30 years in Kuwait, he appointed his son Mohammad Husain, in charge of

1. Ibid., p. 169.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

commercial establishment and moved with his wife to Najaf, in Iraq where he lived for his last 20 years. After Qassim's death, in 1878, his family moved back to Kuwait. After lifting this large economic enterprise his son Mohammad Husain ran the business in the time of the most increasing prosperity and peace under the role of Mubarak (1896-1915).

Mohammad Husain has left four sons to each take a share in the inheritance at his death, i.e. Ali Mohammad Qassem Argani, Yusif Behbehani and Ismail Qanawati. Mohammad Qassem maintained continuous relations with Iran and changed his surname from Behbehani to Argani, the original name of Behbehani (Aryagan, Argan or Arjan). He concentrated most of his trade on Iran and on one of his regular trips to Tehran settled there and no longer returned to Kuwait except to visit. However, his family after his death have returned to Kuwait to enjoy the economic prestige of the family which was considerable. All these Behbehanis, have also established themselves very well later in the oil era, particularly those of Yusif Behbehani, descendants, as Razavian describes them, i.e.

Indeed, they are the best representatives of the Iranian community in Kuwait forming an international trade and broadly speaking in the Sheikdom's non-oil economy.¹

1. Ibid., p. 171.

(b) Group B Migration

The migration of this group to Kuwait occurred between 80 and 30 years ago. The reasons behind their migration according to Razavian, were probably started with the outbreak of World War I, and the international economic depression during the 1920s and 1930s. Another factor was the displacement of the political regime in Iran and the appearance of a serious social and economic aspects of life which were not equally applicable throughout the whole community.¹ Kuwait was as usual, a good place for living without these problems. The next serious social disaster came when the War II and its results, along with the political disputes and the appearance of Communist and anti-Communist activities, i.e. Tudeh Party, Democrats, National Front and others. And finally, the nationalization of Iranian Oil in 1951, through which several employees lost their jobs, which pushed them to Kuwait. Local traditions have written about some events which had relations with the immigration from Iran to Kuwait, i.e. 'Al-Hailak', this name does not have roots in Arabic, but is only an indication of groups from Persia who were faced with famine and extreme poverty, and hence migrated to Kuwait. Similarly, V. Dickson had described this in a detailed paragraph, ending in "these years were a period of large-scale

1. Ibid., p. 185.

migration towards the Sheikdom (Kuwait)".¹

One of the major characteristics of this group migration was that it consisted of middle-class communities made up for ordinary businessmen who became affected by the new taxation and tariff systems and had the chance to immigrate: it also included many labourers and workers who were unable to find jobs in their areas. They succeeded in enrolling in the society of Kuwait, and have participated strongly in the society in their small business and activities which was similar to their work before migration. No particular names were included here, because their jobs were so ordinary and did not therefore attract the local traditions. However, there were some like 'Abu-Shehri', 'Lari', 'Dashti', 'Ash-Kenani', 'Mashhadi', 'Khajah', 'Shairin', 'Bahman', 'Qabazard', etc.

Another group of Persian-Kuwaitis, was from the Tarakmeh, a vast district in the south of Fars province embracing several large and small populated areas, i.e. Noor Abad, Zangoneh, Tormun, Zyarat, Owe-Shunni, Khandag, Kordun, Hossain, Abad, Torakmeh, Shomali, Lamerd, Heikali, Khatimi, Qala'a Mulla, Kod Bozeini, Sanasir, and Char Ghazi. The Tarakemah living in Kuwait were representatives from almost all of these areas, particularly Lamerd and Sanasir.²

This group could be classified as mostly of

1. Dickson, V., 1971, Forty Years in Kuwait, p. 163, quoted in Razavain, 1975, p. 186.

2. Ibid., p. 179.

low-class immigrants. Tarakmeh is a region in which throughout history the livelihood has depended entirely on farming. Industry and service have until very recent years, been totally absent from the area. Due to lack of commercial experience they had to work in manual occupations such as labouring the docks, or portering in the bazaar, whilst some sought their fortunes in pearl-diving and fishing. That was in fact clearly seen by the bulk of the Persians who came to Kuwait as many have described them as "Persians have carried the work of town, while Kuwaitis involved with the work of the sea".

It seems probable that most of the Persians who came to Kuwait, must have dealt with such kind of activities which was the only notion to mark the Persian from the Kuwaiti, except for those who came with commercial background like those of Behbehan.

Another distinguished group from the Persian-Kuwaitis which also came with the Persian immigrants were the Evasis who were numbered 1,000. This group as a matter of fact was different from other Persians as they are Sunni Muslims.

A large district of southern Fars, which includes three major areas, i.e. Jahrom, Howain and Talar is called Bolukestan. Evaz, as a small village in this region had little opportunity due to a very unfavourable climate and less fertile soil, and no further sources of income, therefore, immigration was predicted from it.

Since several centuries ago the people of Evaz

have moved southwards to the shores of the Gulf where they became seafarers, mostly in connection with the sheikhdoms of the Gulf. They were famous as always having been traders in textiles and clothing. In the early 19th century, it was said that the ability of Evaz to maintain its inhabitants reached its lowest level. Thus several massive movements took place in two major directions. A large proportion of Evasis went to Harm, the nearest attractive area, and the second group moved to Bahrain and Dubai.¹ The original family who migrated to Kuwait, sprung from those who left Evaz to live in Harm.² At the new residence Harm they faced the same general problems. About 100 years ago, for the first time one of them called Abd Al-Samad Evazi, removed his family to Kuwait. He later was joined by other families from the same group who chose Kuwait as their permanent residence.³ Ever since, they engaged themselves in similar businesses based on their former background, i.e. textile trades which they were famous for even at the present.

General comments

It is important to summarize the outstanding features of the Persian groups in the pre-oil era society as follows:-

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1. Ibid., p. 184.
 2. Op.cit., p. 184.
 3. Op.cit., p. 184.

- (1) it was the largest ethnic group in the society,
- (2) due to the experience which many have acquired from their original places, they were able to establish themselves easily and quickly¹ both economically and socially,
- (3) it presented three sub-classes, high, middle and low. The high class families (i.e. Ma'arafi and Behbehani) were able to build strong relations with the ruler like for example the family of Yusif Behbehani.
- (4) the majority of this group were involved in labour works and small scale trade with Iran, and other parts of the Gulf, while others were involved in pearl fishing.

(vi) The Slaves

Slaves existed throughout the history of Kuwait until they were assimilated almost totally in the latter part of the pre-oil era during the reign of Sheikh Ahmad bin Jabir (1921-1950).

Factors behind Slavery in Kuwait

The prime factors likely to be the reasons

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1. According to Al-Hatim, 1961, Ibid, the Persian-Kuwaitis, have brought many new things to the society, i.e. the first hotel in Kuwait in the later years of pre-oil era was built by Y. Behbehani; the first telephone in Kuwait was brought by M. Ma'arafi; the first radio agency was established by M. Ma'arafi in 1935; the first refrigerator in Kuwait was brought by M. Ma'arafi in 1934 ..., see pp. 249, 282, 346, etc.

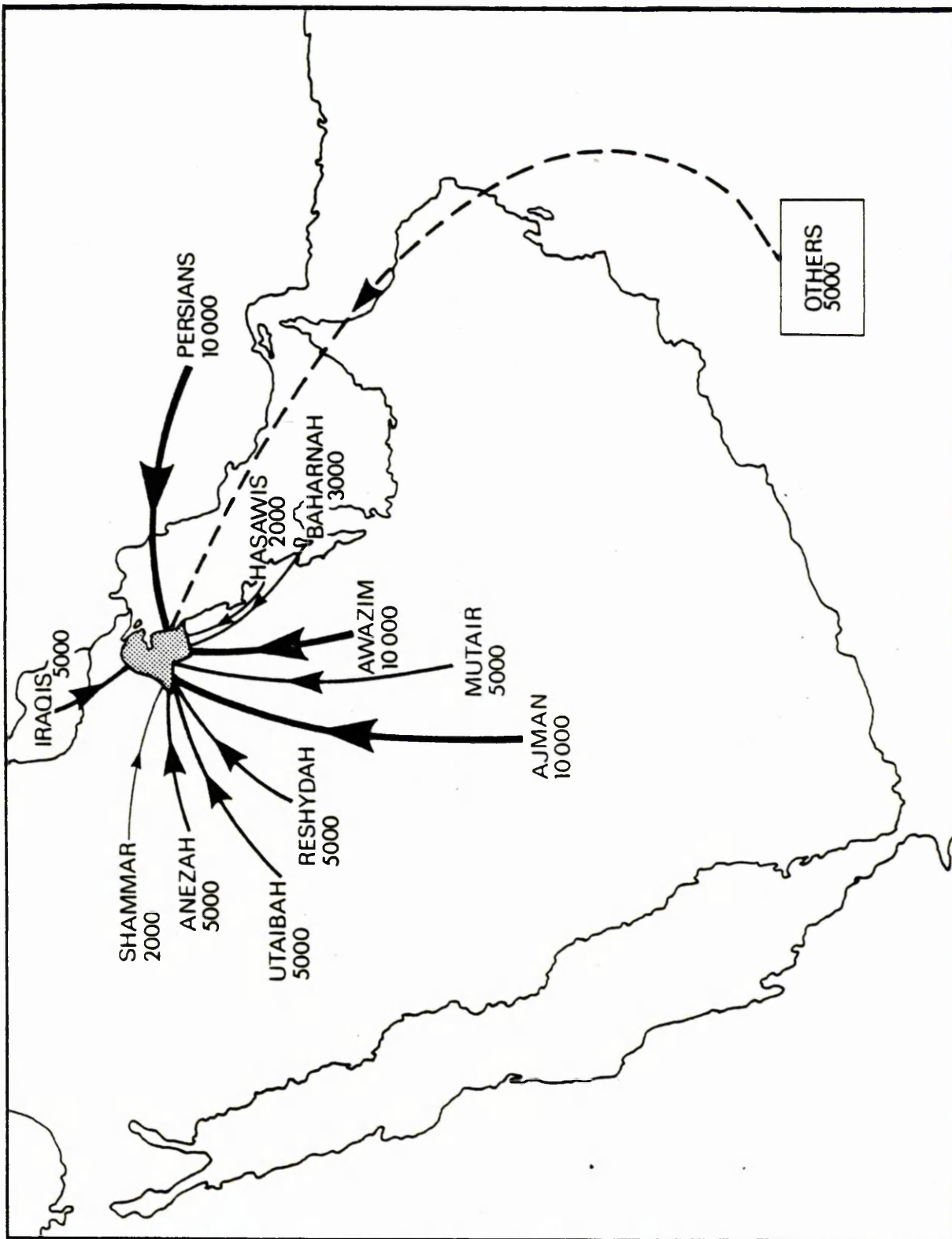


FIG 7. Approximate numbers, names and sites that contribute to the structure of Kuwait society in the Pre - Oil Era. (In the pre-oil era).

behind the existence of the slave question in Kuwait during the pre-oil era, were:

- (a) Wars
- (b) Kidnapping
- (c) Poverty.

As to (a), the Arabian Peninsula region during the early years of the establishment of Kuwait, was a place of powerful tribes distributed over this enormous area together with the settled communities along its coasts. These tribes broke down their isolation through the yearly nomadic cycle after pasture and rain. However, when these essential sources became scarce, they caused disorder and unsettled conditions in these tribes, leading to wars either among the tribes themselves, or more usually directed to the settled communities along the coasts which occasionally maintained stable livelihood. Through these small-scale wars many people became captives, and as a consequence, were taken as slaves attached to certain tribes or groups. They were sometimes transferred and sold to other communities along the coasts of the Peninsula like for example to Kuwait.

As to (b), kidnapping was also a very significant factor in causing slavery. It was usually carried out by gangs who entered the settled communities for trading purposes, but who kidnapped children and transferred them to neighbouring communities in order to sell them there as slaves.

As to (c), poverty had also produced slaves in the country. It occurred mostly when certain families,

usually from the neighbouring communities, suffered from poverty which forced them to sell their children or allow them to be used as slaves. Quite often this occurred during famine or economic disasters.

Slavery in Kuwait

In a Report by the British Residency in Kuwait early in the 1920s,¹ it was said that slavery in Kuwait was divided into:

- (a) those imported from the interior;
- (b) those who were presented by the chiefs;
- (c) those who were born in Kuwait and known as Muwalid, and
- (d) white slaves.²

(a) Imported Slaves

Slaves were chiefly imported by Najdis for sale in Kuwait.³

There were three principal slave routes suggested by another report:⁴

- (i) from India to the Oman and Trucial Coast via Persian

1. Political Agency, Kuwait (R/15/5/311-9) "Slavery in the Gulf and in Kuwait", 27 April 1929.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. The report introduced some chief dealers in this industry, primarily Najdis.
4. Political Agency, Kuwait, ibid., no. F.371-N129, received under Govt. of India, Confidential, of 23rd Sept. 1931; same file, no. 9.

Mekran;

(ii) from Persian Mekran to the Oman and Trucial coasts,
and

(iii) from Ibn Saud's territories in Hijaz and Najd to
the whole of the Arab coast.¹

The first route (i) was likely to include very little slave activity, as the Indian Government was responsible for this route.²

The second route (ii), has two bifurcations; the northern from Bungi and Sirik to Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Khor Fakkan and Diba, and the southern from Sugaieh, Ghulaq, Gehurp, Parage, Puzim and Kunerck to the Batinah coast of Oman.³ The capture and enslavement in Persian Mekran were carried out entirely by local inhabitants, the chief slave suppliers being a Baluchi chief, Barkat Khan, and another one, Abdullah Mohammad Dawaar Baluchi.⁴

The third route (iii) was probably the most important to Kuwait. It covers the whole Arab littoral of the Gulf and Oman to Kuwait.⁵ In general, routes (ii)

1. Ibid.

2. It was reported that only four boys were kidnapped from Karachi and were taken to the Arab coast. The report insisted on the non-existence of such a route, and provided some proofs, saying for example, there were no such Indian sailors or slaves on the Arab coast, and that the Hindu merchants who worked there would report any viewing of such slaves, such as the four boys.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. The report comments thus: "It is impossible to say how many slaves are brought in by the 'back door' of the various sheikhdoms concerned".

and (iii) were the same sort, far from the reach of the Government of India as the report suggested, and where responsibility rested with Persia and Najd.¹ When Bin Saud occupied Hijaz and the Ikhwans looted Taif, many of the captured slaves were exported to Kuwait for sale: "All Najdis likely to deal with slave traffic and always export them to Dubai and Qatar".² Oman, on the Batinah coast, was believed to be the principal centre of the slave trade. It was occupied by the Yal Sa'ad, the largest Omani tribe, who were semi-independent of the Sultan of Muscat.³

(b) Slaves presented by the Chiefs

Slaves presented to the ruling family by the chiefs of the interior were very few.⁴ They were always given as presents and never sold.⁵

(c) Slave's born in Kuwait - the Muwalid⁶

Slaves born from a slave father and mother were called Muwalid. They always remained in Kuwait, and considered themselves - and were so considered by

1. Ibid.

2. Political Agency, Kuwait, Slavery in the Gulf, op.cit.

3. Ibid., No. F.371-n/29, confidential of 23rd September 1931.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

the people - as from the townsfolk.

(d) White Slaves

There were many Armenian and Georgian girls who were exported to Kuwait as slaves: "Such girls, though they were purchased as slaves, are taken for marriage purposes".¹

There were also many slave girls who were brought to Kuwait from Kurdistan (Iraq).² They were brought on account of poverty or kidnapping.³ The chief importer of such slaves into Kuwait was Ali alias Abu Majid, tobacconist.⁴

Many slaves were also kidnapped from Yemen, Oman and other places, and brought to Kuwait for sale.⁵

Their Affairs in Town

Kuwait was described as a place of safety for slaves: "The treatment of slaves here (in Kuwait) is reported to be the best in the Gulf".⁶ The Kuwaiti people chiefly purchased slaves for domestic purposes. Slaves purchased by sheikh got better treatment, and were married, properly fed and nicely clothed.⁷ Such

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. See for example, Na'imah letter to Dickson (Political Agent in Kuwait) of 7 January 1933. She used to be a slave in the house of Husain Ma'arafi, and originally been kidnapped by gangs from Najaf.

3. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

slaves after serving their masters for a few years became free persons, and could go out and work, keeping their earnings for themselves.

Slaves in the service of the merchants, who serve their masters properly, are always given their freedom. Some of the merchants, like Hamad al-Khalid, "who is considered to be the best master whose servants enjoy better treatment", after giving their slaves their freedom, supplied them with free quarters and furniture, and when the slave was desirous of remaining in his master's service, he is taken on at a monthly rate like other free servants.¹ The house and furniture will be the property of the slave and his heirs after him.²

Free slaves, who on account of sickness or disability are not able to maintain their families, live on charity from their master's funds or others.³

Slaves born from a slave father and mother (Muwalid), get better treatment than other slaves, and their children were fed and brought up with the children of their masters, and in many cases they were given the same education as their master's children.⁴ The white slaves of Armenian and Georgian backgrounds (always girls)

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

were bought primarily for marriage.¹ They got better treatment and were never maltreated by their masters unless they did something wrong. There were about 60 white slave girls.²

The total number of slaves in the late 1920s was estimated to be 5,000, out of which 3,000 were still in slavery, and 2,000 had received their freedom from their masters.³ In the early 1930s, the number decreased:

The number is now less than formerly and many have of late years been given their freedom, since this considered a virtuous act, enjoined by the Mohammedan law religion.⁴

Pearling was the principal industry in Kuwait, and slaves were employed in it:

It is estimated that only 100 slaves are engaged in pearl-fishing, ... even these, however, are not sent in the capacity of slaves, but go independently and keep any money they make from the sale of pearls on the same terms as other divers.⁵

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1. Ibid. For example, so many members of the ruling family (some of whom became rulers) were born of a Georgian or Armenian slave mother, who later became a free Kuwaiti, besides being the mother of the Emir. See, R/15/179-4, general information about Kuwait by Col. Dickson, 1933: misc. notes, Who's Who, 1933/1942, 27 July 1948. See As-Subah (Al-Subah) Who's Who.
 2. R/15/5/311-9, op.cit., of 27 April 1929.
 3. Ibid. It was said that 2,000 households had slaves in their homes.
 4. Ibid., No. 637 from Col. H.V. Biscoe, Pol. Res. in the P. Gulf, to Foreign Sec. to the Govt. of India, "Domestic slavery in the Gulf", see Kuwait domestic slavery.
 5. Ibid., p.84. Conditions of slaves in pearl fisheries, families, etc.

In a letter sent by the Political Agent in Kuwait in the mid-1930s regarding the status of the slaves involved in the pearl industry, the Ruler replied:

I beg to inform you that the slaves who work at sea during the pearl fishing season are manumitted Muwalid of Kuwait (Kuwait birth).¹

As time passed, the numbers of slaves decreased more and more, and when oil was discovered in the 1930s and exported in the 1940s, slaves were not in existence in Kuwait having become fully assimilated and integrated with the people. It is very difficult now to know who are the families who came from a slave background.

1. Ibid., letters of 3 December 1935 and 4 February 1935.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION

IN THE OIL-ERA, 1946-1980

Aspects of Differentiation in the Oil-Era

The Citizenship Laws

1. The Kuwaitis of First Citizenship Degree
 - (i) The Ruling Family
 - (ii) The Influential Families
 - (iii) The Middle Class
 - (iv) The low class
2. The Kuwaitis of Second Citizenship Degree
3. The Non-Kuwaitis
4. The Illegals
5. The Constitution of Kuwait and the
Differentiation in the Oil-Era
 - (i) The constitutional guarantees
 - (ii) The Practicality and the Constitution

CHAPTER FOURSOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION
IN KUWAIT IN THE OIL-ERA, 1946-1980Aspects of differentiation in the Oil-Era

Most of those who wrote about Kuwait during this period usually assigned the year 1946 to be the starting point of the so-called 'Oil-Era', mainly because the first oil shipment which had left Kuwait for world markets was in that year. As a matter of fact, the actual oil era years were those when the oil revenues began to flow and to shape the welfare state. From the year 1950 the transformation of old Kuwait society with most of its traditional features into modern urbanized Kuwait, was witnessed. This era which extends from the year 1946 until contemporary times has experienced numerous changes which affected social and ethnic aspects in a way which make them different from the days before the discovery of oil.

The outstanding factors which produced the new picture of social differentiation were :-

- (i) the discovery of oil and its consequent revenues, and
- (ii) the laws of nationality which created 'citizenship'.

These two factors were clearly related to each other.

In fact the first was the cause of the second. That

is to say, oil revenues attracted a huge influx of

immigrants seeking the employment opportunities offered

by the oil industry itself. They were also attracted by positions in the greatly expanded government service and by employment in the mushrooming construction industry. The money wage scale had been supplemented by the free health services, education and other services of a welfare state and the cheap products due to the absence of taxes or duties.

In terms of social differentiation, the previous factors played significant role in dividing the society into three main groups, i.e.:

- (a) Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree,
- (b) Kuwaitis of second citizenship degree, and
- (c) non-Kuwaitis.

Each group occupied certain positions in the social ladder providing new spheres of differentiation in this era.

The citizenship laws

As a result of the continuous influx to Kuwait,¹ the authorities managed to maintain the so-called 'Kuwaiti-ship' for those who were in Kuwait before the discovery of oil as opposed to the non-Kuwaitis, or those who came to benefit from the welfare state. The authorities, also intended to ensure the total independence from the Ottoman State and later the British. On the previous

1. See for example the non-Kuwaiti groups in this chapter.

basis numbers of nationality laws were declared indicating the first official differentiation between the 'Kuwaitis' and the non-Kuwaitis. A nationality law had been in force since 1948 which stipulated that:

Kuwaiti citizens were those individuals, and their offspring who had been permanent residents of Kuwait since 1899. Citizenship could be obtained by marriage to a Kuwaiti husband or by permanent residence in Kuwait for at least ten years.¹

The year 1899 was selected because it marked the time when sheikh Mubarak (1896-1915) came to the throne and established the rule of his branch among other branches in the house of Al-Subah. It also witnessed the agreement of 1899 with the British, signed also by sheikh Mubarak.

This law required 49 years of permanent residence in Kuwait and was concerned with certain groups particularly those who were there before the discovery of oil. An Amiri decree followed, which altered the law of 1948 and indicated,

Kuwaitis are basically those people who inhabited Kuwait before 1920 and have continued to reside there until date of publication of this law. Ancestral residence is considered complementary to that of offspring.²

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1. National law number 2, Article 2, 1948.
 2. Amiri Decree number 15, Article 1, 1959, of the Citizenship Law; it is said that the selected year of the first law, i.e. 1899, was changed into 1920, because the authorities were faced with difficulties in tracing the backgrounds of applicants since 1899.

The year 1920 which was selected by the law of 1959, was also important in the history of Kuwait. It marked the building of the mud-wall which surrounded Kuwait from sea to sea during the reign of Sheikh Salim bin Mubarak (1917-1921). The authorities must have considered those who can trace their existence (or their forefathers) during that time in Kuwait to be Kuwaiti citizens. The reason behind this was primarily because the early settlers established their bone fides by participating in building the mud wall which was designed to protect the society from the raids of powerful tribes from the Peninsula.¹

Article 6 of the 1959 nationality law has created new spheres of social differentiation in the society. The authorities considered those who proved that they or their forefathers had been in Kuwait during the 1920 and before, to be "Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree". The first degree citizenship resulted in creating those of "second citizenship degree". Law number 70, of 1966, has altered article 6 of the Amiri decree of 1959, by distinguishing between the 'Asil Kuwaiti', (the Kuwaiti term is - Kuwaiti Bitt'asees) or those in possession of first citizenship degree from the 'Mutajannis' Kuwaiti, or those who are 'naturalized', with second degree of citizenship by the following:

the foreigner who obtained citizenship (second degree of citizenship) is not eligible either to elect or to be elected in any parliament before 20 years from

1. See for example Chapter 5.

the date he obtained that citizenship.¹

The first degree citizenship can be also obtained through certain circumstances as shown in article 2 of the 1959 nationality law:

He is a Kuwaiti (of first degree citizenship) born in Kuwait or abroad if his father is a Kuwaiti (of first degree citizenship).²

In the third article of that decree:

He is a Kuwaiti (of first degree citizenship) born in Kuwait or abroad if his mother is a Kuwaiti (of first degree etc).³

The second degree of citizenship also witnessed further alterations. The conditions for naturalization became more stringent insisting on 15 years continuous residence in Kuwait (eight years for Arabs), together with a knowledge of Arabic and freedom from criminal convictions.

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1. Al-Hadawi, H., 1973, Nationality and the Status of Foreigners in the Kuwaiti land, p. 133, quoted in Al-Subah, A., 1978, Immigration to Kuwait: 1957-1975, Kuwait, p. 513.
 2. Ibid., p. 510, Article 2, Amiri Decree number 15, 1959.
 3. Ibid., p. 510. Article 3, Amiri Decree number 15, 1959. The Saudi Arabia nationality laws, for example, suggested that "the 'Saudi citizen' is that who is loyalty is to the government of the King". The 'Naturalized Saudi' is one who obtained citizenship on the basis of citizenship laws (naturalization). Another two criterion were required by the Saudi laws to define the 'Saudi citizen'; (a) those who possessed Ottoman citizenship and lived in Saudi Arabia since 1914, and (b) those who were in Saudi Arabia since 1914 and remained permanently until 1945 etc...., for details on nationality laws in the Arab world, see Abd Al-Rahman, 1970, Laws of Nationality in Arab Countries, Institute of Research and Arabian Studies, Al-Alamiyah: Cairo.

This was amended by Amiri Decree number 2 of 1960 when the required period of residence for Arabs was extended from eight to ten years. Another recent amendment, however, was made to article 4 (in August 1980) which required 15 years of permanent residence for Arabs, and 20 years for non-Arabs, in order to obtain the second Kuwaiti citizenship degree. An amendment to article 4 limited the total number of naturalizations in any one year to a maximum of 50. In 1972 many more alterations were made. For example naturalization was also confined to those who render useful services to the country; who were born in Kuwait and remain permanently resident until they become adults. On the contrary a Kuwaiti woman who marries a foreigner would normally lose her Kuwaiti citizenship. This is perhaps due to the fact that the authorities attempted to encourage intermarriage among the Kuwaitis. Throughout these laws of nationality, it was clear that a new social differentiation had been brought to the society by oil. Before the discovery of oil, tribal descent and the backing of lineages coupled with wealth ensured superiority in society. During this era, however, citizenship, and in fact a particular degree of it, was likely to be substituted for the criteria of tribal descent and the like, The latter became a private matter among families who concern themselves with marriage with lineages of similar descent.

Citizenship which led to superiority in this context is merely a matter of papers and proofs that

the person has the right to be one of the 'elite',

citizens are distinguished from immigrants not on racial or religious grounds but only on the ability of the former to produce some proof, preferably written, of their habitual residence in the state of Kuwait.¹

The laws of nationality, thus, explain how 'ethnic' differentiation was eliminated by consideration of the duration of residence only, as a prime factor in distinguishing between people in the society. Citizenship, however, according to some observers does bring a new sense of differentiation, if not by itself considered a sort of stratification,

citizenship can be thought of as a resource much like other kinds of positions and property, since it, too, guarantees certain rights to individuals and hence is a basis of power.²

The above statement leads us to study the new social groupings in Kuwait on the basis of citizenship.

1. The Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree

The impact of nationality laws and economic factors played significant role in social differentiation in the Kuwaiti society in this era, in the sense that they divided the people into 'haves' and 'have-nots' on

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1. Hill, A., 1972, 'Segregation in Kuwait', in Social patterns in Cities, (March) No. 5, 1973, Institute of British Geographers, Allen and Nowbray Ltd., Oxford, p. 128.
 2. T. Marshal, quoted in Lenski, G., 1966, Power and Privilege: a theory of social stratification, McGraw-Hill Book, New York, p. 83.

the basis of their degree of citizenship and consequently their access to economic opportunities. To this group belong all the social and ethnic groups which we have considered during the pre-oil era.¹ On the basis of the first law of citizenship in 1948, and then the 1959, all these groups who were involved in the pre-oil era society became Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree. Earlier during the pre-oil era, there existed three major class groups, i.e. the 'ruling family', the 'influential families' and the 'working class'. Attached to the family system of the leading two, were another sub-group, the slaves, who were freed in the 1930s. It could be argued that the position of each group during the pre-oil era had a great influence on the position of these groups after discovery of oil. The ruling family and the influential families, particularly the latter, used to control the economic activities which were based on the capital they injected into the structure of the economy. In the oil era, these two groups have achieved greater opportunities and positions due to their socio-economic backgrounds. They became the 'elite' in the new society even after citizenship had classified many people of lesser status with them.

The working class group which used to combine the Najdis, Badu, Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians had also witnessed new changes. Some of them were able

1. See Chapter 3, for example.

to become members of the leading merchant families in the oil era by virtue of new economic opportunities. The social differentiation in the oil era has been commented upon by many Kuwaiti observers of sociology and political sciences, such as Al-Rumaihi, and Al-Nifisi and others. In fact most of them attributed great importance to the new position played by the 'ruling family' and the 'influential families' in the oil era.¹ The new class divisions among the Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree suggested four main class groups, i.e.

- (i) ruling family
- (ii) influential families
- (iii) middle class, and
- (iv) low class

By exploring each of which we shall be able to trace the new changes which took place in this era.

(i) The Ruling Family

The death of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir (1921-1950), marked the last rule of the pre-oil era society. Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim was nominated his successor, and,

it was he who laid the solid foundation of modernization.²

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1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1975, Oil and Social Changes in the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait; 1977, Obstacles to Social and Economic Development in the Contemporary Societies of the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait; 1977, Social Roots of Democracy in the Contemporary Societies of the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait. Al-Nifisi, A., 1978, Kuwait: the other Opinion, Taha: London.
 2. Abu-Hakmah, A., 'The Development of the Gulf States', in Hopwood, D., (ed.) 1972, The Arabian Peninsula, p. 37.

During this era, this group witnessed many changes, social, economical and political. There are two main spheres of changes which explained this:

- (a) constitutional leadership, and
- (b) economic interdependence.

(a) The constitutional leadership

In this period, this group witnessed an outstanding event which rested in article 4, of the Constitution of Kuwait:

Kuwait is a hereditary Amirate
the succession to which shall
be in the descendants of the late
Mubarak al-Subah¹

The succession in the branches of Sheikh Mubarak is to be made through his two sons Sheikh Jabir, and Sheikh Salim, which take us back to recall the dual-family leadership stage of the pre-oil era.² The difference lay only in the sense that in the pre-oil era it was a matter which the family accepted as a right for the branch of Mubarak to rule after him without a written constitution. The constitution, thus, provided this group with a constitutional right to rule the state. This factor placed the whole state and its system under the supervision of this class.

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- 1. The Constitution of Kuwait, 'The state and the system', article 4.
 - 2. See Chapter 3, on the ruling family during the pre-oil era.

(b) Economic Interdependence

Oil revenues have caused the breakdown of economic power of the influential families on the leadership. In the pre-oil era, the ruling family used to depend on taxes and duties on the enterprises of the influential families who controlled most of the commercial activities in the society. They also entered into partnership with the merchants to gain further sources of income. With the oil revenues under the control of the ruler, this family became independent of the influential families, and even far richer.

In the oil era, particularly the time of sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim (1950-1965) the social gaps which used to isolate this family tended to change. Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim managed to narrow those gaps between his family and the society. On 17th May, 1959, for example, all cars of the ruling family were prevented from flying (or fixing) flags which were used as a status symbol to distinguish them from other cars.¹ Moreover, The Parliament appeared later in his reign. Sheikh Subah Al-Salim (1965-1977) also tended to narrow these gaps like his brothers. In the time of sheikh Jabir Al-Ahmad (1977 - until present), social cleavages became narrower as Kuwaiti society began in decision-making through the Parliament.

1. Al-Saidan, H., 1972, Shorter Kuwaiti Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 1389.

The characteristics of this group in general were that it always consisted of a small number of families. In France, for example, on the eve of the revolution, the nobility of all ranks consisted of 0.6 percent. In mid-nineteenth century Russia, the nobility consisted 1.25 percent of the population and in seventeenth century England, it constituted one percent of the total population. In Kuwait, and in fact in all the Gulf States, ruling families usually represent small numbers compared to the masses.

(ii) The Influential Families

With the oil discovery and its revenues, this first degree citizenship group achieved further influence over society. We have seen earlier that before the discovery of oil this group had the ability to control most of the commercial activities and pearl industry by reason of the capital it owned. The 'debt system' which they practised in their loans to the people of the working class had provided them with enormous wealth after the discovery of oil. As many people died without clearing their debt to these families, so their properties were transferred in lieu of cash.

Lands and houses became sources of enormous wealth after the discovery of oil. The government land purchase scheme of 1952 made many people's fortunes.¹ Owners of land and

1. See Chapter 5, for example, p. 219.

property within the old town were offered deliberately inflated prices by the government to encourage them to move out into the newer suburbs. These families, on the basis of their ownership of large estates in the town and the properties of many bankrupt townsfolk, benefited the most from the purchase scheme. With the new capital they obtained they were able to extend their ownership to other businesses and investments. That is why they were said to move "from limited wealth to unlimited wealth".¹ Their business acumen had provided them with the essential elements to achieve a high economic status in the society of oil. Thus, their position now is the normal extension of their position before oil discovery,

It was these merchant families which provided that echelon of social and political leadership to the country and gave it that special brand of mental adroitness and financial astuteness which characterises it today; the modern Kuwait reflects in great measure all of these elements.²

The influential families group witnessed changes in this era. They used to be almost a homogeneous group of notable tribal lineages of about 12 families. However, in the oil era some families were able to achieve sudden economic prosperity and wealth, hence were able to enrol in this group which now became about 25 leading

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1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, Obstacles to the social and economic development in the Arabian Gulf societies, p. 17.
 2. Khouja, M.W. and Sadler, P.G., 1979, The economy of Kuwait, pp. 14-16.

families. Some of the new families which have enrolled in this group have come from different backgrounds, for example, Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians. New families such as Makki Al-Jum'ah and Bu-Khamseen (Baharnah and Hasawis), Behbehanis, Dashti, Qabazard (Persians), and Al-Kathmi (Iraqis) became members of these families in the society. Thus, the influential families became a more heterogeneous group compared to what it used to be in the pre-oil era. However, the original 12 to 15 families of this group achieved prestige and certain privileges among other families in this class. The term 'sudden wealth families' was usually used by the traditional rich families when referring to those new rich individuals who came into this class.¹ Al-Nifisi (1978) defined them all as those members of the 'Chamber of Commerce'.²

Many observers had spoken about the capital owned by the families of this group. In Kuwait, they consisted of 4.8 percent of the total Kuwaiti population but owned 37.9 of all the agencies and business companies in the society, that is about 846 agencies.³ It is said that they controlled the share market in Kuwait and abroad; the latter being equal to six thousand million

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1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, p. 24.
 2. Al-Nifisi, A., 1978, Kuwait: the other opinion, p. 10.
 3. Al-Sadun, J., 'The factors affecting the equity of income distribution in Kuwait', The Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, October 1977, p. 79, quoted in Al-Nifisi, 1978, p. 10.

dollars.¹ In other studies it was suggested that they were only 0.1 percent of the population who owned 80 per cent of the wealth of the society.

Internally, this group includes what was termed the 'National Capitalism' group.² They are those who managed to invest their capital in the country whereas large numbers of these families tended to invest their capital abroad. As a result of their wealth, they were able to send their children to be educated abroad. A high level of education was highly valued in the early years of the oil boom. Many of their sons were able to occupy high administrative positions partly because of their education. The ruling family managed to strengthen its position in society by intermarrying with these families.

It is worth observing that this group had given birth to a new group of 'bourgeoisie' who controlled many enterprises in the society on the basis of the backing of the family to which they belonged. They were the new generation of the influential families who followed in the footsteps of their grandfathers. The influential families might be considered as the second most important class in the society, being second only to the ruling family. Although the outward form of struggle between this group and the ruling family had

1. Al-Nifisi, A., 1978, Kuwait: the other opinion, p. 11.

2. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, Obstacles to social-economic development in the Arabian Gulf States, p. 17.

always been the same, each party had constantly fought to maximise its own influence in the society. These families had striven to make the ruling family 'first among equals' as Lenski facetiously observed.¹

(iii) Middle Class

The ordinary working class people who, in the pre-oil society, undertook the jobs of labourers, pearl divers and junior clerks, had produced under the impact of oil a new class which could be called 'middle class'. It is in fact the largest group in the whole of the Gulf area.² It consisted of those families or individuals who were able to obtain some education and those who were able to be employed in the Civil Service. It consisted of teachers, engineers, higher studies graduates, doctors, advocates, etc. Its outstanding characteristics were a limited income dependent primarily on government wages or on small businesses, and a high percentage of literacy. If one was to follow the families and backgrounds of this group, one would find that they were primarily the descendants of families of the working class which was seen in the pre-oil era. They were able to achieve some education on the basis of the opportunities provided

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1. Lenski, G., 1966, Power and privilege: a theory of social stratification, p. 231.
 2. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, Social roots of democracy in the contemporary societies of the Arabian Gulf, Kathmah Publishing: Kuwait, pp. 20-21.

by the welfare state.

Like their predecessors of the working class, the middle class Kuwaitis were also heterogeneous group, as it combined Najdis, Baharnah, Hasawiyah, Persians, Badu and others who have obtained citizenship. It was described by a Kuwaiti sociologist as such:

unhomogeneous group in terms of education, income, and ethnic backgrounds; ... it combines government employee, other private sector employee, and those of humble businesses. In it we can find the contradiction between the illiteracy of its old generation and the literacy of its modern generation.¹

Observers of this class in the region described it as follows:

its members commonly occupy positions in the bureaucracy, professions, and intelligentsia, and these positions are obtained more through merit and individual achievement than through membership in ascriptive groups or through personal familial influence; ... sometimes it is termed as 'the professional-bureaucratic intelligentsia'. This class is also described as inferior to the influential elites, Badu, religious groups, and known as seeking an elite status on individual basis.²

Some findings of an elaborate study on bureaucracy and bureaucrats in Kuwait indicated that the bureaucratic structured administrative

1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, ibid., pp. 23-24.

2. Magnus, R., 'Societies and Social Change in the Persian Gulf', in The Persian Gulf States: A general survey, A. Cottrell (ed.), 1980, pp. 369-411.

machinery is overwhelmed by this group.¹

(iv) The low class

This class of first citizenship Kuwaitis, primarily consisted of those people who were not able to achieve the skills or education needed in this era. Some of its characteristics in the society of Kuwait are:

- a. high percentage of illiteracy, and
- b. high percentage of Badu who in fact carried all the characteristics of this class as illiterates and unskilled labourers.

The exposure to urban life and new income resulting from oil discovery created forces that have drawn the Badu from their unsettled livelihood into a sedentary life. The Badu were not merely 'pulled' by those factors, but rather they were also 'pushed' by the unstable conditions that prevailed in the Peninsula after the appearance of the states and political borders that have restricted their nomadic cycles.

In 1961, with Iraq's invasion threat, many Badu were offered citizenship in order to join the army. Because of their lack of education, the Badu are hampered in their ability to take important jobs. The best jobs they can aspire to were as taxi drivers or chauffeurs

1. See, for example, Al-Ramadan, S., 'Attitudes towards Bureaucracy and bureaucrats in the state of Kuwait', Ph.D. Thesis, The Florida State University, 1973, Dept. of Government.

and bodyguards for the members of the ruling family. In the oil industry, they can only hope to have jobs as skilled labourers after long years of working as unskilled labourers. Rarely can they aspire to an administrative position in business, the oil industry or the government. The only channel of upward mobility open to the Badu is through the military, but even here they make up the mass of troops and only a few of the officers.

Today, the Badu are participating in the legislative power through the National Assembly elections which provided them with additional privileges in the society. Usually, those who represent the Badu in the parliament are middle classes and even high middle class Badu.¹

There are also some Najdis, as well as Baharnah Hasawiyah and Persian Kuwaitis in this class are these who are primarily illiterates and unskilled labourers like the Badu.

2. The Kuwaitis of Second Citizenship Degree

The Kuwaitis under this degree of citizenship are a distinct group in the society. The citizenship law had isolated this group from the first degree citizens although both were considered Kuwaitis. This isolation was due to the fact that members of this degree of

1. See Chapter 6 on Elections.

citizenship are not allowed to elect nor to be elected in the parliament elections. This factor caused them to feel that they are 'temporary citizens' until they pass the 20 years of permanent residence stipulated by the law, number 70 of the 1966, which is the only means for them to be full members of the 'Kuwaitis' society.

The second degree of citizenship is given to those who came after the 1920s as we have seen. It is also given to those who achieve certain professions and skills needed by the country such as doctors, engineers, teachers and the like. Many immigrants from Arab countries with these skills have become Kuwaitis of second degree. Table 4 and Figure 8 demonstrate the nationality structure of the second degree Kuwaitis from 1961 until 1973. They showed about 13,570 citizenship given to the Arabs and non-Arabs immigrants. About 73.7 percent of those who obtained citizenship were born in Kuwait. The remaining were given to those who rendered services to the country. The Iraqis were the highest Arab group in this degree as they took about 12.2 percent, then the Iranians, 9.7 percent, Palestinians, 1.2 percent, followed by the Egyptians and Jordanians who were mostly females primarily because they obtained the citizenship by their marriages to Kuwaitis of this degree.¹

It is important also to mention the Badu

1. Al-Subah, A., 1978, ibid., p. 516.

Table A. Arabs and non-Arabs of the Second Degree of Citizenship

Nationality	Sex	1961	%	1962	%	1963	%	1964	%	1965	%	1966	%	1967	%	1968	%	1969	%	1970	%	1971	%	1972	%	1973	%	Total	%
Iraqi	M	381	20	270	8.6	168	9.7	77	9.3	103	6.4	32	5	5	1.2	2	.5	4	.8	3	.6	1	.1	1	.1	-	-	1048	7.7
	F	36	2	25	.8	31	1.8	14	1.7	29	1.8	59	9.2	67	16.6	65	17.4	48	9.5	43	8.6	95	12.6	77	9.1	18	5.1	607	4.5
Iranian	T	417	22	295	9.4	199	11.5	91	11	132	5.2	91	14.2	72	17.8	67	17.9	52	10.3	46	9.2	96	12.7	78	9.2	18	5.1	1655	12.2
	M	447	23.4	392	12.5	127	7.4	33	4	29	1.8	9	1.4	-	-	-	-	1	.2	1	.2	-	-	1	.1	-	-	1040	7.7
Iranian	F	44	2.3	45	1.4	31	1.8	9	1.1	3	.5	12	1.9	18	4.5	17	4.6	25	5	16	3.2	32	4.2	14	1.7	9	2.5	280	2.1
	T	491	25.7	437	13.9	158	9.2	42	5.1	37	2.3	21	3.3	18	4.5	17	3.6	26	5.2	17	3.4	32	4.2	15	1.8	9	2.5	1320	9.7
Egyptian	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	.5	4	1	8	2.1	1	.2	-	-	5	.7	6	.7	4	1.1	31	.2
Egyptian	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	.5	4	1	8	2.1	1	.2	-	-	5	.7	6	.7	4	1.1	31	.2
	M	1	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Jordanian	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.2	4	1	-	-	2	.4	2	.4	2	.3	3	.4	1	.3	15	.1
	T	1	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.2	4	1	-	-	2	.4	2	.4	2	.3	3	.4	1	.3	16	.1
Palestinian	M	84	4.4	8	.2	4	.2	2	.2	2	.1	10	1.6	10	2.5	1	.3	1	.2	-	-	1	.1	-	-	-	-	123	.9
	F	8	.4	3	.1	2	.1	1	.1	4	.2	9	1.4	6	1.5	3	.3	5	1	1	.2	1	.2	3	.4	2	.2	-	45
Palestinian	T	92	4.8	11	.3	6	.3	3	.3	6	.3	19	3	16	4	2	.6	6	1.2	1	.2	4	.5	2	.2	-	-	168	1.2
	M	405	21.2	466	14.8	223	12.9	105	12.8	128	8	37	5.8	4	1	2	.6	1	.2	2	.4	3	.4	2	.2	4	1.1	1392	10.3
Others	F	26	1.4	35	1.1	31	1.8	14	1.7	21	1.3	20	3.1	47	11.7	24	6.4	36	7.1	19	3.8	38	5	25	3	10	2.8	346	2.5
	T	431	22.6	501	15.9	254	14.6	119	14.5	149	9.3	57	8.9	51	12.7	26	7	37	7.3	21	4.2	41	5.4	27	3.2	14	3.9	1738	12.8
Total		1432	75.1	1244	39.6	617	35.8	255	31.5	334	20.9	192	30	165	40.9	120	32.2	124	24.7	88	17.6	180	23.9	131	15.5	46	13.1	4928	36.3
	Born in Kuwait	476	24.9	1951	60.4	1108	64.2	568	69	1267	79.1	447	70	238	59.1	253	67.8	379	75.3	413	52.4	574	76.1	712	34.5	306	86.9	8642	63.7
Total		1908	100	3145	100	1725	100	823	100	1601	100	639	100	403	100	373	100	503	100	501	100	754	100	843	100	352	100	13570	100

Source: Al-Subah, A., 1975, Immigration to Kuwait: 1957-1975, Kuwait University Press, Kuwait, p. 514.

Others include people from Saudi Arabia (primarily Badu) and Gulf States.

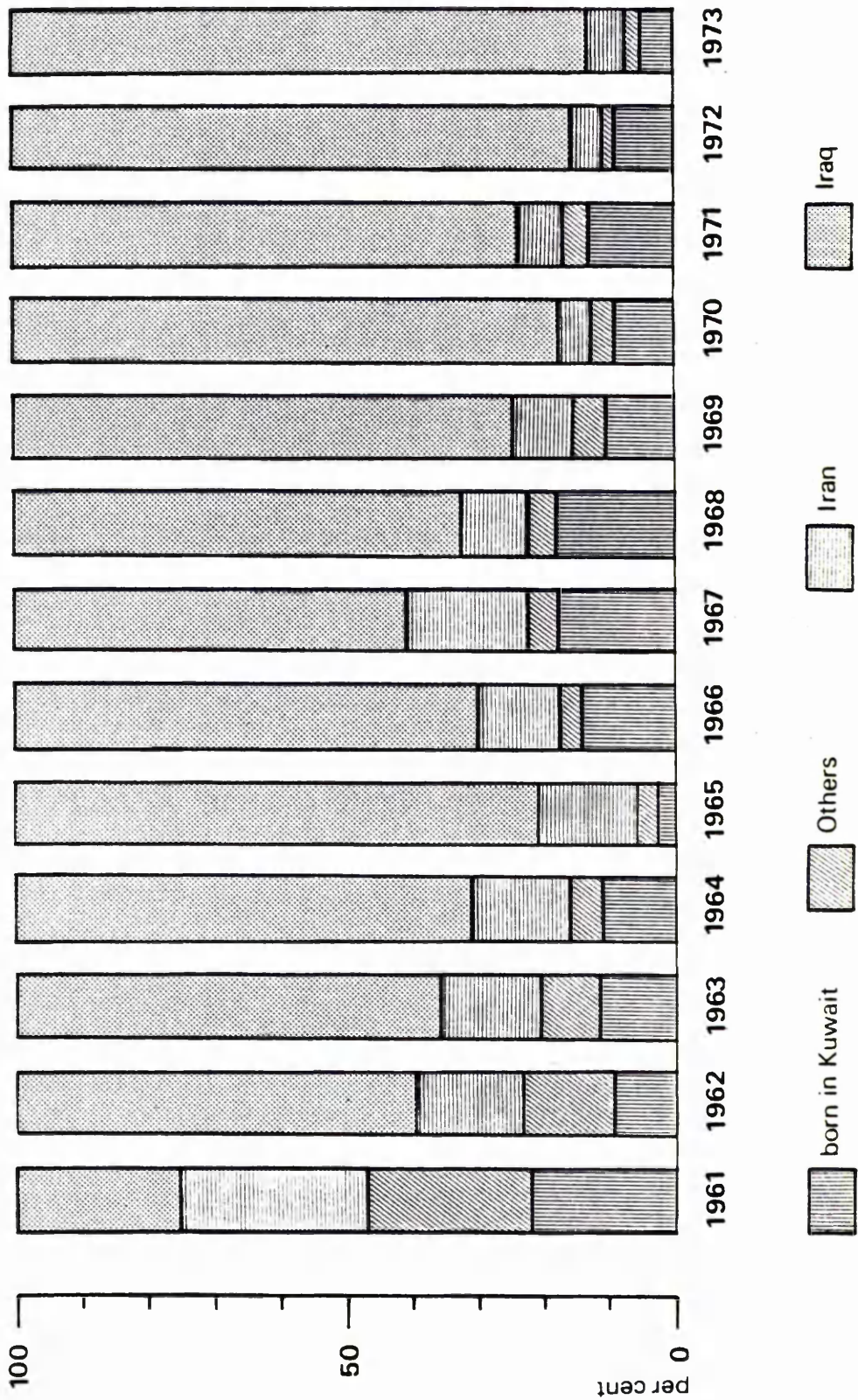


FIG 8. Percentage of non Kuwaitis offered Kuwait Citizenship .

Source: Al-Subah, A., 1978, Immigration to Kuwait: 1957-1975, p. 514.

who in fact are usually referred to as 'others'. They represented about 10.3 percent of this Kuwaiti group.

Usually the Arabs in this degree of citizenship are of the middle and higher middle classes (on the basis of their professions and skills). The Badu and the Iranians, however, are normally of the lower classes (from their high percentage of illiteracy and the like).

Generally speaking, those of first and second degrees of citizenship were looked upon as 'Kuwaitis'. However, socio-economic status is always on the side of the first degree Kuwaitis due to the privileges they acquired from their citizenship. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to understand the status of the 'Kuwaitis' in general, without explaining the position of the non-Kuwaitis in the society.

3. The non-Kuwaitis

Between 1937 and 1947 the number of immigrants in Kuwait increased sharply, especially in the five year period 1942-1947.¹ It seems that immigration was significant during this period, but when hostilities ended and oil exports began in 1946, a flood of arrivals reached Kuwait. Up to 1947 citizens of the neighbouring Arab countries, i.e. Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, were the most numerous nationalities in Kuwait. The Kuwait Oil Company's needs were primarily for manual labour which

1. French, G. and Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 21.

was satisfied mainly from Iran and from the Badu.¹

After 1947, Kuwait's riches became sufficiently well known to attract immigrants from beyond the countries bordering Kuwait, i.e. Indians, Pakistanis. Table 5 explains the nationality structure of the immigrants until before 1957 when the first census of population appeared. The statistics in these tables indicated that population immigration did not begin until early 1950s. Between 1950-51 and 1951-52 the number of migrants in Kuwait more than doubled. A further doubling took place between 1951-52 and 1953-54, followed by proportionately smaller but still sizeable increases up to 1957.

The wars which took place in the middle east, in 1948, 1967, and 1973, coupled with the war between Pakistan and India which created Bangladesh, resulted in a huge influx of immigrants to the country. During these wars, Kuwait was and still is a place of employment and satisfactory livelihood. Table 6, and Figure 9 explain the above.

As shown in Table 6 it is clear how the Kuwaitis became a minority group compared to the non-Kuwaitis, who almost represented 60 percent of the population in 1980. Figure 9, also demonstrates the percentage of nationality groups in 1975. It showed 47.5 percent were the Kuwaitis, followed by the Jordanians and Palestinians who took about 20.5 percent of the

1. Op.cit., p. 21.

TABLE 5. Foreign nationals arriving in Kuwait by individual years up to 1957.

Nationals Before from 1947	Numbers arriving in										Total arrivals	Percent males
	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956		
Iran	1611	300	461	625	1345	1590	2024	3348	3795	1470	16,754	96
Iraq	2476	371	450	513	1426	1304	1583	1999	2415	2361	15,088	77
Jordan	665	113	139	268	813	1827	2457	2125	3201	1476	13,143	82
Lebanon	299	22	45	100	319	632	912	1011	1565	1294	6,205	81
Oman	917	187	196	249	352	434	552	656	1141	849	5,629	93
India	744	215	197	77	211	462	382	397	427	380	3,749	73
Pakistan	354	135	87	81	149	213	247	268	363	282	2,285	75
Syria	239	16	27	34	98	211	227	320	491	451	2,120	86
U.K.	99	141	138	118	183	250	227	204	301	200	1,953	55
U.A.R.	333	5	6	12	76	111	197	365	484	284	1,875	50
Others	1038	169	144	127	255	386	545	550	762	622	4,716	-
Total	8775	1016	1674	2204	5227	7420	9353	11243	14945	9669	73,517	81

Source: Ffrench, G. and Hill, A., 1971, *ibid.*, p. 22.

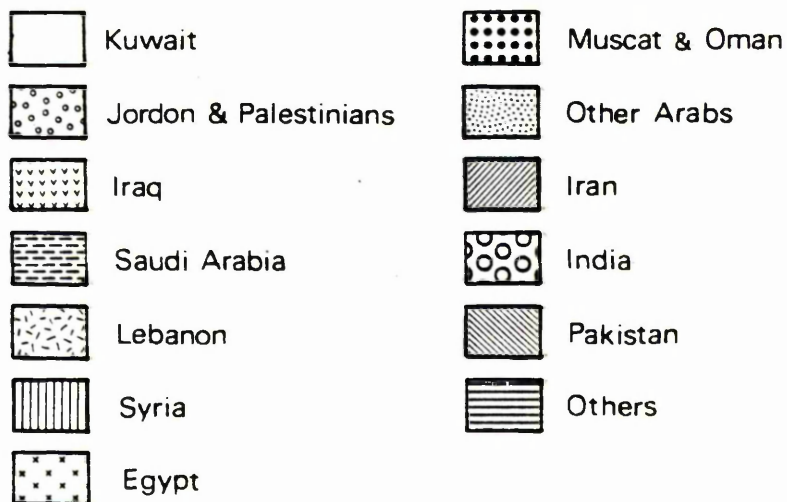
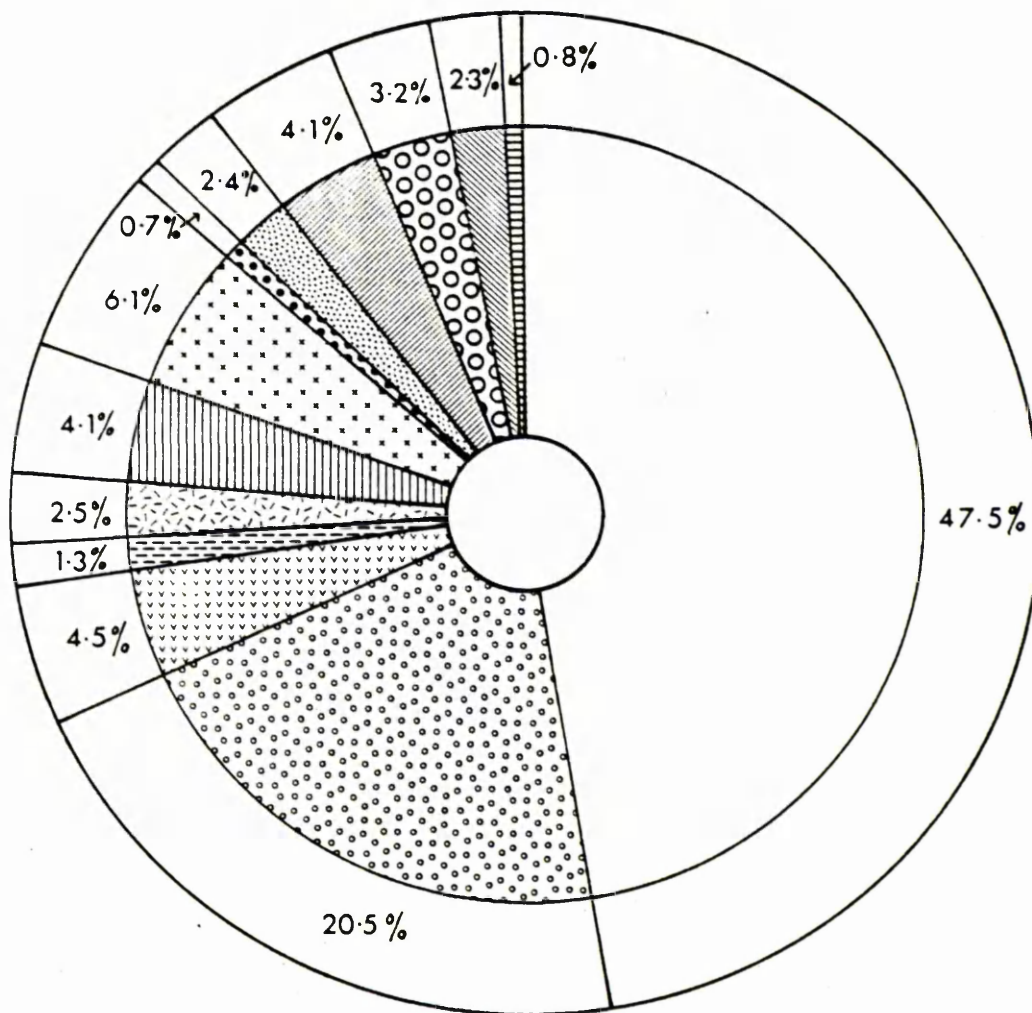


FIG 9. Percentage of Nationality Groups to Total Population, 1975.

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p.23.

TABLE 6. Percentage of non-Kuwaitis in the Census Years (1957-1980).

	<u>% Non-Kuwaitis</u>
1957	45.0
1961	49.7
1965	52.9
1970	53.0
1975	52.5
1980	58.6

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, table 19, p. 21 and the Preliminary Results of the 1980 Census, May 1980, p. 3.

total non-Kuwaiti immigrants, followed by the Egyptians about 6.1 percent, the Iraqis, 4.5 percent, and Syrians 4.1 percent. The non-Arab immigrants were largely represented by the Iranians 4.1 percent, Indians 3.2 percent and Pakistanis 2.3 percent. There were also Arab immigrants from Saudi Arabia and Gulf States as shown in figure 10. Figure 10 demonstrates the non-Kuwaitis born in the state. About 60 percent were Jordanians and Palestinians, 9.5 percent non-Arabs, 7.9 percent Iraqis and 6.3, 6.0 percent for Syrians and Lebanese, respectively. The non-Kuwaitis, although numerous, were always liable to be on the margin if compared to the Kuwaitis:

Although non-Kuwaitis are less transitory than before, they still find themselves living 'on the sideline'. With government policies not allowing them to own real estate or company shares they have not been able to participate fully in the fruits of increased economic prosperity. Hence growing feelings of

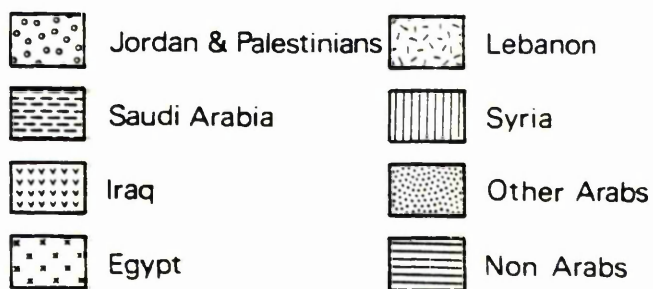
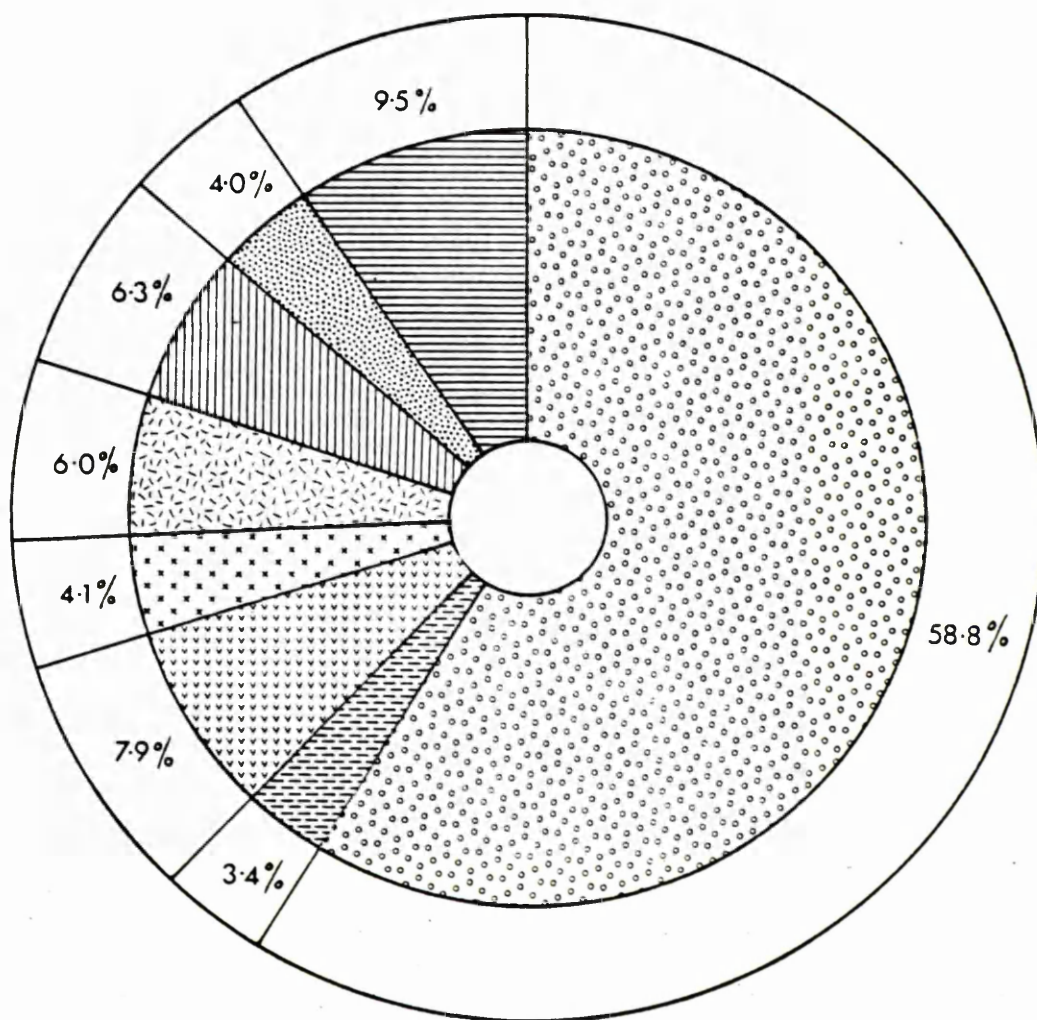


FIG 10. Non-Kuwait Population born in the State of Kuwait according to nationality, 1975.

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, p.31.

frustration and lack of belonging to the country in which they work and live has developed among them.¹

With the government's close control over visas, work permits and especially naturalization for the immigrant population, it was possible to carry through a policy of discrimination in employment by demanding that every employer should in the first instance offer a job vacancy to a Kuwaiti citizen.² In addition, the oil companies were periodically asked to hasten the training and promotion of Kuwaitis to replace the expatriates employed at all levels. The civil service, Kuwait's principal source of employment, was also made to conform to the labour laws and in particular to reserve the senior administrative and executive positions for Kuwaitis.³

According to Al-Sabah, the difference in income between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis is high in almost all the major industrial activities:

The Kuwaitis earn higher salaries and wages than the non-Kuwaitis despite the fact that the latter group is much more highly qualified.

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1. Khouja, M.W. and Sadler, P.J., 1979, The Economy of Kuwait, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, pp. 48-49.
 2. Hill, A., 'Segregation in Kuwait', in Social Patterns in Cities, 1973, see for example, pp. 126-27-28 and 131.
 3. Ibid., see also chapter 5, on segregation of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis over the inhabited urban area.
 4. Al-Sabah, Y., 1980, The Oil Economy of Kuwait, Kegan Paul Int. Ltd., London, pp. 93-94 etc.

In the fishing sector in 1974 the total wages and salaries for non-Kuwaitis was KD 1,232,801. The number of non-Kuwaitis employed in that sector was 2,170. The average wage and salary therefore works out at about KD 568 a year compared with the average income for Kuwaitis in that sector at about KD 3,964. However, in the sector on crude-petroleum and natural gas production, the average income of non-Kuwaitis is much higher than Kuwaitis. This is because European and American technicians are employed, because their expertise is needed, and they usually enjoy higher salaries and also fringe benefits. In the sector of food-manufacturing the general average income of the non-Kuwaitis is KD 674, while the Kuwaitis is about KD 2,557.¹

In the government sector, differentiation in salaries is apparent between the Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis. In February 1976, statistics on government civil servants by occupation group and average monthly wages showed high average of basic salaries for the Kuwaitis in occupations like engineering, teaching, executive officials and managing, accountancy, clerical and related works. The Non-Kuwaitis medical doctors and jurists, however, earn high salaries than the non-Kuwaitis on the basis of qualification.² In

1. Calculated from the Annual Statistical Abstract, 1977, p. 18, quoted in Ibid., pp. 94-95.

2. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, abstracted from table 136, p. 145.

some details, there were 1,028 people involved in jobs as architects, engineers, and related technicians, where 148 are Kuwaitis and 880 non-Kuwaitis. The average basic salary (in Kuwaiti Dinars) for the Kuwaitis was put at KD 174, while the non-Kuwaitis average was KD 144. In teaching there were 17,996 teachers in Kuwait, of which the Kuwaitis were 6,316. The average of basic salary for the Kuwaitis was KD 138, while for the non-Kuwaitis KD 103. However, the average of basic salary for the non-Kuwaitis jurists was KD 163 while for the Kuwaitis KD 155. Likewise, non-Kuwaitis medical doctors' average of basic salary was KD 150 while the Kuwaitis' was KD 93. This is primarily because of the high qualified jurists of special contracts with the government. The medical doctors also involved many Europeans with high qualification who came to the country under special contracts.¹

There is also a clear-cut distinction between the employment of the Kuwaitis labour force and the non-Kuwaitis. Non-Kuwaitis predominate in construction and manufacturing and other professional works, while Kuwaitis are preponderant in services sector. Kuwaitis have lower activity rates than the non-Kuwaitis.² Few Kuwaitis work in agriculture or fishing or indeed in any of the primary sectors of the economy including oil industry. For instance, in 1975, there were 32,900

1. Ibid. Abstracted from table 136, p. 145.

2. Ffrench, G. and Hill, A., 1971, ibid., p. 19.

Kuwaitis involved in service works as opposed to 45,400 non-Kuwaitis (see the percentage of the non-Kuwaitis in that year, table 7) for the same divisions of occupation. On the other hand, about 15,348 Kuwaitis were involved in production and related works as opposed to 90,260 non-Kuwaitis.¹

By status, Kuwaitis emerge as the managers and employers while the non-Kuwaitis are mostly employees. The distinction between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, has become the prime division within the population because of the preference system operated in favour of Kuwaiti citizens. Even where the Kuwaitis are involved in professional and technical works, training courses abroad are only confined to them. This issue, does not allow the non-Kuwaitis to develop their own capabilities as the majority of them cannot travel abroad, especially to European countries in order to attend such useful training courses. Consequently this can have serious effects on their abilities, especially in the field of technology where new rapid developments are made from time to time.

Another phenomenon of discrimination in the employment sector could be seen through the retirement law where non-Kuwaitis do not enjoy the right of pension.

Although non-Kuwaitis receive free education and free health services with no taxes or duties

1. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, abstracted from table 104, p. 118.

still a restless feeling exists among them as a result of the discriminatory approach of the authority.

4. The Illegals

The illegals in Kuwait are those who entered the country without work permits and hence it is difficult to trace their numbers. There must be several thousands of them in Kuwait primarily from Iraq, Iran, Egypt and some Asian countries. The status of this group, of course, is the lowest of all groups in the society.

5. The Constitution of Kuwait and the Differentiation in the Oil Era

An important factor appearing in the oil era is the Constitution of Kuwait which throws some light on the aspects of differentiation.

(i) The Constitutional Guarantees

A very significant point is that the Constitution of 1962 has given a blow to almost all the aspects of differentiation. The Constitution has not reflected any tribal or racial notions in the society. The most effective point is that it has reflected the status of people in general as 'citizens'.

In the preamble of the Constitution the words like:

citizens are provided with more political freedom equality and social justice¹

are very prominent, just like other democratic countries of the world. This shows the modern trend of the country towards no differentiation.

Kuwait is a democratic government but constitutional monarchy.² Sovereignty rests in the people:

The system of Government in Kuwait shall be democratic, under which sovereignty resides in the people, the source of all powers ...³

The notion of equality is there:

Justice, liberty and equality are the pillars of society's co-operation and mutual help are the firmest bonds between citizens ...⁴

The concept of equal opportunity is in full force:

The state safeguards the pillars of society and ensures security, tranquillity, and equal opportunities for citizens⁵

There are directives of equal social opportunities in articles 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20.⁶

Article 27, Part III, is usual as with the countries in terms of citizenship:

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1. The Constitution of Kuwait, Kuwait Government Press, p. 5.
 2. Ibid., Article 4, p. 6.
 3. Ibid., Article 6, p. 6.
 4. Ibid., Article 7, p. 7, i.e. 'Fundamental Constituents of the Kuwaiti Society'.
 5. Ibid., Article 8, p. 7.
 6. Ibid., see page 8.

Kuwaiti nationality shall be defined by law. No deprivation or withdrawal of nationality may be effected except within the limits prescribed by law ...¹

Article 29 has no ambiguity. It says:

All people are equal in human dignity, and in public rights and duties before the law, without distinction as to race, origin, language or religion.²

It has removed all the differentiation which is fundamental in nature. In fact race or origin is an important element in determining differentiation as we have seen before through the study. If any decision is taken on the basis of 'race' criterion, it is easy to understand the existence of differentiation. If any favour or disfavour of rights is established on the basis of origin that it is not difficult to recognise the differentiation. So, these two elements are so vital. Here one has to be very careful as to what the Constitution says and what is in practice.

When Article 41 says:

Every Kuwaiti has the right to work and to choose the type of his work. The state shall endeavour to make it available to citizens and to make its terms equitable...³

we do not find any features of social and ethnic differentiation in the society, then the Constitution is not to blame. Again, if we go back to Article 29 of the Constitution then we will find there that

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1. Ibid., Article 27, p. 9.
 2. Ibid., Article 29, p. 10.
 3. Ibid., Article 41, p. 11.

'people are equal' and so there is no inequality; human dignity is there and so there is no race superiority and inferiority; public rights and duties are there and so there is no segregation of people. Again in the same article, the word 'race' has been used unequivocally. This means that there should not be racism. This also means that from which race the particular citizen has come is immaterial as to his rights and duties. This further, means that there is no racial discrimination.

(ii) The practicality and the Constitution

No doubt, the Constitution is an important charter in the national life of Kuwait. The objective of the Constitution is to end all sorts of differentiation in the society. But in practice, obviously one would find the differentiation apparent. One will find different categories of citizenship. Each category has certain status and privileges thereof. Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree are the elite as we have seen before. They have the highest privileges among all classes, outstanding among which is the freedom of expression. They are allowed to elect and to be elected. By virtue of this social position the Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree almost find no barriers blocking their social, economical and political fulfilments in the society.

The Kuwaitis of second citizenship degree, are the victims here. They are neither full members

of the elite society nor fully outside it. They carry the title 'Kuwaiti' citizens but in practice they are not. They are not allowed either to elect or to be elected. Their social position, thus, is lower than the first degree citizens. On that basis the social, economic and political opportunities are less provided to this group comparing to the previous one.

Both the Kuwaitis of the first and second degrees of citizenship are far better than the non-Kuwaitis who are excluded from the internal social, economic and political affairs of the society. Of course, they are not allowed to own company shares, to own property, or estate, etc. This position in the society has produced many obstacles in the face of this group in almost every respect of their lives in Kuwait.

On the basis of the above, it can be stated that social differentiation in the oil era tended to become more complex and at the same time more rigid in comparison with the pre-oil era differentiation. Ethnic differentiation was eliminated by the constitution, but social differentiation became stronger in relation to the hierarchy of citizenship. This highlighted the basic contradiction between the constitution and the laws of nationality.

CHAPTER 5URBAN SEGREGATION IN THE PRE AND POST OIL ERAS

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CHAPTER 5URBAN SEGREGATION IN THE PRE AND POST OIL ERAS

This chapter is mainly concerned with the segregation of the previous groups in the city; or how ethnic and tribal roots affected the distribution of these groups over certain areas in Kuwait. It also demonstrates the impact of government bodies on the segregation of groups within the city of Kuwait in the oil era.

The basis of segregation varies widely and may include colour, class, or creed, segregation by place of residence, etc. In all instances the effect of segregation is to break down the composite character of the city into a set of overlapping cells whose degree of independency may increase during times of inter-community rivalry and decrease during phases of harmony, possibly in the face of a common enemy.¹ We shall follow the segregation of pre-oil society in the town and the new segregation in the city. It is important to clarify the usage of some terms; for example when we say 'city' or 'Kuwait city' we mean the metropolitan area which developed after the oil discovery. On the other hand, 'town', or 'Kuwait town' is the old town of Kuwait which was contained within the old wall. This wall was replaced in the early 1950s

1. Hill, A., 'Segregation in Kuwait', in Social Patterns in Cities, 1973, compiled by B. Clark and M. Gleave, p. 123.

by the 'green belt'.

1. Group segregation before oil discovery

The pre-oil town of Kuwait as a trading centre had produced an exotic, heterogeneous community of immigrants from the desert tribes, southern Iraq, southern Iran, eastern Arabia and the littoral areas of the Arabian Sea and the Coast of East Africa. This multi-ethnic composition coupled with the strong tribally-structured society of the Kuwaitis in the town, later resulted in the segregation of groups in an area of not more than 3 km along the shore of the Arabian Gulf.

Between the 1870s and the early 1900s Kuwait city doubled in size due principally to immigrants from the interior so that it overspilled an older mud wall¹ and spread out into the surrounding desert. The long distance maritime trading links were important in producing an ethnically mixed population in Kuwait consisting of loosely defined kinship groups owing allegiance directly to the ruler. Lorimer was able to

1. It is believed that there were 3 walls in Kuwait; the first was merely a temporary wall built only when there was danger. The second wall was built between 1771-1789; it was considered as a continuation for the first uncompleted wall. The third wall was built in 1920 and is believed to have remained until the early 1950s when it was substituted by the green belt. These walls were built from mud and sea stones against the Badu raids from the desert beyond. The walls always contained 1 to 5 gates, each gate leading to certain locations etc. See all the history books on Kuwait.

give an elaborate description of the multi-ethnic nature of the town:

The population of Kuwait is now about 35,000 of whom the great majority are Arabs... The 'Utub' are the tribe to which the shaikhs of Kuwait belong and consist of only about 30 (another account says 250) families ... More than 100 Arab households in the town are immigrants from Zilfi in Najd. The Persian Community consists of about 1000 souls, its members do not inhabit the town; nearly all of them are permanently settled at Kuwait, nevertheless they go and come freely between Kuwait and the ports of Persia to which they originally belonged. Persian merchants are about a score: over 100 Persians are shopkeepers; 200 of the remainder are penniless labourers who live from hand to mouth. The Jews amount to between 100 and 200 souls, they have a synagogue of their own, called a 'Kanisah'. The negroes are very conspicuous elements in the population, they number about 4000 altogether, and have social clubs of their own which are distinguished by peculiar sky-signs.¹

From this it seems that both residential segregation and the tendency of some groups to specialize in certain trades were both established characteristics of pre-oil Kuwait. In a detailed description of the socio-physical features of the town Lorimer wrote:

The streets are irregular and winding, many of them blind alleys, and the town is not laid out on any general plan; the only street of apparent importance, besides the main bazaar which runs at right angles to the sea about the middle of the town, in one which leads from the 'suq' or market square, situated at the back of the town near 'Murgab' quarter to the north-east end of the town, but it has no general name. Most of the houses have only a ground floor, but appear higher owing to a parapet-wall enclosing the roof; they are generally

1. Lorimer, G., 1908, p. 1709, Vol. 4, quoted in Hill, A., 1973, 'Segregation in Kuwait', in Social Patterns in cities, pp. 123-142.

built surrounding a courtyard. The better sort are of stone plastered with 'Juss' and have high arched gateways sometimes with a wicket-door in the middle of the gate; a few arches appear also in upper storeys. The system of conservancy is rudimentary; the sewage is deposited in large, open public cesspools in the various quarters. There are between 20 and 30 mosques of which 4 are 'Jami's' or Friday Congregational mosques; these are the chief mosques which stand on the west side of the main bazaar, the shaikh's mosque on the sea's face near his residence.¹

The style of houses also witnessed class status characteristics in the town as Freeth and Winston (1972) explained:

The houses, built round courtyards, were mostly of one storey only; well-to-do houses had a second courtyard so the master could entertain his friends in his own half of the house; the poorer quarters for the most part lay at the back or landward side of the town. On the southeastern fringe were many walled hautas or gardens which were used by men of prosperous families as their places of recreation.²

The town was divided into five main quarters which largely contained the major groups in the society, i.e. (i) Qiblah, (ii) Wasat, (iii) Sharg, (iv) Mergab and (v) villages and peripheries of the town located

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1. Ibid. Lorimer argued that the nationalities of Kuwait population were of Arab majority who belonged to many tribes, i.e. Anezah, Awazim, Reshydah, Ajman, Dwaser, dhfair in addition to the Hasawiyah or Al-Hasa Arabs and the 'Baharnah' from Bahrain besides some Persians and Jews and many Africans with few Indians.
 2. Freeth, Z., and Winston, V., 1972, Kuwait: Prospect and Reality, p. 91. See also, Lewcock, R., 1978, Traditional Architecture in Kuwait and the Northern Gulf, aarp: London, p. 2. etc.

primarily along the coast of Kuwait and towards the interior.

(i) Qiblah (Al-Hayy Al-Qibli)

Sometimes called "Jiblah", located to the western side of the town. It was called "Jiblah" from the Arabic word "Qiblah" or "Al-Qiblah" meaning the direction to Mecca, to which Muslims direct their faces for prayer. The outstanding social feature of this residential quarter was that it consisted of 99% Arabs, who originally came from Najd province and the neighbouring localities of Arabia and Gulf states. This is most likely because the west of the town was directly connected with the Peninsula and the desert through the west gate; the reason why some Badu also tended to reside beyond this quarter.

Due to their tribal backgrounds which maintained kinship and lineage as strong features, the groups which occupied Qiblah managed to divide this quarter on the basis of family lines each family occupied certain wards named after it. The main wards in Al-Qiblah were:

Al-Sager ward	...	after Al-Sager family
Al-Bader ward	...	after Al-Bader family
Al-Khalid ward	...	after Al-Khalid family
Al-Ghnaim ward	...	after Al-Ghnaim family, ¹

1. Al-Shamlan, S., 1970, quoted in Al-Feel, M., 1972, Historical Geography of Kuwait, p. 630.

These wards were located along the coast indicating the trading activities of the families in this area. It was usual for merchant families to have their houses on the shore located not far from huge docks where dhows were built and prepared for maritime trade.

There were also 'places' or 'localities', i.e. 'Mahallah' named after families residing in it. The 'places' in Al Qiblah (Mahallahs) also corresponded to certain Najdi and tribal families, i.e.

Al-Bader place ... after Al-Bader family
 Al-Khalid place ... after Al-Khalid family
 Al-Sabt place ... after Al-Sabt family.¹

The outstanding families in Al-Qiblah were:

Al-Bader family
 Al-Thnyyan family
 Al-Khalid family
 Al-Sumait family
 Al-Bahar family
 Al-Ghnaim family
 Al-Mishari family
 Sayyed Ali house
 Al-Fuwadrah family
 Al-Adwani family
 Al-Y'agoub family
 Al-Hamad family
 Al-Khrafi family
 Al-Reshaid family
 Al-Jassar family

1. Ibid., p. 633.

Al-Othman family
 Al-Klaib family
 Al-Mubayyid family
 Abdullah Khalaf
 Al-Nageeb family
 Hamad Al-Sager Al-Ghanim.¹

The names of such families continually re-occur in the history of Kuwait.² Moreover, these families perpetuated their names in many mosques built in the area at their expense, e.g. Al-Bader Mosque, Al-Othman Mosque, Al-Garaballi Mosque, Al-Sayer Mosque, etc.

(ii) Al-Wasat

This residential quarter is located to the east of Qibla or between 'Qiblah' and 'Sharg' residential areas. This area has its own characteristics which distinguish it from other areas. It was

- (a) the place of administration and sheikhship affairs;
- (b) the sea-port, market place and Safat yard (or the desert-port).

Due to these elements, it became a place of heterogeneous concentration.

The area here was similar to 'Qiblah' in that it contained certain collections of extended families and lineages in certain wards, i.e.

1. Ibid., p. 634.

2. See Chapter Six for example.

Al-Jinā'āt ward (after a collection of about 150
people of Al-Jinā'āt lineage)

Al-Shyukh ward (after some members of Al-Subah
family)

Al-Adasani ward (after the Al-Adasani family)

Anezah ward (after groups from Anezah tribe)

Al-Awazim ward (after groups from Awazim tribe).¹

The Palace of the ruler was (and still is) in this area. Since it included a market place many ethnic groups worked and lived here. Some groups, like the Jews, had their own quarter not far from the palace of the sheikh. There were also many Persians who worked as porters in the sea port and its hinterland. For these reasons the families who used to live here were likely to be of different nationalities. In other words, if Qiblah and its southern extension of Mirgab, as we shall see later, were of Najdi and Peninsula Arabs place, and 'sharg' is a place of groups primarily of Persian backgrounds, Al-Wasat was a mixture of the two.

Mosques were also built at private expense:

Al-Faris Mosque

Ibn Nabhan Mosque

Al-Khalifah Mosque

Al-Fahad Mosque

Al-Abd Al Razzag Mosque

Hlal Mosque

1. Ibid., p. 637.

Mubarak Mosque
 Al-Sarhan Mosque
 Shi'ah Mosque:
 one Mosque and Husainiyah
 one church and one synagogue.

The families which resided here were:

Sheikh Yusif Al-Qinā'i house, the head of
 Al-Jnā'āt lineage
 Al-Faris house
 Al-Fahad house
 Abd Al-Jalil house
 sheikh Hamadah house
 Al-Ghanim house
 Jabr Al-Ghanim house
 Al-Farhan house
 Al-Zaben house
 Al-Adasani house
 Ma'arafi house
 Al-Bodi house and others.¹

(iii) Sharg

This area is located on the eastern side of the town, i.e. the Arabic word 'sharg' means 'east'. 'Hayy' sharg or 'fereej' sharg (sharg locality) was socially or ethnically characterized as the residence

1. Ibid., p. 637.

of the 'leading families' which migrated with Al-Subah in the early years of the history of Kuwait along with a concentration of Persians, Baharnah and Hasawiyah.¹

The leading families here probably provided the basis of the influential class. The reasons for the Persian concentrations in sharg were probably because

- (a) it was the first land which faced the Persian immigrants who came by sea from Iran,²
- (b) it had a concentration of Baharnah and Hasawiyah, i.e. 'Hasawiyah ward' and 'Baharnah ward' which attracted them more than other areas, and
- (c) Qiblah and Al-Mirgab were already populated by Najdi groups.

At the same time 'sharg' was less populated, providing new residential space.

In this area were also the Persians of the 'Awadi' family who originally came from Evaz. There was a Mosque built by one of them. The main wards here were also occupied by certain concentrations of families, i.e.

Al-shyoukh ward (sheikhs ward after Al-Subah family)

Ibn Khamis ward (after Al-Khamis family)

Al-Shamlan ward (after Shamlan Ibn Ali Al Saiif and sometimes called Ibn Rumi ward after Al-Rumi family, both were of the leading families in the society who came with Al-Subah in the early

1. Ibid., p. 635.

2. Al-sumait, Y., 1970, Arabian Gulf: Studies in Origins of People, pp. 16-17.

history of Kuwait),

Al-Nisf ward (after Al-Nisf family)

Hlal ward (after Hlal Ibn fajhan Al-Mutairi)

Al-Mudaf ward (after Al-Mudaf family)

Al-Borisly ward (after Al-Borisly family).¹

In 'sharg', as indicated earlier, the outstanding families who migrated with the early settlers used to live there. They were also the wealthiest merchants who controlled the business and pearl trade not only in Kuwait but all over the Gulf region, i.e. Hlal Al-Mutairi, Shamlan bin Ali and bin Asfoor. The families here produced the merchant family class in the society after the ruling family like Al-Rumi house, Al-saif house, Ibraheem bin Mudaf house, Al-Ghanim house, Al-Nisf house and others.

(iv) Al- Mirgab

This residential quarter was probably the largest of all, but with the smallest population. It was located in the interior beyond 'Qibla'. 'Al-Mirgab' is derived from the Arabic word "Muragabah" meaning to watch or watching the enemies (watching tower, etc.). It was located around a hill dominating the area which was used to watch for enemies beyond the mud-wall of Kuwait. The socio-ethnic characteristics of this quarter also derived from the majority of Arabs from

1. Al-Shamlan, S.M., 1970, quoted in Al-Feel, M., 1972, Historical Geography of Kuwait, p. 635.

Najd province, the latter providing 98% of the population with almost no Persians or Baharnah families.

The main families here were

- Al-Wazzan family
- Al-Shāyi'a family
- Al-Othman family
- Al-Zamel family
- Al-Du'aij family
- Al-Mezaini family

Mosques were built by these families. There were also main wards occupied by certain extended families and lineages, i.e. Al-Wazzan ward, Al-Humud ward, Al-Raish ward and others these being primarily Najdi families.

Throughout these four quarters were many wards to the interior which showed kin and tribe solidarities. Numbering as many as 37, they were named after families such as the Al-Bodi ward, Al-Adsani ward, Al-Sāyer ward; wards after tribes like Anezah ward after a group from the Anezah tribe, Al-Mutran ward, after a group from the Mutair tribe, Al-Awazim ward after the Awazim tribe, and wards after Al-Baharnah and Al-Hasawiyah.¹

The remaining inhabited localities in Kuwait, though not easily identifiable units like the previously mentioned localities of the town, were the villages and coastal villages and other localities beyond the town.

1. Ibid., pp. 631, 639.

The outstanding socio-ethnic feature of these localities was that they were the loci of 'Badu' groups from different tribes. The main reasons for these concentrations were:

- (a) the Badu settlers who came to the town, selected areas which were within easy reach of the desert because they do not want to be involved extensively in the town. They were always found beyond the localities not far from the desert; and
- (b) those who came later from the desert after being attracted by the growing trade in the town had arrived at a time when the town was inhabited and well established by extended families who formed a "group territory" which prevented large number of Badu lineages who sought places in the town.

Moreover, the coastal villages and other areas in the interior desert do have Badu concentrations which have encouraged these Badus to camp and settle adjacent to them.

The important localities here were places beyond the town with plenty of fresh water, i.e. Shamiyah, Salmiyah, Bnaid Al-Ghar, villages like Al-Jahrah, and coastal villages like Fahaheel, Fintas and Abu-Halifah.

(v) Al-Jahrah

Al-Jahrah village (or oasis as it was supplied with ample underground water) was one of the most important

localities in Kuwait. In fact, it existed as an oasis even before the establishment of Kuwait as many Badu tribes had settled in and around it for its underground waters. It was considered the main local source of small agricultural produce as many palm trees and other vegetables were grown there by the Najdis, Hasawis and the settled tribes. It rises 40 feet above the sea level over sandy plains.

Lorimer; presented a detailed description of Al-Jahrah in the late 1800s; i.e.

Most of the Al-Jahrah population are farmers from Najd who work in the land of the shaikh there. It had 86 mud houses inhabited by about 100 families or 500 souls. About 700 families from Mutair tribe camp here in summer, and in winter there are also one or two camps of other tribes. It has many water wells of about 12 feet deep. Most of the agriculture in Al-Jahrah found in the ownership of the shaikh such as wheat, barley, and hay, are likely to be fixed products, where barley yields 120 pounds yearly in a favourable season. There are also many other products like water melon and melons, onions, etc. It has also about 2000 palm trees which produce about 400 pounds yearly. The shaikh is represented by the person of Najdi origin who acts as governor there in addition to carrying out the duties of administering the shaikh ownership here.¹

It was described by many others, who considered it a coherent entity different from other communities in Kuwait,²

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1. Lorimer, 1969, Vol. 3, pp. 1393-1401.
 2. Dickson, H.R.P., 1956, Kuwait and her Neighbours; for details see pp. 61-66; Freeth, Z., 1972, A New look at Kuwait, pp. 139-143; Al-Saidan, H., 1972, The Shorter Kuwaiti Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, p. 352; see also Yusif bin Esa, 1946, Safahat min ... etc. p. 7.

Jahrah had always been different from Kuwait, a village of Arab cultivators, tending date groves and carefully irrigated gardens of Lucerne. They were settled inhabitants who shared neither the worldly sharpness of the Kuwaiti businessman, nor the maritime interests of the Kuwaiti sailor; in it is found the original type of oasis Arab, most of them had come from Najd and had made of this village a scene more typical of the oases of Central Arabia than of the coastal settlements.¹

There were also coastal villages which maintained similar livelihoods, e.g. 'Fahaheel', a coastal village, 21 miles south-south east of Kuwait town with 500 mud houses, 200 palm trees, some wheat and barley farming. The population is of Arab tribal groups who have herds of goats and sheep. There was also the 'Fintas' village, southern Kuwait, with population of Arab tribes and 300 palm trees.² Salmiyah or 'Dimnah' was also an outstanding coastal village which was characterized by particular Badu inhabitants from the 'Awazim' tribe who grow some farm produce there.

If we consider these villages as communities of original oasis Arabs, there were also localities frequented by 'nomads' or 'temporary settled Badu groups' who camped during the summer, e.g. in Shamiyah, and the interior desert and which were characterized by certain groups.

It was on this side of Kuwait that townspeople and tent-dwellers were most obviously

1. Freeth, Z., 1972, op.cit., p. 139.

2. Lorimer, 1969, Vol. 2, p. 830.

juxtaposed, for there was a large encampment of black tents immediately outside the wall and some tents even found space to pitch within the precincts of the town.¹

The socio-ethnic structure of the aforementioned segregation was distributed over Kuwait in a way which gave each quarter and locality its own socio-ethnic character. The distribution is described by Lorimer:

The settled population are the people of the town and the villages who number about 37000 (late 1800s) where 35,000 live in the town and its peripheries. The Badu are about 13000 if we consider only the 'Awazim', 'Reshaydah' and divisions of 'Mutair' tribes. The outstanding two tribes which compose the majority of the people who live out of the town are 'Awazim' and 'Reshaydah' tribes. The people of Jahrah (oases Arabs) are of Najdi origin. The shi'ah groups live only in the town. The nomads are the Ajman, Bani Hajer, Bani Khalid who came from the south (desert). In addition to 'Awazim' and 'Reshaydah' there are also 'Anezah', 'Dawaser' and 'Jna'at' who inhabited the town (in certain wards i.e. Al-Wasat quarter) ...²

Besides these social ethnic distributions there were other small ethnic groups, i.e. Jews and African wards.

The town of the pre-oil era was thus subdivided internally on the basis of socio-ethnic lines where extended families, lineage, tribal groups and other ethnic groups occupied certain wards. In these wards, particularly those inhabited by Kuwaitis of Najdi origin, the inhabitants consisted of one big family or one unit where the oldest adult in the ward

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1. Winston and Freeth, 1972, Kuwait: Prospect and Reality, p. 92.
 2. Lorimer, G., 1969, Vol. 4, p. 1763.

undertook the responsibility before the sheikh on behalf of his fellow neighbours. In Smith's words (1885):

In town, for example, several groups, or a clan had its own quarter, its little portalices, its own leaders and its particular interests. The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself.¹

2. Group Segregation after Oil Discovery

The discovery of oil in the early 1930s, followed by the departure of the first crude oil shipment to the world markets in 1946 caused the influx of oil revenues which diverted the whole society from a traditional way of life into that of the oil-era. The impact of these revenues was also enormous in many ways on the segregation of the groups over the city.

If we consider laws of nationality with the first urban plan of 1952 we shall be able to trace the influence of the government factors as an outstanding cause of segregation in the city of Kuwait. The plan of 1952 involved the government in the construction of residential blocks arranged concentrically around the old town. These areas were prepared for the 'Kuwaitis' and 'non-Kuwaitis', each group to be resident in certain blocks separately. Thus, the

1. Smith, W., 1885, Marriage and Kinship in early Arabia, Cambridge University Press, p. 2.

importance of government appeared here in two ways:

- (a) selecting a certain group from other groups of the pre-oil society by offering them citizenship through the nationality laws as "Kuwaitis" versus those who were not able to obtain citizenship or the non-Kuwaitis, and
- (b) separating these "Kuwaitis" from the non-Kuwaitis not only by nationality but also by place of residence, creating the first official segregation in the city.

The differentiation between the 'Kuwaitis' and the 'non-Kuwaitis' has taken the form of spatial segregation:

the spatial effects of an explicit policy of discrimination on the basis of citizenship are wide ranging for not only has the policy created a highly segregated city structured in a form quite novel in Arabia, but it has also brought about contrasts in the patterns of movement of the various national groups, comprising Kuwait's total population.¹

The second factor in urban segregation was caused by the Kuwaitis themselves through kinship, tribe and other ethnic elements which influenced their internal movements to places of residence within the city, as we shall see later. This phenomena was also influenced by the government although possibly indirectly. That is to say, residences were distributed on the basis of (citizenship) only, without considering the kinship, tribal and ethnic factors. These factors, however,

1. A.G. Hill, 'Segregation in Kuwait' in Social Patterns in Cities, 1973, Institute of British Geographers, completed for the Urban Study Group by B.D. Clark and M.B. Gleave, pp. 123-142, i.e. see p. 126.

being re-formed later by the Kuwaiti groups themselves, when each group followed the fellow kin, tribe, etc.

With spiralling oil revenues and the influx of immigrants, Kuwait city expanded rapidly both vertically and horizontally beyond the limits of the mud wall which was demolished completely in 1956. The government and the legislative powers managed to transform the city physically, incidentally beginning a process of population re-adjustment in which people were moved from the old city to the new residential neighbourhoods and beyond, to the interior.¹

By 1951, despite five years of oil exports and revenue payments, little physical change had occurred in Kuwait, but immigration was beginning on a large scale. Large-scale purchase of land in the old city by the government, together with the benefits brought to the merchant community through contracts for government constructions projects were important facets of the fiscal policy of spreading the oil wealth amongst Kuwaiti citizens.²

(i) The Government Land Purchase Scheme

The property acquisition scheme began in 1951

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1. French, G. and Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 35; see also, Planning Board, Human Needs in the Environment of Human Settlements, a report submitted to the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, May 31-June 11, 1976, Canada, pp. 9-15; see also Colin Buchanan & Partners Reports for the Urban Plan, i.e. First Report, March 1970, "The long term strategy".
 2. Op.cit., p. 35.

with twin aims: (a) infusing sums of money into the economy's private sector and at the same time, (b) facilitating the wholesale reconstruction of the old city. Owners of land and property within the old city were offered deliberately inflated prices by the government to encourage the owners to move out into the newer suburbs and at the same time to provide these Kuwaitis with a certain amount of working capital.¹

For example, the expenditure on the government property acquisition scheme in Kuwaiti Dinars between 1952 to 1973 was 740 million K.D.² Nevertheless, the scheme had a great impact on speeding up Kuwait's economic development and in permitting the very rapid re-development of the old city. Prices for land rose 32 times over between 1952 and 1960, while those for houses increased 15.4 times over between 1953 and 1966.³

(ii) Urban Expansion

"The Plan of 1952":- The first comprehensive plan was produced in 1952 by a British firm of architects and town planning consultants: Messrs. Minoprio, Spencely

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1. For example the expenditure on the government property acquisition scheme in Kuwaiti Dinars between 1952 and 1960 was K.D. 581,977,563.
 2. Planning Board, a report submitted to the United Nations Conference, etc.... May 31-June 11, 1976, p. 10.
 3. Ffrench, G. & Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 36.

and MacFarlane, were enlisted to produce a master plan which was to determine to a large extent the location of subsequent developments and the formation of the contemporary city.¹ This plan involved the government in the construction of 17 major residential blocks arranged concentrically around the old city and linked by a broadly radial road system. It also embodied several points of lasting significance to the final form of Kuwait city which indicated also the official separation between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis:

- (a) New major neighbourhood blocks were created to which Kuwaitis were transferred as the reconstruction of the old city proceeded during the 1950s. Less formal plans were laid for the expansion of 'Hawalli' and 'Salmiyah', later to become important areas of residence for non-Kuwaitis. Thus it was clear how Kuwaitis were to live in certain neighbourhoods separated from the non-Kuwaitis (see Figures 11 and 12). It is important to note here that the segregation in the new city was established by the government not by the plan.² The plan also had other implications.
- (b) The old city was scheduled for wholesale redevelopment as a modern city centre serving all of "Greater

1. Colin Buchanan & Partners; First Report, "Studies for National Physical Plan and Master Plan for Urban Areas", March, 1970, p. 4.

2. Ffrench, G., & Hill, A., op.cit., p. 36.

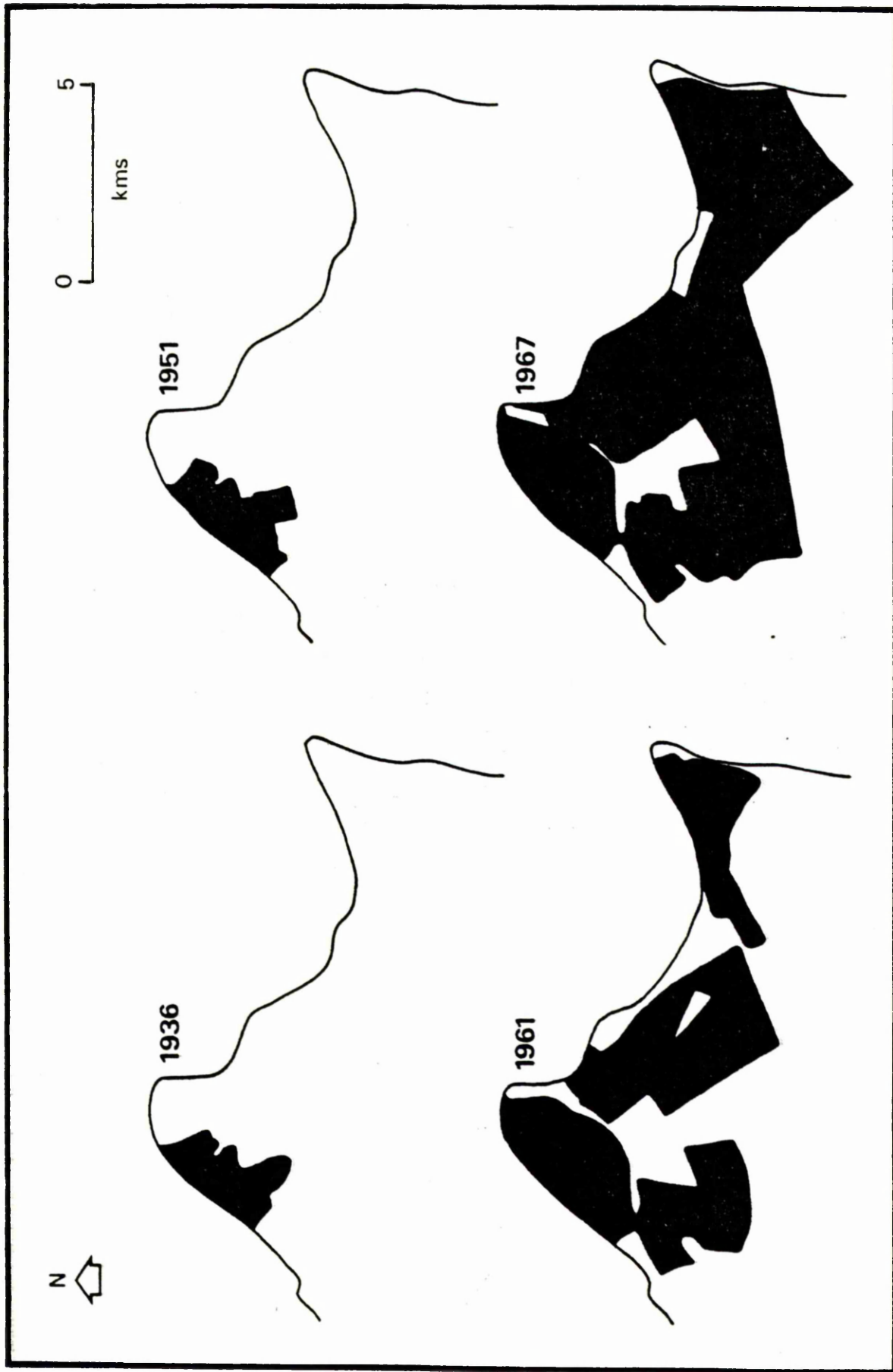


FIG 11. Expansion of the built-up area of Kuwait City between 1936 and 1967.

Source: Ffrench, G., and Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 37.

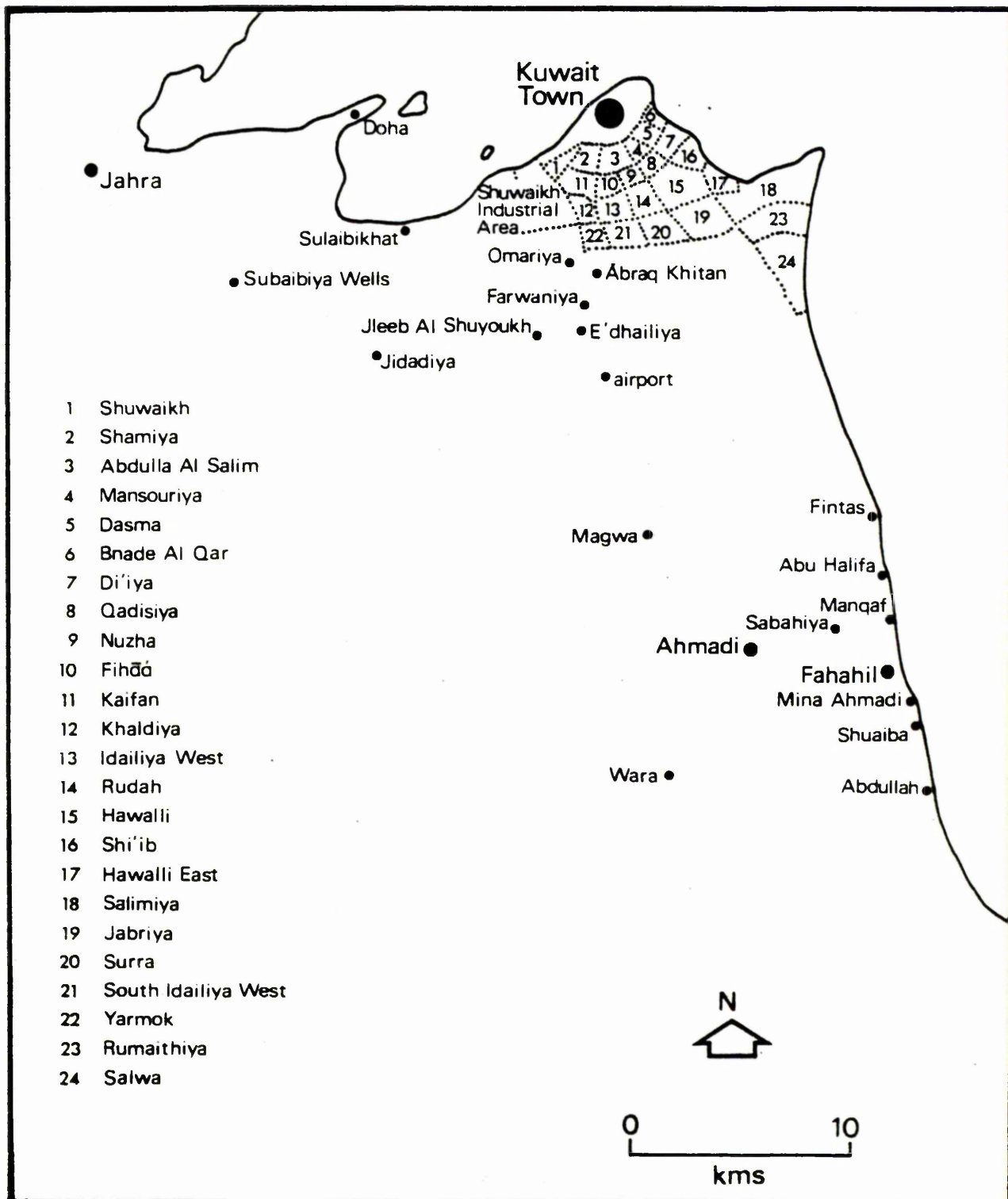


FIG 12. Place names.

Kuwait". Only secondary consideration was given to residential accommodation within the wall.

- (c) Each neighbourhood was to have a centralized selection of services - schools, shops, mosques, etc. - which were designed to meet the local needs of that district's residents, and
- (d) throughout the built-up area there would be modern communication services, road systems, etc.

Once the guidelines of future urban growth had been laid, construction of the new suburbs proceeded rapidly. Suburban development took precedence, but in the late 1950s attention was directed towards the transformation of the old city, particularly the erection of large public buildings. Most of the old city in its original form was to disappear, and from 1952 to 1967, the city expanded into the interior about 10 kilometers from the city centre.¹

Within the old city, building took place in the open spaces bordering the built-up areas of the 1951 city before urban renewal began on a large scale within the centre. This development had no doubt caused many changes in the ethnic distribution within the town.

(iii) Subsequent plans

The urban expansion in the 1950s was almost

1. Ibid., p. 37.

unfettered and by the early 1960s almost all of the 1952 plans' aims had been implemented. In 1960, outside consultants were again asked to advise on future development. In 1960, a plan was developed for new 'Kuwaiti' localities like "Khaldia" and "Idailiya-west" and for certain areas within Kuwait old city (see Figure 12).¹ Between 1965 and 1968 the 'planning board' again consulted outside experts in 'Town Planning' regarding further development.² Importance was stressed on industrial and residential developments of south Kuwait, centred on the Ahmadi-Fahaheel-shuaiba complex. However, this consultation failed to predict the potential immigration resulting from the political situations after the 1967 war.

The most recent town planning consultants' report concentrated on the need for a comprehensive master plan. In 1968, the Government commissioned Colin Buchanan & Partners to undertake a comprehensive study for the National Physical Plan and Master Plan for Urban Areas.

Buchanan submitted his final drafts in 1970/1971

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1. In 1960, Dr. Sabba J. shiber was recruited to advise the Town Planning Department which was then a part of the Ministry of Public Works. The Town Planning Department was transferred to the Municipality in 1962. In 1963 a 'Development Board' was established to review and co-ordinate various projects of the government.
 2. These experts included Professor Jac Thijssee of Holland, Dr. Mohammad Riad of the Republic of Egypt, and Dr. Omar Azzam of the United Nations, i.e. p. 5 of Colin Buchanan, First Report, March 1970; see also Ffrench and Hill, 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 37, and the Planning Board Report, of May 31-June 11 1976 on human settlements, pp. 13-14.

in which he divided proposals into two phases, i.e. long term urban strategy should provide for the growth of the population of Kuwait from the estimated level of 725,000 in January 1969 to a total of two million. The long term urban strategy was based on this projected population of two million rather than on a specified target date because of the uncertainty about the future rate of population growth. The pace of population growth would depend most of all on the rate of net migration. It was shown that a population of two million could be reached as early as 1985 if immigration were to continue at an average rate of 3% a year (the approximate effective rate between 1965-69), or perhaps not until about 1997 if the net immigration were nil. The long term strategy could be divided into four phases, each phase would last 5 to 7½ years.

The short term plan comprised the first two of the four phases (growth to 1,258,000 population in 1984).¹

(iv) Housing groups in Kuwait

- (a) Neighbourhood units, mainly government-owned land distributed to Kuwaitis whose land had been bought by the government for development purposes;

1. See, for example, the reports of Buchanan and Partners regarding the urban scheme, i.e. "Technical papers".

- (b) low-income group housing;
- (c) popular housing for Badu resettlement;
- (d) private development which provided rented accommodation for non-Kuwaiti population.

(a) Neighbourhood units

The plots in these areas were distributed in 1954 to eligible Kuwaitis for a sum of money considerably less than the market value. The criteria for eligibility was as follows:-

- (a) Those whose land in Kuwait City was bought by the Government.
- (b) Persons of low income groups.

There is stringent control designed to ensure that the plots so distributed are used for residential purposes only and are designed as detached single family houses.

(b) Popular housing for Badu Resettlement

The following recommendations were made by the Master Plan Experts concerning the squatter problem:

- (1) To provide temporary housing for the Badu to be replaced by permanent housing in the future in order to solve the problem as quickly as possible.
- (2) To design the housing units in such a way that they be easily altered to meet the changing needs of the family and to be easily extended.
- (3) Three areas were assigned for resettlement of

squatters: El Jahra, Mina Abd Allah and Al Ardiya.¹

(c) Private Development Schemes

The schemes for housing of non-Kuwaiti category are adapted by the private sector. Areas such as Kuwait City, Salmiya, Nugra, Hawalli were predominantly for the non-Kuwaiti population.

3. Social Segregation in the city, Kuwaitis versus non-Kuwaitis.

The division of city into housing groups on the style mentioned earlier demonstrated new spatial patterns of social differentiation between the Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis on the one hand, and among the Kuwaitis themselves on the other. The spatial aspects of differentiation between the Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis developed as a result of three main factors,

- (a) preventing the non-Kuwaitis from private property or estate ownership,
- (b) residential segregation, and
- (c) uneven social services.

As to (a), the non-Kuwaitis are not allowed to own property or estate or even company shares and if

1. For a detailed study on Badu resettlement in Kuwait see, for example, Al-Moosa, A.A. 1976, "Bedouin shanty settlement in Kuwait etc..." unpublished Ph.D. Thesis at SOAS, London University, Geography Dept. See also our work i.e. "The impact of urbanization on the re-settlement of the Badu of Kuwait", unpublished Master thesis, Geography Dept., Ohio University, June 1978.

someone is to start a business this should be with the participation of a Kuwaiti who will be the guarantor before the authority. The non-Kuwaitis were forced to live in rented apartments or free accommodation if they had special contracts with the government. Thus, any house or complex found in Kuwait can only be in Kuwaiti ownership or government property. If we relate factor (a) to (b), we shall be able to trace the consequences of the spatial differentiation. Central to the issue of residential segregation is the government's programme of property acquisition of 1952. The government agreed to pay Kuwaiti owners of land, generous sums of money to sell up and move out of the old town into the newer suburban neighbourhoods. Since the Kuwaitis only were allowed to own property, they alone benefited from the liberal compensation paid and were thus in a strong financial position to build new villas beyond the old town.

Non-Kuwaitis, were excluded from this development, filled the housing vacated by Kuwaitis in the old town as well as moving into newer apartments built by the Kuwaitis in the new city which were not zoned for the Kuwaitis, i.e. 'Hawalli' and 'Salmiyah'. As a result of that, the Kuwaitis benefited in two ways, firstly, ownership of private property and secondly receiving capital which enabled them to build apartments and complexes to accommodate the non-Kuwaitis.

An important issue in relation to the residential segregation is the uneven distribution of the Kuwaitis

and the non-Kuwaitis over the city. The plan of 1952, and the subsequent plans assigned about 14 residential blocks for the Kuwaitis extending up to the Fifth Circular Road. The non-Kuwaitis, however, were assigned to Hawalli and Salmiyah primarily, particularly the former which is adjacent to the city, together with other private development areas along the coast to the south. If we relate this uneven distribution to the population over the Kuwaiti neighbourhoods and those of Hawalli and Salmiyah, we will be able to trace the significance as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. 'Hawalli' population in comparison to selected Kuwaiti areas (1970, 1975, 1980).

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Hawalli Population</u>	<u>Selected Kuwaiti Areas* Population</u>
1970	106,452	52,252
1975	130,302	59,805
1980	152,270	68,060

* Kuwaiti areas include Dasmah, Mansoriyah, Dahiat Abd Allah Al-salim, Shamiyah, Di'iyah, Kifan, and Fihā'a. Hawalli area is about 6.4 sq.km. while the above Kuwaiti areas range between 1.3 sq.km. for the smallest (Mansoriyah) and 2.9 sq.km. for the largest (Kifan).

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract of 1973, 1975, and the Preliminary Results of the 1980 Census, May 1980; Table 8, p. 14 (1973); Table 15, p. 26 (1975); and p. 14 (1980).

As to (c), the uneven social services are a predicted phenomenon as a result of such spatial segregation. The social services in the Kuwaiti areas are not like those over the non-Kuwaiti areas. The Kuwaiti areas, particularly those until the Third Circular Road, are provided with complete services, i.e. mosques, schools, shopping centres, banks, branches of government ministries, post offices, recreation centres, high standard restaurants, and the like. Health services partially due to the small numbers of people are of high standard.

In a residential Kuwaiti area like Shamiyah, for example, there are 12 small-scale parks, one sports centre, a swimming pool for girls, 2 kindergartens, one elementary school for girls and another for boys, one high school for girls and another for boys, one secondary school for girls, one institute for education for girls, polytechnic school for girls, post office, a bank, 2 high standard restaurants, 2 shopping centres, 6 mosques (2 private), one clinic, branches of ministry of electricity and ministry of social affairs, and a public library. With low-order goods such as foodstuffs and other groceries, the purchases were generally made locally, so that the journey to shop is closely located to the household's place of residence. Non-Kuwaitis were not eligible to join the co-operatives and therefore had less of an incentive to buy their groceries there.

The population of Shamiyah in 1980 was 7,927.¹

Hawalli, on the other hand, is socially and structurally different. The first impression one would have about this area is that it is not designed to serve as a neighbourhood unit. People are distributed vertically due to the high-rise apartments and complexes, if compared to the horizontal expansion over the Kuwaiti areas. Streets in Hawalli and Salmiyah, consist of an assemblage of shops selling clothing and wide variety of consumer goods largely derived from Japan and the West. Many shops resemble in form their western counterparts, i.e. plate-glass fronts, elaborate window displays, etc., hence attracting many Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis for shopping.

Social services in areas like Hawalli and Salmiyah are less organised due to the large concentration of population. Each area has about one main clinic, but many private clinics which were established by non-Kuwaiti doctors. Mosques are also provided by the government, but compared to the population they are very little. On the other hand, many mosques were built at private expense by the Kuwaitis over those areas. A survey over these areas highlighted some contrast between the prosperity of the Kuwaiti neighbourhoods and those over the non-Kuwaiti areas. The differentiation among the Kuwaitis themselves on the other hand, has also developed as a result of the 1952 plan. We have

1. Preliminary Results of the 1980 Census, May 1980, p. 14.

seen that housing groups in Kuwait included low-income, and popular housing for the Badu. The land acquisition plan of 1952, had considered only those who owned properties in the old town. The low-income Kuwaitis and the Badu were primarily those who did not own properties in the town thus they were not paid by the government and instead, were offered these low-income houses beyond the Kuwaiti areas, and sometimes within the Kuwaiti areas themselves. The Badu on the other hand, were distributed over the interior desert or along the coast thus far from the limits of the 1952 plan. The outcome of 1952 plan was the economic and spatial differentiation among the Kuwaitis themselves.

A study was made in the 1970s to trace the spatial aspects of social differentiation between the Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis on the one hand and among Kuwaitis themselves on the other.¹ To describe the location of the 'poor' in Kuwait, two variables were chosen - percentage of illiterates and percentage employed in construction (manual labour) by districts. Since the level of education largely determines one's job, salary, and hence social status in Kuwait, illiteracy was chosen to indicate the location of the lowest classes of the society.

For the 'rich' two measures were used,

1. See, for example, Ffrench, G. and Hill, A., 1971, ibid., pp. 41-50.

percentage of workers in professional and technical tasks, and percentage employed in administration. The survey highlighted numerous aspects, for example, illiteracy is strongly associated with non-Kuwaitis and the Badu Kuwaitis. Their distributions were over Hawalli, Salmiyah, Nugrah, coastal villages and the interior over areas like Farawaniyah and Abruq Khaitan where private developments are allowed.

The distribution of construction workers reflected two trends, the first of which is the tendency of Kuwaitis not to take on manual labouring tasks as stated earlier, and secondly, it recognises that non-Kuwaitis constitute two major groups - those qualified to undertake 'white collar' tasks and those whose level of education restricts them to labouring.

From the distribution of the illiterates and those employed in construction, it seems that the 'poor' are largely located in outlying towns and villages, and the old city.

Since non-Kuwaitis fill most of the highly skilled positions in Kuwait, the majority of these high grade employees live in the old city, and over Hawalli, Salmiyah, and Ahmadi where oil activities predominate.

Administrative workers are strongly represented by the Kuwaitis. The survey indicated that the 'rich' (high-grade Kuwaiti employees) are highly concentrated over the suburbs leaving the old city for the non-Kuwaitis. On the other hand, higher status non-Kuwaitis, are

largely restricted to the old city.

Finally, with the government assigning areas for low-income Kuwaitis and those of lower status of the popular houses together with the recently assigned areas for middle-class Kuwaitis over Meshrif, and Khaitan, it is easy to trace the social differentiation among the Kuwaitis over the inhabited space (see Table 8).

4. Field Work Study - Ethnic Segregation of the Kuwaitis in the city

The study of segregation in the city made use of a field work study through prepared questionnaire in certain localities. Through this questionnaire a random sample was selected from particular areas which were believed to have specific segregation. It also involved random samples of property records of Kuwaitis in these areas in order to strengthen the proposals of the study regarding the new segregation over the selected areas.

(i) The Questionnaire

The plan of questionnaire had considered the main hypothesis of the study as a whole which concerns itself with the aspects of differentiation through time. It is important to say here that in spite of being prepared for the segregation in the city, the questionnaire provides

TABLE 8. Distribution of Low Income Houses to Selected Areas

Zone	Before 1962	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Total
Magwa	116																116
Ahmadi	96		107		25	65									7		300
Khitan		139											600				739
Frawaniyah			137		30												
Jahra			120		490			44	1256	1444							3354
Fahaheel			224														224
Abu Halifa			79														79
Fintas			97														97
Omariya					33					73					132		
Sulaibikhat						520											862
Badawiya							408			46							454
Sabahiya							159	707							210		1067
Rabia							764										764
Riqqa														1436	894		2330
Jeleeb Al-Shyouch															287		287
																	<u>10673</u>

Source: 'Ministry of Housing achievements towards settling the low income population until December 1976 along with future projects', Report from the Ministry of Housing, Kuwait, Table 3, p. 6.

information served to explain about many aspects in other chapters of the study. It consists of 65 questions divided into two main sectors, i.e. pre-oil era versus post-oil era. Each period was represented by certain types of questions which cover certain aspects of that period. The pre-oil era questions had two main divisions each of which related to particular types of information, i.e.

- (a) information about the area of residence, and
- (b) general questions about society in the pre-oil period as a whole.

Altogether, they total 22. Likewise, the post-oil era is divided into two sections, i.e.

- (a) information about the area of residence, and
- (b) general questions about the society.

Together they total 38 questions, (see Appendix 2).

(a) Areas of the field study

Certain localities were selected for the questionnaire, for example we chose Shamiyah, Di'iyah and Al-Jahrah as places for certain Kuwaiti groups.

(b) Aim of the field study

The aim of the field study is to prove that the east part of the city has received the people of 'Sharg quarter' of the old town, the west part of the city has received the people of 'Qiblah quarter' of

the old town, and the interior has received the Badu. Thus, Di'iyah has received the people of the east quarter of the town (Sharg), Shamiyah has received the people of the west quarters of the town (Qiblah) and Al-Jahrah has received the Badu families of the town (see Figure 13).

We have seen earlier in this chapter that 'Sharg quarter' was a place of leading merchant families as well as families of Baharnah, Hasawiyah Persian and Badu backgrounds. Likewise, Qiblah quarter was a place of Najdi families, while Al-Jahrah was a place for Badu and some oasis culture Arabs. Hence, Di'iyah must be a residential place of families who belong to leading merchant families as well as Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persian Kuwaitis. Shamiyah similarly must be a place of Najdi families, while Al-Jahrah for Badu. The case of Jahrah is different as it was and still is a place of Badu. Di'iyah and Shamiyah, however, appeared after the 1952 plan. Thus, the field study is restricted by the limits of the first plan which created the areas until the Second Circular Road where shamiyah and Di'iyah are located.

There are two main factors which reinforced our selection of these areas as places of certain segregation in the city. First, they are closely located to the original quarters in the old town. For example, Shamiyah which was selected as the new place of 'Qiblah' Kuwaiti groups located directly beyond 'Qiblah' to the interior. Likewise, in the

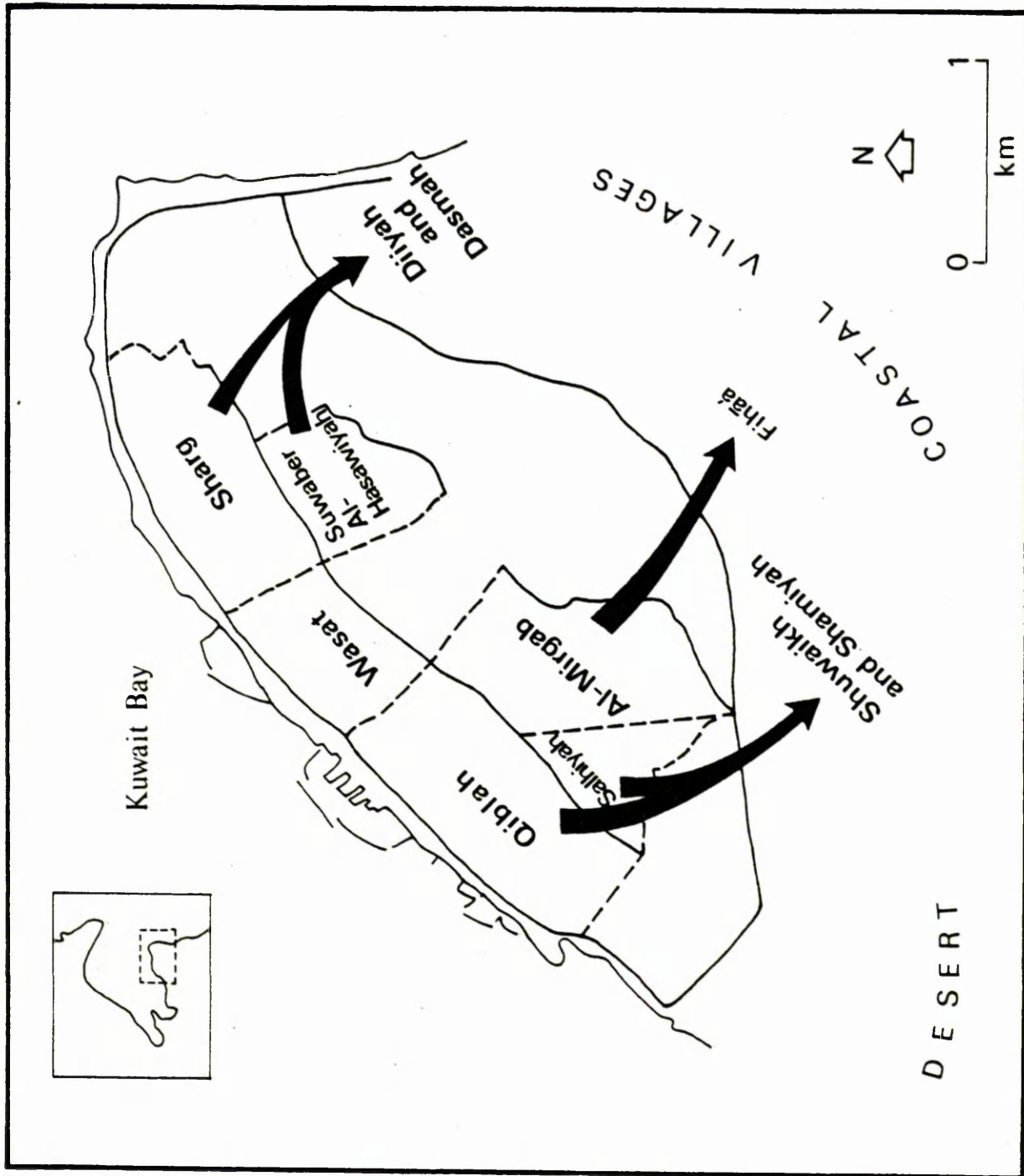


FIG 13. Main quarters of the town of Kuwait in the Pre-Oil Era and Flows to the city.

case of 'sharg' in relation to Di'iyah; while Al-Jahrah was and still is a place of Badu Kuwaitis. The second factor was that we made use of the 'family names' of the residents in the selected areas which were the same as those who used to live in certain quarters in the old town. However, for the Persians, Baharnah and Hasawis, there were also some religious blueprints, for example, 'Husainiyas' which were built only by these groups.

Another important factor is the delegates of parliament who represent these areas in the National Assembly always of certain families and with similar backgrounds. For example the delegates of the second electoral district which is called 'Al-Qibla District' usually came from the Qiblah families of the old town and similarly the delegates of Al-Jahrah, and the delegates of the first electoral district which is called 'Al-Sharg'. Nonetheless, the government had reinforced our suggestion by giving these districts the old names, i.e. Qiblah Electoral District including 'Shamiyah' and other areas (see Chapter 6).

(c) Characteristics of the sample

First, only male Kuwaitis were interviewed. Second, regarding educational status, we requested the 'reading and writing' at least, for all the people interviewed. Third, most of the people interviewed were between 30 to 60 years of age as they represented

the pre and post oil generations and fourth, we have interviewed at least 40 people from each of the three areas selected for the field study, making 120 people in total.

(d) Population and the Sample

The population of the selected areas, Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, totals 52,565 according to the last population census in 1975. The Kuwaitis, however, are 43,367. The questionnaire was given to male Kuwaitis, the Kuwaiti males in these areas totalled 21,638. The percentage of the sample to all the males is seen in Table 9.

TABLE 9.

<u>Locality</u>	<u>Population - Kuwaiti males</u>	<u>%</u>
Shamayah	2,601	1.53
Di'iyah	3,214	1.24
Al-Jahrah*	15,823	0.25
Total	21,638	

* For Al-Jahra we only considered the people in 'Jahrah' because there were Kuwaiti Badu living in shacks. We believe that they are newcomers. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, Table 25, p. 25.

(ii) Property Records Sample

A random sample of about 113 property records (i.e. houses) was obtained from the Ministry of Justice in Kuwait. These documents provide a strong evidence to substantiate our statement. They show the families who own properties in each of the selected areas. They also show how properties transferred from family to another through selling and purchasing. The significance of these records lay in the fact that they show the backgrounds of the buyers and the sellers in each area. For example, the owners in areas like Shamiyah are usually of Najdi backgrounds, the buyers, on the other hand, are also of Najdi backgrounds, which explains about the segregation of Shamiyah area and so on.

It is important to note that certain distinguished family names signify their origins. These do not need any clarification. For instance, 'Dashti' family comes from Dasht in Iran, Al-Anezi family comes from Anezah tribe, Al-Baharnah family comes from the Baharnah group. Other family names are so well known in the society that they are self-explanatory in terms of origin and permitted rapid conclusions to be drawn concerning ethnic status (see Chapter 3 for group differentiation in the pre-oil era).

(iii) The Field Study

(a) Shamiyah

It is well known, historically, that this locality was within the desert beyond the wall which surrounded the town. It was famous for its sweet water wells where many Badu made camp during summer. It was known by this name even before the discovery of oil. The Shamiyah urban locality appeared as a result of the plan of 1952 when a number of residential blocks were prepared for the people of the town.

The economic profile of Shamiyah shows a mixture of higher class of rich families, high middle and middle classes as well as lower classes. The background of the inhabitants indicates descent from leading tribes as well as Najdis. This area has received quite large numbers of those who came from the western part of the town, primarily 'Qiblah' and its surrounding area. Shamiyah thus had a majority of Najdis and non-Badu families from the Peninsula and its surroundings, of about 98%.

The leading families in Shamiyah are the Al-Subah, of the Athbi branch who occupied block 1 directly on the first circular road, Al-Shāyi'a, Al-Meshari, Al-Bahar, Al-Ghanim, Al-Hmaidhi and many others. According to the latest population census of 1975, the Kuwaiti population in this area was 5,390 of which 2,601 were males. We have interviewed 40

people through selected questions from the questionnaire - seven selected questions which are related to segregation in the town and in the city were put to them, besides many others.

Shamiyah Sample, block 4:

TABLE 10. Occupation Before Oil Discovery, Shamiyah Sample

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the occupation of your father?	Pearl merchant	1
	Goods merchant	3
	Nukhedah (ship captain)	1
	Small merchant	16
	Pearl diver	18
	Others	61
	Total	100

TABLE 11. Location of Residence - before oil discovery - Shamiyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the name of the area where you resided	Qiblah	72
	Mirgab	12
	Sharg	1
	Wasat	-
	Salhiyah	5
	Jahrah	-
	Others	10
	Total	100

TABLE 12. Town Divisions - before oil discovery
Shamiyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Do you believe that the town of Kuwait could be divided into quarters each of which had its own socio-economic characteristics?	Yes	69
	No	31
	Total	100
What were the main quarters in the old town?	a. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg.	8
	b. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg, Mirgab and the villages	20
	c. Qiblah, Sharg, Mirgab	41
	d. There were no such divisions, they were merely locational quarters without distinctions	30
	e. Others	1
	Total	100

TABLE 13. Occupations of the Ward's Residents - before oil discovery - Shamiyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What were the occupations of the people in the ward where you resided?	a. Most of them were pearl and goods merchants	-
	b. Most of them were small merchants	29
	c. Most of them were pearl divers and sea workers	17
	d. Mixture of the above three	54
	e. Others	-
	Total	100

TABLE 14. Residence Information - after oil discovery
- Shamiyah Sample

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Why did you choose this area for your residence?	a. Through the government	39
	b. Because my relatives live here.	2
	c. Because it is close to my working place.	-
	d. I bought it.	59
	e. Others	-
	Total	100

TABLE 15. Occupations of the Ward's Residents - After oil discovery - Shamiyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What are the occupations of the people in the ward where you reside?	a. Merchants	5
	b. Government employee	85
	c. Others	10
	Total	100

Through the answers in the interviews we were able to sum up some aspects related to the people of Shamiyah, i.e.

a. The quarter where the interview was undertaken was primarily of middle and high middle class family. We can see through the answers in Table 10 that the status background of the people in that quarter was of a working class group primarily though included were a number of merchants who represent high classes usually.

- b. The answers in Table 11 strengthen our suggestion that this area has received large numbers of Kuwaitis who came from the western part of the town, primarily Qiblah.
- c. Table 12 also supports our suggestion that we should consider the divisions of the town on socio-tribal lines although different views were expressed on the right divisions.
- d. Table 13 revealed more about the background of the selected sample in the sense that the general outlook of the ward was of middle to low class Kuwaitis.
- e. Table 14 is concerned with the post-oil era in which the government purchased the lands of the people in the town and provided new lands for them in the city according to the land acquisition scheme. However, there were large numbers of Kuwaitis who bought their land which indicates internal migration from place to place in the city. Those aspects could be seen through the property records of Shamiyah residential area.

Table 15 demonstrates the relationship between the economic background of the people of that ward (in Table 10), and their occupation now. Usually, government employees represent middle and low class backgrounds.

Land property records in Shamiyah

Table 16 explains about land property records in Shamiyah. From this table we were able to deduce: (a) the majority of houses distributed to Najdi Kuwaitis ended up in the possession of other Najdi Kuwaitis and (b) that most of those who had received the houses from the government and later sold it to others were likely to be from the 'Qiblah' quarter which strengthens our proposal that 'Qiblah' Kuwaitis moved to the west of the city. The Najdis in the records of Table 16 took 78 percent, after that, the non-Najdis and those of Persian backgrounds all took 9.3 percent and finally about 3.1 percent for the Baharnah. Other groups shared the rest.

TABLE 16. Land Property Records among Kuwaitis in Shamiyah Locality.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
Block 6	363/1959	The administration of government property at the Ministry of Finance	A.K. Al-Sharrah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	141/1974	A.K. Al-Sharrah	L.M.A. Al-Jasim (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	2343/1976	L.M.A. Al-Jasim	A.N.H. Karashi (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	8281/1976	A.N.H. Karashi	K.A.M. Al-Mishari (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	902/1978	K.A.M. Al-Mishari	S.S.M. Al-Mullah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	1165/1968	The Ministry of Finance	B.M.A. Al-Barrak (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	808/1976	B.M.A. Al-Barrak	W.M.A. Al-Barrak (same family)
Block 7	4540/1960	The administration of government property	H.A.K. Al-Tarrah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	5/1961	H.A.K. Al-Tarrah	M.A. Husain (Persian?-Kuwaiti)
	1439/1979	M.A. Husain	K.A. Al-Shalfon (Najdi-Kuwaiti)

TABLE 16 (continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
Block 6	3081/1979	The Ministry of Finance	K.H.A. Al-Ali (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 9	659/1959	The administration of government property	A.M. Al-Rwaijeh (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	121/1961	A.M. Al-Rwaijeh	H.A. Al-Mishari (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	3722/1979	H.A. Al-Mishari	F.A. Al-Rwaijeh (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	762/1962	Ministry of Finance	A.R.A. Murad (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	1736/1968	A.R.A. Murad	S.A. Al-Barjas (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	225/1974	S.A. Al-Barjas	J.H.A. Al-Saleh (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	593/1979	J.H.A. Al-Saleh	B.A.Y. Al-Reshaid (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	76/0/1978	Ministry of Housing	B.M. Al-Attar (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	2168/1979	B.M. Al-Attar	A.A.H. Al-Shatti (Persian-Kuwaiti)
Block 7	10206/1966	Ministry of Social Affairs	E.B. Al-Ghanim (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	337/1979	E.B. Al-Ghanim	M.M. Al-Banwan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 7	2551/1972	Ministry of Social Affairs	F.A. Buredan (?)
	635/1973	F.A. Buredan	A.D. Shan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	1242/1974	A.D. Shan	T.M. Mosawi (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	2866/1977	T.M. Mosawi	E.M. Al-Melam (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	563/1979	E.M. Al-Melam	A.A. Al-Shalfan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 7	1122/1974	Ministry of Social Affairs	J.Y. Al-Ghanim (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	2164/1974	J.Y.A. Al-Ghanim	S.H. Al-Ghanim (same family)
	1652/1979	S.H. Al-Ghanim	A.H. Al-Jalahmah
Block 3	1066/1971	Ministry of Social Affairs	M.A. Al-Faris (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	4490/1976	M.A. Al-Faris	E.M. Al-Faris (same family)

(b) Di'iyah

This residential locality had also appeared after the urban plan of 1952. It used to be part of the desert beyond the mud wall which surrounded Kuwait until the early 1950s. The study selected this area as a place which received a large number of people who used to live in the eastern side of the old town primarily 'Sharg'. We have seen earlier through the segregation in the old town that the eastern quarter primarily 'Sharg' contained many leading merchant families. It also consisted of a concentration of Hasawis in certain parts like "Hayy Al-Hasawiyah" which is attached to Sharg in the south. There were also groups in Sharg of Persian origin as well as Baharnah. Di'iyah which is located to the south of the Sharg area must have received families from the previous backgrounds. Families in Di'iyah were likely to be from the leading families in the old society who migrated with the early settlers to Kuwait.

The leading families here are many, e.g. Al-Mudaf, Al-Rumi, Al-Rudan, Al-Ghanim, Al-Shamlan, or Al-Saif, Al-Mannā'i and many others. Families both of Persian, Baharnah and, Hasawi backgrounds are also numerous, e.g. Al-Hazeem, Bu-Khamseen, Khuraibit, Al-Qattan, while families of Persian background are represented by Behbehani, Ashkenani, Al-Muhri, Tabatabai and others. Di'iyah was also a combination of high, middle and low class Kuwaitis. According to the latest population census in 1975 Di'iyah had 6,577 Kuwaitis of which 3,214 were males.

The questionnaire and field work was undertaken in Block 3 in Di'iyah: Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 show the responses of the people there to some selected questions.

TABLE 17. Occupation Before Oil Discovery - Di'iyah sample

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the occupation of your father?	Pearl merchant	5
	Goods merchant	-
	Nukhedah (ship's captain)	3
	Small merchant	-
	Pearl diver	12
	Others	80
	Total	100

TABLE 18. Location of Residence - before oil discovery - Di'iyah sample

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the name of the area where you resided?	Qiblah	2
	Mirgab	-
	Wasat	6
	Sharg	77
	Salhiyah	-
	Jahrah	-
	Others	15
	Total	100

TABLE 19. Town Divisions - before oil discovery -
Di'iyah sample

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Do you believe that the town of Kuwait could be divided into quarters each of which has its own socio-economic characteristics?	Yes	25
	No	75
	Total	100
What were the main quarters in the old town?	a. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg	-
	b. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg, Mirgab and the villages	7
	c. Qiblah, Sharg, Mirgab	93
	d. There were no such divisions, they were merely locational quarters without distinctions	-
	e. Others	-
	Total	100

TABLE 20. Occupations of the Wards' Residents - before oil discovery - Di'iyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What were the occupations of the people in the ward where you resided?	a. Most of them were pearl and goods merchants	1
	b. Most of them were small merchants	13
	c. Most of them were pearl divers and sea workers	12
	d. Mixture of the above three	60
	e. Others	14
	Total	100

TABLE 21. Residence Information - after oil discovery -
Di'iyah Sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Why did you choose this area for your residence?	a. through the government	20
	b. because my relatives lived there.	29
	c. because it is close to my working place	13
	d. I bought it	38
	e. Others	-
	Total	100

TABLE 22. Occupation of the Ward's Residents - after oil discovery - Di'iyah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What are the occupations of the people in the ward where you reside?	a. Merchants	11
	b. Government employee	79
	c. Others	10
	Total	100

From the previous replies in Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 we were able to deduce some aspects concerning the Di'iyah locality. The place where the interview was undertaken was likely to be a place where Najdi and tribal families together with Persian and Baharnah families concentrated.

Generally, the overall outlook of this block is that the people there are mainly of middle and high middle classes with some low classes. It also seems that many of them have come from Sharg as the study suggested before. Many of them (as we see in Table 22) were government employees with concomitant status. Large numbers of people have bought houses in this block which indicates the movement of the original families to other places as shown in Table 21. The land purchase records in fact tell more about the socio-ethnic segregation of Kuwaitis in Di'iyah (see Table 23).

TABLE 23. Land property records among the Kuwaitis in Di'iyah.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
Block 3	978/1961	Administration of government property	R.M. Safar (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	3137/1963	R.M. Safar	A.H. Gloum (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	8512/1967	A.H. Gloum	S.M. Al-Melhem (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	2835/1976	S.M. Al-Melhem	S.A. Al-Utaibi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	4742/1959	Administration of government property	A.A. Bsharah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	874/1975	A.A. Bsharah	A.A. Al-Gallaf (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	3324/1976	A.A. Al-Gallaf	M.N. Aryan (Persian-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	6334/1959	Administration of government property	M. & M & A. sons of E. Al-Mani'a (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	652/1976	M & A Sons of E. Al-Mana'i	M.E. Al-Mani'a (to their brother Mohammed)
Block 2	1/57/1963	Ministry of Finance and Oil	S.H. bin Ali (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	2537/1976	S.H. bin Ali	A.Y. Al-Rumi (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	3807/1964	Ministry of Finance and Oil	M.A. Abu Jabbarah (?)
	5299/1975	M.A. Abu Jabbarah	A.H. Al-Saraf (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	1368/1976	A.H. Al-Saraf	A.M. Al-Rshaid (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	124/1963	Ministry of Finance and Oil	H.A. Al-Bahrani (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	2284/1964	H.A. Al-Bahrani	M.A. Al-Rumi (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	1729/1975	M.H. Al-Rumi	A.F. Al-Mashan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	3267/1975	A.F. Al-Mashan	M & A Sons of A. Hasan (Hasawi-Kuwaiti)
Block 4	256/1959	Administration of government property	A.A. Al-Qattan (Hasawi-Kuwaiti)
	3094/1962	A.A. Al-Qattan	D.A. Jrag (Hasawi-Kuwaiti)
	5448/1967	D.A. Jrag	H.E. Hamad (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	4403/1973	H.E. Hamad	A.Y. Al-Gallaf (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	5039/1976	A.Y. Al-Gallaf	J.J. Groof (Persian or Baharnah Kuwaiti)

TABLE 23 (continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
Block 4	2609/1962	Ministry of Finance	H.S. Al-Esa (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	4915/1966	H.S. Al-Esa	B.H. Al-Esa (same family)
	1086/1976	B.H. Al-Esa	B.S. Husain (Persian or Baharnah Kuwait?)
Block 1	2189/1959	Administration of government property	E.A. Al-Adeeb (?)
	6783/1959	E.A. Al-Adeeb	H.A. Dashti (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	4385/-	H.A. Dashti	A.M. Al-Mutawwa (Hasawi-Kuwaiti)
	4468/1963	A.M. Al-Mutawaa	A.E. Al-Saffar (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	295/1976	A.E. Al-Saffar	H.R. Al-Masketi (Persian-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	6230/1958	Administration of government property	H.S. Bu-Ashur (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	194/1976	H.S. Bu-Ashur	S.E. Al-Gallaf (Baharnah-Kueaiti)
Block 4	2252/1961	Administration of Government property	N.S. Al-sh-humi (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	5321/1962	N.S. Al-sh-humi	N & A sons of M. Khudadah (Persian-Kuwaiti -?)
	4846/1964	N & A sons of M. Khudadah	S.A. Kasim (Persian-Kuwaiti)
	6303/1978	S.A. Kasim	A.D. Sulaiman (?)
Block 3	1294/1962	Administration of government property	S.A. Al-Mutaww'a (Hasawi-Kuwaiti)
	4151/1963	S.A. Al-Mutaww'a	M.S. Al-Gallaf (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	1584/-	M.S. Al-Gallaf	H.A. Al-Gallaf (same family)
	2007/1978	H.A. Al-Gallaf	M.K. Dashti (Persian-Kuwaiti)
Block 4	6530/1963	Administration of government property	S.F. Al-Marzoog (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	1045/1968	S.F. Al-Marzoog	A.S. Al-Gallaf (Baharnah-Kuwaiti)
	6036/1978	A.S. Al-Gallaf	A.A. Al-Shatti (Persian-Kuwaiti)
Block 2	3388/1969	Ministry of Social Affairs	E.A. Al-Mehmeed (Hasawi or Baharnah Kuwaiti)
	547/1972	E.A. Al-Mehmeed	S.E. Al-Sayig (Persian or Baharnah Kuwaiti)
	5675/1978	S.E. Al-Sayig	R.H. Ali (Persian-Kuwaiti)

As shown in the land purchase records of Di'iyah, the locality has a high concentration of Kuwaitis of Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians as well as Najdis backgrounds. Unlike Shamiyah where the land was transferred ultimately to Kuwaitis, from Najd and the tribes, Di'iyah shows a mixture of Kuwaiti groups which also tells us about 'Sharg' where they came from. The Kuwaitis of Persian backgrounds took about 31.9 percent, Najdis were the second group as they took about 27.6 percent then the Baharnah about 23.4 percent, followed by the Hasawis of about 8.5 percent, then the Badu about 2.3 percent and about 6.3 percent for others.

(c) Al-Jahrah

This locality or let us say village is relatively larger than the other localities and historically older even than the town itself. Al-Jahrah, as the Kuwaitis called it, was an oasis located to the west side of the town where it had its own Emir who represented the sheikh there. Many Badu tribes used to camp close to Jahra in summer for its sweet water wells.

This area was and still is a place of certain groups of Kuwaitis unaffected by outsiders. The Badu Kuwaitis have been the main group in this area since the early history of Kuwait. Many tribes live here such as Ajman, Anezah, Mutair, Shammar and many other

groups of other tribes like Sbai'a, Hwajer, Awazem, Reshydah, etc.

The delegates who represented this area throughout the period of the National Assembly were always Badu of different tribes (see Chapter 6, for example, District 4). The population in Al-Jahrah, according to the latest population census in 1975 was 52,303 of which the Kuwaitis (in Al-Jahrah only) were 31,400 and the males were 15,823.¹

The outstanding families in Jahrah and in block 3 were Al-Se'aeed, Al-Hafi who are perhaps of Dhfair and Shammair tribes respectively. Other families are also named after their tribes, e.g. Al-Ajmi, Al-Anezi, Al-Mutairi, etc.

TABLE 24. Occupation Before Oil Discovery - Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the occupation of your father?	Pearl merchant	-
	Goods merchant	-
	Nukhedah (ships captain)	-
	Small merchant	2
	Pearl diver	4
	Others	<u>94</u>
		100

1. Annual Statistical Abstract, 1979, Table 25, p. 25.

TABLE 25. Location of Residence - before oil discovery - Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What was the name of the area where you resided?	Qiblah	4
	Mirgab	6
	Wasat	7
	Sharg	-
	Salhiyah	-
	Jahrah	47
	Others	36
	Total	100

TABLE 26. Town Divisions - before oil discovery - Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Do you believe that the town of Kuwait could be divided into quarters each of which had its own socio-economic characteristics?	Yes	2
	No	13
	No answer	85
	Total	100
What were the main quarters in the old town?	a. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg	1
	b. Qiblah, Wasat, Sharg, Mirab and the villages	30
	c. Qiblah, Sharg, Mirgab	21
	d. There were no such divisions they were merely locational quarters without distinctions	27
	e. Others	21
	Total	100

TABLE 27. Occupation of the Ward's Residents - before oil discovery - Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What were the occupations of the people in the ward where you resided?	a. Most of them were pearl and goods merchants	-
	b. Most of them were small merchants	13
	c. Most of them were pearl divers and sea workers	-
	d. Mixture of the above three	4
	e. Others	83
	Total	100

TABLE 28. Residence Information - after oil discovery
Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
Why did you choose this area for your residence?	a. Through the government	80
	b. Because my relations lived there	13
	c. Because it is close to my working place	7
	d. I bought it	-
	e. Others	-
	Total	100

TABLE 29. Occupation of the ward's residents -after oil discovery - Jahrah sample.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>%</u>
What were the occupations of the people in the ward where you reside?	a. Merchants	-
	b. Government employee	95
	c. Others	5
	Total	100

Tables 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 of the questionnaire in Block 3 in Jahrah show many important aspects, one being that this area as suggested before concentrated many Badu Kuwaitis who had been dispersed over the desert, villages and town. We have noticed also that the Badu of Jahra were not well experienced in town affairs. Many answers were too vague. This might suggest that many of them were newcomers to the area, perhaps from the early years of the oil discovery or it might be as a result of the Badu not concerning themselves with such matters. Some old families in Jahra were still living there like Al-Se'aed, Al-Ayyar, Al-Hajraf and others.

TABLE 30. Land property records among the Kuwaitis in Jahrah.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
Block 79	8243/1976	Ministry of Housing	Y.F. Al-Sarhan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	73/1977	Y.F. Al-Sarhan	S.A. Al-Hlail (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	1120/1970	Ministry of Finance	S.S. Methkher (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	41110/1977	S.S. Methkher	N.M. Al-Shraian (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 82	5293/1977	Ministry of Housing	R.M. Al-Hsaini (Badu?-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	4850/1976	Ministry of Finance	N.M. Al-Khefawi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	3504/1977	N.M. Al-Khefawi	S.N. Al-Khefawi (same family)
Block 3	812/1977	Ministry of Finance	E.E. Ngaimes (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 38	3845/1967	Ministry of Finance	R.M. Al-Fernaj (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	4739/1967	R.M. Al-Fernaj	M.M. Al-Ayyar (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	4552/1968	M.M. Al-Ayyar	Z.R. Al-Arajah (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	77/1969	Z.R. Al-Arajah	L & S Al-Wugayyan (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 54	2451/1964	Ministry of Finance	M & A sons of M. Al-Sbai'i (Badu- Kuwaiti)
	1177/1966	M & A sons of M. Al-Sbai'i	A.A. Al-Mutairi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	1663/1975	A.A. Al-Mutairi	E.A. Al-Nasrallah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	3601/1971	Ministry of Finance	M.F. Al-duseri (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	2589/1973	M.F. Al-duseri	M.A. Al-Nasrallah (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	6142/1975	M.A. Al-Nasrallah	H.M. Al-Nasrallah (same family)
Block 3	739/1975	Ministry of Finance	N.A. Al-surri (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 1	4920/1974	Ministry of Finance	M.S. Al-Sraikh (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	680/1978	M.S. Al-Sraikh	H.T. Al-Reshaidi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 54	2282/1964	Ministry of Finance	F.A. Al-gash'an (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	3959/1978	F.A. Al-gash'an	A.M. Al-Azmi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	5785/1976	Ministry of Finance	M.S. Adhan (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	591/1977	M.S. Adhan	N.M. Al-Shraian (Badu-Kuwaiti)

TABLE 30 (continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>
	293/1978	N.M. Al-Shraian	A.A. Al-Khnaini (Badu or Najdi-Kuwaiti)
Block 3	3699/1971	Ministry of Finance	H.A. Al-Bedaiwi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	4704/1978	H.A. Al-Bedaiwi	K.Z. Al-Araifan (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	3041/1975	Ministry of Finance	E.J. Al-se'aeed (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	6782/1975	E.J. Al-Se'aeed	S.A. Al-Shayi'a (Najdi-Kuwaiti)
	572/1976	S.A. Al-Shayi'a	S.A. Al-Ramadan (?- Kuwaiti)
	1568/1977	S.A. Al-Ramadan	Y.M. Al-Anezi (Badu-Kuwaiti)
	4249/1978	Y.M. Al-Anezi	A.N. Al-Shrai'an (Badu-Kuwaiti)

The land purchase records indicate many aspects concerning Jahrah. Almost all of those who were involved in land purchase records in Table 30 were Badu. Many names indicate the tribal origins like Al-Mutairi of Mutair tribe, Al-Anezi of Aneza tribe, Al-Reshaidi of Reshydah tribe and so on. It also indicates that the majority were Kuwaitis tribal and non-tribal with almost no-one appearing in the records of the random sample of Persian, Baharnah, Hasawiyah backgrounds. The Badu families in the sample took 72.7 percent, 24.2 percent for Najdis, and 3.1 percent for other Kuwaitis.

CHAPTER SIXNATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS: PARTICIPATION IN LEGISLATIVE
POWER AS A MEANS OF SOCIO-ETHNIC ACTIVITIES

1. Early Features of Legislative Participation
 - (i) Council of 1921
 - (ii) Council of 1938
2. Attitudes of other groups in the society
 - (i) The British
 - (ii) The Najdis
 - (iii) The Badu
 - (iv) The Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians
3. The National Assembly
 - (i) Parties in Kuwait
 - (ii) Socio-Ethnic Characteristics of the Electoral Districts and Seats won by each Group.
4. Socio-Ethnic Competition in the Parliament.

CHAPTER SIX

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS: PARTICIPATION IN LEGISLATIVE POWER AS A MEANS OF SOCIO-ETHNIC ACTIVITIES

This chapter has a different approach in following further features of socio-ethnic phenomena. By following the years of the National Assembly elections and other related aspects, we shall end up with a new sphere of ethnic-social competition. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore:

1. The early features of socio-ethnic struggle which brought this phenomenon into existence,
2. Attitudes of groups in the society,
3. National Assembly elections in terms of seats won by various socio-ethnic groups, and
4. The socio-ethnic behaviour in Parliament.

1. Early Features of Legislative Participation

The early features of socio-ethnic struggle which led to participation in decision-making dates back to the time of Sheikh Mubarak (1896-1915). We have seen earlier that Sheikh Mubarak took the throne by force after assassinating his two brothers (and ordained that the line of succession should be solely through his descendants). The overall picture of competition among the groups of the society was strongly moulded by the struggle between the leading families and the ruling

family in the person of the ruler. As a strong ruler, Sheikh Mubarak did not give the influential families much chance to appear. However, during the time of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir (1921-1950), the circumstances were conducive to the appearance of the early features of participation in decision-making.

The influential families continued to be treated with courtesy by the ruler and his family, and enjoyed adequate reinforcement - though increasingly moral rather than material - for their demands; but supreme matters of state had long been the responsibility of the ruler, who might be expected to consult other families whether or not he took any advice they might offer.

(i) Council of 1921

When Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir came to the throne in 1921, the influential families informed the members of the Subah family that the ruler would be accepted only if he was a person who would assent to a council adviser.¹ Consequently, the ruler Ahmad Al-Jabir and those families drew up an agreement between them which stated in part:

All criminal cases would be decided in accordance with the Shariah, the religious law of Islam ... The ruler would seek

1. Al-Ebraheem, H., 1973, pp. 257-8, quoted in S. Abbas, 1973, p. 137.

advice in all matters external as well as internal affecting the town. If any one had any suggestion to make for the benefit of the town or people, he would lay it before the ruler who would consult his people and adopt it if they so desired.¹

They submitted a memorandum which consisted of five main points:

- 1) The house of Al-Subah may mediate to prevent any disputes among its members;
- 2) The following Al-Subah members were nominated to rule the Emirate - Ahmad Al-Jabir, Hamad Al-Mubarak and Abd Allah Al-Salim;
- 3) If there were an agreement on one of the three, this should be forwarded to the authority for approval;
- 4) The nominee would become a head of Council, and
- 5) A number of Al-Subah and Kuwaiti members should be elected to participate in administering the affairs of the Emirate.²

The result was the election of a council of twelve members, six from the eastern half of the town, and six from the western half.³ The Council was presided over by a leading merchant, Hamad Ibn Abd Allah Al-Sager. Eleven out of the twelve members were from the leading merchants in

1. Ibid.

2. N. Al-Jasim, 1973, The Political and Economic Development of Kuwait between the two Wars: 1919-1939, p. 223 (Arabic text).

3. Ibid. See, for example, Ch. 5 on Kuwaiti groups, segregation in the pre-oil era, etc.

the society.¹

The Council, however, rarely met, and in practice the ruler followed the old system of administration in much the same way. On that basis, it failed in the same year, but demand continued to establish other councils.

In 1934, a second council was elected to manage the town's educational affairs, and another for the municipality was elected in 1936. These councils came into direct conflict with the ruler and as a result were disbanded.²

(ii) Council of 1938

This Council, in fact, occupies a significant position in the history of Kuwait. The names which appear in its records are likely to be those of the influential families. The main peculiarity of this council was that it witnessed (probably for the first time in Kuwaiti history) a clash between these families and the ruling family in the person of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir, which caused some deaths and injuries.

The internal affairs of Kuwait in the time of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jabir presented many problems. There

1. These members were the head of the influential families in Kuwait. - Hamad, Al-Sager, Yusif bin Esa, Hamad Al-Khalid, A. Al-Nageeb, S. Al-Khudair, M.D. Al-Bader, Shamlan bin Saif, Hlal Al-Mutairi, Ebraheem bin Mudaf, K.S. Al-Ghanim and A. Al-Reshaid.

2. S. Abbas, 1973, op.cit., p. 139.

was no strong administration which could take over the responsibility for justice and order in the society. Hence corruption was rampant. Taxes were very high and were levied on almost all the activities undertaken by the people, thus causing a rise in the cost of living. A report by the British Residency concerning the taxes and duties in town contains the following remarks:

There were export duties up to 2%, duties of 10% paid by Kuwaiti villagers on provisions and all other necessities they purchase from the town, import duty on fruit and vegetables ... members of the public were not allowed to build shops, it was the monopoly of the ruling family, butchers were forced to sell some parts at very low prices to certain members of the ruling family, tax on pearl fishing three shares from each boat to the Sheikh, heavy rents on bakeries whose shops were the monopoly of the ruling family, rents and taxes on meat and fish markets which were absolutely monopolised by the Sheikh...¹

In addition to all the previous problems, public services were almost non-existent. Education was in no better situation and the municipality was without a budget. The police were undisciplined, and law and order was in the hands of bodyguards and some townguards, mainly Badu.² External affairs also brought further tension. Many "nationalist" movements sprang up in the neighbouring emirates of Dubai and Bahrain, and also in Iraq, the latter being the greatest external cause of tensions in Kuwait.³ News of the outside world was not allowed into

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1. IOR:L/PS/12/3894A-No.30, file 158, Kuwait letter No. C,435, "improvement introduced by the Kuwaiti Council since its formation", 31 points, p. 131. These problems were altered and dismissed by the Council of 1938.
 2. Ibid. Also Al-Jasim, N., 1973, op.cit., p. 207.
 3. Al-Jasim, N., 1973, op.cit., p. 210.

the country, but later the "Youth" movement, which began in Syria (some time before 1938), brought further effects into the society particularly when it transferred to Iraq.¹

On the Saudi Arabian side, problems had increased throughout the blockade against Kuwait (1923-1937) when Ibn Saud was worried about the supplies reaching his opponents through that port. The outbreak of the Second World War also increased tension in the society. The ruler, on the other hand, managed to prevent some individuals from being nominated or elected to the membership of the fourth Municipal Council. This, coupled with some clashes with the authorities, resulted in the beating of one of the people for writing slogans on the walls against the attitudes of the authorities. All this resulted in the formation of a "secret organization" of twelve members which managed to write in the newspapers of Iraq under different names in an attempt to protest against the authorities. After long deliberations, demands were put forward by the secret organization which later declared itself as the National Bloc.²

With the intervention of the British Counsellor in Kuwait who was visited by the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Iraq twice in a short period, the

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1. Ibid. This movement was influenced mostly by the situation in Palestine, which produced further enmity against the British in the area.
 2. See, for example IOR:L/PS/2/3894A, "Agitation in Kuwait", 3 April 1938, extract from translation of the Iraqi newspaper Az-zaman. See also N, Al-Jasim, 1973, op.cit., p. 222.

Sheikh, after much hesitation, agreed to co-operate. The National Bloc continued its activities in newspapers and distributed secret leaflets, which were printed in Basra, to the public in the streets.

Later, circumstances allowed this bloc to submit their requirements. They had decided to send representatives to the Sheikh who were from the influential families class, i.e. Mohammad Thnyyan Al-Ghanim (one of the leaders of Al-Zayed lineage) and Sheikh Yusif bin Esa, leader of Al-Qinā'at lineage, Suliman Al-Adsani, and the chairman of the group, Abd Allah bin Hamad Al-Sager. They presented a letter reminding the Sheikh that the reason for choosing him to rule Kuwait was mainly to practise shura, or Islamic law, for the people and requested the election of a legislative council of fourteen members. The Sheikh accepted their recommendations without demur.

The other influential families went to the group of the National Bloc where they prepared the first National Assembly election not in Kuwait only, but in the whole of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula region.

The election was held in Diwan Al-Sager where 150 families took part. Since the Population of Kuwait was small, all Kuwaitis must have voted.¹ The result was the election of members mostly from the influential merchant families, i.e. from Al-Ghanim, Al-Sager, Al-Khalid, Al-Thnyyan, Al-Bader, Al-Reshid, Al-Hamad, Al-

1. Al-Jasim, N., 1973, op.cit., p. 225.

Klaib, Al-Marzoog, Al-Hmaidī, Al-Adsani, Al-Qinā'at, etc.

The fourteen elected members of the council issued a list of the basic laws of the society: Article 1: Sovereignty belongs to the nation, and the nation is represented by its elected deputies. Articles 2-7: The Council should legislate with respect to budgeting, justice, security, education, health, urban affairs and emergencies. Article 8: The Council legislates every law which the good of the nation determines.

The Council has the final say in matters such as treaties and concessions, both internal and external. Moreover, Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim was asked by the National Bloc to chair this Council. He accepted this position and, in fact, put forward new changes.

This Council was able to enforce numerous changes in the society of Kuwait, although it lasted for only about six months. The improvements brought about by this council according to Al-Jasim, (1973), caused the authorities, to wait for a suitable moment to dissolve it. In December 1938, a member of the council (the defence representative) tried to prepare some sort of preliminary census regarding the law of defence issued by the Council.¹ However, one of the merchants refused to produce some information regarding the women in his

1. See, for example, K. Al-Adsani, 1947, Half a year of Parliament rule in Kuwait (Al-Marzoog, Kuwait). The author was the secretary of that Council. In his book he furnishes almost all the achievements of the Council. See also IOR:L/PS/2/3894A;No.30, File 158, p. 131, "The improvements introduced by this Council". It was said that the Council had gone over the agreement of 1899 between Kuwait and Britain, which must have had some influence on the shortness of its life. See also Al-Jasim, N, 1973, op.cit., p. 244.

family, which resulted in the latter having to remain in custody. This incident caused the other merchants to protest against the Council and to threaten to revolt if the ruler did not do away with it. The ruler called the members of the Council to a meeting. Some attended (the President and some moderate members), while others went to the Nayef Palace where they remained. This building was full of arms. The ruler asked them to surrender, but they refused to do so, leading the ruler to announce that the country was in a state of emergency, and that there might be a civil war. Later he announced that he himself would approach the Nayef Palace and began to distribute arms to his men. The situation was resolved by an agreement, according to which the members of the Council would not be subject to custody, while on the other hand, the ruler stood down the Council. The ruler afterwards converted the Council from being legislative to being consultative, causing the other members to protest. During the passages between the ruler and the remaining council members, an unexpected event occurred.

They were at last persuaded to hand in their papers when a Kuwaiti arrived from Iraq, one Mohammad Al-Munais, who made an impassioned speech to them and issued leaflets declaring the ruling family deposed. This made the ex-members hesitate again. The next morning, the 10th, when Mohammad Al-Munais was being taken to prison under arrest, an ex-member of the Council, the hothead Yusuf Marzook and another follower of the Council, Mohammad Al-Qitami, endeavoured to secure his release. Mohammad fired on the police and Yusuf drew and aimed his revolver. The police replied, mortally wounding Mohammad and hitting Yusuf in the foot ... the police (tribesmen) were slightly injured. The Sheikh then secured

some semblance of order by promising an immediate trial of Muhammad Munais. He was tried - and sentenced to death, the 'public execution' taking place the same day.¹

Other council members escaped to Iraq (Basrah).²

2. Attitudes of other Groups in the Society

(i) The British

The attitudes of the British towards the Council were influenced by two main factors:

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1. See, for example, IOR:L/PS/12/3894A, No.5 of 1939, Kuwait Intelligence Summary, p. 77. This incident was also witnessed by two authors who were in Kuwait at that time. After the shooting Villiers puts it this way "the mob then ran, and for a moment or two nothing could be seen but the dust of their flying feet. Afterwards a vast number of sandals, cloaks, and headcloths remained in the covered street of the 'suq' (market) - sandals, cloaks, head cloths, and the dead body of Mohammad Kitami ... but then citizens had fled ...". Another author was Violet Dickson, as she said "Towards the end of 1938, there were signs of political unrest in certain quarters in Kuwait, ... we drove to the 'Safat' (market centre) and there Harold left me in the car while he entered the Majlis building to find out what was happening. As I sat in the car some crowd closed round me saying 'Have you seen the wounded man?...'"; V. Dickson, then went on describing what she had seen ... See for examples Villiers, A. 1940, Sons of Sinbad, p. 249 and V. Dickson, 1970, Forty Years in Kuwait, p. 139.
 2. Like M. Al-Thnyyan, M. Al-Sager, M. Al-Barrak. K. Al-Adsani, A. Al-Bader and A. Al-Sager. See R/15/5/214, File No. 4/26, letter No. I/BS/27/22.

- (1) they insisted on discussing the basic law of the Council as it showed a tendency to discuss the foreign affairs of Kuwait which should be under British control on the basis of the agreement with the ruler, and
- (2) they wanted the Council to be Consultative rather than legislative.¹

The Political Resident in the Gulf sent a letter to the Sheikh congratulating him on the establishment of the Council, and reminding him with the agreement signed by his predecessors which gave Britain the right to administer the foreign affairs of Kuwait. The reply was positive from the side of the Sheikh.

There were two articles in the basic law of the Council causing the Political Resident not to be satisfied with the Council, i.e.

Article 3 The legislative council is the only body responsible for all the agreements and the like, internally or externally. If any of these agreements requested reconsideration this should be after the approval of the Council.

and Article 5:

The head of the legislative council is the one who represents the executive authority.²

The Council was not prepared to discuss the 1899 agreement, however, the oil agreement negotiation started

1. Al-Jasim, N., 1973, p. 230.

2. Ibid.

in September 1938. The Council considered the Kuwait Oil Company similar to any foreign trading companies and had the same rights of any foreign bodies other than Islamic countries. Britain replied that the Company is foreign but the permission which it had in the country was in the name of the ruler, hence negotiations should be between Britain and the ruler. In general, Britain was worried from the fact that the Council might go over the agreement of 1899 which might bring external influences to the county particularly from the side of Iraq. Furthermore, if the Council was to go over the income of the ruling family, in relation to oil revenues, this might weaken the position of the ruler in the society. For all these factors and others, Britain indirectly was not in favour of the Council.¹

(ii) The Najdis

By which we mean the families who came from Najd and the Gulf Sheikhdoms. Although they were in the majority, they were not involved in the matters of the Councils of 1921 and 1938, being almost totally involved in the hardships of their livelihood along with their lack of status in the society. Most of them were families of smaller sizes compared to the merchant

1. Ibid.

families or those of the Badu.

In general, they were divided into two main divisions:

- (a) Those who were much too busy to be concerned with these matters, and
- (b) those who were waiting for the right moment to join the public and demand their forgotten rights in the society.

In fact, it is possible to consider them as subjects of the influential families of those merchants, as they were tied to the merchants by debts and loans most of their lives. This applies mainly to the seafarers.

(iii) The Badu

This group consisted of those tribes who were loyal to the Sheikh of Kuwait. They spread across the nearby desert and were also to be found along the peripheries of the town and the coastal villages.

In general, the Badu were always loyal to the ruling family in the person of the ruler himself. On the basis of their social organization, i.e. tribal society, the Sheikh enjoys certain esteem in the minds of the Badu. That was why their relations to the Councils were of no value and they usually joined the side of the Sheikh. The Ajman and Mutair tribes, for example, informed the Sheikh that they were ready to protect his position in the society during the incidents of 1938.

(iv) The Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians

This group in fact, in comparison to the two previous groups, was faced with some problems regarding the Council of 1938 and those which followed it.

In a report from the Political Resident, a full description was given about the attitudes of these groups in Kuwait.¹ They were estimated to be as many as 18,000 out of a total population of the town of 65,000. They were divided into:

- a) Persians, numbering about 10,000
- b) Hasawis, numbering about 2,000
- c) Baharnas, numbering about 3,000
- d) Fuwadra, numbering about 1,000
(originally Arabs who migrated to the Persian coast, and thence back to Kuwait), and
- e) Shiah of Iraqi origin, numbering about 700.²

These groups seemed to be living contentedly in Kuwait until the appearance of the Council:

All the Shiah have lived contentedly in Kuwait up to within a few months ago, i.e. up to the formation of the Council. Since then, however, they have shown signs of discontent.³

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- 1. IOR:L/PS/12/3894A, No.30, File 158, The Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated the 19th Oct. 1938, by T.C. Fowle, Political Agent in the Gulf.
 - 2. Ibid.
 - 3. Ibid.

The report added:

With the coming of the Council, however - an entirely Sunni body, on which Shiah are not represented - they feel that they are unlikely to get a square deal, though up to date they have indeed suffered no actual tyranny from the Council.¹

This discontent on the part of the Shiah culminated in more than 4,000 applications being received from the Political Agent in Kuwait to become British subjects.² The analysis of these is as follows:

Baharnas	983
Hasawis	37
Iranians (in Kuwait less than 10 years)	170
Iranians (in Kuwait up to 12/20 years and all more than 10 years)	3,457
	<u>4,647</u>

The figures included wives and children of the applicants, but not their servants, male and female which would bring the number up to perhaps 8,000.³

The Persians, who were the largest group, were involved in some problems regarding their identity in the 1920s. In 1925, the authorities in Iran told the British that they wanted to assign a Persian Counsellor in order to issue passports for the Persians. Iran then reported to the Sheikh that they would accept Kuwaiti nationality as an official nationality in Iran.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Al-Jasim, N., 1973, op.cit., p. 191.

At that time, there were no laws which suggested that any person who visited Kuwait should carry identification papers or a passport. On the other hand, the people of Kuwait had to carry identification cards from the British Residency if they wanted to visit Iran. The Persians numbered 5,000 at that time.

On the basis of their interests and policy in the Gulf, the British rejected the idea of the Persian Counsellor and pointed out this approach in reference to the Counsellor decree of Kuwait,

The Persians are considered clients similar to the people of Kuwait in the sense that they come from an Islamic country, which had no Counsellor in Kuwait and hence were categorized under the local judiciary, while the foreigners are subject to the British Political Agent.¹

The other half of these groups who did not approach the British regarding British nationality, laid out their demands to the Council:

- a) a special Shiah school
- b) representation on the Council
- c) representation on the Municipality Council.²

At the end of this report, the Political Agent in Kuwait stated:

The Council also hold the view, which they could not of course express to me before the Sheikh, that the Persian or Shiah problem is a legacy from the administration of the Sheikh, whose secretary (a Persian

1. Ibid., p. 194.

2. IOR:L/PS/12/3894A, No. 30, file 158, op.cit., Fowle report.

by origin) had encouraged Persians to come here.¹

From the foregoing it is clear that the main competition was between the elite of the society, that is the ruling family and the influential families. The conflict, however, was also influenced by British intervention in one form or another.

These disputes were almost solved when Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim became Emir (1950-1965). The rule of Sheikh Abd Allah Al-Salim witnessed the appearance of official legislative power throughout the National Assembly.

3. The National Assembly

The National Assembly appeared officially in 1963 when the first election year began. However, it passed through two stages of legislative courts - the High Court, 'Al-Majlis Al-A'ala' and the Constituent Council, 'Al-Majlis Al-Taasesi'. The former was legislative, and was there even before independence. In 1959, the High Administrative Court of the Council was

1. Ibid., Point 12 by de Gaury. The Shiah were said to have their own leader in the society, "Saiyid Jawad, aged 50, he is the 'Qadhi' (judge or the religious sheikh of the sect) and is much revered both here and in Iraq and Iran. He has a hold on his flock that many clergy of other denominations dream of and he guides them well according to his lights. He is a supporter of the Ruler..." R/15/5/179, Who's Who, 1933-27, July 1948, Pol. Agent in Kuwait, by Col. Dickson.

established, comprising leading families (members of the ruling family and influential families) and numbering about 16 members by 1961. It continued performing its duties until 1962, when the preliminary stage of the National Assembly Bill was passed by the Al-Majlis Al-Ta'asesi. The latter's duty was to prepare the Constitution of Kuwait. Later in 1963, it was succeeded by the National Assembly: "Election for the National Assembly would be undertaken in the 10 electoral districts, five members from each electoral district" (Law 35, 1962, Article 5).¹ Only male Kuwaitis over 21 years of age with first-degree citizenship are allowed to elect and to be elected.

This study will explore the first four legislative seasons in Kuwait, that is, 1963/67, 1967/71, 1971/75 and 1975/76 - the latter lasting for just one year.² Meanwhile, the appearance of the state and constitution followed by the laws of citizenship, caused most of those involved in the affairs of the previous Councils to be Kuwaitis and probably of first-degree citizenship.³

Under these new circumstances, another sort

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1. Typed report No. 2, Ministry of Interior, entitled "Referendum of Electoral Districts", 12.11.1962.
 2. The 1980 elections marked new changes in terms of the electoral districts divisions and the number of delegates in each district; see for example Appendix 3.
 3. On the basis of the duration from a certain date. See Chapter 4 for the Laws of Nationality.

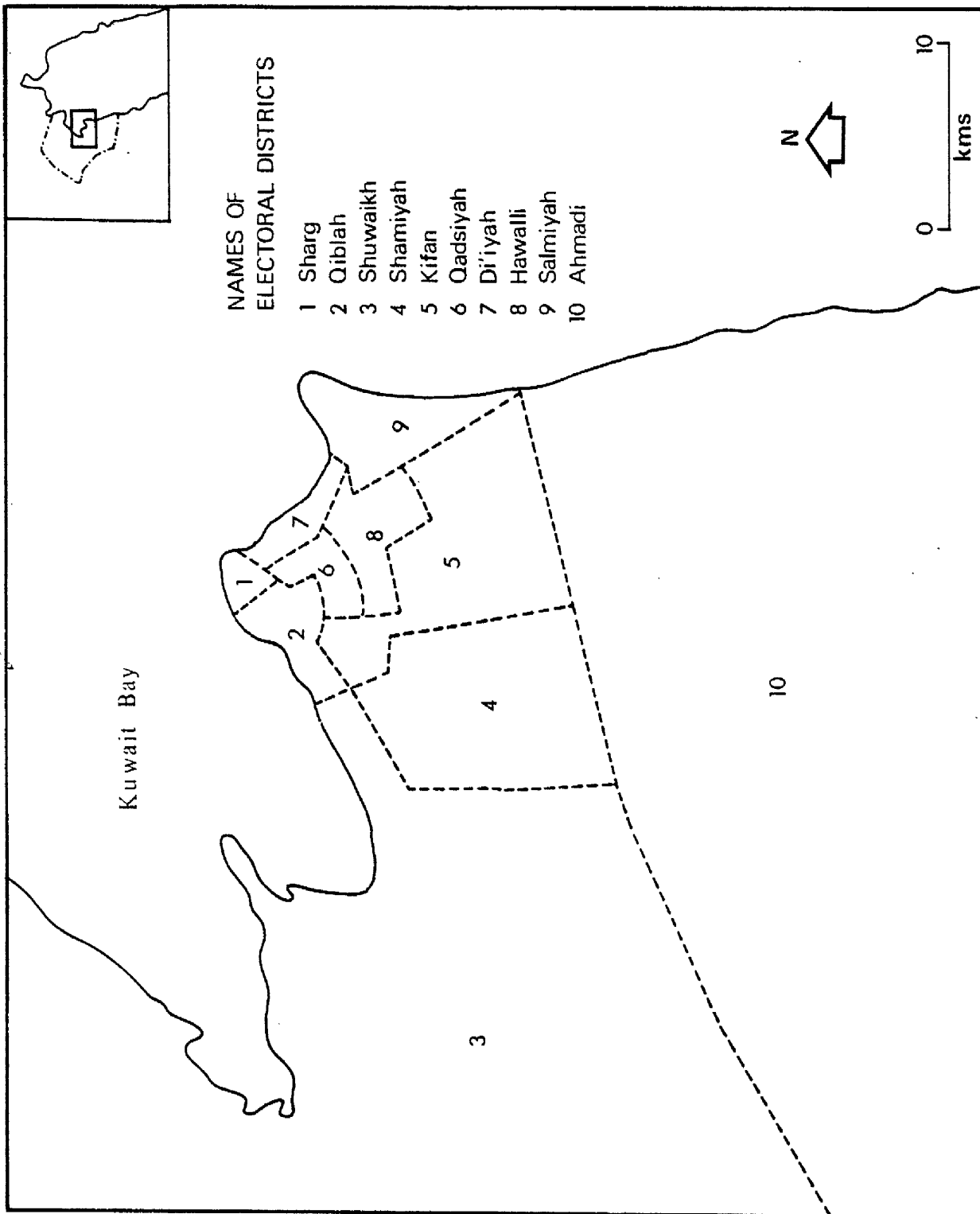


Fig 14 . The Electoral Districts of Kuwait.

of competition came into existence, that was then the Kuwaiti groups of the pre-oil era strove to obtain more advantages for the benefit of the group to whom the Member of Parliament belonged although under Kuwaitiship.

(i) Parties in Kuwait

It is important to clarify the position of political parties in Kuwait. They do exist in the country that is to say among the groups involved in the elections of Parliament, but they are not allowed to function under the banner of a political party. That is why some people considered this issue as a stimulus factor in terms of forcing the Kuwaitis to segregate under tribal, ethnic, family and other adherences, i.e.

Political parties in Kuwait are forbidden by constitution, as a result social and political groups identify themselves on ethnic, tribal and family affiliations...¹

The study of parliament elections in this chapter suggested certain groupings of certain affiliations in the parliament on the basis of what is seen in the society in terms of the major adherences of each group. We have noticed for example that the Badu tribes always lead their campaigns purely on tribal affiliations. Others like the Baharnah, Hasawis and Persian-Kuwaitis,

1. Al-Sabah, Y., 1980, The Oil Economy of Kuwait, p. 105.

were usually affiliated to their ethno-religious adherences. Normally, they lead their election campaign together and under one front. This in fact leads us to consider these groups as primarily a shi'ah front. Finally, the remaining groups are Najdis and influential families who also have certain interests. The Najdis are primarily with the 'National movement' or later the 'National Front'. They also combined many members of leading families in the societies. 'The National Movement' itself was later divided into two main divisions or parties, i.e.

- (a) The National Front, and
- (b) The Progressive Democrats with a left wing sign.¹

Other groups who are also either Najdis or descendants of rich families have no particular interests except maybe as Al-Subah (1980) suggested earlier in family name adherences, thus we tended to call them 'others'.

Moreover, on a western basis, each group could be also given certain names, i.e. the 'Badu' and the majority of the 'Shiah' and 'Others' probably 'Conservatives', while others, i.e. the 'National Front' and the 'Progressive Democrats' could be also termed as 'Progressives' or 'Liberals' so to speak.

1. The very title 'Progressive Democrats' is taken from Al-Nifisi, A. 1978, Kuwait: the other opinion. Taha: London.

(ii) Socio-Ethnic Characteristics of the Electoral Districts and Seats won by each Group

1) First Electoral District: This is called the Sharg area, and is bounded by the Gulf to the North and east, and by the Dasman locality to the south. It seems that the authority tended to create some sort of social-ethnic equipoise among the electoral districts. The first electoral district (Sharg), for example, represents an almost homogeneous district in the sense that it consists of a majority of Kuwaitis of Persian, Baharnah and Hasawis origin. It is said that they represent about 85-95 per cent of its population.¹ There exist certain wards almost totally inhabited by those groups, for instance, Hayy Al-Hasawiyah, Al-Ploosh, etc. Some people believe that this district was defined for certain purposes, that is to say "the regime must have considered this in the sense that they need some of these groups to enter the Assembly".²

These groups, on the other hand, managed to make use of this opportunity by controlling the seats of this district; the

'ethnic' factor played a significant role in this district as the 'tribal' factor had in other electoral districts. 'Diwans' are the places where conferences and meetings take place to channel the votes for these groups, and Ma'arafi Diwan is the

1. A. Al-Nifisi, 1978, Kuwait: the Other Opinion (London), p. 76.

2. Ibid.

most distinctive one in this respect.¹

Through the legislative years shown in Tables 32 and 33, it was clear how the members of this group were able to win the majority of the seats in the district. They won four seats out of five, giving them 80 per cent in the first House (1963-1967). They maintained this percentage throughout the years until they were able to win all five seats in the 1975-1976 House. Moreover, by the election year of 1975, the voting potential of these groups had increased to 20 per cent of the total voting potential of Kuwait, rising from 12 per cent in 1963, which was when their influence expanded to win all the seats of the seventh district (see Table 32). In addition, throughout the names of their representatives in the National Assembly, we have noticed a mixture of Persians (who are in the majority) together with Hasawis. Some names have maintained their seats as representatives throughout the election years, for example, Khuraibit (Hasawi or Baharnah). Others maintain their seats in

1. Ibid. Diwan (singular) is the men's reception room in the Kuwaiti house. It is the more open and accessible part of the house and usually fronts on to a main street, and has its own entrance apart from the main entrance of the house. Men who want to entertain, meet, or arrange business deals, etc., normally do so in the diwan. The diwan used originally to be part of the houses of well-to-do families, but now it exists in almost every home in Kuwait. For details on the Kuwaiti house, see R. Lewcock, 1978, Traditional Architecture in Kuwait and the Northern Gulf (Aarp, London). See also, Al-Yagathah, Kuwaiti weekly journal of 4 November 1974, "Interview in Ma'arafi Diwan on elections".

the hereditary manner, that is from Hayat (the father) to Hayat (the son) in the last election year of 1975.

2) Second Electoral District: This is called the Al-Qiblah area, and is bounded by the Gulf to the north and by two main streets in the old town, Mubarak Al-Kabeer Street and As-Sor Street. This district, in fact, has similar characteristics to that of the first district, but for the Kuwaitis, primarily the descendants of the old-established merchant families. If District One is almost 90 per cent Persians, Baharnah and Hasawiyah, this district contains a similarly high percentage of Najdis and tribal families about 99 per cent. It appears through the names of the representatives of this district and through the Party they follow (National Front), that they are the extension of the earlier National Bloc which played a significant role in the Councils of the 1930s, for we recognize Al-Sager, Al-Marzoog, Al-Khalid, etc. The difference probably is that the new generations of the National Front are educated and graduated from Western and Arab universities. The National Front is probably the most outstanding group here. They were able to develop their influence enough to win up to 60 per cent of the seats in this district in the last election year, rising from 20 per cent in the 1963 election year (see Table 32). In general, their voting potential has also grown from 2 per cent in 1963 to 8 per cent of the total voting potential of Kuwait in 1975 (see Table 33).

3) Third Electoral District: This is called the Shuwaikh area, and includes the residential areas of

Shuwaikh, Sulaibikhat, Al-Jahrah, Dohah and Imgarah. It extends from the boundaries of Kuwait with Iraq to the north and west, and the boundaries of Kuwait with Saudi Arabia. Here we come to an area which could be considered the place of another Kuwait group - the Badu - as it combines Jahrah, Sulaibikhat, Dohah and desert where the concentrations of Badu primarily exist. Strangely enough, we find in this district a locality like the Shuwaikh residential area, which consists of almost 99 per cent non-Badu Kuwaitis, who are mainly descendants of merchants' families. However, the Badu were able to control this district because many Kuwaitis of the Shuwaikh residential area transferred their votes to the Qiblah area.¹ What distinguishes this district as a place of Badu majority from other Badu districts² is that it combines competition among many tribes. There were, for example, tribes like Ajman, Anezah, Shammar, Adwan and other Badu tribes.

The Badu were able to maintain four out of five seats throughout the election years, giving them a constant percentage of 80 per cent of the district's seats. The Shammar and Anezah tribes would seem to be sources of competition in this district. The tribes in Kuwait, tended to organize some sort of conference and meetings before the main elections. The Badu,

1. Many votes were likely to be transferred from the "actual residence area" to the districts of relatives by claiming "residence" through family connections.

2. See, for example, Districts 9 and 10 in this chapter.

however, arranged sub-elections in the tribes where they agreed on who should be their candidates for Parliament. For instance, through the representatives names of the Shammar tribe, there must be an agreement on the Al-Lafi family which maintained a seat from the father to the son.

The Shammar tribe here also decided to enter the Parliament throughout the preparation of sub-elections to select the tribal candidates. For that purpose, they fixed a huge tent on the way to Jahrah, where the Shammars agglomerate. From these names - A. Al-Lafi, A. Al-Shammari, B. Al-Lafi, A. Al-Seaeed and M. Al-Sha'alan, the Al-Lafis were able to win. That is, Bandar, Abd Allah and later Lafi all obtained a seat ... (first, second and fourth Houses).¹

The Shammar are believed to have about 750 voters, while the Anezah have around 850 voters in that district. The Anezah also had similar sub-elections where certain Anezah members were able to win seats in Parliament.²

4) Fourth Electoral District: Is called the Shamiyah area and combines the residential areas of Shamiyah, Rudah and Farawaniyah with Jleeb Al-Shyoukh. This district could also be considered a place of competition between two main Badu tribes, the Mutair and the Reshydah. Likewise, although there are some non-Badu areas within

1. Al-Siyasah, Kuwaiti daily newspaper, 9 November 1974, p. 11, Cols. 1-3; Al-Lafi, for example, descended from Abdah clan, of Al-Ja'afar lineage ..., see Chapter 3 on the internal clans of this tribe, p.

2. Ibid.

this district, such as Shamiyah, Rudah and Udailiyah, the Badu through their concentrations in Frawaniyah and Jeleeb Al-Shyoukh were able to make this district 100 per cent Badu.¹

The centres of the Mutair tribe are believed to be in the Farawaniyah locality, while Jeleeb Al-Shyoukh combines Mutair and Reshydah Badu. Mutair votes amount to perhaps 4,000,² while the Reshydah may range between 1,500-2,000.

Table 32 shows that this district is almost 100 per cent Badu.

5) Fifth Electoral District: Is called the Kifan area, and includes the residential areas of Kifan, Surrah, Abra q Khaitan and Khaldiyyah. Another domain of competition among Kuwaiti groups existed in this district, but between a certain Badu tribe, Utaibah, versus other Kuwaiti groups of different interests, among which were some National Front members.

In the press this district was described as "the district of group competition".³ It is believed that about five groups compete here:

- a) Utaibah Badu tribe
- b) National Front

1. Again, Shamiyah voters as well as those of Rudah and Udailiyah, may well transfer their votes to the nearby districts of Qiblah, Hawalli and Qadsiyah. See Districts 2, 6 and 8.

2. A. Al-Nifisi, 1978, op.cit., p.

3. Al-Watan, Kuwaiti daily newspaper, 9 November 1974, p. 1, col. 5 and p. 12, col. 7.

- c) Progressive Democrats
- d) K. Al-Masaud Front, although he is from Ajman Badu tribe, and
- e) Others with no specific interests.

Each of these five groups contrived to enter the election campaign in this district. It was likely that the Utaibah tribe was able to develop its influence gradually at the expense of others, drawing about 20 per cent of the votes in 1963; 80 per cent in 1967, concluding with 60 per cent in the 1975 election year (see Table 32). The National Front group,¹ were able to maintain 20 per cent of the voting potential of this district, providing them with one seat in the election years of 1963 and 1971 only.

Although the Progressive Democrats tried to push some of their members in the elections of this district in 1975 (M. Al-Turah and N. Abd Al-Āl) both failed in their attempts. The Utaibah tribe, like other Badu tribes, tended to prepare some sort of sub-election in the tribe. The main competition is likely to exist between the two main clans of this tribe, the 'Bargah' and the 'Rugah'. That was why a representative of each clan must be elected, and why Al-Usaimi of Bargah and Al-Utaibi of Rugah represented their tribes in the second, third and fourth Houses.² The Utaibah are said to have

1. The leader of the Front that year, Jasim Al-Qitami, was able to win a seat in the first House, followed later by B.D. Al-Ajeel, another National Front member who also won a seat in the third House.

2. See the internal structure of this tribe in Chapter 3.

about 1,300-1,500 votes in this district.

6) The Sixth Electoral District: This is Al-Qadsiyah area, which comprises the residential areas of Qadsiyah, Fihā'a and Mansoriyah. From a first look at the residential areas of this district one can see a combination of Kuwaitis mainly from a Najdi background¹ (Fihā'a), a majority of Baharnah and Persian Kuwaitis (Mansoriyah) and a combination of the two, that is Najdi Kuwaitis and Baharnah and Persian Kuwaitis, as well as Sunni Kuwaitis of Persian background (Qadsiyah). However, it is likely that the Mansoriyah Baharnah and Persian Kuwaitis transferred their votes to the nearby districts 1 or 7, where they are able to control all the votes.

This district is sometimes referred to as "a place of well-educated Kuwaitis",² with no sign of Badu or Persians and Baharnah at all. The major competition is believed to be between the Progressive Democrats or Al-Taliah group (also known as the People's Deputies, which was originally developed from the National Movement) and the National Front. Moreover, in the end the Sunni Kuwaitis of Persian origin (Awadi and Al-Kandari) were able to bring some weight to bear on the elections within this district.

1. It is believed that most of those who used to live in the Al-Mirgab quarter of the old town have moved to the Fihā'a residential area in the new city. See Chapter Six, Al-Mirgab quarter - Kuwaiti groups, segregations, etc.

2. Al-Nifisi, A., 1978, op.cit., p. 85.

Table 32 shows that the National Front was able to maintain a seat only in the election years of 1971 and 1975, thus providing them with 20 per cent of the voting potential of this particular district. The Progressive Democrats, however, were able to obtain two seats in the same period, but later failed to maintain that, finishing with one seat in the elections of 1975, which gave them 40 per cent, then 20 per cent of the voting potential of that district, respectively.

Although the Al-Awadis and the Al-Kandaris entered the elections only at the last minute, they were able to win two seats, giving them 40 per cent of the voting potential of the district. It is said that they have about 400 votes in this district. By this number of votes they were able to increase their voting potential to 4 per cent from the total voting potential of Kuwait.

7) The Seventh Electoral District: This is the Dasmah area, and comprises the residential localities of Dasmah, Di'iyah¹ and Failaka Island, together with other small islands.

We have here too a district which is well known all over Kuwait as a place of "ethnic competition", no matter what titles each group claims. It is the district where the Kuwaitis (mostly the descendants of the old influential families) compete with another group of

1. See Chapter 5 on the field study over this locality, p. 249. See also the land purchase records etc., in the same chapter.

Kuwaitis (mainly the Hasawiyah). From each group according to the press, stood 13 candidates to contest the elections.¹

The family names other than the Hasawiyah who were involved in the elections here largely represented the descendants of the Al-Jalahmah lineage, and other Anezah lineages. Table 32 shows how the Hasawiyah and their co-equals were able to develop their influence in this area through the election years. In 1963, they were able to win two seats, giving them 40 per cent of the voting potential of the district. Later they increased their influence by winning four seats in the 1967 election, which gave them 80 per cent of the voting potential of the district. Although they were forced to retreat in the 1971 election (winning only two seats), at the 1975-76 elections they were able to win all five seats of that district, giving them 100 per cent of the voting potential (see Table 33).

These gradual changes in their campaigning activities saw the close relationship between the candidates and the voters, together with the impact of votes being drawn from the Mansoriyah. On the other hand, there was the competition among the other side, which brought about their defeat when the Al-Mudaf family competed with their co-equals of Al-Rumi and Al-Rudan, which was described at great length in the press. Although

1. Al-Hadaf, Kuwaiti daily newspaper (usually known as Al-Watan, it carries the former name only on Thursdays), 19 December 1974.

these families began by winning three seats in the 1963 elections, giving them 60 per cent of the voting potential of this district, they ended with no seats at all in the 1975 elections (see Table 32).

The Hasawiyah and their co-equals, however, on the basis of the 1975 election results all over Kuwait, were able to raise their influence by drawing 20 per cent of the total voting potential of Kuwait (see Table 33).

8) The Eighth Electoral District: Is called Hawalli area, and includes the residential areas of Udailiyah and other areas of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti residence, like Hawalli, Nugrah and Jabriyah.

The localities under this district in fact represent the most heterogeneous multi-ethnic concentration in the whole country.¹ Only the Kuwaitis are allowed to vote and be elected (and be elected only if they have first-degree citizenship).² However, it also contains more than one group. There are some Badu concentrations, although they are very small compared to, say, those in Districts 3, 4, 9 and 10, of Reshydah as well as Awazim Badu. Udailiyah, however, consists of a large number of Kuwaitis of Najdi background. The most

1. The non-Kuwaitis in Hawalli locality, according to the 1975 Census, reached up to 120,749, while the Kuwaitis numbered 9,816. Annual Statistical Abstract 1977, p. 24, Table 20.

2. See Chapter 4 on laws of nationality, etc., the society after the discovery of oil, p. 163.

distinctive group here is the Progressive Democrats or Al-Taliah group. In their meeting at the Al-Taliah Journal building on 21 November 1974, they declared their new name was Nuwab Al-Sha'ab (People's Deputies).

The main competition in this group seems likely to occur between this group, the Progressive Democrats, and other Kuwaiti individuals with no outstanding interest, although generally considered anti-Progressive Democrats, i.e. Al-Mesaeed,¹ Al-Jasir and the like. In the words of Al-Mesaeed in his own column,

You are a traitor and racist if you did not say yes to the Al-Khateeb group.²

Table 32 shows the importance of the People's Deputies in this district. They started with three seats in 1963, attracting about 60 per cent of the voting potential of the district, and finished with two seats in the 1971 and 1975 elections, giving them 40 per cent of the voting potential of the district, respectively. Among the representatives of this front were Dr. Al-Khateeb and Al-Munais³ the leaders of the front in Kuwait.

9) The Ninth Electoral District: This is the Salmiyah

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1. The owner of Al-Ray Al-Am, a Kuwaiti daily newspaper, and other journals.
 2. Al-Ray Al-Am, 14 December 1974, referring to Dr. Al-Khateeb the leader of the People's Deputies front. For more details about this front, see Al-Watan, 11 January 1975.
 3. Sami A. Al-Munais, the manager and owner of Al-Taliah Journal, believed to be the publication which represents the views of this front in Kuwait.

area, and includes the residential area of Shi'ib, and a number of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti areas such as Salmiyah, Rumaiithiyah, Ar-Ras and Al-Bedi'a.

This district and the following one, Number 10, are the domain of Badu groups. The areas which lie within it were of non-Kuwaiti majority, which gave the Badu the chance to gain control. Salmiyah, or as it used to be known, Dimnah, was and still is the original home of the Awazim tribe. Although there exist some collections of other tribes (Ajman, Mutair and Thfair) together with some Najdi Kuwaitis or Persian and Baharnah Kuwaitis, none of them were able to compete with the Awazim. Like other Badu tribes, the Awazim also managed to arrange some sort of sub-elections and meetings before electing any Awazim member. These meetings took place between the heads of the clans under the paramount sheikh of the tribe, Ead Habeeb bin Jami'a.¹ Table 32 shows a constant five seats won by this tribe, giving them 100 per cent of the voting potential of the district.

10) The Tenth Electoral District: The Al-Ahmadi area, under which come most of the coastal villages to the south of Kuwait, i.e. Shuaibah, Fahahail, Mangaf, Abu-Hlaifah, Fintas, Fnaites, Warah, Sbaihiyah, and most

1. A. Al-Nifisi, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 75. According to Al-Nifisi, the Awazim were forced to agglomerate in this district after being pushed out by the Ajman tribe with the aid of one of the members of the ruling family, sheikh Jabir Al-Ali, who is kin of the Ajman; see the internal structure of this tribe in Chapter 3, p. 119.

of the south and southwest of Kuwait.

As indicated earlier, this district is a domain of another tribe - the Ajman. Although they were unable to gain complete dominance over the seats in this district in the first two election years, they were eventually able to make it an Ajman tribe district.

The areas of this district combine more than one tribe - Utaibah, Shual, Fdul and Mutair. However, with the aid of a member of the ruling family, who is said to have produced 1,800 citizenship certificates for the Ajman, they are now the superior tribe, not only in this district, but all over Kuwait. The organized campaign of the Ajman led other tribes to reconsider their plans.

The organized campaign of the Ajman made the Awazim and the Fdual prepare an ally-list of candidates, three Awazim and two Fdual, against the Ajman.¹

The Fdual as a small tribe were able to benefit from this alliance, as they won three seats in 1963, followed by one seat in 1967, providing them with 60 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of the voting potential of this district. The Awazim were also able to win one seat in the 1963 elections, and they won two seats in 1967, giving them 20 per cent and 40 per cent of the voting potential (see Table 32).

The sub-elections of the Ajman tribe where 21

1. Al-Watan, 6 November 1974, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

candidates competed for the Parliament, resulted in five reaching the Assembly. The last two election years in 1971 and 1975 were 100 per cent Ajman victories as they controlled all five seats (see Table 32). Moreover, it is noticed that one of the elected members of this tribe in the last two election years was from the Al-Hithlin lineage, i.e. Sultan Salman Al-Hithlin who is the great grandson of RaKan bin Hithlin.¹

Through the previous social-ethnic interpretations of the groups involved in the elections, it is possible to notice some new sphere of social-ethnic competition. The authorities had played significant role in effecting these aspects by:

- a) Selecting certain localities which are usually known as places of certain groups;
- b) Allowing the transference of votes from the actual place of residence to the place of relatives, and
- c) Making this phenomenon only a subject of the Kuwaitis and specifically for certain groups, i.e. those of first-degree citizenship which increased the competition.

We have noticed also the tendency of certain groups to attach themselves strongly to certain areas, e.g. the Awazim Badu in Salmiyah, the Ajman in Ahmadi and Abu-Hlaifah in particular, and the Baharnah, Hasawiyah and Persians over the first and seventh districts, which connected them with their original place Sharg.

1. See for example the internal structure of the Ajman tribe in Chapter 3, p. 119.

4. Socio-Ethnic Competition in Parliament

The former segregation picture over the electoral districts was transferred to Parliament with some developed features. We have seen earlier that throughout the elections in the districts there existed certain groups with high voting potential enabling them to control certain districts. The influence of such groups later in Parliament must be of similar potentiality.

As we have seen throughout the elections, the Badu in Kuwait appear to be the highest among all in terms of their voting potential. In the elections in 1975 they were able to obtain 22 seats out of the 50 seats in the National Assembly, giving them 44 per cent of the total potential Kuwaiti votes, an increase from 20 seats or 40 per cent of the total potential in 1963. Before 1963, the Badu never took any part in the political organization of the country, nor did they share in the early Councils of the 1930s. In general, up to this moment, the Badu groups could be considered the Sheikh's subjects. Indeed, the regime encourages their participation in such elections in many ways, for instance by issuing citizenship certificates to newly-arrived Badu, as in the case of the Ajman with Jabir Al-Ali,¹ and also

1. It also exists through the personal activities of the Badu MPs who always seek more opportunities for their tribal fellows, e.g. citizenship, jobs, etc.

by encouraging their sub-elections inside each tribe.

According to Sheikh Jabir Al-Ali,

The Badu sub-elections are utterly a healthy phenomenon. It shows the true democratic spirit among the Badu who enter the elections with their tribal sheikhs in equal nominations. Sometimes the sheikh failed to pass, while the individual Badu of the same tribe happened to win a seat; the case of Emir Faisal Al-Duwaish of Mutair who failed once...¹

With this huge percentage of Badu in the Assembly, the Badu were able to effect the approval of certain laws, e.g.

The Badu representatives in the Assembly have supported the Constitution, and in particular they have strongly endorsed those articles of the Constitution which tend to enhance the position of the Emir in the governmental structure, a position which is essentially that of a tribal leader.²

The Constitution states that Kuwait is an hereditary emirate with succession confined to members of the Al-Subah family. This is completely in accord with the customary social organization of the Badu tribal society.

In the elections the Badu usually organized themselves by individual tribes, but in the Assembly they vote as a bloc. For example, in 1964 the Badu along with the non-Badu religious "conservatives" forced

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1. Al-Siyasah, a Kuwaiti daily newspaper, 24 November 1974, p. 1, col. 1. An interview with Sheikh Jabir Al-Ali, vice-president of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Information; see also the internal structure of the Mutair tribe in Chapter 3, p. 118.
 2. A. Al-Haroon, 1976, "The Settling of the Badu and the Political Functioning of the State of Kuwait: The Geopolitical Effects", unpublished theses, University of W. Illinois, Department of Geography, p. 46.

the passage of Law 46 of 1964, which made it illegal to import, produce, buy or sell alcoholic beverages, since Article 2 of the Constitution declares Islam as the religion of the state.¹ In 1974, they threatened to use their constitutional power against the Government when it was proposed to make the University of Kuwait co-educational.²

The Badu in general could be viewed as "strict constitutionists as well as conservatives".³ Although by law political parties are not permitted,

the Badu representatives, in association with the non-elected ex-officio members, the Cabinet members appointed by the Prime Minister, make up an informal de facto majority party which might be termed a constitutional party.⁴

The only opposition to the Badu in Parliament is likely to come from the National Movement (National Front and Progressive Democrats), which seeks to develop the Constitution by (1) separating the executive power (the Emir and the Government) from the legislative power (the National Assembly); (2) changing the law that prohibits political parties; (3) restricting voting participation in the National Assembly to elected members; (4) offering equal and civil rights to women; (5) easing the laws that govern citizenship for immigrants (non-

1. A. Al-Haroon, 1976, op.cit., p. 49.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 50-1.

Kuwaitis); (6) requiring voters to vote in their actual district of residence, and (7) granting autonomous governance for Kuwait University, along with academic freedom and freedom for scientific and technological research, which are almost all opposed by the Badu.¹

The National Movement in general (National Front and Progressive Democrats or the People's Deputies) were able to capture 14 per cent of the voting potential of Kuwait in the last elections in 1975 (see Table 33).

The Shiah are also a significant group. They were able to win ten seats, giving them about 20 per cent of the total voting potential of the country in 1975. They also arranged their elections under individual lists, i.e. Constitutional Youth of K. Khalaf (who won a seat in the seventh district) and the conservatives, although the latter have not declared that publicly in the first districts. In general, their attitudes in Parliament were much more advanced and well planned if compared to the Badu. They are also Constitutionists, although some are influenced by the National Movement particularly the educated youth.

From the previous study, it is clear that the main competition was between the ruling family and the influential families which later affected the attitudes of the other groups in the society. The struggle ended up with participation in decision-making not only by the influential families but also by all groups in the

1. Ibid.

society. Later the background of each group played significant role in affecting the attitudes of each group in the Parliament inspite that all are Kuwaiti citizens. Moreover, the Arab nationalist movement played an important role in creating two main groups in the society, i.e. the National Front and the Progressive Democrats, absorbing members from the influential families as well as from the middle class.

TABLE 31. Numbers of Voters in each Electoral District

Electoral Districts	First Elections	Second Elections	Third Elections	Fourth Elections
First	2477	2778	3139	3415
Second	762	1168	1433	2928
Third	1351	1695	5312	6156
Fourth	2336	3504	6502	8328
Fifth	1759	3257	4709	5003
Sixth	1467	1840	3073	4384
Seventh	1624	1936	2912	6030
Eighth	1220	1863	2489	3860
Ninth	1633	2471	3553	4031
Tenth	2270	3784	7527	1759
Total	16889	27292	40649	52994

Source: Ministry of Interior, Referendum of Electoral Districts, Law No. 2 of 12 November 1962 (typed report).

TABLE 32 (Part 1): Seats won by each group in Electoral Districts throughout the election years.

Group	FIRST ELECTORAL DISTRICT							
	1963-1967	%	1967-1971	%	1971-1975	%	1975-1976	%
Badu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shiah	4	80	4	80	4	80	5	100
National Front	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Progressive Democrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1	20	1	20	1	20	-	-
<u>SECOND ELECTORAL DISTRICT</u>								
Badu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shiah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Front	1	20	-	-	1	20	3	60
Progressive Democrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	4	80	5	100	4	80	2	40
<u>THIRD ELECTORAL DISTRICT</u>								
Badu	4	80	3	60	4	80	4	80
Shiah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Front	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Progressive Democrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1	20	2	40	1	20	1	20

TABLE 32 (Part 2)

FOURTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Group	1963-1967	%	1967-1971	%	1971-1975	%	1975-1976	%
Badu	5	100	4	80	5	100	5	100
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	-		-		-		-	
Progressive Democrats	-		-		-		-	
Others	-		1	20	-		-	

FIFTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Badu	1	20	4	80	2	40	3	60
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	1	20	-		1	20	-	
Progressive Democrats	-		-		-		-	
Others	3	60	1	20	2	40	2	40

SIXTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Badu	-		-		-		-	
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	-		-		1	20	1	20
Progressive Democrats	-		-		2	40	1	20
Others	5	100	5	100	2	40	3	60

TABLE 32 (Part 3)

SEVENTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Group	1963-1967	%	1967-1971	%	1971-1975	%	1975-1976	%
Badu	-		-		-		-	
Shiah	2	40	4	80	2	40	5	100
National Front	-		-		-		-	
Progressive Democrats	-		-		-		-	
Others	3	60	1	20	3	60	-	

EIGHTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Badu	-		-		-		-	
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	-		-		-		-	
Progressive Democrats	3	60	-		2	40	2	40
Others	2	40	5	100	3	60	3	60

NINTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Badu	5	100	5	100	5	100	5	100
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	-		-		-		-	
Progressive Democrats	-		-		-		-	
Others	-		-		-		-	

TENTH ELECTORAL DISTRICT

Badu	5	100	5	100	5	100	5	100
Shiah	-		-		-		-	
National Front	-		-		-		-	
Progressive Democrats	-		-		-		-	
Others	-		-		-		-	

TABLE 33: Number of Seats and Voting Potential of Each Group.

Election Years	Badu % seats	Shiah % seats	National Front % seats	Progressive % Democrats seats	Others % seats	%
1963-1967	20	6	2	3	19	38
1967-1971	21	8	-	-	21	42
1971-1975	21	6	3	4	16	32
1975-1976	22	10	4	3	11	22

Source: Calculated from Table 29 in this Chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND GENERAL CONSIDERATION

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CONCLUSION AND GENERAL CONSIDERATION

In the previous study, efforts were made to trace the socio-ethnic and spatial aspects of differentiation in Kuwait from 1710 to 1980. Those 270 years since the establishment of Kuwait demonstrated numerous aspects of differentiation seen through two main periods; the pre and the post oil eras. Each period represents particular patterns of differentiation.

On the basis of what we have seen, it can safely be submitted that, Social and ethnic differentiation were important aspects of Kuwaiti society before the discovery of oil, and have intensified and become more complex in the oil era. That differentiation is expressed in legal, occupational, and regional patterns within the state.

The aspects of differentiation in the pre-oil era were seen through the salient socio-ethnic features of that society. Social differentiation was demonstrated in two main aspects, i.e.

- (a) class differentiation, and
- (b) contrasting life style.

As to (a), the class structure showed large span of class differences between the 'elite', i.e. the 'ruling family' and the 'influential families' versus the bulk of the society who occupied the 'working class'. For (b), three distinct patterns of life style were evident among the nomads (Badu) beyond the town and toward the interior

who were loyal to the ruler, villagers who maintained oasis culture over Al-Jahrah and coastal villages, and the urban dwellers who were involved in sea activities.

Ethnic differentiation in the pre-oil era, demonstrated five main groups in the society, i.e.

- (a) the Najdis and the Badu,
- (b) the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah,
- (c) the Persians,
- (d) the British, and
- (e) the Africans.

The Najdis and the Badu were the main two groups in the society and are recognized by many observers as the indigenous people of Kuwait. They are Arabs who belong to the tribes of the Peninsula and those who came from the Gulf Sheikhdoms. The Baharnah and the Hasawiyah were the early inhabitants of Bahrain and Al-Hasa before the establishment of Kuwait. The majority of the Baharnah and Al-Hasawiyah must have originally been Arabs as we have seen, but by adopting the shi'ah doctrine many of them intermarried with the Persians and thus ethnically recognized with them as just Baharnah and Hasawiyah which means non-Najdis, non-Badu and non-Persians.

As to the Persians, the majority of this group were ethnically Persians primarily from Behbahan, Lar, Evaz, with addition to some Persians of mixed blood from Dizfool, Khisra-abad, Ahwaz, Abadan etc. The Persians also presented an ethno-linguistic group.

The British were not very large but very significant in the society, and formed an important ethnic minority from 1899 to 1961. Attached to this group were the Indians brought by the British to undertake the affairs of British subjects in the town.

The Africans were a large group but the majority were slaves. Ethnically this group was important as many of them intermarried with the people of the town after being freed. The legal differentiation in the pre-oil era was not recognized or clearly defined in terms of the existence of Kuwaitis versus non-Kuwaitis. Many of the above mentioned groups did not carry official papers or passports from the countries they belonged to, while others were considered subjects of their countries like the Persians for example. On the other hand, no official papers were issued to the residents of the town from the office of the ruler except perhaps the feeling that all groups were under the direct leadership of the sheikh of Kuwait.

The occupational differentiation in the pre-oil era could be interpreted in relation to two factors, i.e.

- (a) there were no citizenship laws which define the Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis so as to trace the occupational differentiation, and
- (b) there was no system of employment like for example in the oil era.

The administration in general was the concern of the sheikh who also carried the responsibilities of international relations, economy and justice. However,

when the first two councils appeared, it was clear how the positions were overwhelmed by members of the influential families and the ruling family. On the other hand, the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah together with the Persians did not participate in the councils. The Badu were always far from being concerned with the internal affairs, the Najdis of the working class were almost totally involved in sea activities and other enterprises of the leading two classes.

The regional or spatial differentiation was salient in this era, as the town was ethnically divided by the previous groups. The Najdis occupied the west quarter, the Persians, the Baharnah and the Hasawiyah were together with members of the leading families occupied the east quarter, while the Badu occupied the interior beyond the town. The centre was a place of multi-ethnic concentration.

For all the above mentioned aspects, social and ethnic differentiation were important aspects of the society before the discovery of oil.

The oil era which started in 1946 represents almost new aspects of differentiation which separate it from the pre-oil era society. These aspects have intensified and become more complex and were expressed in legal, occupational and spatial patterns. The Citizenship Acts which appeared in this era created social, political and economic differentiation. This led to a large gap in privileges and status both socially and economically between Kuwaitis of first citizenship degree, Kuwaitis

of second citizenship degree and the non-Kuwaitis. The non-Kuwaitis on the other hand, although lower in privileges and other socio-economic elements than the second degree Kuwaitis, are at the same time higher in privileges than the illegals who besides not having work permits, do not carry passports from the countries they belong to. The society is thus subdivided internally into groups each of which occupied certain positions in the social ladder on the basis of citizenship. Inside each of which, also, is a class system. The social gap between the elite and working class has been narrowed in this era by the appearance of the middle class Kuwaitis. The latter also combine many second citizenship degree Kuwaitis.

The occupational differentiations were seen through the laws which explicitly forced employers to give preference to Kuwaitis for all grades of employment. Kuwaitis remained the dominant force in the government and administration.

The spatial differentiation took on a legal pattern by which Kuwaitis were assigned to certain blocks and separated from the non-Kuwaitis on the basis of citizenship. The authorities also tended to assign certain blocks for the low and middle class Kuwaitis marking an official socio-spatial differentiation.

The complexity of differentiation came from the contradiction between the articles of the Constitution and the acts of citizenship. Thus, it will be sheer denial of truth if it is said that the spirit of the

Constitution has been applied in practice. At the same time, the Constitution and the continuous alterations together with the awareness of the people are leading towards a bright hope and prospect when all these abnormal differentiations die out. It is important to compare Kuwaiti society with other societies of similar character. This issue lead us to speak about three types of societies, i.e.

- (a) pluralistic societies,
- (b) integrated societies, and
- (c) segregated societies.¹

Pluralistic society is that society in which a number of inter-dependent ethnic groups each of which mounts a degree of authority. It implies some degree of equality. It is a system which flourishes best when each ethnic group in a society has a specific territory in which it is a numerical majority and when there is at least approximate equality between groups.

In addition to Belgium, Switzerland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in Europe, there are Canada, Malaya and possibly Brazil, that could be so classified. One of the most successful examples of cultural pluralism is the Republic of Switzerland. It is based on an arrangement whereby Swiss of French and Italian descent live in districts which are to a great extent ethnically

1. See for example, Hunt, C. and Walker, L. 1974, Ethnic Dynamics: Patterns of Intergroup Relations in Various Societies, The Dorsey Press, Illinois, pp. 1-22; see also Francis, E., 1976, Interethnic Relations, Elsevier: New York, pp. 90-112.

homogeneous, but which are united in a federal republic that proclaims a respect for the cultures of all its ethnic groups without distinction.

Integrated society is defined as a situation in which all citizens of the nation or possibly even all members of the society regardless of citizenship, participate freely in all forms of social integration without concern for ethnic affiliation. It differs from cultural pluralism in that it is not concerned with group privileges but with the rights of individuals. Its legal and social structure is not concerned with ethnicity. If ethnic groups survive, this is because of the cumulative effect of individual choices rather than because of governmental guarantees to protect ethnically based institution or privileges. Thus, it assumes that the problem of ethnic group conflict is solved through the adoption of a common identity and the disappearance separate ethnic interests.

Finally, there is the segregated society. It is a society in which contacts between various groups are restricted by law, by custom, or by both. It is organised on terms agreeable to the dominant ethnic group. This pattern is based on the premise that individuals have few rights apart from those pertaining to their ethnic group and that ethnic groups are unequal. Members of subordinated ethnic groups are allowed to engage only in the type of activities which are seen as contributing to the interests of the group. It was for a long time practiced in the southern parts of the U.S.A. in 1970's,

it is more starkly represented in the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia than other countries.

On the other hand, Kuwait is representing more than one character. During the pre-oil era, it took some features of a pluralistic society, when multi-ethnic groups managed to segregate and to maintain their ethnic identity. However, those groups did not have any authority in the society. The whole society was under the control of the homogeneous elite of Anezah tribe.

In the oil era, it took some features of an integrated society and a segregated one. The features of the former were seen through the first acts of citizenship in 1948 and 1959 when all the pre-oil ethnic groups became citizens under a common identity irrespective of separate ethnic interests. The features of the latter were seen when the Kuwaitis of first degree of citizenship became socially, economically and politically dominant over the second citizenship degree Kuwaitis and the non-Kuwaitis. However, it differs from the segregated societies on the question of race and colour which are of no value in Kuwait. On the other hand, the non-Kuwaitis are suffering a lot compared to the Kuwaitis of the two degrees of citizenship.

The society of Kuwait thus is a new one which cannot be defined as either integrated or totally segregated although taking many characteristics of the latter in the oil era in terms of segregation against non-Kuwaitis.

It is a society established by a tribal group which controlled almost all its social, economic and political aspects. Later when this society was subject to a multi-ethnic migration, the group in power undertook a policy to distinguish between the people on the basis of duration of residence. According to them those who have built Kuwait should have more rights than those who have made a lesser contribution.

General Considerations on the tribal society in Kuwait

Throughout this study, we have been able to trace the "origin" and the ongoing aspects and features of socio-ethnic differentiation in the society of Kuwait.

The origin, as we have seen, was "tribal", that was when the early nomadic group of the Anezah tribe migrated from the central parts of the Peninsula to establish Kuwait. The early basis of differentiation in Kuwait society thus must have been built upon the basis of differentiation of an Arab tribal society of those in the Peninsula. We have seen also that the "tribal descent" and "superiority" of certain lineages in a given tribe of the Peninsula Arab tribes, were the distinctive aspects of the appearance of such lineages among other lineages which led afterwards to the sheikhship position in the tribe. This position after the transformation to sedentary livelihood, produced the so-called "ruling family". Likewise, the other lineages who possessed similar characteristics, but lacked the

superiority factor, tended to occupy other positions, for instance, heads of lineages. This position, after the move to a sedentary style of life produced the so-called "influential families". The remaining sections of the tribe, i.e. households who lacked more than one element of appearance, became subservient to the leading two. After the move to a sedentary livelihood, this position produced the so-called "commoners" or working class, which carried out the enterprises of the previous two.

The ongoing features developed later when the settlers of Anezah and their followers became involved in trade and other sea activities. The promising prosperity of their town attracted different groups from neighbouring societies who sought new opportunities. The stratification picture remained the same in essence, except for the enrolment of multi-ethnic groups in the society, primarily in the working class. Some ethnic groups, however, were able to achieve wealth on the basis of many enterprises in the town, and hence became higher in position. However, they remained outside the circle of the old-established influential families who had acquired the elements of superiority essential to such a society. Although many changes occurred when oil was discovered, to be followed by the creation of the state, the society remained tribal in spirit, and even in many of its developed features of differentiation.

It is possible thus to consider the social and ethnic differentiation and social ethnic groupings

appearing in Kuwait society as a consequence of the mixture between a community established by a tribal group, with all the features of the tribal society, and other groups of different cultures and backgrounds. This has produced a society in which tribal criteria of differentiation are apparent, although changing in the oil era by the creation of citizenship laws which have divided the society into groups by virtue of citizenship and not on tribal criteria.

The tribal features and criteria are still in existence and often very strong in some respects. The chief difficulty here is that of determining where the tribal community begins and ends. With the spread of modern values, of industrialization and urbanization, this problem of course is becoming almost universal and the urban aspects give rise to the so-called phenomenon of 'detrribalization'. Detribalization occurs when tribes move out of their original places to join multi-tribal or plural society. The concept of 'tribal society' although having general utility as an idealized type of society is in no sense an absolute category. Some societies are thus merely more or less tribal than others.¹ The aspects of 'tribal society' in Kuwait hence can be seen through two main spheres.

(i) The sphere of authority, government and appointments, and appointments, and

1. See for example 'Tribal Society' and the 'Tribe' in the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 16, D. Sills (ed.), 1968, p. 184.

(ii) The sphere of social life in the society.

(i) Authority, Government and Appointments

The authority in a tribal society, as we have seen before, is strongly vested in the hands of the paramount sheikh, i.e. "the father of his people", who solves their problems and supplies their needs. He carries the opinion of the heads of lineages, but sometimes his decisions are carried out directly, particularly if he has acquired the criterion of leadership required by the tribal society.

The "father role" of the tribal sheikh has been practised in Kuwait since the reign of Subah I, and particularly during that of his son, Abd Allah I, after the migration of the two leading lineages of Al-Khalifah and Al-Jalahmah. As time went on, coupled with the influx of immigrants to Kuwait, the authorities became desperate for an organized system to control such unexpected numbers of employees and labour. The structure of government appeared particularly in the first years of the discovery of oil, through ministries and other elements of administration. This rapid change from a traditional tribal society into a stage of organized authority caused a sort of dual character - a modern administration veneer - but tribal in essence. This phenomenon is interestingly explained by Al-Rumaihi:

The 'father role' (in administration)
leads us to consider the present
administration in the contemporary Gulf

states as Baducracy administration.

Al-Rumaihi went on to explain about this new term of his, saying:

By Baducracy we mean the usage of the same traditional (tribal) concepts in administration but in a modern framework ... although laws and legitimacy are provided for every portion of the administration, yet the 'father role' (of the tribal sheikh) interferes through these laws and rules by making them subordinate to his influence allowing family blood relations to benefit from the intermediary acts ... Baducracy is also seen through the facade of the authority as the actual central leadership is vested in the hands of the ruler above all the distributed authorities...¹

The authority of the sheikh also continued its tribal rule through the hereditary rule in the two branches of Mubarak, i.e., Sheikh Salim bin Mubarak and Sheikh Jabir bin Mubarak. For all these reasons, Al-Nifisi suggested that Kuwait

until the present time has not completely passed from the 'tribe' stage into the 'state'.²

In fact, it is possible to add three distinctive factors which have great influence on the existence of tribal aspects in authority until our present time. In addition to what has been said before, these were:

(a) the agreement of 1899 with the British, (b) the tribal atmosphere of the Peninsula, and (c) the long-established tribal affinity.

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1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, Obstacles to the Social and Economic development of the Contemporary Societies of the Arabian Peninsula, p. 14.
 2. Al-Nifisi, A., 1978, Kuwait: The Other Opinion, p. 13.

(a) The Agreement of 1899

This Agreement which was signed in the time of Sheikh Mubarak (1896-1915), played a significant part in maintaining the tribal spirit in the authority. It strengthened the position of Sheikh Mubarak as a tribal ruler. In that respect, the families which rules these sheikhdoms maintained their tribal spirit in leadership, i.e. a sort of federation, as such rulers - leaders of loyal tribes, loyal merchant families - were all surrounded by the British protection which was interested in maintaining the tribal spirit of authority, as apart from carrying out British policy.¹

(b) The Tribal Atmosphere of the Peninsula

The location of Kuwaiti society in the Arabian Peninsula, a place which has a long-rooted history with the tribe and tribal societies, makes it impossible to suggest that tribal spirit no longer exists in the authority and even in the social life of the society, as we shall see.

Kuwaiti society is still surrounded by similar societies of tribal spirit and of social situations similar to Kuwait. Saudi Arabia, for instance, and its tribal regions, particularly Najd, along the western

1. Al-Rumaihi, M., 1977, op.cit., p.137.

borders and Al-Hasa region to the south. The Gulf states of similar authority are also in close relation to Kuwait to a greater extent than any other societies outside the Peninsula. Even Iraq, particularly its southern parts adjacent to Kuwait where tribes are settled, at least represents a sort of complete tribal picture surrounding the Kuwaiti borders. Saudi Arabia, a huge kingdom in which the largest collections of Arab tribes may be found, besides having the largest ruling family in the world of similar characteristics in Kuwait, has imposed strong "unseen" pressure on the authorities in Kuwait to maintain the tribal spirit of leadership.

(c) The Long-established Tribal Affinity

In relation to the previous point, Kuwait lived in a traditional tribal society for 252 years, from 1710 to 1962, which cannot be compared to the 'so-called "state stage" of about 19 years, from 1962 until the present. This long affinity to the tribe and traditional tribal atmosphere makes it difficult to forget the tribal roots and their features in the authority and social life.

(d) Appointments and Tribal Influences

The latest point in relation to authority and government we come to is the appointment in the structure of government which indicates a pronounced affiliation to

the tribe and family name. Many family members, usually the descendants of the influential families, are assigned to certain positions, e.g. ministries, deputies, etc., purely because of their family name. If one were to trace their backgrounds, one would find that they are the long lines of the early lineages in the society. There are certain lineages and families who are almost found in every cabinet. Although their success can quite properly be attributed to their own personal qualities, it has unquestionably been brought about by family influences and blood tribal relations.

(ii) The Sphere of Social Life in the Society

Some aspects of ordinary life in Kuwait also indicate some features of tribal influences and adherences. These aspects are as follows:

- (a) Social position of family name,
- (b) Marriage,
- (c) Inter-migration after kin and tribe, and
- (d) Vanity of tribal aristocracy.

(a) Social Position of Family Name in the Society

In Kuwait, until now, the "family name" which indicates tribal descent, has much influence on the status of families in the society. Usually names which trace their descent to tribal backgrounds, particularly those belonging to the old-established families, maintain a certain prestige and privilege in comparison to other families. The concept of "Asl" together with the wealth

factor, have strengthened the concept of the influence of the family name. This phenomenon can be seen when other families who have the factors of wealth and citizenship, are yet unable to create the same psychological feeling of prestige in the minds of the people, particularly if they lack the factor of Asl.

(b) Marriage

The tribal descent, or Asl, and the family background are still strongly established among many families in relation to marriage. Many families in Kuwait who claim Asl, either intermarry with their own lineages or with families of similar tribal status, whilst families of unknown descent are expected to marry from the same lines as their own. Fortunately, some families have recently begun to exclude this tribal aspect of marriage and have started to consider education and at least Arab origin, although others impose no restrictions.

(c) Intermigration after Kin and Tribe

Although this factor has also a strong relation with religion, as it encourages face-to-face relations, some of its features can also be regarded as the result of the influence of the tribal background of the society. It is not a new phenomenon, as we have seen in the pre-oil town, which also transferred to the city of the oil era. Certain areas in Kuwait which happen to be known as places of certain lineages or tribes, such as Salmiyah where the Awazim tribe concentrate; Farawaniyah where we find the Mutair, Al-Ahmadi where the Ajmans concentrate,

and Khaitan where the Utaibah live. Sometimes complete blocks or wards are totally occupied by certain lineages. The phenomenon was also seen from other non-tribal groups which managed to concentrate over certain areas under the tribal pressure of the society and partially under the requirements of ethnic adherence of these groups. It also showed the influence of the tribal atmosphere of these areas on these groups.

(d) The Vanity of the Tribal Aristocracy

One of the inherited ills of the tribal society is the tradition of not being involved in any kind of manual work. Manual work to the tribal individual in any tribe of Arabia, is a stigma and not suitable to the aristocracy of the desert man. In Kuwait this work is done almost exclusively by immigrants and non-Kuwaitis. The phenomenon has existed throughout the history of Kuwait.¹

It is possible to consider these features of the tribe in Kuwait as strong factors in causing other non-tribal groups to segregate on an ethnic or family basis.

There are, in fact, other factors brought to light by other studies on the society of Kuwait which in fact strengthen our proposition that the tribe is the outstanding factor in shaping the social differentiation and groupings in the country. Factors like: The absence

1. See for example Al-Qina'i, Y., 1946, Safahat min etc... p. 38.

of agriculture and therefore land ownership, contributed to this effect.¹ The absence of agriculture is an established phenomenon in Kuwait and could also be introduced in another way: "Kuwait never possessed a rural agricultural population so the 'push' factors from the countryside are largely irrelevant to Kuwaiti urban growth".² The nature of the climate and land in Kuwait, coupled with the background of the early settlers, made this factor invaluable. This issue indeed described the tribal atmosphere of the society, as the social groups basically developed out of tribal criteria and not on agricultural land ownership, which characterized the social differentiation in the agricultural societies of, say, Egypt before 1952 and probably today.

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1. A. Husain, Studies in Arab Society, quoted in Abbas, S. 1973, 'Politics, Administration and Urban Planning in a Welfare Society: Kuwait', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 145.
 2. Ffrench G. and Hill, A., 1971, Kuwait: Urban and Medical Ecology, p. 16.

APPENDIX IGLOSSARY OF COMMON TERMS RELATED TO THE STUDY

- Abd slave, usually attached to the names of God when used for persons' names, i.e. Abd Allah Abd Al-Rahman (i.e. slave of Allah...God) etc.
- Abu Father of, i.e. Abu-al Kasim, Abu-Bakr, Abu-Turab etc...
- Al House of, i.e. Al-Hashim, Al-Omran ...; Al-Subah, Al-Saud, etc...
- Amir or Emir pl. Umara - leader, prince.
- Anezah or Anazah: a large Arab tribe to which belong Al-Subah of Kuwait, Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia and Al-Khalifah of Bahrain.
- Asil pl. Ausalā'a - descendant of an Arab tribe, i.e.
- Badia desert, also generic term for nomads, i.e. singular Badi
- Badu pl. of Badawi (pronounced Baduwi), i.e. Arabs of the desert.
- Bani pl. of Ibn - son of, frequently occurs in tribal names, i.e. Bani-Khalid.
- Bin Variant from of Ibn, i.e. bin saud
- Ibn Son of, see bin.
- Imam Religious leader, the leader of Islamic nation, etc.
- Ja'afariyah Followers of Ja'afar Al-Sadiq, the sixth Imam to the Imamiyah (Imamite) Ethna'ashariyah (twelve Imams) shi'ah.

Kuwait	Diminutive of "Kut", i.e. small fort.
Mahallah	Quarter, portion of a town, station, i.e. Mahallat Al-Bader (quarter of Al-Bader family, etc.)
Majlis	Council, also reception room for male guests, i.e. Diwan.
Mullah	Traditional name of teacher, also religious man.
Mutajannis	A term used for persons of second citizenship degree in Kuwait as opposed to 'Bita'asees' a term used for first citizenship Kuwaitis.
Sheikh	Old man, religious leader, ruler, head of a tribe, etc.

APPENDIX 2

Sample of Questionnaire used in the field work of winter and spring 1980.

College of Art and Education

Geography Department

Field work study

Questionnaire

- To study some social aspects in the state of Kuwait.
- Information which may be given in the questionnaire is only for the specific use of the researcher and not for publishing.

- (1) Card number
- (2) Name of locality
- (3) Name of person
- (4) Occupation
- (5) Place of work
- (6) Address of living place
- (7) Name of researcher
- (8) Date of Questionnaire

Firstly: Preliminary Information about the studied group:

- (1) Age
- (2) Religion
- (3) Nationality
- (4) Educational status (illiterate, read and write, any degree etc.)

- (5) Place of birth (state the place accurately i.e. the locality and the ward)
- (6) Place of father's birth (state the area or locality)
- (7) Place of mother's birth (" " " " ")
- (8) Nationality of the father
- (9) Nationality of the mother
- (10) Number of male children
- (11) Number of female children
- (12) Place of the wife's family residence (Area and Locality)
- (13) Place of the husband's family residence (Area and Locality)
- (14) What was the occupation of your father (); and your grandfather ()?
- (15) Why did they choose these jobs?

Secondly: Information about Residence (Pre-Oil Era)

- (1) What was the name of the area where you reside?
- (2) What was the name of the ward where you live?
- (3) Why did you choose this place?
 - (a) because my relatives lived there
 - (b) because it was close to my work place
 - (c) no specific reason
 - (d) other reasons: please specify.
- (4) What were the main occupations of the people of your ward?
 - (a) most of them were pearl and goods merchants
 - (b) most of them were middle and low class merchants

- (c) most of them were pearl divers
 - (d) most of them were Badu
 - (e) mixture of (a, b, c, and d)
 - (f) other reasons: specify.
- (5) Were your family involved in particular social activities in the ward there you live?
- (no) (yes) If yes, please specify.
- (6) Why did your ward carry this name?
- (a) after the dominant family living in it.
 - (b) other reasons.
- (7) What were the main nationalities in your residential area?
- (8) What were the main nationalities in your ward?
- (9) On the basis of the previous questions i.e. (7) and (8) state the main group nationality in your area.
- (10) Who was the foreigner from your point of view?
- (a) who does not speak Arabic
 - (b) who does not have relatives in the ward
 - (c) who does not live in the locality
 - (d) who follows a religion other than Islam
 - (e) other reason: specify.

Thirdly: General questions on the society (pre-oil era)

- (1) Do you believe that the people of this society were homogeneous and closely related.
- (2) What were the reasons for this homogeneity.
- (3) Do you believe that the people of this society

consisted of several social classes? If yes, what was the social stratification picture you think is true:

- (a) merchants - small merchants - pearl divers
 - (b) Kuwaitis versus Badu
 - (c) others: specify
- (4) Do you believe that it was possible to divide Kuwait into areas where each of them carried specific characteristics of social, economic, numbers, aspects etc.? If yes, give examples.
- (5) What was your personal point of view about the big merchant families?
- (a) they were kind and generous
 - (b) they sometimes help people
 - (c) they were cruel
 - (d) other reasons: specify.
- (6) What was your personal point of view about the pearl divers?
- (a) suffering group
 - (b) it was the group which experienced the hardships and poverty of living
 - (c) it was the group which suffered the most from the merchants and the Nawakhdas (captains of ships)
 - (d) other reasons: specify.
- (7) Who was the "Kuwaiti" in your view at that period?
- (8) What were the main differences between this period and the period of oil in your view?
- (9) What were the main activities (economic) in this society?

- (a) pearl fishing
 - (b) trade and pearl fishing
 - (c) trade.
- (10) Who was the "Badawi" (singular nomad) in this period in your view?
- (11) In general, do you think that the majority of the people in this society were
- (a) poor
 - (b) middle class
 - (c) rich
- (12) What were the occupations which were considered as indicators of richness or poverty.

General questions about Society (post-oil era)

Firstly: Information about area of residence

- (1) What is the name of the area where you live?
- (2) Why did you choose it?
- (a) because my relatives lived there
 - (b) because it is close to my place of work
 - (c) it has many services
 - (d) through the government
- (3) What are the social characteristics of your ward?
- (a) most of them are rich
 - (b) most of them are of middle-class
 - (c) most of them are low class
 - (d) other characteristics
- (4) What are the main occupations of the residents of your ward?
- (a) government employee

- (b) merchant and businessmen
 - (c) others: specify
- (5) Are they all Kuwaitis?
 - (6) How did you know that all of them are Kuwaitis?
 - (7) Are there any Arabs or non-Arabs in your ward?
 - (8) Are there Arabs or non-Arabs in your residential area?

Secondly: General questions

- (1) Do you think that coherence and homogeneity are almost non-existent among people of this society?
If yes, please clarify.
- (2) Do you think that material wealth is the main indication of superiority in this society while manners and sincerity are no longer relevant?
- (3) Select three factors which characterise this society in contrast to the pre-oil society.
- (4) What is the dominant class in this society?
 - (a) merchants
 - (b) educated youths
 - (c) commoners
- (5) What is your personal viewpoint about Kuwait university graduates?
- (6) What is your personal viewpoint about university graduates abroad?
- (7) What is your personal viewpoint about "Kuwaiti" poor?
- (8) What is your personal viewpoint about illiterate Kuwaitis?

- (9) Give your views about the following in one or two words only:-
- (a) big merchants
 - (b) Badu
 - (c) Law of Nationality
 - (d) one or two problems annoying you
 - (e) National Assembly
 - (f) educated Kuwaiti youths
- (10) What would you do if you were assigned to an authority which enable you to enforce changes in the society?
- (11) Is it possible to divide the society into merchants educated, and commoners?
- (12) Are you in favour of the National Assembly?
If not, please state why.
- (13) Do you believe that it caused political parties which led to segregation of groups in the society?
- (14)
- (15) Who is the "Kuwaiti" in your personal view?
- (16) Who is not "Kuwaiti" in your personal view?
- (17) What is your definition of "the first degree of citizenship?"
- (18) What is your definition of "the second degree of citizenship"?
- (19) What is the strongest authority (other than the government) in the society?
- (20) Do you agree with those who strongly hold to the idea of "descent" or "Asl" in marriage matters?

APPENDIX 3THE NEW DIVISIONS OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

The division of Kuwait into 'Electoral Districts' was started in the year 1961. The first article in the law of electoral districts, number 25 of that year stipulated that the country is to be divided into 20 electoral districts, each district, is represented by one delegate. Law number 28 of the same year amended the previous article number 25, and divided the country into 10 electoral districts represented by two delegates from each district.

Article 51, law number 35 of 1962 amended the previous articles regarding the numbers of delegates. It stipulated 5 delegates of each district instead of 2 representing each district which gave 50 members of parliament. The previous amendments remained the same from 1963 to 1976, with some marginal amendments, i.e. Law 78 of 1966, and Law number 6 of 1971.

The study as we have seen, traced the election years of 1963-67, 1967-71, 1971-75 and 1975-76. Each legislative season taking 4 years except the last one of 1975-1976, which lasted only for one year. The parliament was cancelled from 1976 until late 1980, when the authorities declared the re-establishment of the parliament and assigning the 23rd of February 1981 for the new elections.

Law number 64 of 1980 cancelled Law number 6 of 1971 of the 10 electoral districts with 5 delegates

of each district and declared new divisions of electoral districts. According to the new law, Kuwait is to be divided into 25 electoral districts, each district is represented by 2 delegates making a total of 50 members of parliament.

The 25 electoral districts are (we shall use E.D. for Electoral District):

The First E.D. is called 'Sharg District' and consists of Sharg, Dasmah, Metabbah, Dasman and Bnaid Al-Gar.

The Second E.D. is called 'Al-Mergab District' and consists of Mergab and Dahiat Abd Allah Al-Salim.

The Third E.D. is called 'Al-Qiblah District' and consists of Qiblah, Shuwaikh B, and Shamiyah.

The Fourth E.D. is called 'Di'iyah District' and consists of Di'iyah, Shi'ib, Failaka Island and other islands.

The Fifth E.D. is called 'Al-Qadsiyah District' and consists of Qadsiyah and Mansouriyah.

The Sixth E.D. is called 'Al-Fihā'a District' and consists of Fihā'a and Nuzha.

The Seventh E.D. is called 'Kifan District' and consists of Kifan.

The Eighth E.D. is called 'Hawalli District' and consists of Hawalli, Maidan Hawalli, Nugrah, Bayan and Mishrif.

The Ninth E.D. is called 'Rudah District' and consists of Rudah.

The Tenth E.D. is called 'Al-Udailiyah District'

and consists of Udailiyah, Jabriyah and Surrah.

The Eleventh E.D. is called Al-Khaladiyah District' and consists of Khaladiyah, Qurtubah and Yarmuk.

The Twelfth E.D. is called 'Salmiyah District' and consists of Salmiyah, Ar-Ras', Bedi'a and Salwa.

The Thirteenth E.D. is called 'Rumaithiyah District' and consists of Rumaithiyah.

The Fourteenth E.D. is called 'Abruq Khitan District' and consists of Abraq Khitan and new Khitan.

The Fifteenth E.D. is called 'Al-Farawaniyah District' and consists of Farawaniyah and Ain Bagzi.

The Sixteenth E.D. is called 'Al-Umariyah District' and consists of Umariyah, Rabiyyah, Reg'i and Andalus.

The Seventeenth E.D. is called "Jeleeb Al-Shyouch District' and consists of Jeleeb Shyouch, Shedadiyah, Saihad Al-Awazim, Al-Udhailiyah and Ardiyah.

The Eighteenth E.D. is called 'Sulaibikhat District' and consists of Sulaibikhat, Duhah, Imagarah and Gernatah.

The Nineteenth E.D. is called 'Al-Jahrah New' and consists of Al-Jahrah new, Sulaibiyah and Government houses area.

The Twentieth E.D. is called 'Al-Jahrah District' and consists of Al-Jahrah, and all the areas extended from the boundaries of Kuwait and Iraq to the north and west and the borders with Saudi Arabia until Al-Mityah centre to the south.

The Twenty-first E.D. is called 'Al-Ahmadi District' and consists of Al-Ahmadi, Al-Magw'a, Warah, Subaihiyah, Jaidan, until the borders of Kuwait with Saudi Arabia to the west, Hadiyah, Mahbullah, Abu-Hlaifah, Fnaitees, Meselah, Dahiat Subah Al-Salim and Uqailah.

The Twenty-second E.D. is called 'Al-Riggah District' and consists of Riggah.

The Twenty-third E.D. is called 'Subahiyah District' and consists of Subahiyah.

The Twenty-fourth E.D. is called 'Fhaiheel District' and consists of Fhaiheel and Mangaf.

The Twenty-fifth E.D. is called 'Um-Al-Haiman District' and consists of Umm Al-Haiman, Mina Abd Allah, Zur, Wafrah and all the areas to the south until the southern borders with Saudi Arabia.

Attached to the new law were other significant changes. One of which has to do with the voters' actual place of residence. That is to say the voters used to vote in any district where their relatives resided irrespective of the actual area of residence. That was seen through the transference of votes from the areas of actual residence to the districts where voters could claim kin or family relations. These acts played significant roles in the election returns. The new conditions, however, have assured that the voters should vote only in the districts of their actual residence.

By looking at the new electoral divisions, some comments could be made, such as:

- (1) the electoral districts became smaller than they

used to be before. This factor had minimized the numbers of competing groups. In other words, each district tended to exhibit a relative homogeneous entity,

(2) likewise the small number of delegates over the electoral districts, have produced actual demonstration of the dominant group in each district, and

(3) the new divisions provided the Badu with the lion share of districts, compared to other groups. For example more than half of the electoral districts are located in areas of majority Badu population, i.e. districts number 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25.

The election return shows that the Badu are able to win 26 seats giving them about 52 per cent of the voting potential of Kuwait. Another important incident in this election was that neither the National Front nor the Progressive Democrats were able to win a single seat.

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