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Achievements, Aspirations and Plans**

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Globalisation in the Gulf States**

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NASRA M. SHAH

Abstract

About 18 per cent of all non-nationals in Kuwait were born there and have lived there at least half their life, thus comprising the second generation. A survey of 973 high school students revealed that one-third of the parents among Arabs were born in Kuwait, rendering high school students the third generation. Second generation non-nationals are typically educated, mid-level professionals and their children. They are part of extended family units residing in Kuwait. Compared with their parents, the second generation working persons (n = 252) have made considerable progress in educational level. Arabs and Asians are distinct segments of the second generation. Arabs are likely to form a larger part of the future population mix than Asians, since larger percentages of the former wish to attain higher education, and plan to look for work, in Kuwait. Socioeconomic characteristics and achievements of the second generation suggest that this group can contribute effectively to the continued advancement of Kuwait.

Keywords

expatriates; Gulf; non-citizens; second generation; success; integration

1. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND ON THE SECOND GENERATION IN KUWAIT

For the last several decades, more than half of Kuwait's population has comprised of non-nationals. In 2011, Kuwait had 3.63 million residents, 67.9 per cent of whom were non-nationals (PACI, 2011). Among the non-Kuwaitis, 17.9 per cent were born in Kuwait, a majority (80 per cent) of whom were Arabs while 18 per cent were Asians (Table 1). About 45 per cent of the Arabs and 23 per cent of the Asians born in Kuwait had lived there for 20 or more years (Table 2). This group comprises the second generation of migrants whose parents came to the country at least 20 years ago. Major characteristics of this group are shown in the Appendix, Tables A1–A5.

Like other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, Kuwait defines migration as a temporary phenomenon governed by strict rules and regulations to manage the mobility of workers, some of whom are allowed to bring in their families, depending on the worker's

Several colleagues in the Department of Community Medicine and Behavioural Sciences provided assistance in this study. Dr Reem Al-Sabah helped with the training for focus group discussions. Mrs Anita Suresh and Dr Najwa Bahnasawy provided valuable research assistance throughout the project. Ms Abrar Husain assisted with conducting the focus group and translating the discussion notes. Other colleagues who helped with data collection or data entry include Mrs Ajitha Suresh, Mrs Barbra Atieh, Dr Mumtaz Shukkur, Dr Nardine Edward, Dr Susan Jacob, Mrs Susan Mammen, Mrs Susan Pires, Mr Altaf Hussain and Mrs Nuzhat Hanif.

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Table 1. Nationality of non-Kuwaitis born in Kuwait: population by continent, 2011

Continent of origin	Number	%
Arab	352,962	80.1
Asia	79,536	18.0
Africa	1,092	0.2
Europe	1,974	0.4
North America	4,189	1.0
South America	677	0.2
Australia	294	0.1
Total Kuwait-born non-Kuwaitis	440,724	100.0
Total population of Kuwait	3,632,009	100.0
Kuwaiti nationals	1,164,448	32.1
Non-Kuwaitis	2,467,561	67.9
% non-Kuwaitis born in Kuwait		17.9

Source: PACI 2011.

Table 2. Age distribution of non-Kuwaitis born in Kuwait: by continent (%), 2011

Continent of origin	<5	5–9	10–14	15–19	20+	Total	Number
Arab	19.48	12.85	11.93	11.16	44.58	100	352,962
Asia	38.45	20.18	12.49	5.94	22.93	100	79,536
Africa	26.83	10.35	7.78	11.45	43.59	100	1,092
Europe	34.30	15.60	7.90	7.65	34.55	100	1,974
North America	30.15	13.32	8.38	8.52	39.63	100	4,189
South America	14.03	9.75	9.16	13.00	54.06	100	677
Australia	22.45	12.93	5.78	11.90	46.94	100	294

Source: PACI 2011.

salary. Only those earning a minimum monthly salary of KWD250 (USD900 or more) in the public sector or KWD400 (USD1,400) may bring their wife and children (www.e.gov.kw/MOI). Working women are usually not allowed to sponsor the migration of their husband. Migration rules do not entitle children born in Kuwait to foreign nationals to become its citizens, regardless of the duration for which they have lived in the country. Thus, a substantial proportion of Kuwait-born persons have been living in Kuwait as foreigners even though this is the only country where they may have resided most of their lives.

Another group of persons most of whom are born in Kuwait but are not considered to be citizens consists of the Bedoon, or stateless. For statistical purposes this group of persons is categorized as non-Kuwaiti and information on their total number is not published as a separate group. As judged from occasional newspaper articles, the currently estimated number of Bedoons is around 70,000–100,000. In Tables 1 and 2, the Bedoons form a part of the Arab subgroup. However, this group was not included in the present study.

1.1. Rationale and importance of the study

Even though Kuwait does not have a policy to nationalize foreigners born in the country, several research questions are important to an understanding of the realities and implications of the presence of second generation migrants in the country. Two important reasons for studying this group are as follows:

1. Information on the achievements, aspirations and plans of the second generation non-nationals may provide insights on which to build future scenarios of population growth and population mix in Kuwait.
2. In case Kuwait decides to revise its policies pertaining to the legal status of Kuwait-born foreigners and begins to offer some form of long-term residence for this group, information on its human capital attributes, socioeconomic status and perceptions about the country would provide useful insights to decision makers. Such an analysis may or may not, however, be generalizable to the other GCC countries.

Relative to countries where immigration is part of public policy, such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the USA, the context within which the research questions may be framed in a country like Kuwait is fundamentally different. In traditional immigration countries, studies of second generation migrants aim to compare the educational and occupational achievements of the second generation with their parents as well as with the indigenous population (Algan et al. 2010; Boyd and Grieco 1998; Khoo et al. 2002; Perreira et al. 2006). Another aim is to discover the ethnic and socioeconomic forces that may put specific groups at a disadvantage, to the detriment of the society as a whole (Baum and Flores 2011; Borjas 2011; Kristen and Granato 2007). Research in such countries is couched within a basic philosophy of integrating and assimilating the migrant communities and providing equal life chances to all citizens. Consequently, various authors suggest policy interventions that may reduce such disadvantages and disparities. Policies such as language training, scholarships, identification and focus on the most disadvantaged groups at an early age have been formulated and implemented in some countries (Christensen and Stanat 2007; Portes and Rivas 2011).

Contrary to the philosophy of the traditional immigration countries mentioned above, Kuwait defines the migration of workers (and their families) as ‘contract worker mobility’, designed for a fixed, but renewable, period of time subject to the terms and conditions

specified in the contract. The above definition precludes any policy emphasis on integrating the migrant workers and their families. The two groups, nationals and non-nationals, co-exist in a highly segmented society (Kapiszewski 2001; Longva 1997). Policies aimed at the welfare and progress of the next generation are very different for nationals and expatriates. The following sections provide an overview of the legal and socioeconomic context within which the second generation non-nationals are born and raised in Kuwait.

1.1.1. Legal status of second generation non-nationals

As in the case of all non-Kuwaiti citizens, every child born to non-Kuwaiti parents must have a sponsor or 'kafeel'. On the basis of the birth certificate, the child is issued a dependent residence visa (iqama). Within one month of the birth, the parents must obtain a civil identification card in order for the child to be a part of Kuwait's electronic population database. In a large majority of cases, the father is the sponsor of the child since he is the one most likely to be employed and eligible to bring his wife to Kuwait and have his children here. In some cases, the mother may be the sponsor if she is the one who is employed and entitled to bring her minor children with her. However, she is not allowed to sponsor her husband in most cases. A male child can live in Kuwait under the sponsorship of father (or mother) until he is 21 years of age and a female child until she gets married. Once a male child reaches age 21, he can continue to live in the country if he is registered as a student and has a student visa, or if he is employed and has a work visa. He is not entitled to a dependent visa from the father or mother.

In legal terms, a child born to non-Kuwaiti parents in the country is not entitled to be a citizen of Kuwait by virtue of being born here. The Nationality Law of 1959 and several amendments to this law outline the conditions under which a non-Kuwaiti may be granted citizenship. An unofficial translation of these laws is available on www.refworld.org/cgi-bin (NLB 1959). An Arabic version of the Nationality Law is available at www.gcc-legal.org.mojportalpublic/Law (Amiri Decree, 1959). Article 3 of the 1959 Nationality Law states that Kuwaiti nationality is acquired by any person born in Kuwait whose parents are not known. Article 4 of this law states that Kuwaiti nationality may be granted by decree upon the recommendation of the minister of interior to any person of full age satisfying the following conditions:

1. The person has lawfully resided in Kuwait for at least 20 years, or 15 years in the case of Arabs belonging to an Arab country.

2. The person has a lawful means of earning a living, is of good character and has not been convicted of an honour-related or honesty-related crime.
3. The person has knowledge of the Arabic language.
4. The person possesses qualifications or renders services required in Kuwait.
5. The person is an original Muslim by birth or has converted to Islam at least 5 years prior to naturalization.

A major category of non-Kuwaitis that may become Kuwaiti citizens is that of non-Kuwaiti women married to Kuwaiti men, for whom detailed rules have been specified. The initial Nationality Law specified a period of 15 years of marriage before a non-Kuwaiti wife could obtain Kuwaiti nationality. However, the period after which she may obtain nationality is somewhat flexible and may be reduced upon the recommendation of the minister of interior. Widows and divorcees married to Kuwaiti men are also eligible for citizenship if they do not remarry. Contrary to the above rules for non-Kuwaiti wives, Kuwaiti women who marry non-Kuwaiti men are usually not allowed to obtain citizenship for their husband. Furthermore, children born to a Kuwaiti mother (but non-Kuwaiti father) inherit the nationality of the father and are not eligible for Kuwaiti citizenship. However, children of divorced Kuwaiti women who were married to a non-Kuwaiti are eligible for Kuwaiti citizenship under Article 5(2) of the Nationality Law.

1.1.2. Educational and other opportunities for second generation non-nationals

School as well as university education is provided free of charge by the government to all citizens. A few non-Kuwaitis are eligible to attend Kuwaiti public schools, free of charge. As reported to the GCC Secretariat, Kuwait had a total of 130 public high schools and 92 private high schools in 2008/9 (www.gcc-sg.org/eng). Of the 62,121 students enrolled in the government high schools, only 11.3 per cent were non-citizens in 2008/9. On the other hand, 74.1 per cent of the 27,999 students enrolled in the private schools were non-citizens. The government schools are reserved primarily for Kuwaiti citizens, with some exceptions. Children of a Kuwaiti mother and a non-Kuwaiti father, as well as children of teachers, diplomats and Gulf citizens, may be admitted to Kuwaiti public schools at all educational levels except kindergarten (see Ministry of Education, www.e.gov.kw/moe_en).

Until about ten years ago when private universities were allowed, education beyond high school could be obtained only at Kuwait University, owned and managed by the government. Like high schools, Kuwait University is reserved for Kuwaiti nationals, with

some exceptions, including children of martyrs, diplomats, Kuwait University faculty and staff members, GCC citizens living in Kuwait, children of Kuwaiti mothers and non-Kuwaiti fathers, and students of exceptionally high performance (www.kuniv/edi/ku/News/KU_004564). Kuwait University had 24,594 students in 2008/9, of whom only 10.6 per cent were non-citizens. In 2010/11, Kuwait University had 29,078 enrolled students, 10.7 per cent of whom were non-citizens (www.planning.kuniv.edu.kw/statistics_ar.htm). Thus, a majority of non-Kuwaiti high school graduates are not eligible to enter Kuwait University. However, the country now has eight private universities accredited with the Private University Council in Kuwait (PUC; see www.puc.edu.kw). Non-Kuwaiti students desirous of post-secondary education can either get admitted to one of the private universities in Kuwait or go to a university in another country.

All private schools in Kuwait must register with, and be approved by, the Administration for Private Schools within the Ministry of Education. The operation of private schools is regulated through periodic visits by private school inspectors. Arab and non-Arab private schools differ considerably in terms of the curriculum, books, language of instruction and examinations. Arab schools have the same curriculum as Kuwaiti public schools and procure books through the government authorities concerned in the country. The language of instruction in Arab schools is Arabic. The examinations administered to the 11th and 12th grade students are the same as in Kuwaiti public schools and are provided by the Kuwait Ministry of Education (personal communication, vice-principals of Al Safar Girls Secondary School and Al Najat Boys Secondary School).

On the other hand, non-Arab schools follow the curriculum, books and examination systems of their home countries. For example, the Indian schools in Kuwait are affiliated with, and regulated by, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE; see www.cbse.nic.in) in India. They procure their books through CBSE, follow its examination system and are granted High School Certificates by it. Similarly, the Pakistani schools are affiliated with, and regulated by, the Federal Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Islamabad, Pakistan. The British, American and other schools are affiliated with the central regulatory authorities in their home countries. Hence, the consistency of the curriculum in the non-Arab schools with that of their respective home countries is very high. Some Asian schools also provide education and examinations for the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGSCE) or a British High School examination system. All private schools in

Kuwait are required to teach a basic level of Arabic and the books for this are provided by the Kuwait Ministry of Education (see Kuwait National English School, www.knes.edu.kw).

The above comparison between Arab and non-Arab schools illustrates that there is a high degree of homogeneity between the Kuwaiti and Arab high schools, and within the Arab schools. On the contrary, non-Arab schools have a great deal of variability. Their grading systems also vary and the cut-off points between various grades (A, B, C etc.) are based on different criteria. For example, the percentage below which a student is assessed to have failed is 50 in Arab schools, 32 in Indian and 33 in Pakistani schools. The letter grade B ranges from 60 to 69 per cent in Pakistani schools and from 60 to 79 per cent in Indian schools; in Arab schools, 60–69 is defined as ‘fair’, and 70–79 as ‘good’. A student with 75 per cent would be ranked as A in the Pakistani schools while this percentage would translate into a grade of B1 in the Indian schools and a grade of C+ in the Arab schools.

One implication of the consistency between public and private Arab schools education is the fact that an Arab private high school graduate is likely to be better prepared for the labour market in Kuwait than is a non-Arab one. Proficiency in Arabic is also likely to contribute positively to the Arab school graduate’s suitability for the available jobs. In terms of their relative chances for entering the government university, however, Arab and non-Arab students are faced with similar limitations. A majority of those seeking higher education must find admission to one of the private universities in Kuwait or in another country, usually the home country.

1.2. Aims and objectives of the study

Given the above background, the overall aim of this study was to assess the educational and occupational achievements of second generation non-nationals, and analyse their future aspirations and plans. The specific objectives were as follows:

1. to compare the educational attainment of second generation migrants with that of their parents according to nationality and socioeconomic status; and to compare the academic and other achievements of Arab vs. Asian migrants;
2. to compare the occupational mobility of second generation migrants with that of their parents according to nationality and human capital attributes (of the second generation); and to compare the achievements of Arab vs. Asian migrants;

3. to assess the future goals and aspirations of second generation migrants in terms of desired level of education, desired occupation and desired country of future residence;
4. to assess the future plans of second generation migrants in terms of steps taken towards (a) entering post-secondary education, (b) plans to stay in Kuwait vs. leaving for another country, (c) plans to work in Kuwait after attaining higher education, and (d) plans to bring in additional family members and friends;
5. to examine the respondent's general perceptions about quality of life in Kuwait, satisfaction with life situation, considering Kuwait as 'home', Arabic language competency, and network supports in Kuwait.

2. METHODS AND SAMPLE

2.1. Definition of second generation and inclusion criteria

A person (male or female) aged 15 or more born in Kuwait to non-Kuwaiti parents who had lived in Kuwait most of his or her life was defined as a member of the second generation. The non-Kuwaiti nationality as stated in the passport was recorded. Bedoons were not included in the study. Two persons (0.2 per cent) whose mother was Kuwaiti but father was non-Kuwaiti were included since the children in this case inherit the father's nationality and are not given Kuwaiti nationality.

Thus, the inclusion criteria for respondents were:

- male or female age 15+;
- born in Kuwait and lived here most of their life (at least 50 per cent of their life);
- a specific (non-Bedoon) non-Kuwaiti nationality.

2.2. Rationale for excluding the Bedoon from the study

The main reasons for excluding the Bedoon from this study are as follows. The Bedoon are considered as 'illegal' residents of the country, who are alleged to belong to other countries but be hiding their passports and citizenship information. However, a process of naturalizing some Bedoons has been going on for many years. Statistically, this group was categorized as Kuwaiti in the Census and other official documents prior to 1989, when a political decision to categorize them as non-Kuwaiti Arabs was made. No disaggregated information is available for this category. Locating a relatively representative sample of this group from high schools

would have been very difficult. Furthermore, this group represents a relatively sensitive segment within the country in political terms and its status is undergoing redefinition and reassessment. The lack of a clear status of this group did not permit us to define an inclusion criteria for them.

2.3. Data collection and sample

Three major target groups were used for collecting the data for this study:

1. *Focus groups:* Six focus group discussions were conducted with second generation non-Kuwaitis of different ages and nationalities. Three group discussions were conducted with students and two with employed men and women. Focus group participants were identified and recruited with the help of school principals in the case of high school students, and through friends and colleagues in the case of university students and working men and women.
2. *High school student sample:* 11th and 12th grade students were selected from Arabic, Indian, Pakistani and British schools. A list of all private schools was obtained from the Ministry of Education. Four Asian schools, two of them Indian and two Pakistani, were selected from all schools that contained 11th and 12th grade students. The decision to sample students from Indian and Pakistani schools was based on the large numbers of these groups in the population, as well as the presence of high family migration among them. Furthermore, among Asian schools, almost all were either Indian or Pakistani, with the exception of two Iranian schools and one Filipino school. The four Asian schools were chosen to cover a wide cross-section of each subgroup in terms of geographical and socioeconomic representation in Kuwait. All the chosen schools were fairly similar in terms of the size of school fees charged by them. We therefore believe that the schools we sampled are adequately representative of the Indian and Pakistani second generation students in Kuwait.

Since Arab schools are segregated by gender, two girls' schools and three boys' schools were chosen. Arab schools were also chosen to capture the diversity of the communities and maximize representativeness. An attempt was made to cover major parts of the country where non-national Arabs reside. An attempt was also made to include roughly equal numbers of students from Arab and Asian schools. Details of the selected schools and number of students in the sample from each

school are shown in Table 3. A total of 978 students responded to our survey. Five students belonging to other nationalities (Zimbabwean, Turkish, New Zealander, Australian and Canadian) were excluded from the analysis. The father's nationality was assigned to three students who did not report their nationality. Thus the number of students analysed in this paper is 973.

3. *Employee sample*: A purposive sample of older second generation persons employed in various institutions was selected with the help of snowball sampling. Twenty different contact persons were used to collect data from their friends, neighbours, co-workers and acquaintances who fulfilled our inclusion criteria. A sampling frame from which to draw a representative sample of second generation non-nationals is not available, and our data were therefore collected from our own contacts. An attempt was, however, made to enlist contacts with diverse backgrounds in the hope of attaining a reasonably representative sample. Contacts who were used in the snowball sampling included secretaries, clerical workers, technicians, school teachers and IT professionals. It is possible that our sample of working persons may not fully represent the relatively lower socioeconomic second generation workers since we did not use such contacts for collecting data. However, we do not expect such an omission to be large in view of the fact that only those earning a minimum salary level are allowed to bring their family with them. This

Table 3. *List of schools and students in the sample*

Name of school	Total number of students in the 11th and 12th grade	Students in the sample	% of all students
Arab schools			
Al Jeel Al Jadeed (girls)	571	115	11.8
Al Safar (girls)	322	112	11.5
Al Najat (boys)	374	114	11.7
Al Seef (boys)	300	115	11.8
Al Rashid (boys) ^a	–	8	0.8
Asian schools			
Carmel school, Khaitan	200	94	9.7
Indian community school, Salmiya	552	196	20.1
Pakistan school, Salmiya	162	64	6.6
Kuwait National English School ^a	–	6	0.6
Kuwait University ^a	–	8	0.8
Total		973	

^a Selected for focus group discussion and questionnaire.

salary ceiling is likely to exclude factory and construction workers, cleaning company workers, drivers, domestic workers and junior clerical workers. Some evidence to support the above claim is found in Appendix Table A5, which shows the occupational distribution of non-nationals born in Kuwait. In 2011, less than 10 per cent of those with known occupations were engaged in lower socioeconomic occupations such as drivers or industrial and construction workers. Information was collected from 252 respondents; 144 Arab, 103 Asian and 5 other nationalities (two Egyptian Canadian, one Turkish, one Palestinian Austrian and 1 one Syrian British). One respondent did not specify gender and was excluded from the disaggregated calculations but was included in the total.

2.4. Questionnaires

Data from students and employees were collected through self-administered questionnaires, developed by the principal investigator. Two questionnaires, one for students and another for the employees, were developed. The questionnaires were pretested among ten high school students not in the sample, and among six employed men and women. The student's questionnaire was divided into five broad sections containing questions about socio-demographic characteristics of the student and his or her parents, educational and other achievements of students, their aspirations for future education and specific plans regarding these, and their general perceptions and attitudes regarding life in Kuwait. The employees' questionnaire collected information similar to the students' except for the education and occupation of the respondent as well as the spouse, and plans for future residence and retirement.

2.5 Permissions

The study was approved by the Joint Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research of the Health Sciences Center (HSC) and Kuwait Institute for Medical Specialization (KIMS). Prior to approaching the principals of the selected schools, permission was obtained from the Private Schools Administration in the Ministry of Education for data collection in the respective schools.

3. MAJOR RESULTS

This section presents the major results of the two surveys, first for the second generation students and then for the working men and women.

3.1 Students' survey results

3.1.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of students

Table 4 shows the detailed nationality breakdown of the 973 students in our sample. Among the Arab students in the four schools covered in our survey, a majority were Egyptian, followed by Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese. Among the Asians, the sample was drawn mainly from Indian and Pakistani schools, as mentioned earlier. Consequently, Indians were the largest group followed by Pakistanis.

Following our study design, about half of the sampled students were Arab while the other half were Asian, as shown in Table 5. Arab schools are segregated by gender while Asian schools are not. Therefore, the number of sampled students from the Arab schools was designed to include roughly equal numbers of boys and girls. In the Asian schools, we simply asked the eligible respondents to participate regardless of gender; a larger percentage of the students in Asian schools consisted of females (56.0 per cent) than males (44.0 per cent). The average age of the male and female Arab and Asian students ranged between 16.2 and 16.9 years. A large majority of all students were living in Hawally or Farwaniya governorates, usually close to the sampled schools.

Family structure and co-residence patterns differed notably among Asian and Arab students (Table 5). Arab students had a larger number of siblings than did Asian students. For example, Arab males had an average of 1.78 sisters compared with only 0.9 sisters among Asian males. Similarly, Arab students reported a larger number of persons living in their household than did Asian students. In terms of persons per bedroom, however, Asian

Table 4. *Nationality distribution of high school students in the study population*

Nationality	Number	%
Arabs	491	50.5
Egyptian	202	20.8
Jordanian	115	11.8
Syrian	81	8.3
Lebanese	51	5.2
Palestinian	25	2.6
Iraqi	15	1.5
Other Arabs	2	0.2
Asian	482	49.5
Indian	285	29.4
Pakistani	181	18.6
Other Asians	16	1.6
Total	973	100.0

Table 5. Characteristics of Arab and Asian students: by gender

Characteristics	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians ^a (n = 482)				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female		n = 973	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Age										
≤ 15 years	4	(1.6)	7	(3.0)	23	(11.0)	42	(15.6)	76	(7.9)
16 years	75	(30.4)	83	(35.0)	111	(53.1)	136	(50.6)	407	(42.2)
17 years	132	(53.4)	136	(57.8)	64	(30.6)	80	(29.7)	413	(42.8)
≥ 18 years	37	(14.6)	10	(4.2)	11	(5.3)	11	(4.1)	68	(7.1)
Age descriptive										
mean (SD)	16.9	(1.1)	16.7	(0.8)	16.3	(0.7)	16.2	(0.8)	16.5	(0.90)
Median (IQR)	17.0	(1.0)	17.0	(1.0)	16.0	(1.0)	16.0	(1.0)	17.0	(1.0)
Grade										
11th	60	(24.1)	66	(27.3)	128	(60.7)	132	(49.1)	389	(39.8)
12th	183	(73.5)	174	(71.9)	83	(39.3)	137	(50.9)	579	(59.2)
Higher	6	(2.4)	2	(0.8)	–	–	–	–	10	(1.1)
Mean number of siblings										
Brothers	1.73	(1.3)	1.68	(1.1)	1.15	(1.1)	1.07	(1.1)	1.4	(1.2)
Sisters	1.78	(1.4)	1.74	(1.3)	0.9	(1.0)	1.03	(1.1)	1.4	(1.3)
Area of residence (governorates)										
Capital	5	(2.0)	3	(1.2)	17	(8.3)	22	(8.3)	47	(4.9)
Hawally	90	(36.3)	124	(51.5)	114	(55.9)	136	(51.3)	464	(48.3)
Farwaniya	142	(57.3)	113	(46.9)	64	(31.4)	99	(37.4)	420	(43.8)
Jahra	1	(0.4)	1	(0.4)	1	(0.5)	0	(0)	3	(0.3)
Mubarak Al Kabir	6	(2.4)	0	(0)	2	(1.0)	0	(0)	8	(0.8)
Ahmadi	4	(1.6)	0	(0)	6	(2.9)	8	(3.0)	18	(1.9)
Mean number of persons in house (SD)	5.6	(1.8)	5.3	(1.5)	4.8	(1.6)	5.0	(1.6)	5.2	(1.7)
Median (IQR)	5.0	(3.0)	5.0	(2.0)	4.0	(2.0)	5.0	(2.0)	5.0	(2.0)
Mean number of persons per bedroom (SD)	2.3	(1.0)	2.4	(0.9)	2.6	(1.2)	2.6	(1.2)	2.5	(1.1)
Median (IQR)	2.0	(0.8)	2.5	(1.0)	2.3	(1.0)	2.5	(1.0)	2.3	(1.3)
Have relatives other than mother, father siblings living in same house										
Yes	32	(12.9)	16	(6.6)	37	(17.9)	43	(16.2)	128	(13.3)
No	216	(87.1)	225	(93.4)	170	(82.1)	223	(83.8)	836	(86.7)
Have relatives in Kuwait not in same house										
Yes	220	(88.7)	212	(87.6)	170	(81.0)	230	(85.8)	834	(86.0)
No	28	(11.3)	30	(12.4)	40	(19.0)	38	(14.2)	136	(14.0)

Table 5 *continued*

Characteristics	Arabs (n = 491)		Asians ^a (n = 482)		Total n = 973 n (%)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	n (50.7%)	n (49.3%)	n (44.0%)	n (56.0%)	
Mean number of relatives in Kuwait not in the same house					
Mean (SD)	16.0 (14.4)	17.3 (14.6)	12.3 (10.7)	13.3 (12.9)	14.8 (13.4)
Median (IQR)	11.0 (16.0)	14.0 (20.0)	10.0 (14.0)	9.0 (16.0)	10.0 (15.5)
Currently living with:					
Both parents	224 (91.1)	224 (92.6)	201 (95.7)	261 (97.0)	912 (94.1)
Mother	16 (6.5)	10 (4.2)	6 (2.9)	5 (1.9)	37 (3.8)
Father	4 (1.6)	6 (2.5)	3 (1.4)	1 (0.4)	14 (1.4)
Other relatives	2 (0.8)	2 (0.8)	0 (0)	2 (0.7)	6 (0.6)
Total monthly income (KWD)					
< 500	30 (12.5)	21 (8.8)	18 (8.7)	21 (8.0)	91 (9.5)
500–749	23 (9.6)	25 (10.5)	21 (10.1)	26 (9.8)	95 (9.9)
750 or higher	54 (22.5)	32 (13.4)	54 (26.0)	57 (21.6)	198 (20.8)
Don't know	133 (55.4)	160 (67.2)	115 (55.6)	160 (60.6)	568 (59.7)

^aIncludes two cases where gender was not reported in Tables 5–11.

households were slightly more crowded than Arab ones. For example, Arab males reported an average of 2.3 persons per bedroom compared with 2.6 reported by Asian male students. A larger percentage of Asian students reported that their household contained a member other than father/mother and siblings (e.g., 16.2 per cent reported by Asian females compared with 6.6 per cent by Arab females). More than 90 per cent of all students were living with both parents. However, a slightly larger percentage of Arab students than of Asian students were living with only the mother.

3.1.2. Socio-demographic characteristics of the parents

The socio-demographic characteristics of the mother and father are presented in Table 6. With rare exceptions, all the Arab students had Arab parents while all the Asian students had Asian parents. A large difference was found between the percentage of Arab and Asian parents born in Kuwait; about one-third of the Arab mothers and fathers were born in Kuwait compared with less than one-tenth of Asian mothers and fathers. Almost 60 per cent of the fathers and 43 per cent of the mothers among Arab children had lived in Kuwait for more than 30 years; the corresponding percentages for fathers and mothers of Asian children were about 45 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively. On average, the difference was largest between Arab fathers and Asian mothers, with mean duration of residence in Kuwait equal to 32.8 (SD = 11.4) years and 21.9 (SD = 7.3) years, respectively.

In terms of educational level of parents, a majority of each group had more than high school education (Table 6). For example, 64 per cent of fathers and 55 per cent of mothers of Arab children had more than high school education, with very similar percentage for parents of Asian children. However, a larger percentage of fathers of Arab children had completed university or higher level education than had fathers of Asian children (47.3 per cent and 31.3 per cent). A majority of the Arab as well as Asian students did not know the monthly income of their parents or the total household income (Table 6). Among the students who reported parental income, mothers were reported to earn less than fathers among both Arab and Asian students.

Occupational distribution of parents is also shown in Table 6. A majority of fathers among Arab children were employed in finance and accounting jobs, managerial jobs, engineering jobs and sales jobs. The distribution for fathers of Asian children was similar, except for a larger percentage of technicians, drivers and mechanics among them (16.6 per cent) compared with Arabs (6.3 per cent). Mothers of Arab as well as Asian children were concentrated in three main occupational groups. About 30 per cent of Arab and 24 per cent of Asian working mothers were employed as teachers, researchers or editors. About 15–20 per cent of each group were employed in professional occupations (e.g., doctor, nurse etc.) or in clerical and secretarial work.

3.1.3. Educational and other achievements of students

About two-thirds of the male and three-quarters of the female Arab students reported that they had attained 80 per cent or higher marks during the previous year, as shown in Table 7. Compared to Arab students, less than 40 per cent of the male as well as female Asian students reported that they had attained such high marks. The difference in educational achievements of the two groups is probably a result of the different patterns of grading and evaluation, outlined in section 1.1.2 above. About 46 per cent of all students reported that they had ever received an academic performance award. A larger percentage of the Arab male students (58.3 per cent) reported receiving such an award than of the Arab females (46.4 per cent); while among Asians, 43.3 per cent of males and only 36.6 per cent of females reported receiving an award. In contrast, larger percentages of the Asian than Arab students reported that they had ever received an award for extra-curricular activities and sports.

The students' perception about their language proficiency in Arabic, English and their mother tongue is also shown in Table 7. Close to 90 per cent of the Arab male and female

Table 6. Characteristics of father and mother for Arab and Asian students

Parent characteristics	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Nationality												
Arab	487	(99.8)	485	(99.6)	–	–	–	–	487	(50.3)	486	(50.1)
Asian	1	(0.2)	1	(0.2)	479	(99.8)	479	(99.4)	480	(49.6)	480	(49.5)
Other	–	–	1	(0.2)	1	(0.2)	3	(0.6)	1	(0.1)	4	(0.4)
Whether born in Kuwait												
Yes	154	(31.9)	158	(33.3)	39	(8.2)	43	(9.0)	193	(20.1)	201	(21.1)
No	329	(68.1)	317	(66.7)	439	(91.8)	436	(91.0)	768	(79.9)	753	(78.9)
Duration of residence in Kuwait												
< 20 years	75	(18.1)	171	(41.4)	103	(23.4)	281	(62.9)	178	(20.8)	452	(52.6)
21–29 years	90	(21.7)	64	(15.5)	140	(31.8)	99	(22.1)	230	(26.9)	163	(19.0)
30–39 years	95	(22.9)	83	(20.1)	147	(33.4)	48	(10.7)	242	(28.3)	131	(15.2)
> 40 years	155	(37.3)	95	(23.0)	50	(11.4)	19	(4.3)	205	(24.0)	114	(13.3)
Mean (SD)	32.8	(11.4)	27.3	(11.8)	28.1	(8.2)	21.9	(7.3)	30.4	(10.2)	24.5	(10.1)
Median (IQR)	32.0	(19.0)	25.0	(21.0)	27.0	(13.0)	20.0	(7.0)	30.0	(16.0)	20.0	(12.0)
Educational level completed												
< High school	64	(13.3)	71	(14.9)	52	(11.2)	52	(11.4)	116	(12.2)	123	(13.2)
High school	109	(22.6)	144	(30.3)	125	(26.8)	150	(32.8)	234	(24.7)	294	(31.5)
Some diploma	81	(16.8)	108	(22.7)	138	(29.6)	118	(25.8)	219	(23.1)	226	(24.2)
University or higher	228	(47.3)	152	(32.0)	151	(31.3)	137	(30.0)	379	(40.0)	289	(31.0)
Occupation, if employed												
Accountant/Finance/ Bank employee	54	(11.7)	9	(5.8)	42	(9.4)	8	(4.1)	96	(10.6)	17	(4.8)
Manager/Assistant manager	81	(17.5)	9	(5.8)	45	(10.1)	14	(7.1)	126	(13.9)	23	(6.5)
Administrator/ Supervisor	13	(2.8)	6	(3.9)	34	(7.6)	7	(3.6)	47	(5.2)	13	(3.7)
Engineer/Computer analyst	68	(14.7)	4	(2.6)	75	(16.8)	3	(1.5)	143	(15.7)	7	(2.0)
Secretary/Clerk	9	(1.9)	23	(14.8)	6	(1.3)	39	(19.8)	15	(1.7)	62	(17.6)
Construction-related/ Contractor/Carpenter	12	(2.6)	–	–	8	(1.8)	1	(0.5)	20	(2.2)	1	(0.3)
Business Technician/ Mechanic/ Driver/Tailor	35	(7.6)	1	(0.6)	63	(14.1)	–	–	98	(10.8)	1	(0.3)
Doctor/Lawyer/ Nurse	29	(6.3)	4	(2.6)	74	(16.6)	12	(6.1)	103	(11.3)	16	(4.5)
General Government job	25	(5.4)	23	(14.8)	13	(2.9)	40	(20.3)	38	(4.2)	63	(17.9)
Sales manager/ Store keeper	34	(7.4)	8	(5.2)	42	(9.4)	10	(5.1)	76	(8.4)	18	(5.1)
Teacher/Researcher/ Editor	48	(10.4)	6	(3.9)	28	(6.3)	8	(4.1)	76	(8.4)	14	(4.0)
Other	10	(2.2)	46	(29.7)	6	(1.3)	48	(24.4)	16	(1.8)	94	(26.7)
Other	44	(9.5)	16	(10.3)	11	(2.5)	7	(3.6)	55	(6.1)	23	(6.5)
Monthly income, if employed (KWD)												
< 500	77	(15.9)	64	(36.4)	77	(16.5)	57	(27.9)	154	(16.2)	121	(31.8)
500–749	74	(15.3)	19	(10.8)	75	(16.1)	37	(18.1)	149	(15.7)	56	(14.7)
750 or higher	83	(17.2)	16	(9.1)	75	(16.1)	13	(6.4)	158	(16.6)	29	(7.6)
Don't know	249	(51.6)	77	(43.8)	239	(51.3)	97	(47.5)	488	(51.4)	174	(45.8)

Table 7. Educational and other achievements of Arab and Asian students: by gender

Achievements	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)	
	Male (n = 249)		Female (n = 242)		Male (n = 211)		Female (n = 269)			
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
% achieved during last year										
< 35	1	(0.4)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(0.1)
35–59	2	(0.8)	1	(0.4)	21	(10.0)	25	(9.4)	49	(5.1)
60–69	14	(5.8)	8	(3.3)	48	(23.0)	51	(19.2)	121	(12.6)
70–79	67	(27.7)	47	(19.7)	59	(28.2)	86	(32.3)	260	(27.1)
80–89	77	(31.8)	89	(37.2)	52	(24.9)	63	(23.7)	282	(29.4)
90+	81	(33.5)	94	(39.3)	29	(13.9)	41	(15.4)	245	(25.6)
Whether received any academic awards during last 5 years										
Yes	144	(58.3)	110	(46.4)	90	(43.3)	97	(36.6)	442	(46.0)
No	103	(41.7)	127	(53.6)	118	(56.7)	168	(63.4)	519	(54.0)
Whether received awards for sports or other activities										
Yes	130	(53.7)	92	(38.7)	150	(71.8)	153	(58.0)	528	(55.2)
No	112	(46.3)	146	(61.3)	59	(28.2)	111	(42.0)	429	(44.8)
Language proficiency										
Arabic										
Excellent	217	(87.5)	211	(87.6)	25	(11.9)	18	(6.7)	472	(48.7)
Good	27	(10.9)	23	(9.5)	85	(40.5)	111	(41.4)	247	(25.5)
Fair	4	(1.6)	6	(2.5)	79	(37.6)	116	(43.3)	205	(21.2)
Poor	0	(0)	1	(0.4)	21	(10.0)	23	(8.6)	45	(4.6)
English										
Excellent	115	(46.7)	115	(47.9)	176	(83.8)	233	(86.6)	640	(66.2)
Good	85	(34.6)	84	(35.0)	34	(16.2)	33	(12.3)	237	(24.5)
Fair	35	(14.2)	35	(14.6)	0	(0)	3	(1.1)	73	(7.5)
Poor	11	(4.5)	6	(2.5)	–	–	–	–	17	(1.8)
Mother tongue										
Excellent	219	(90.5)	215	(90.0)	112	(53.3)	135	(50.4)	681	(70.9)
Good	15	(6.2)	17	(7.1)	42	(20.0)	57	(21.3)	132	(13.7)
Fair	4	(1.7)	5	(2.1)	48	(22.9)	66	(24.6)	123	(12.8)
Poor	4	(1.7)	2	(0.8)	8	(3.8)	10	(3.7)	25	(2.6)

students reported that their proficiency in Arabic was excellent, compared with only 11.9 per cent and 6.7 per cent of Asian male and female students. About half the Asian male as well as female students reported that their proficiency in Arabic was either fair or poor. With regard to English, Arab students reported lower proficiency than Asians. For example, 46.7 per cent of Arab males compared with 83.8 per cent of Asian males reported that their proficiency in English was excellent. In terms of proficiency in their mother tongue, almost all the Arab students reported that their ability was excellent or good. On the other hand, only about half of

the Asian students reported that their proficiency in their mother tongue was excellent, while 22.9 per cent of males and 24.6 per cent of females reported that their proficiency was fair. Thus, competency in the mother tongue was weaker among Asians than among Arabs.

3.1.4. Future aspirations of students

More than 90 per cent of all the students had aspirations to attain postgraduate education (Table 8). Arab students reported higher aspirations than Asian students; 69.8 per cent of Arab males and 53.9 per cent of Arab females hope to complete a PhD or higher degree compared with 39.4 per cent and 44.9 per cent of Asian males and females. In terms of the country where the students would like to attain their education after high school, there were major differences according to gender and nationality. Among Arabs, 36 per cent of males and 59.9 per cent of females would like to attain post-high school education in Kuwait. Among Asian students, however, 45.4 per cent of males and 50.6 per cent of females would like to attain such education in their home country. More males than females within each group stated that they would like to gain higher education in a third country, mainly in North America or Europe. These aspirations probably reflect the different parental preferences for the education of male and female children.

In terms of the country where the students would like to work after completing their education, only about 13.8 per cent of all students reported that they would like to work in their home country, while a majority (60.7 per cent) would like to work in Kuwait, as shown in Table 8. There were notable gender and nationality differences between groups. Among males, about 60 per cent of Arabs as well as Asians stated that they would like to work in Kuwait compared with 74.3 per cent of Arab and 48.9 per cent of Asian females. The percentage who would like to work in a country other than Kuwait or their home country was higher among Asian than Arab females (35.1 per cent and 13.3 per cent, respectively).

About 36.6 per cent of all respondents thought that they were highly likely to be able to work in Kuwait after completing their education, while 52.0 per cent thought that they were somewhat likely to do so (Table 8). Arab as well as Asian males and females were fairly similar in their responses. In terms of planning to look for a job in Kuwait after completing their education, about 80 per cent of all students planned to do so. The percentage who planned to look for a job in Kuwait was higher among Arab than Asian students. Among those who did not plan to look for a job in Kuwait, the percentage was higher among Asians than Arabs; 26 per cent of Asian males compared with 15 per cent of Arab males.

Table 8. Future aspirations of Arab and Asian students: by gender

Aspirations/Plans	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)	
	Male (n = 249)		Female (n = 242)		Male (n = 211)		Female (n = 269)		n	(%)
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)		
Highest level of education hope to achieve										
PhD or higher	169	(69.8)	130	(53.9)	82	(39.4)	119	(44.9)	501	(52.3)
Masters	57	(23.6)	87	(36.1)	106	(51.0)	127	(47.9)	378	(39.5)
Bachelor's	16	(6.6)	24	(10.0)	20	(9.6)	19	(7.2)	79	(8.2)
Country where like to study after completing education										
Kuwait	87	(36.0)	145	(59.9)	29	(14.1)	53	(20.3)	315	(33.1)
Home country	80	(33.0)	60	(24.8)	93	(45.4)	132	(50.6)	366	(38.4)
Other	75	(31.0)	37	(15.3)	83	(40.5)	76	(29.1)	271	(28.5)
Country where like to work after completing education										
Kuwait	148	(60.9)	179	(74.3)	124	(59.6)	128	(48.9)	580	(60.7)
Home country	36	(14.8)	30	(12.4)	24	(11.5)	42	(16.0)	132	(13.8)
Other	59	(24.3)	32	(13.3)	60	(28.8)	92	(35.1)	244	(25.5)
Likelihood of being able to work in Kuwait										
Highly likely	73	(29.9)	77	(32.1)	104	(50.5)	95	(35.8)	350	(36.6)
Somewhat likely	135	(55.3)	138	(57.5)	84	(40.8)	140	(52.8)	498	(52.0)
Unlikely	36	(14.8)	25	(10.4)	18	(8.7)	30	(11.3)	109	(11.4)
Whether plan to look for job in Kuwait after completing education										
Yes	199	(85.0)	206	(89.2)	154	(74.0)	193	(73.1)	753	(80.2)
No	35	(15.0)	25	(10.8)	54	(26.0)	71	(26.9)	186	(19.8)

3.1.5. Perceptions about Kuwait among students

Less than 4 per cent of all students were unhappy with their life in Kuwait, while 48.1 per cent each were either happy or extremely happy (Table 9). Compared to the other groups, Arab males seemed less happy with their life in Kuwait. A majority (52.1 per cent) strongly considered Kuwait as home. Among Arabs, 48.5 per cent of males and 66.2 per cent of females considered Kuwait as home very strongly, compared with 42.1 per cent and 49.6 per cent of Asian males and females, respectively. Friendships with the indigenous community may enhance feelings of belongingness among foreign residents of a country. When asked about whether their parents had any Kuwaiti friends, more than 90 per cent of male as well as female Arabs and Asians replied in the affirmative. However, in terms of routine interactions of their family with Kuwaiti neighbours and families, a larger percentage of the Arab than of

Table 9. General perception about life in Kuwait among Arab and Asian students: by gender

General perception	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)	
	Male (n = 249)		Female (n = 242)		Male (n = 211)		Female (n = 269)			
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)		
Extent of happiness with life in Kuwait										
Extremely happy	95	(39.1)	125	(51.9)	102	(48.6)	138	(52.1)	462	(48.1)
Happy	138	(56.8)	106	(44.0)	102	(48.6)	116	(43.8)	462	(48.1)
Not happy	10	(4.1)	10	(4.1)	6	(2.9)	11	(4.2)	37	(3.9)
How strongly consider Kuwait as home										
Very strongly	115	(48.5)	159	(66.2)	88	(42.1)	132	(49.6)	496	(52.0)
Strongly	92	(38.8)	71	(29.6)	102	(48.8)	120	(45.1)	385	(40.4)
Not strongly	30	(12.7)	10	(4.2)	19	(9.1)	14	(5.3)	73	(7.7)
Whether parents have any Kuwaiti friends										
Yes	227	(96.6)	216	(92.7)	197	(93.8)	248	(92.5)	890	(93.9)
No	8	(3.4)	17	(7.3)	13	(6.2)	20	(7.5)	58	(6.1)
Whether family routinely interacts with Kuwaiti neighbours/families										
Yes	207	(88.8)	205	(88.0)	117	(56.5)	171	(64.0)	701	(74.4)
No	26	(11.2)	28	(12.0)	90	(43.5)	96	(36.0)	241	(25.6)

the Asian students reported that this occurred; for example, 88.8 per cent of Arab males compared with 56.5 per cent of Asian males reported that their family routinely interacted with Kuwaiti neighbours and friends.

3.1.6. Things liked best and disliked most in Kuwait by students

Respondents were requested to list three things they liked best and three things they disliked most in Kuwait. Results for the first like and dislike are shown in Tables 10 and 11. For the group of students as a whole, the topmost things liked best in Kuwait related to comfortable living and good general facilities, reported by 25.9 per cent of all respondents (Table 10). This was followed by good recreational facilities (23.2 per cent) and shopping facilities (15.6 per cent). About 5 per cent of students mentioned good educational quality as the thing they liked best. There were some notable differences between Arab and Asian students. For example, larger percentages of Arab students than of Asians liked the recreational facilities. Also, larger percentages of Arabs than of Asian students liked the friendly atmosphere and family in Kuwait. On the other hand, larger percentages of Asians than of Arabs liked the food and restaurants.

Table 10. Things liked best in Kuwait by Arab and Asian students: by gender

Things liked best in Kuwait	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)	
	Male (n = 249)		Female (n = 242)		Male (n = 211)		Female (n = 269)		n	(%)
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)		
Comfortable living, and good general facilities	56	(26.4)	48	(21.5)	45	(22.3)	82	(31.3)	233	(25.9)
Recreational facilities	57	(26.9)	74	(33.2)	37	(18.3)	41	(15.6)	209	(23.2)
Shopping facilities	24	(11.3)	29	(13.0)	32	(15.8)	56	(21.4)	141	(15.6)
Law and order, freedom of life, religion	18	(8.5)	18	(8.1)	21	(10.4)	15	(5.7)	72	(8.0)
Food and restaurants	7	(3.3)	4	(1.8)	30	(14.9)	31	(11.8)	72	(8.0)
Friendly environment/family	22	(10.4)	20	(9.0)	9	(4.5)	7	(2.7)	58	(6.4)
Good education quality	9	(4.2)	16	(7.2)	5	(2.5)	15	(5.7)	45	(5.0)
Good income, job, cheap petrol, electricity etc..	1	(0.5)	2	(0.9)	14	(6.9)	5	(1.9)	22	(2.4)
Other reasons	18	(8.5)	12	(5.4)	9	(4.5)	20	(3.8)	49	(5.4)

In terms of the things disliked most in Kuwait, shown in Table 11, 41.5 per cent of all students reported the weather and climate, followed by 19.8 per cent who disliked the attitude of Kuwaiti nationals and discrimination. About one-tenth of all students mentioned crime and poor facilities as things they disliked most. Arab and Asian students differed on some of the things they disliked most; larger percentages of Arabs than of Asians disliked the weather. With regard to the attitude of Kuwaiti nationals and discrimination, the differences were especially large; 17.8 per cent and 4.0 per cent of Arab males and females reported this compared with 30.6 per cent and 25.3 per cent of Asian males and females, respectively.

Table 11. Things disliked most in Kuwait by Arab and Asian students: by gender

Things disliked most in Kuwait	Arabs (n = 491)				Asians (n = 482)				Total (n = 973)	
	Male (n = 249)		Female (n = 242)		Male (n = 211)		Female (n = 269)		n	(%)
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)		
Weather, climate	96	(46.2)	92	(45.8)	67	(34.7)	99	(39.8)	354	(41.5)
Attitude of Kuwaitis, discrimination	37	(17.8)	8	(4.0)	59	(30.6)	63	(25.3)	169	(19.8)
Poor facilities/Crime	19	(9.1)	23	(11.4)	22	(11.4)	26	(10.4)	90	(10.6)
Lack of citizenship, government attitude	2	(1.0)	0	(0)	11	(5.7)	9	(3.6)	22	(2.6)
Accidents, rash driving, traffic	8	(3.8)	13	(6.5)	11	(5.7)	24	(9.6)	56	(6.6)
Lack of higher education facilities	3	(1.4)	6	(3.0)	4	(2.1)	15	(6.0)	28	(3.3)
Other reasons	14	(6.7)	10	(5.0)	14	(7.3)	9	(3.6)	47	(5.5)
Nothing	29	(13.9)	49	(24.5)	5	(2.6)	4	(1.6)	87	(10.2)

3.2. Working men and women survey results

3.2.1. Socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements of working persons

Information was collected from 252 working men and women; 144 Arab, 103 Asian and 5 others. An attempt was made to collect roughly equal numbers by gender within each nationality group of Asians and Arabs. Table 12 shows the detailed nationality distribution of working men and women in our survey. Among Arabs, Jordanians were the largest group followed by Egyptians, Syrians and others. Among Asians, Indians were the largest group followed by Pakistanis.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the four groups are shown in Table 13.¹ The age distribution was fairly similar for each group, with a mean of 32.1 (SD = 8.9) years for the total group. A majority of Arabs as well as Asians were living in Hawally. Compared to the Arab as well as Asian men, larger percentages of Asian women were living in areas that are more widely spread in the country. Almost all the Arabs as well as Asians were living in flats. A majority (about 55 per cent) of each group was married while 42.5 per cent were single. None of the Arab or Asian men reported being divorced or widowed, while 5.9 per cent of Arab and 4.2 per cent of Asian women reported being either divorced or widowed. Among those ever married (i.e., married, divorced or widowed), Arabs reported having larger numbers of children than did Asians. For example, 46.3 per cent of the Arab women reported that they had 3 or more children compared with only 7.6 per cent of Asian women. Finally, more than

Table 12. *Nationality distribution of working men and women in the study population*

Nationality	Number	%
Arabs	144	57.1
Jordanian	54	21.4
Egyptian	45	17.9
Syrian	16	6.3
Lebanese	11	4.4
Palestinian	11	4.4
Iraqi	4	1.6
Asian	103	40.9
Indian	79	31.3
Pakistani	14	5.6
Iranian	9	3.6
Other nationalities	5	2.0
Total	252	100.0

¹ The total column in Tables 13–21 includes five cases of nationalities other than Arab or Asian, and one case where gender was missing.

Table 13. *Characteristics of second generation working men and women among Arabs and Asians*

Characteristics	Arabs				Asians				Total	
	Men n = 76 (53.5)		Women n = 68 (46.5)		Men n = 55 (53.9)		Women n = 47 (46.1)		n = 252	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age										
≤ 25years	15	(19.7)	17	(25.8)	9	(16.4)	14	(29.8)	58	(23.2)
26–29	23	(30.3)	13	(19.7)	17	(30.9)	13	(27.7)	67	(26.8)
30–34	14	(18.4)	11	(16.7)	13	(23.6)	10	(21.3)	48	(19.2)
35+	24	(31.6)	25	(37.9)	16	(29.1)	10	(21.3)	77	(30.8)
Mean (SD)	32.4	(9.3)	33.7	(10.2)	31.6	(7.0)	30.4	(8.1)	32.1	(8.9)
Median (IQR)	29.5	(10.0)	30.0	(17.0)	30.0	(8.0)	28.0	(9.0)	30.0	(10.0)
Area of residence										
Capital	1	(1.3)	1	(1.5)	1	(1.9)	4	(8.7)	8	(3.2)
Hawally	61	(81.3)	57	(85.1)	41	(75.9)	26	(56.5)	190	(76.6)
Farwaniya	10	(13.3)	7	(10.4)	11	(20.4)	12	(26.1)	40	(16.1)
Jahra	1	(1.3)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(0.4)
Mubarak Al Kabir	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(1.9)	1	(2.2)	2	(0.8)
Ahmadi	2	(2.7)	2	(3.0)	0	(0.0)	3	(6.5)	7	(2.8)
Type of house										
Villa	0	(0.0)	1	(1.5)	4	(7.3)	0	(0.0)	6	(2.4)
Flat/Apartment	76	(100.0)	66	(98.5)	51	(92.7)	43	(100.0)	241	(97.6)
Other type	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Marital status										
Single	34	(44.7)	27	(39.7)	24	(43.6)	19	(40.4)	107	(42.5)
Married	42	(55.3)	37	(54.4)	31	(56.4)	26	(55.3)	138	(54.8)
Divorced	0	(0.0)	3	(4.4)	0	(0.0)	1	(2.1)	5	(2.0)
Widowed	0	(0.0)	1	(1.5)	0	(0.0)	1	(2.1)	2	(0.8)
If married/divorced/widowed, number of children										
No children	6	(14.6)	4	(9.7)	9	(29.0)	6	(23.1)	25	(17.6)
1 child	14	(34.1)	9	(21.9)	10	(32.2)	12	(46.2)	47	(33.1)
2 children	9	(21.9)	9	(21.9)	8	(25.8)	6	(23.1)	33	(23.2)
3+ children	12	(29.2)	19	(46.3)	4	(12.9)	2	(7.6)	37	(26.1)
Mean (SD)	1.9	(1.6)	2.1	(1.6)	1.1	(1.2)	1.1	(1.0)	1.6	(1.4)
Median (IQR)	1.0	(2.0)	2.0	(2.0)	1.0	(1.0)	1.0	(1.0)	1.0	(1.0)
Total number of persons in house										
1–2	18	(24.3)	11	(16.2)	5	(9.1)	4	(8.7)	39	(15.7)
3–4	29	(39.2)	28	(41.2)	30	(54.5)	31	(67.4)	120	(48.2)
5+	27	(36.5)	29	(42.6)	20	(36.4)	11	(23.9)	90	(36.1)
Mean (SD)	4.1	(1.9)	4.3	(1.6)	4.4	(1.7)	3.7	(1.2)	4.1	(1.7)
Median (IQR)	4.0	(4.0)	4.0	(2.0)	4.0	(2.0)	3.0	(3.0)	4.0	(2.0)
Total number of bedrooms										
Mean (SD)	2.4	(0.9)	2.4	(0.7)	2.4	(0.8)	2.2	(0.8)	2.4	(0.9)
Median (IQR)	2.0	(1.0)	2.0	(1.0)	2.0	(1.0)	2.0	(1.0)	2.0	(1.0)

Table 13 *continued*

Characteristics	Arabs				Asians				Total	
	Men		Women		Men		Women		n = 252	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total number of persons per bedroom										
Mean (SD)	1.8 (0.9)		1.9 (0.8)		1.9 (0.6)		1.9 (0.7)		1.9 (0.8)	
Median (IQR)	1.5 (2.0)		1.7 (1.0)		2.0 (1.0)		1.7 (1.0)		1.7 (1.0)	
Number of relatives in Kuwait (not in same house as respondent)										
1–5	18 (29.5)		17 (29.8)		12 (25.5)		11 (27.5)		58 (27.5)	
6–10	17 (27.8)		13 (22.8)		10 (21.2)		10 (25.0)		51 (24.2)	
11–29	14 (22.9)		14 (24.5)		15 (31.9)		12 (30.0)		57 (27.0)	
30+	12 (19.6)		13 (22.8)		10 (21.2)		7 (17.5)		45 (21.3)	
Mean (SD)	15.1 (14.0)		21.0 (30.9)		18.3 (18.1)		16.0 (16.8)		18.0 (21.6)	
Median (IQR)	9.0 (15.0)		9.0 (19.0)		12.0 (20.0)		10.0 (20.0)		10.0 (20.0)	
If married, is spouse living in Kuwait?										
Yes	39 (92.8)		36 (97.2)		31 (100.0)		24 (92.3)		132 (95.7)	
No	3 (7.1)		1 (2.7)		0 (0.0)		2 (7.6)		6 (4.3)	
Patterns of co-residence										
a. Respondent + spouse ± children	32 (44.4)		35 (51.5)		13 (24.1)		16 (34.8)		98 (39.8)	
b. Respondent ± parents ± siblings	30 (41.7)		26 (38.2)		22 (40.7)		22 (47.8)		104 (42.3)	
c. (a) + other relatives	7 (9.7)		2 (2.9)		10 (18.5)		6 (13.0)		25 (10.2)	
d. (b) + other relatives	0 (0.0)		0 (0.0)		1 (1.9)		0 (0.0)		1 (0.4)	
e. All other living arrangements	3 (4.2)		5 (7.4)		8 (14.8)		2 (4.3)		18 (7.3)	

90 per cent of married respondents in each group reported that their spouse was with them in Kuwait.

The average number of persons co-residing with the total group of respondents was 4.1 (SD = 1.7). A majority of the respondents in each group had other relatives living in Kuwait, although not in the same house. The average number of such relatives was 18.0 (SD = 21.6). In terms of relatives who co-resided with each other, the most frequent pattern among Arabs was co-residence of husband or wife with children. Among Asians, the most frequent pattern

was co-residence of the respondent with parents and/or siblings. A larger percentage of Asian than of Arab respondents had relatives other than their children, parents or siblings living with them. The average number of bedrooms for the sample was 2.4, and the average number of persons per bedroom was 1.9 (SD = 0.8).

3.2.2. Educational and occupational characteristics of working persons

A large majority of all respondents had completed bachelor-level education, as shown in Table 14. The percentage who had attained postgraduate education was larger among Asian men and women (45.5 per cent and 34.0 per cent) than among Arab men and women (11.8 per cent and 4.4 per cent, respectively). In terms of their proficiency in speaking, reading and writing Arabic, 95 per cent of the Arab men and women said that their proficiency was excellent compared with only 27.8 per cent and 20.0 per cent of Asian men and women. Among Asians, about 6 per cent of men and 13.3 per cent of women reported that their ability in Arabic was poor. On the other hand, notably larger percentages of Asians than of Arabs claimed excellence in English; for example, 93.5 per cent of Asian women compared with 65.2 per cent of Arab women. With regard to proficiency in their mother tongue, fewer Asian respondents claimed excellence than did Arabs. About 98 per cent of Arab women regarded their ability in their mother tongue as excellent, compared with only 63 per cent of Asian women.

About one-quarter of all working persons were employed as engineers of various types, followed by 19.2 per cent as teachers and related workers, and 15.5 per cent as administrators and supervisors (Table 14). Some differences were present in the occupational distribution by nationality and gender. Among males, about half the Arabs were employed as engineers or administrators and supervisors, compared with 54.7 per cent among Asians. Arab women were concentrated in teaching or related occupations (42.4 per cent) and in clerical or secretarial jobs (18.2 per cent). Asian women were employed in a wider range of jobs than Arab women, working as administrators or supervisors (28.9 per cent), engineers (26.7 per cent) and teachers (22.2 per cent).

Table 14 also shows the public/private sector breakdown and duration of work in Kuwait. About 83 per cent of all working persons were employed in the private sector; slightly larger percentages of Asians than of Arabs were employed in the public sector (for example, 18.2 per cent of Asian and 13.2 per cent of Arab males, respectively). Respondents in our survey had worked in Kuwait for an average of about 9.2 (SD = 8.3) years, with Arabs

Table 14. *Educational and occupational characteristics of working men and women among Arabs and Asians*

Characteristics	Arabs		Asians		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	n = 252	
	n (53.5%)	n (46.5%)	n (53.9%)	n (46.1%)	n	(%)
Educational level completed						
<Bachelor's degree	21 (27.6)	16 (23.5)	10 (18.2)	6 (12.8)	55 (21.8)	
Bachelor's degree	46 (60.5)	49 (72.1)	20 (36.4)	25 (53.2)	144 (57.1)	
>Bachelor's degree	9 (11.8)	3 (4.4)	25 (45.5)	16 (34.0)	53 (21.0)	
Occupation						
Accounts/Finance/ Bank employee	8 (10.5)	4 (6.1)	6 (11.3)	1 (2.2)	19 (7.8)	
Manager/Administrator/ Supervisor	14 (18.4)	4 (6.1)	7 (13.2)	13 (28.9)	38 (15.5)	
Engineer/Computer analyst	24 (31.6)	1 (1.5)	22 (41.5)	12 (26.7)	61 (24.9)	
Doctor/Lawyer/Dentist/ Nurse	4 (5.3)	5 (7.6)	2 (3.8)	–	11 (4.5)	
Clerk/Secretary	3 (3.9)	12 (18.2)	2 (3.8)	2 (4.4)	21 (8.6)	
Technician/Mechanic	–	1 (1.5)	3 (5.7)	3 (6.7)	7 (2.9)	
Sales	13 (17.1)	5 (7.6)	6 (11.3)	1 (2.2)	25 (10.2)	
Teacher/Researcher/ Editor/Librarian	4 (5.3)	28 (42.4)	4 (7.5)	10 (22.2)	47 (19.2)	
Other	6 (7.9)	6 (9.1)	1 (1.9)	3 (6.7)	16 (6.5)	
Work in public or private sector						
Public	10 (13.2)	10 (14.7)	10 (18.2)	11 (23.9)	42 (16.7)	
Private	66 (86.8)	58 (85.3)	45 (81.8)	35 (76.1)	209 (82.9)	
Duration of working in Kuwait						
< 5 years	29 (38.7)	23 (34.8)	14 (25.5)	25 (53.2)	95 (37.7)	
5–9 years	20 (26.7)	19 (28.8)	21 (38.2)	9 (19.1)	71 (28.2)	
> 10 years	26 (34.7)	24 (36.4)	20 (36.4)	13 (27.7)	83 (32.9)	
Mean (SD)	9.5 (8.7)	10.6 (9.3)	8.6 (5.9)	8.3 (8.8)	9.2 (8.3)	
Median (IQR)	6.0 (25.0)	7.0 (13.0)	7.0 (11.0)	6.0 (5.0)	7.0 (9.0)	
Duration of working in present job						
< 3 years	29 (38.7)	20 (29.4)	18 (32.7)	22 (48.9)	95 (38.2)	
3–5 years	24 (32.0)	15 (22.1)	24 (43.6)	12 (26.7)	75 (30.1)	
6+ years	22 (29.3)	33 (48.5)	13 (23.6)	11 (24.4)	79 (31.7)	
Mean (SD)	5.2 (5.5)	8.2 (7.3)	4.6 (3.4)	4.2 (3.6)	5.7 (5.6)	
Median (IQR)	4.0 (11.0)	6.0 (13.0)	4.0 (4.0)	3.0 (6.0)	4.0 (5.0)	
For how long will you continue working in Kuwait						
Less than 5 years	9 (11.8)	7 (10.9)	10 (18.5)	18 (39.1)	46 (18.7)	
5–10 years	16 (21.1)	8 (12.5)	15 (27.8)	14 (30.4)	53 (21.5)	
More than 10 years	11 (14.5)	5 (7.8)	8 (14.8)	5 (10.9)	29 (11.8)	
Until retirement	40 (52.6)	44 (68.8)	21 (38.9)	9 (19.6)	118 (48.0)	

Table 14 *continued*

Characteristics	Arabs		Asians		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	n = 252
	n = 76(53.5) n (%)	n = 68(46.5) n (%)	n = 55(53.9) n (%)	n = 47 (46.1) n (%)	n (%)
Language proficiency					
Arabic					
Excellent	72 (94.7)	64 (95.5)	15 (27.8)	9 (20.0)	164 (66.1)
Good	4 (5.3)	3 (4.5)	20 (37.0)	14 (31.1)	43 (17.3)
Fair	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	16 (29.6)	16 (35.6)	32 (12.9)
Poor	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.6)	6 (13.3)	9 (3.6)
English					
Excellent	50 (65.8)	43 (65.2)	45 (83.3)	43 (93.5)	185 (74.6)
Good	18 (23.7)	19 (28.8)	8 (14.8)	2 (4.3)	49 (19.8)
Fair	5 (6.6)	4 (6.1)	1 (1.9)	1 (2.2)	11 (4.4)
Poor	3 (3.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.2)
Mother tongue					
Excellent	63 (94.0)	60 (98.4)	37 (68.5)	29 (63.0)	194 (82.9)
Good	3 (4.5)	1 (1.6)	8 (14.8)	10 (21.7)	23 (9.8)
Fair	1 (1.5)	0 (0.0)	9 (16.7)	5 (10.9)	15 (6.4)
Poor	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.3)	2 (0.9)

reporting longer work experience than Asians. For example, Arab women reported a work experience of 10.6 years compared with 8.3 years reported by Asian women. A similar pattern was reported for experience in the current job.

3.2.3. Salary and satisfaction with job

Responses on salary and job satisfaction are shown in Table 15. About half of all working persons reported that they were earning less than KWD500 per month. Among Arabs as well as Asians, men were employed in higher-paid jobs than women. Among Arabs, for example, 23 per cent of men were earning KWD750 or more per month compared with only 7.5 per cent of women earning this amount. About two-thirds reported that they were happy with their job while 24.6 per cent stated that they were very happy, with small differences between Arabs and Asians. Satisfaction with the job was also expressed by 56.2 per cent of all respondents in terms of plans to continue working in that job for the next two to three years. Larger percentages of women (45.6 per cent among Arabs and 50.0 per cent among Asians) reported that they were planning to change their job than men (39.5 per cent of Arabs and 38.9 per cent of Asians). The desire to change job was probably related to the gender difference in salary, with pay being lower for women than men.

Table 15. *Salary and satisfaction with current job among Arab and Asian working men and women*

Characteristics	Arabs		Asians		Total
	Men n = 76 (53.5) n (%)	Women n = 68 (46.5) n (%)	Men n = 55 (53.9) n (%)	Women n = 47 (46.1) n (%)	n = 252 n (%)
Monthly salary (KWD)					
< 500	34 (45.9)	45 (67.2)	16 (33.3)	26 (56.5)	124 (51.5)
500–749	23 (31.1)	17 (25.4)	16 (33.3)	14 (30.4)	71 (29.5)
>750	17 (23.0)	5 (7.5)	16 (33.3)	6 (13.0)	46 (19.1)
How happy with job					
Very happy	16 (21.1)	15 (22.1)	18 (32.7)	12 (25.5)	62 (24.6)
Happy	51 (67.1)	47 (69.1)	34 (61.8)	32 (68.1)	168 (66.7)
Not happy	9 (11.8)	6 (8.8)	3 (5.5)	3 (6.4)	22 (8.7)
Is salary adequate for education and experience?					
Definitely yes	7 (9.2)	4 (5.9)	10 (18.5)	5 (10.9)	27 (10.8)
Yes	40 (52.6)	25 (36.8)	25 (46.3)	16 (34.8)	110 (44.0)
No	29 (38.2)	39 (57.4)	19 (35.2)	25 (54.3)	113 (45.2)
Plans to continue in same occupation					
Yes	46 (60.5)	37 (54.4)	32 (59.3)	22 (47.8)	140 (56.2)
No	30 (39.5)	31 (45.6)	21 (38.9)	23 (50.0)	107 (43.0)
Not sure	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.9)	1 (2.2)	2 (0.8)
Things liked best about job					
Good friendly environment, management	23 (56.1)	26 (56.5)	24 (51.1)	30 (69.8)	104 (57.5)
Comfortable timing, flexibility, location	3 (7.3)	5 (11.6)	9 (19.1)	7 (16.3)	25 (13.8)
Fits with training, experience, challenging	10 (24.4)	8 (18.6)	8 (17.0)	4 (9.3)	31 (17.1)
Good salary, stability, bonus, benefits, holidays	5 (12.2)	4 (9.3)	6 (12.8)	2 (4.7)	18 (9.9)
Other	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.7)
Things disliked most about the job					
Colleagues, boss	1 (1.8)	2 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	2 (7.1)	5 (2.7)
Duty hours, timing, location, travel time	14 (25.0)	11 (19.0)	6 (19.4)	4 (14.3)	37 (19.9)
Low salary, increments, irregular payment	7 (12.5)	15 (25.9)	7 (22.6)	6 (21.4)	32 (17.2)
Poor management, organization	19 (33.9)	20 (34.5)	10 (32.3)	9 (32.1)	60 (32.3)
Politics, attitude, work culture	11 (19.6)	10 (17.2)	6 (19.4)	5 (17.9)	41 (22.0)
Lack of growth, pay, development	4 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.2)	0 (0.0)	8 (4.3)
Finger-printing	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.2)	2 (7.1)	3 (1.6)

Despite the general responses on happiness, 45.2 per cent stated that their salary was not adequate for their educational level and experience. The percentage who reported a mismatch between salary and education/experience was much higher among women than men; 57.4 per cent of Arab women and 54.3 per cent of Asian women gave this response compared with 38.2 per cent of Arab men and 35.2 per cent of Asian men. In terms of their plans for future duration of work in Kuwait, a majority of the Arab men (52.6 per cent) and women (68.8 per cent) reported that they would like to continue until retirement. Notably fewer Asian men (38.9 per cent) and women (19.6 per cent) reported that they would like to continue working in Kuwait until retirement. Almost 40 per cent of Asian women said that they would like to continue working in Kuwait for less than 5 years.

Respondents were asked to list three things they liked best and three things they disliked most about their job. Results for the first mentioned likes and dislikes are shown in Table 15. A majority of Arab as well as Asian men and women said that they liked the good working environment and management of their workplace (57.5 per cent), followed by comfortable timing and location of the job (13.8 per cent). In terms of the things disliked most about the job, about one-third of the respondents in both nationality groups and genders reported poor management and organization of their workplace. The second most common thing disliked most about the job was the politics and work culture (22 per cent).

3.2.4. Educational level, salary and occupation of spouse

Characteristics of the spouse in case of married respondents are shown in Table 16. A majority of the spouses among Arabs had attained a bachelor's degree. Among Asians, a majority of the wives (63.3 per cent) had attained a bachelor's degree, while 68.0 per cent of the husbands had completed postgraduate education. The largest percentages of employed wives were working in teaching, or in clerical occupations, or as engineers. The largest percentage of Arab husbands were employed in sales occupations (28.1 per cent), while the largest percentage of Asian husbands were working as administrators or supervisors. About 82 per cent of all spouses were employed in the private sector. Arab husbands had worked in Kuwait for longer ($\bar{x} = 18.4$ years) than Asian husbands ($\bar{x} = 10.7$ years). Wives were reported to have worked in Kuwait for a shorter time than husbands. About three-quarters of the Arab as well as Asian husbands reported that their wives were earning a monthly salary of KWD750 or more.

Table 16. Education, salary and occupation of spouse if working in Kuwait among Arab and Asian working men and women

Spouse characteristics	Arabs		Asians		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Wife n = 76 (53.5) n (%)	Husband n = 68 (46.5) n (%)	Wife n = 55 (53.9) n (%)	Husband n = 47 (46.1) n (%)	n = 252 n (%)
Educational level completed					
< Bachelor's degree	16 (40.0)	13 (36.1)	1 (3.3)	2 (8.0)	32 (24.1)
Bachelor's degree	21 (52.5)	21 (58.3)	19 (63.3)	6 (24.0)	69 (51.9)
>Bachelor's degree	3 (7.5)	2 (5.5)	10 (33.3)	17 (68.0)	32 (24.1)
Occupation					
Accounts/Finance/Bank employee	0 (0.0)	3 (9.4)	2 (12.5)	2 (8.7)	7 (8.0)
Manager/Administrator/Supervisor	0 (0.0)	6 (18.8)	2 (12.5)	7 (30.4)	16 (18.2)
Engineer/Computer analyst	3 (18.8)	7 (21.9)	3 (18.8)	6 (26.1)	19 (21.6)
Doctor/Lawyer/Dentist/Nurse	1 (6.2)	3 (9.4)	2 (12.5)	1 (4.3)	7 (8.0)
Clerk/Secretary	4 (25.0)	2 (6.2)	2 (12.5)	2 (8.7)	10 (11.4)
Technician/Mechanic	1 (6.2)	1 (3.1)	1 (6.2)	1 (4.3)	4 (4.5)
General official/Other	2 (12.5)	1 (3.1)	1 (6.2)	1 (4.3)	5 (5.7)
Sales	1 (6.2)	9 (28.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (8.7)	12 (13.6)
Teacher/Researcher/Editor/Librarian	4 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (18.8)	1 (4.3)	8 (9.1)
Sector of employment					
Public	2 (12.5)	6 (18.1)	4 (25.0)	4 (16.0)	16 (17.6)
Private	14 (87.5)	27 (81.8)	12 (75.0)	21 (84.0)	75 (82.4)
Years since working in Kuwait					
≤5 years	9 (56.2)	3 (9.2)	8 (47.0)	7 (29.1)	27 (29.7)
6–10 years	4 (25.0)	9 (27.2)	4 (23.5)	10 (41.6)	28 (30.8)
11+ years	3 (18.7)	21 (63.6)	5 (29.4)	7 (29.1)	36 (39.6)
Mean (SD)	7.8 (6.8)	18.4 (11.1)	8.8 (6.1)	10.7 (8.8)	12.6 (10.0)
Median (IQR)	5.0 (7.0)	20.0 (23.0)	7.0 (10.0)	8.0 (11.0)	9.0 (15.0)
Monthly salary (KWD)					
< 500	13 (17.5)	10 (14.7)	7 (13.5)	6 (13.3)	36 (14.7)
500–749	3 (4.1)	13 (19.1)	6 (11.5)	12 (26.7)	35 (14.3)
750+	58 (78.3)	45 (66.2)	39 (75.0)	27 (60.0)	174 (71.0)

3.2.5. Characteristics of father and mother of employed persons

Respondents were asked to provide information on the educational and occupational characteristics of their mother and father. The results are shown in Tables 17 and 18. All the Arabs had Arab fathers and all the Asian men had Asian fathers (Table 17). The Asian women were an exception; 4.3 per cent of them had non-Asian fathers. About 3 per cent of fathers of Arab working men were born in Kuwait compared with 10.3 per cent of fathers of Arab

Table 17. Characteristics of father among Arab and Asian working men and women

Characteristics of father	Arabs		Asians		Total
	Men n = 76(53.5)	Women n = 68(46.5)	Men n = 55(53.9)	Women n = 47(46.1)	n = 252
	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %
Nationality					
Arab	76 (100.0)	68 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.3)	148 (59.0)
Asian	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	54 (100.0)	45 (95.7)	101 (40.2)
Other	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)
Whether born in Kuwait					
Yes	2 (2.7)	7 (10.3)	1 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	10 (4.0)
No	73 (97.3)	61 (89.7)	53 (98.1)	47 (100.0)	240 (96.0)
Whether living in Kuwait					
Yes	52 (69.3)	45 (67.2)	34 (63.0)	32 (68.1)	169 (67.9)
No	23 (30.7)	22 (32.8)	20 (37.0)	15 (31.9)	80 (32.1)
Duration of residence in Kuwait					
< 30 years	8 (16.0)	9 (20.0)	12 (30.0)	17 (44.7)	46 (25.8)
31–39 years	21 (42.0)	10 (22.2)	16 (40.0)	16 (42.1)	65 (36.5)
40+ years	21 (42.0)	26 (57.7)	12 (30.0)	5 (13.1)	67 (37.6)
Mean (SD)	42.5 (9.0)	45.6 (11.1)	36.5 (5.0)	31.2 (3.7)	39.9 (9.5)
Median (IQR)	40.0 (15.0)	50.0 (17.0)	36.0 (8.0)	31.0 (4.0)	38.0 (13.0)
Educational level completed					
< High school	20 (27.0)	17 (25.0)	9 (16.7)	2 (4.3)	48 (19.4)
High school	10 (13.5)	11 (16.2)	11 (20.4)	11 (23.9)	44 (17.7)
Some diploma	5 (6.8)	11 (16.2)	14 (25.9)	12 (26.1)	42 (16.9)
University or higher	39 (52.7)	29 (42.6)	20 (37.0)	21 (45.7)	114 (46.0)
Occupation, if employed					
Accounts/Finance/ Bank employee	7 (10.8)	4 (6.3)	6 (13.3)	7 (17.9)	24 (11.1)
Manager/Administrator/ Supervisor/	8 (12.3)	11 (17.5)	9 (20.0)	7 (17.9)	36 (16.6)
Engineer/Computer analyst	10 (15.4)	7 (11.1)	4 (8.9)	5 (12.8)	27 (12.4)
Doctor/Lawyer/ Dentist/Nurse	6 (9.2)	4 (6.3)	– –	– –	10 (4.6)
Clerk/Secretary	3 (4.6)	5 (7.9)	1 (2.2)	2 (5.1)	11 (5.1)
Business	3 (4.6)	9 (14.3)	5 (11.1)	2 (5.1)	19 (8.8)
Construction-related/ Draftsman	4 (6.2)	3 (4.8)	2 (4.4)	2 (5.1)	11 (5.1)
Technician/Mechanic	1 (1.5)	2 (3.2)	4 (8.9)	4 (10.3)	11 (5.1)
General official/Other	3 (4.6)	4 (6.3)	3 (6.7)	2 (5.1)	13 (6.0)
Sales	5 (7.7)	3 (4.8)	6 (13.3)	2 (5.1)	17 (7.8)
Teacher/Researcher/ Editor/Librarian	8 (12.3)	7 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.7)	18 (8.3)
Retired	7 (10.8)	4 (6.3)	5 (11.1)	3 (7.7)	20 (9.2)
Monthly income, if employed (KWD)					
< 500	10 (15.6)	12 (18.5)	11 (30.6)	13 (36.1)	48 (23.2)
500–749	10 (15.6)	10 (15.4)	9 (25.0)	4 (11.1)	34 (16.4)
750 +	19 (29.7)	13 (20.0)	8 (22.2)	10 (27.8)	53 (25.6)
Don't know	25 (39.1)	30 (46.2)	8 (22.2)	9 (25.0)	72 (34.8)

women. More than two-thirds of the total respondents reported that their father lived in Kuwait. Compared to other groups, the duration of residence in Kuwait was longest among fathers of Arab women and shortest among fathers of Asian women (\bar{x} = 45.6 years compared with 31.2 years, respectively). About 46 per cent of the fathers had completed university or higher-level education. For all working persons, the largest percentages of fathers were employed as managers (16.6 per cent), engineers (12.4 per cent), or accountants (11.1 per cent). About 35 per cent of the respondents did not know the monthly salary of their father. Among those who knew the salary, Arabs generally reported higher salaries earned by their father than did Asians.

More than 95 per cent of the Arab men and all the Arab women had Arab mothers, while 98.1 per cent of Asian men and 95.7 per cent of Asian women had Asian mothers (Table 18). About 11 per cent of all mothers of working men and women were born in Kuwait. The percentages were higher among Arabs, where 14.5 per cent of men and 20.6 per cent of women reported that their mother was born in Kuwait. About three-quarters of mothers of each group were living in Kuwait. Arab mothers had lived in Kuwait for much longer than Asian mothers; for example, 60.4 per cent of mothers of Arab women had live in Kuwait for 40 or more years compared with only 11.4 per cent of Asian mothers. In terms of occupation, the largest percentage of mothers were working in teaching-related occupations (23 per cent) and in health-related occupations (17.6 per cent). About 26 per cent of the respondents did not know the monthly salary of their mothers. Among those who reported the mother's salary, a majority stated that the mother was earning less than KWD750 per month among each group.

3.2.6. Future aspirations and perceptions about Kuwait among employed persons

When asked whether they planned to gain an additional educational degree, more than half of the Arab as well as Asian men and women stated that they had such plans, while about one-third were unsure (Table 19). A large majority (72.1 per cent) of all respondents did not plan to move to another country outside Kuwait; the percentage who did not plan to move was highest among Arab women (80.9 per cent). Among those who planned to move to another country, other than their home country, the majority had plans to go to a European or North American country. Among those who planned to move, about 31 per cent had taken some steps in this regard. A majority (46.4 per cent) of all respondents planned to return to their home country after retirement, while 9.3 per cent planned to go to another country and 44 per cent were unsure.

Table 18. *Characteristics of mother among Arab and Asian working men and women*

Characteristics of mother	Arabs				Asians				Total	
	Men		Women		Men		Women		n = 252	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Nationality										
Arab	71	(95.9)	66	(100.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(2.2)	141	(57.3)
Asian	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	53	(98.1)	44	(95.7)	98	(39.8)
Other	3	(4.1)	0	(0.0)	1	(1.9)	1	(2.2)	7	(2.8)
Whether born in Kuwait										
Yes	11	(14.5)	14	(20.6)	0	(0.0)	3	(6.4)	28	(11.2)
No	65	(85.5)	54	(79.4)	54	(100.0)	44	(93.6)	223	(88.8)
Whether living in Kuwait										
Yes	57	(75.0)	47	(69.1)	39	(72.2)	36	(76.6)	185	(73.7)
No	19	(25.0)	21	(30.9)	15	(27.8)	11	(23.4)	66	(26.3)
Duration of residence in Kuwait										
≤ 30 years	14	(26.9)	12	(25.0)	24	(55.8)	16	(45.7)	68	(37.2)
31–39 years	16	(30.7)	7	(14.5)	15	(34.8)	15	(42.8)	55	(30.1)
40+ years	22	(42.3)	29	(60.4)	4	(9.3)	4	(11.4)	60	(32.8)
Mean (SD)	41.1	(10.0)	42.2	(12.4)	31.8	(8.2)	33.5	(5.3)	37.5	(10.5)
Median (IQR)	40.0	(16.0)	44.5	(16.0)	32.5	(5.0)	32.0	(8.0)	35.0	(15.0)
Educational level completed										
< High school	17	(23.0)	19	(29.2)	11	(20.4)	6	(13.0)	55	(22.4)
High school	12	(16.2)	18	(27.7)	15	(27.8)	10	(21.7)	57	(23.3)
Some diploma	14	(18.9)	15	(23.1)	14	(25.9)	9	(19.6)	53	(21.6)
University or higher	31	(41.9)	13	(20.0)	14	(25.9)	21	(45.7)	80	(32.7)
Occupation, if employed										
Accounts/Finance/ Bank employee	3	(15.8)	2	(11.1)	2	(18.2)	2	(8.0)	9	(12.2)
Manager/Administrator/ Supervisor	2	(10.5)	4	(22.2)	0	(0.0)	1	(4.0)	8	(10.8)
Doctor/Lawyer/ Dentist/Nurse	3	(15.8)	4	(22.2)	2	(18.2)	4	(16.0)	13	(17.6)
Clerk/Secretary	2	(10.5)	1	(5.6)	3	(27.3)	3	(12.0)	9	(12.2)
Technician/Mechanic	2	(10.5)	1	(5.6)	2	(18.2)	4	(16.0)	9	(12.2)
Sales	1	(5.3)	2	(11.1)	0	(0.0)	1	(4.0)	4	(5.4)
Teacher/Researcher/ Editor/Librarian	5	(26.3)	3	(16.7)	1	(9.1)	8	(32.0)	17	(23.0)
General official/Other	1	(5.3)	1	(5.6)	1	(9.1)	2	(8.0)	5	(6.8)
Monthly income (KWD)										
< 500	6	(26.0)	8	(42.1)	3	(25.0)	7	(30.4)	24	(30.8)
500–749	9	(39.1)	3	(15.7)	6	(50.0)	4	(17.3)	22	(28.2)
750 or higher	4	(17.3)	2	(10.5)	1	(8.3)	4	(17.3)	12	(15.4)
Don't know	4	(17.3)	6	(31.5)	2	(16.6)	8	(34.7)	20	(25.6)

In response to a question about the extent of happiness with their life in Kuwait, 35.0 per cent of all respondents stated that they were extremely happy and 56.6 per cent were happy, while the rest (8.4 per cent) were unhappy. The degree of happiness expressed by Arab

Table 19. Respondent's aspiration/plans for future education, country of residence, and happiness with life in Kuwait among Arab and Asian working men and women

Aspirations/Plans	Arabs		Asians		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	n = 252	
	n = 76 (53.5)	n = 68 (46.5)	n = 55 (53.9)	n = 47 (46.1)	n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Whether plan to gain additional educational degree						
Yes	38	(50.7)	38	(55.9)	28	(51.9)
No	12	(16.0)	14	(20.6)	7	(13.0)
Unsure	25	(33.3)	16	(23.5)	19	(35.2)
Whether plan to move to another country in next 2–3 years						
Yes	25	(32.9)	13	(19.1)	15	(29.4)
No	51	(67.1)	55	(80.9)	36	(70.6)
Plan to move to which country						
Arab	7	(33.3)	2	(20.0)	3	(21.4)
European	2	(9.5)	3	(30.0)	2	(14.2)
North American	5	(23.8)	5	(50.0)	5	(35.7)
Other	7	(33.3)	0	(0.0)	4	(28.5)
If plan to move whether taken any steps to move						
Yes	9	(37.5)	4	(33.3)	10	(31.2)
No	15	(62.5)	8	(66.6)	22	(68.7)
After retirement, plan to return to home country or move to another country						
Return to home country	39	(52.0)	26	(38.2)	26	(49.1)
Go to another country	8	(10.7)	8	(11.8)	2	(3.8)
Don't know at this time	28	(37.3)	33	(48.5)	25	(47.2)
Extent of happiness with life in Kuwait						
Extremely happy	30	(39.5)	37	(54.4)	12	(21.8)
Happy	39	(51.3)	25	(36.8)	40	(72.7)
Not happy	7	(9.2)	6	(8.8)	3	(5.5)
How strongly is Kuwait considered as home						
Very strongly	40	(52.6)	44	(64.7)	21	(38.2)
Strongly	24	(31.6)	15	(22.1)	21	(38.2)
Not strongly	12	(15.8)	9	(13.2)	13	(23.6)

men and women was greater than that expressed by Asian men and women. A similar difference was present with regard to whether the respondents considered Kuwait as home. For example, 64.7 per cent of Arab women very strongly considered Kuwait as home compared with only 25.5 per cent of Asian women; the corresponding percentages among men were 52.6 per cent and 38.2 per cent, respectively.

3.2.7. Things liked best and disliked most in Kuwait by employed persons

The employed persons' responses on the things they liked best and disliked most in Kuwait are shown in Tables 20 and 21. Almost 40 per cent of all respondents said that they liked the comfortable, safe living and clean environment of Kuwait, with larger percentages of Arabs in this category than of Asians. The second and third things liked most by working persons were the good income and job, and food and restaurants, reported by 12.4 per cent and 9.8 per cent of all respondents, respectively. Generally good and well-developed facilities including health, recreation and shopping were also among the best-liked things. Being born in Kuwait was reported as the thing they liked best about Kuwait by 5.8 per cent of respondents (Table 20).

Table 20. *Things liked best in Kuwait among Arab and Asian men and women*

Things liked best in Kuwait	Arabs		Asians		Total				
	Men n = 76 (53.5)	Women n = 68 (46.5)	Men n = 55 (53.9)	Women n = 47 (46.1)	n = 252				
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Comfortable, safe living and clean environment	28	(43.1)	27	(43.5)	16	(32.0)	14 (31.8)	87	(38.7)
Good income and job	5	(7.7)	4	(6.5)	13	(26.0)	5 (11.4)	28	(12.4)
Food and restaurants	2	(3.1)	0	(0.0)	9	(18.0)	11 (25.0)	22	(9.8)
Freedom of life and religion	11	(16.9)	2	(3.2)	4	(8.0)	3 (6.8)	21	(9.3)
Availability of general facilities including health and recreational	7	(10.8)	5	(8.1)	3	(6.0)	1 (2.3)	16	(7.1)
Shopping facilities	6	(9.2)	7	(11.3)	2	(4.0)	4 (9.1)	19	(8.4)
Friendly environment	4	(6.2)	13	(21.0)	0	(0.0)	2 (4.5)	19	(8.4)
Born here	2	(3.1)	4	(6.5)	3	(6.0)	4 (9.1)	13	(5.8)

Table 21. *Things disliked most in Kuwait among Arab and Asian working men and women*

Things disliked most in Kuwait	Arabs		Asians		Total				
	Men n = 76 (53.5)	Women n = 68 (46.5)	Men n = 55 (53.9)	Women n = 47 (46.1)	n = 252				
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Weather, climate	23	(36.5)	27	(45.8)	15	(31.3)	15 (37.5)	81	(37.9)
Discrimination, attitudes, Kuwaitis	16	(25.4)	17	(28.8)	18	(37.5)	13 (32.5)	66	(30.8)
Accidents, rash driving and traffic	12	(19.0)	6	(10.2)	1	(2.1)	1 (2.5)	20	(9.3)
Poor facilities, health care, services and crimes	2	(3.2)	2	(3.4)	4	(8.3)	4 (10.0)	12	(5.6)
Expenses, high rents	5	(7.9)	2	(3.4)	1	(2.1)	1 (2.5)	10	(4.7)
Strict rules	3	(4.8)	0	(0.0)	7	(14.6)	2 (5.0)	12	(5.6)
Lack of citizenship, permanent residence	0	(0.0)	1	(1.7)	1	(2.1)	1 (2.5)	3	(1.4)
Other	2	(3.2)	4	(6.8)	1	(2.1)	3 (7.5)	10	(4.7)

Larger percentages of Arabs than of Asians mentioned comfortable and safe living conditions; in contrast, larger percentages of Asians than of Arabs mentioned food and restaurants as things they liked best.

In terms of things disliked most in Kuwait, the largest percentage reported weather and climate (37.9 per cent). Another large percentage (30.8 per cent) stated that they disliked the discriminatory attitudes and treatment they received from Kuwaiti people and sometimes authorities (Table 21). Larger percentages of Asians expressed feelings of discrimination than did Arabs; 37.5 per cent among Asian and 25.4 per cent among Arab men, for example. Accidents and rash driving, and strict rules were also among the things disliked most. Only 1.4 per cent of the respondents stated the lack of citizenship or permanent residence opportunity were things they disliked most in Kuwait.

3.2.8. Comparison of educational level of respondents with their parents

An important question with regard to the second generation is the amount of educational and occupational success it is able to achieve in comparison with the first generation, i.e., parents. The educational level of working men and women in our study was compared with their parents, as shown in Tables 22 and 23. Relative to both their father and mother, the respondents had attained a markedly higher level of education. For example, among those fathers who had completed less than high school education, 43.8 per cent of second generation respondents had completed a bachelor's or a higher level of education. Similarly, in case of mothers who had completed less than high school education, 52.7 per cent of respondents had completed a bachelor's or a higher level.

4. DISCUSSION: IMPLICATIONS OF SELECTED FINDINGS FOR THE FUTURE

Findings from our surveys of second generation high school students and working men and women permit several conclusions that highlight the structure of this subgroup, its aspirations and plans, and the likely future contributions to Kuwait's population. In this section, we identify and discuss six general themes that highlight the main implications of this study. On the basis of these general themes, in the final section a policy-relevant question is raised and discussed about whether the second generation should be perceived as an opportunity or a threat while formulating migration policies.

Table 22. *Educational level of respondents compared to their father among Arab and Asian working men and women*

Respondent's education	Father's education							
	< High school		High school		Diploma		Bachelor's degree or higher	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arab men								
< High school	1	(5.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	7	(35.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(20.0)	1	(2.6)
Diploma	5	(25.00)	1	(10.0)	1	(20.0)	3	(7.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	7	(35.00)	9	(90.0)	3	(60.0)	35	(89.7)
Arab women								
< High school	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	3	(17.6)	0	(0.0)	2	(18.2)	1	(3.4)
Diploma	2	(11.8)	4	(36.4)	1	(9.1)	3	(10.3)
Bachelor's degree or higher	12	(70.6)	7	(63.6)	8	(72.7)	25	(86.2)
Asian men								
< High school	1	(11.1)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	4	(44.4)	1	(9.1)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Diploma	2	(22.2)	0	(0.0)	1	(7.1)	1	(5.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	2	(22.2)	10	(90.9)	13	(92.9)	19	(95.0)
Asian women								
< High school	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	1	(50.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Diploma	1	(50.0)	4	(36.4)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	0	(0.0)	7	(63.6)	12	(100.0)	21	(100.0)
Total								
< High school	2	(4.2)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	15	(31.3)	2	(4.5)	3	(7.1)	3	(2.6)
Diploma	10	(20.8)	9	(20.5)	3	(7.1)	7	(6.1)
Bachelor's degree or higher	21	(43.8)	33	(75.0)	36	(85.7)	104	(91.2)

4.1. The second generation consists primarily of educated, middle-level professionals and their children

An analysis of the educational and occupational structure of parents of high school children, as well as working men and women, indicates that a majority of the second generation families comprise of persons with relatively high levels of education employed in managerial, technical and professional jobs. In terms of educational level (Table 6), only 12 per cent of fathers of high school children had less than high school education while 40 per cent had completed

Table 23. Educational level of respondents compared to their mother among Arab and Asian working men and women

Respondent's education	Mother's education							
	< High school		High school		Diploma		Bachelor's degree or higher	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arab men								
< High school	1	(5.9)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	6	(35.3)	1	(8.3)	1	(7.1)	1	(3.2)
Diploma	3	(17.6)	4	(33.3)	1	(7.1)	1	(3.2)
Bachelor's degree or higher	7	(41.2)	7	(58.3)	12	(85.7)	29	(93.5)
Arab women								
< High school	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	4	(21.1)	1	(5.6)	1	(6.7)	0	(0.0)
Diploma	4	(21.1)	5	(27.8)	1	(6.7)	0	(0.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	11	(57.9)	12	(66.7)	13	(86.7)	13	(100.0)
Asian men								
< High school	0	(0.0)	1	(6.7)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	3	(27.3)	2	(13.3)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Diploma	1	(9.1)	3	(20.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	7	(63.6)	9	(60.0)	14	(100.0)	14	(100.0)
Asian women								
< High school	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	1	(16.7)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Diploma	2	(33.3)	2	(20.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Bachelor's degree or higher	3	(50.0)	8	(80.0)	9	(100.0)	21	(100.0)
Total								
< High school	1	(1.8)	1	(1.8)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
High school	15	(27.3)	5	(8.8)	2	(3.8)	1	(1.3)
Diploma	10	(18.2)	14	(24.6)	2	(3.8)	1	(1.3)
Bachelor's degree or higher	29	(52.7)	37	(64.9)	49	(92.5)	78	(97.5)

university-level education. While mothers had slightly lower education than fathers, about one-third of them had completed university or a higher level of education. Occupations of fathers reflect their relatively high levels of education. About 16 per cent were employed as engineers, 11 per cent in finance and accounting jobs, and 11 per cent in business. Only about one-tenth of fathers were engaged in relatively low socioeconomic occupations such as technicians, mechanics and drivers. Among mothers of high school students, about 27 per cent were engaged in teaching or related occupations, while 18 per cent were in professional occupations such as doctors, nurses, or dentists etc.

About half the employees were earning less than KWD500 (~USD1,750) per month (Table 15), while the rest were earning more than this amount. Educational level of the spouses of married employees was also high, with more than half (51.9 per cent) having completed a bachelor's degree (Table 16). Similarly, about 46 per cent of the fathers of working persons and one-third of their mothers had completed university or a higher level of education (Tables 17 and 18) .

One group for whom marriage to a Gulf second generation migrant may have resulted in reduction of job opportunities consists of wives. Among mothers of high school students, women were concentrated in teaching and clerical occupations (Table 6). A majority of the working women believed that they were earning less salary than they deserved in view of their education and experience (Table 15). Larger percentages of women than men said that they would like to change their job. Further analysis is needed to understand the above gender differences fully.

4.2. The second generation has made considerable progress compared with their parents

A comparison of the relative educational achievements of the respondents with those of their father and mother revealed that the second generation respondents have been able to achieve higher levels of education than their parents. For example, about 86 per cent of respondents who had completed a bachelor's or higher level had fathers who had only completed a diploma (Table 22). A major reason for their educational success expressed by many respondents in focus group discussions was the encouragement and 'push' they had received from their parents to study and work hard to achieve excellence. For example, an Asian focus group respondent during our study stated that:

as for my father, my parents, they made sure that we got the best education in the best schools, so we switched schools also, regardless of money; money was never an issue. So being in Kuwait helped in terms of the variety of schools available.

The educational mobility experienced by the second generation is likely to enhance its potential for entering into more skilled and better-paying jobs than did the parents. The higher education and skill level of this group is also likely to facilitate occupational opportunities beyond Kuwait. Several high school students planned to go to Western countries for higher studies; 31 per cent and 41 per cent among Arab and Asian male students, for example (Table 8). Higher education in the UK, USA and other developed countries is likely to facilitate the migration of several Gulf workers to migrate and settle in those countries.

4.3. The second generation Arabs may continue to be a larger part of the future population mix than Asians

One of the objectives of this study was to provide some insights about the future population growth and population mix, given the current demographic structure as well as aspirations of the second generation non-nationals. We found that Arabs and Asians differ in terms of the potential numerical contribution each group is likely to make to future population growth. Several factors lead to the conclusion that second (and third) generation Arabs are likely to be a larger proportion of Kuwait's population mix in the future. Firstly, Arabs have higher fertility than Asians, according to our survey (Table 13), and their future numerical addition is therefore potentially larger. Secondly, second generation Arabs have longer duration of residence in Kuwait (Table 2), as reaffirmed by our surveys among students and working men and women. For example, the average duration of residence in Kuwait for Arab and Asian fathers of high school students was 32.8 (SD = 11.4) and 28.1 (SD = 8.2) years, respectively (Table 6). Thirdly, larger percentages of Arab than of Asian students reported that they would like to study and work in Kuwait. About 74.3 per cent of the Arab female students said that they would like to work in Kuwait while 48.9 per cent of Asian female students said so (Table 8).

Some of the reasons expressed by high school and university students for their desire to return to Kuwait after finishing higher education in another country were as follows. A high school student said during the focus group discussion that:

After I get my degree, I would like to come back here to work because opportunities in my country [Lebanon] are not good and even in any other Arab country. So I would come back to work here.

One group that seems to have especially stronger ties to Kuwait is that of Arab female students (Table 8), a majority (60 per cent) of whom would like to complete their post-high school education in Kuwait, would like to work here (74.3 per cent), and plan to look for a job here (89.2 per cent). A major reason for these desires may be the presence of several family members in the country, as well as the unwillingness of parents to send unmarried girls to study in the home country or another country outside Kuwait. Also, desire to be close to the family appeared stronger among Arab girls than boys included in our focus group of university students. One Arab female student in our focus group discussion said that:

If I do a specialty anywhere in the world I would still come back here to live in Kuwait. I don't picture myself living anywhere else and my parents would not want to move out of Kuwait; so I think I would come back and work here.

Another Arab female student described her attachment to Kuwait as follows:

I don't imagine living anywhere else. Plus I am so attached to the Arabic language I don't imagine myself living in a non-Arabic country listening to languages other than Arabic in the shopping malls or in the streets. This actually happens to me whenever we are in Canada; I get depressed because I was not able to hear the 'adhan' or people talking in Arabic – so I am coming back.

4.4. Arabs and Asians are distinct segments of the second generation

Our surveys indicate that the Arabs and Asians are two distinct segments that rarely inter-marry and have maintained their separate identities and culture in Kuwait. Their children go to separate schools that have several fundamental differences, outlined in section 1.1.2 of this paper. The education system followed by Asian schools allows a fair amount of affiliation and familiarity with the home country despite the decades of residence in Kuwait. The school system in private Arab schools, on the other hand, provides education that may enhance the possibilities of affinity with Kuwait, and may increase the marketability of the students for Kuwait's labour market.

Arabs seem to be better integrated in Kuwait than Asians. Arabs also seem to have deeper roots in Kuwait than Asians. A larger percentage of Arab than Asian parents were born in Kuwait, among students and working persons (Tables 6, 17 and 18). Furthermore, Arabs have a much longer duration of residence in Kuwait than Asians; for example, 57.7 per cent of the fathers among working Arab women in our survey had lived in Kuwait for 40 years or longer compared with only 13.1 per cent among Asian working women.

The deeper roots of Arabs, relative to Asians, are likely to be complemented and strengthened by the culture, religion and language shared by most of them with the host country. The above affiliations are likely to have facilitated psychosocial assimilation and integration to a larger degree for Arabs than for Asians. It is probably as a consequence of the above factors that more Arabs than Asians strongly consider Kuwait as home, particularly among working persons (52.6 per cent and 38.2 per cent among men and 64.7 per cent and 25.5 per cent among women, respectively) (Table 19).

The perceptions and feelings of belongingness may start early with the similarity of educational curriculum, where an Arab child would learn more about Kuwait's history and

social structure than an Asian child would. Socially, an Asian child may be defined as a ‘Foreigner’ while an Arab child is defined as an ‘Arab (brother)’. An Asian child would learn about the history, politics and social structure of the home country and may relate to the culture and values of the home country rather than the country of residence, Kuwait. Fluency in Arabic differed greatly between Arab and Asian students; about 88 per cent of Arab students considered their proficiency in Arabic to be excellent compared with only about 10 per cent of Asian students (Table 7). Ability to communicate in the same language is likely to enhance the growth of friendships in school as well as among families, usually within one’s own nationality and community group.

Consistent with the above findings, fewer Arabs than Asians expressed feelings of being discriminated against. When asked about what they disliked most in Kuwait, fewer Arab than Asian working men and women mentioned that they felt discriminated against and ill-treated by Kuwaiti nationals (Table 21). Like the adults, smaller percentages of Arab high school students mentioned feelings of being discriminated against than did Asians (17.8 per cent and 30.6 per cent among male students, respectively) (Table 11).

4.5. The second generation is part of extended family units residing in Kuwait

The second generation non-nationals belong to households where several close family members are co-residing, and most have other relatives who are living in the country though not in the same house. More than 90 per cent of the high school students among Arabs as well as Asians were living with both parents. On average, they had about 14.8 (SD = 13.4) relatives living in Kuwait (Table 5).

Among working men and women, their fathers were living in Kuwait in 68 per cent of cases while mothers were living there in 74 per cent of cases (Tables 17 and 18). The average number of other relatives, not living in the same house with the respondent, was 18 (SD = 21.6) (Table 13). In the case of married respondents, about 96 per cent had their spouses living with them. According to Kuwaiti immigration laws outlined earlier, spouse migration is restricted. Only a man earning above a specified level can sponsor his wife to come to Kuwait, while the wife is usually not allowed to sponsor her husband. However, a large majority of the second generation persons had their family members living in Kuwait. Differences between Asians and Arabs with regard to the extended family units were minor.

The presence of several members of one’s family in the host country is likely to provide a network of social support that makes it feel like home. Presence of the family in

Kuwait was expressed by several participants in the focus group discussion as a reason for their future plans to study and work in Kuwait. Several students and working persons mentioned that they were happy in Kuwait because they had their family here.

4.6. The second generation in Kuwait cannot be described as 'temporary' guest workers and their families

We found that among the high school students in our study, about one-third of the Arab and one-tenth of the Asian parents were born in Kuwait, thus constituting the second generation (Table 6). This implies that several of the students in our high school survey were in fact third generation non-national residents of Kuwait. The presence of those born in Kuwait was also fairly high among parents of Arab working men and women, especially mothers (15 per cent and 21 per cent, respectively) (Table 18). These findings suggest that Kuwait hosts a sizeable percentage of non-nationals who are likely to have well-established social and professional networks developed over several decades. For these families, the move to Kuwait has proved to be fairly 'permanent', despite their temporary residency status. The legal and political system has enabled the growth and settlement of this segment of the population. The presence of a sizeable second generation in Kuwait perhaps reaffirms the world-wide phenomenon that temporary migration is rarely 'temporary', even in case of countries that actively dissuade from it.

Several reasons may explain the growth of the above phenomenon. A major one probably is the desire of employers in public as well as private sector institutions and businesses to encourage the retention of employees in the workforce in order to ensure the smooth flow of work and maximize optimal success and profit. Research from many different countries shows that the number of years of experience is an important element of the quality of the workforce that a company or institution employs, affecting its success.

Another reason appears to be the generally high level of satisfaction of employees with the jobs they are currently in. A majority of our survey respondents, especially among men (about 60 per cent), did not wish to change their job in the next few years (Table 15). Also, about half of the working men and women wished to continue working in Kuwait until they retire. The positive attitudes towards their job were reiterated by several of the focus group participants. For example, an Asian participant working in the travel industry stated that:

My job is actually better than if it was in my country. The travel trade is not very good in my country so the credit actually goes to Kuwait. This helped me gain more knowledge in

tourism. Because the more I sell the more I learn. So, yes I am lucky to be in Kuwait in terms of my job. The salary is also good so I am happy.

A third reason is probably the ability of long-term residents to have developed a network of connections in Kuwait that enables them not only to maintain their own job security but also to find jobs for their children and other relatives. Previous research in Kuwait based on a study of 800 South Asian skilled and unskilled male migrants showed that networks play an important role in encouraging chain migration to the country (Shah and Menon 1999). About 34 per cent of all respondents had come to Kuwait through visas arranged by friends and relatives, while about half had come through recruitment agents and the remaining 16 per cent through direct hiring or a government bureau. Since coming to Kuwait, one-quarter of the respondents had arranged a visa for another migrant. Logistic regression indicated that the odds of arranging a visa for a subsequent migrant increased with the respondent's duration of residence in Kuwait, his monthly income, being married and being a Muslim. The same study also found that migrant workers who came to Kuwait through their relatives and friends earned a higher salary, found the job fitted their expectation and were happier than those who came through recruitment agents (Shah 2000). However, a move through friends or relatives is usually based on the purchase of a visa from a Kuwaiti sponsor, which is illegal but widely prevalent.

5. CONCLUSION

Should the second generation in Kuwait be perceived as an opportunity, or a threat, while formulating migration policies? The six general conclusive themes outlined above suggest that the second generation working persons represent a well-settled, socially integrated and relatively highly educated group of persons. As reported by the students, they belong to families where a majority of the parents have education beyond high school and are employed in mid-level professional and technical occupations. In terms of social integration of second generation migrants, such integration is likely to be limited to the migrant's own nationality, religion and community. A fair amount seems to develop within the migrant's own subgroup and not necessarily between the various migrant groups and Kuwaiti citizens.

In terms of educational and occupational accomplishments, the picture of the second generation in Kuwait presents a sharp contrast to the accounts provided by many Western countries about second generation migrants. For example, in the case of the Netherlands, the educational status of both Turkish and Moroccan second generation young persons is weaker

than that of their Dutch peers (Crul and Doornik 2003). Another Dutch study showed that overall, children of immigrants had a less favourable position than native young children regarding the socio-demographic position they grew up in (Valk 2010). Studies from the USA report that intergenerational progress was lower for persons of Puerto Rican and Mexican heritage than for those of Asian, European or South American heritage (Bean et al. 2011; Farley and Alba 2002). Similar findings are reported for the second generation young persons in Germany, especially Italians and Turks, who experience pronounced disadvantages in comparison to their German peers (Kristen and Granato 2007). Research from Canada (Boyd and Grieco 1998) and Australia (Khoo and Birrell 2002) shows that the second generation immigrants have achieved a high degree of occupational and educational attainment, differentiated by parental region of origin.

It is important to emphasize again that the main reason for the relatively high educational and occupational level of the second generation and their parents is the policy of the Kuwait government that has allowed only those men earning more than a minimum level of income to bring their wives and children into the country. Hence, only those people with a relatively high education were selected into the potential pool of persons who could raise a family and create a second (or third) generation in Kuwait. Thus, a high degree of migration by skilled and professional workers has been ensured through selective migration policies. The very large number of non-nationals employed as manual workers, labourers and domestic workers who earn less than the requisite amount have automatically been excluded from this pool.

Unlike the second generation minorities in several Western countries, the second generation non-nationals in Kuwait seem to have attained a high degree of socioeconomic success. In addition to having attained a high level of educational and occupational accomplishment, a large majority of the working persons are happy with their job and with their life in Kuwait. Thus, this group of satisfied workers is likely to contribute optimally to productivity within the labour force. Similar to the working persons, more than 90 per cent of the students are happy or very happy with their life in Kuwait. Most of the working persons have accumulated many years of work experience in Kuwait. This is complemented by their general knowledge about the country and culture gleaned during the years when they were growing up in the country. All of the above are likely to contribute to the feelings of a comfortable life that was rated as the thing that was liked best in Kuwait by the working men and women, as well as by students. If given the chance, most of the second generation persons

would like to continue living in Kuwait indefinitely. Among those proceeding overseas for higher education, most would like to return to work in the country.

Thus, the overall profile of the second generation presents strong evidence that highlights the worthwhile contributions that it is making and can continue to make. This group presents an opportunity for contribution to the growth and development of Kuwait's economy by providing a well-educated, highly motivated, stable and skilled workforce. However, some members of this group may in some cases provide competition for the indigenous workforce, and may be perceived as 'taking away' the jobs of the nationals, thus posing an apparent threat.

The perception of expatriates as a threat appears to have become more pronounced since the election in February 2013 and the appointment of the new minister of labour. She has announced a policy to reduce the number of expatriates by one million in the next ten years, at the rate of 100,000 each year. The objectives of such reduction are to 'regulate the labor market, curb the phenomenon of marginal labor, and restore the demographic imbalance of the country' (*Kuwait Times*, 20 March: 1–2). Members of the new Parliament perceive the large number of expatriates as a major source of traffic jams in Kuwait and have advocated that petrol prices should be raised for non-nationals, they should be deported for serious traffic violations, and procurement of a driver's licence should be made more difficult for them (*Kuwait Times*, 21 March: 1–2).

Perceptions that reflect the government's concern with hosting too many non-nationals are also reflected in its migration policies. The Kuwait government considers the level of immigration to be too high and has had a goal to reduce it for many years (UN 2009). Several well-defined policies have been specified to achieve this goal (Shah 2006, 2013). Policies to replace non-nationals with citizens have been pursued very actively and forcefully for the last 10–15 years. One reason for the more energetic implementation of such policies in recent years is the rising unemployment among Kuwaiti citizens, especially the youth. A list of policies aimed at nationalizing the workforce in Kuwait as well as other GCC countries is provided by Baldwin-Edwards (2011).

In the midst of multiple policies to reduce the level of inflow of foreign workers and their families, the percentage of non-nationals has consistently remained above 60 per cent since Kuwait's occupation by Iraq in 1990. Between 2000 and 2007, the annual growth rate of number of non-Kuwaitis was more than twice as high as that of Kuwaitis; it has declined somewhat since 2007 (PACI 2011; Shah 2010). In 2011, non-nationals comprised 67.9 per

cent of the total population, numbering 3.63 million (PACI 2011). The second generation comprised about 18 per cent of the non-nationals in that year. Government policies to increase the percentage of citizens in the workforce have had limited success and the demand for foreign workers has persisted. The results of this study indicate that the members of the second generation have the potential to continue to make significant contributions to the growth and development of Kuwait. Consequently, our analysis suggests that it would be more beneficial for the country if policy planners view this group as an opportunity rather than a threat.

APPENDIX

Table A1. Educational level of non-Kuwaiti nationals (10 years and older) born in Kuwait: by gender and nationality groups (%), 2011

Nationality groups	Highest educational level							Total	Total (n)
	Illiterate/Read and write only	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Diploma	Bachelor's and higher	Unknown		
Arabs									
Males	9.2	24.5	33.1	15.2	1.9	3.3	12.8	100.0	128,358
Females	10.7	25.4	29.7	15.8	2.3	3.4	12.7	100.0	110,473
Total	9.9	24.9	31.5	15.5	2.1	3.3	12.8	100.0	238,831
Asians									
Males	14.8	22.9	22.5	9.0	1.4	2.1	27.3	100.0	18,546
Females	14.0	24.9	25.2	9.8	1.4	2.1	22.5	100.0	14,357
Total	14.5	23.8	23.7	9.4	1.4	2.1	25.2	100.0	32,903
Others									
Males	6.6	19.5	30.2	19.1	3.4	12.7	8.5	100.0	2,761
Females	9.9	21.0	28.0	20.5	3.3	7.3	9.9	100.0	2,121
Total	8.0	20.2	29.3	19.7	3.4	10.4	9.1	100.0	4,882
Total									
Males	9.9	24.2	31.7	14.5	1.9	3.3	14.5	100.0	149,665
Females	11.1	25.2	29.1	15.2	2.2	3.3	13.8	100.0	126,951
Total	10.4	24.7	30.5	14.8	2.0	3.3	14.2	100.0	276,616

Source: Special tabulation provided to author by PACI, April 2012.

Table A2. *Marital status of non-Kuwaiti nationals (15 years and older) born in Kuwait: by gender and nationality groups (%)*

Nationality groups	Marital status				Status unknown	Total	Total (n)
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed			
Arabs							
Males	63.4	23.8	1.9	0.1	10.7	100.0	107,151
Females	54.7	30.0	3.3	0.7	11.3	100.0	89,572
Total	59.4	26.6	2.5	0.4	11.0	100.0	196,723
Asians							
Males	74.5	23.9	1.4	0.1	0.1	100.0	13,386
Females	69.3	27.9	2.4	0.4	0.0	100.0	9,579
Total	72.3	25.6	1.8	0.2	0.1	100.0	22,965
Others							
Males	58.5	35.2	4.1	0.1	2.1	100.0	2,407
Females	58.0	35.6	3.5	0.2	2.6	100.0	1,785
Total	58.3	35.4	3.8	0.2	2.3	100.0	4,192
Total							
Males	64.5	24.0	1.9	0.1	9.4	100.0	122,944
Females	56.1	29.9	3.2	0.7	10.1	100.0	100,936
Total	60.7	26.7	2.5	0.4	9.7	100.0	223,880

Source: Special tabulation provided to author by PACI, April 2012.

Table A3. *Marital status of non-Kuwaiti nationals (15 years and older) born in Kuwait: by gender and nationality groups (%), 2011*

Age	Marital status				Status unknown	Total	Total (n)
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed			
Age 15–19							
Males	70.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	29.3	100.0	23,024
Females	69.2	2.0	0.1	0.0	28.7	100.0	21,857
Total	70.0	1.0	0.1	0.0	29.0	100.0	44,881
Age 20–29							
Males	80.1	8.9	0.6	0.0	10.4	100.0	45,974
Females	64.0	24.6	2.3	0.1	9.0	100.0	43,234
Total	72.3	16.5	1.4	0.0	9.7	100.0	89,208
Age 30–39							
Males	63.4	33.5	2.9	0.0	0.1	100.0	31,879
Females	48.7	45.4	5.4	0.4	0.1	100.0	23,408
Total	57.2	38.6	4.0	0.2	0.1	100.0	55,287
Age 40–49							
Males	36.0	58.2	5.5	0.2	0.1	100.0	15,140
Females	22.5	67.7	7.4	2.2	0.1	100.0	10,061
Total	30.6	62.0	6.3	1.0	0.1	100.0	25,201
Age 50–59							
Males	10.4	82.7	5.7	0.9	0.2	100.0	4,470
Females	10.0	73.8	8.4	7.6	0.2	100.0	1,888
Total	10.3	80.1	6.5	2.9	0.2	100.0	6,358
Age 60+							
Males	1.9	91.0	3.3	3.8	0.0	100.0	2,457
Females	3.5	52.5	5.1	38.5	0.4	100.0	488
Total	2.2	84.6	3.6	9.5	0.1	100.0	2,945
Total							
Males	64.5	24.0	1.9	0.1	9.4	100.0	122,944
Females	56.1	29.9	3.2	0.7	10.1	100.0	100,936
Total	60.7	26.7	2.5	0.4	9.7	100.0	223,880

Source: PACI, special tabulation provided to author, April 2012.

Table A4. *Employment status and major activity of non-Kuwaitis (15 years and older) born in Kuwait: by gender and nationality groups (%), 2011*

Nationality groups	In the labour force			Outside labour force				Total	Total (n)
	Employed in government sector	Employed in private sector	Domestic worker	Unemployed	Student	Housewife	Retired		
Arabs									
Males	11.0	33.9	0.1	11.5	43.3	0.0	0.2	100.0	96,681
Females	3.9	11.0	0.0	4.0	48.3	32.8	0.0	100.0	89,570
Total	7.6	22.9	0.0	7.9	45.7	15.8	0.1	100.0	186,251
Asians									
Males	5.0	62.2	8.9	0.6	23.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	13,088
Females	5.0	19.7	9.3	1.9	47.9	16.2	0.0	100.0	9,579
Total	5.0	44.2	9.1	1.1	33.7	6.9	0.0	100.0	22,667
Others									
Males	9.1	57.2	0.2	2.2	31.2	0.0	0.1	100.0	2,276
Females	4.5	21.5	5.3	3.2	47.1	18.5	0.0	100.0	1,785
Total	7.1	41.5	2.4	2.6	38.1	8.1	0.1	100.0	4,061
Total									
Males	10.3	37.6	1.1	10.1	40.7	0.0	0.2	100.0	112,045
Females	4.0	12.0	1.0	3.8	48.3	30.9	0.0	100.0	100,934
Total	7.3	25.5	1.1	7.1	44.3	14.7	0.1	100.0	212,979

Source: Special tabulation provided to author by PACI, April 2012.

Table A5. *Occupation subgroups of non-Kuwaitis (15 years and older) born in Kuwait: by gender (%), 2011*

Occupation groups	Males	Females	Total
Administrators and managers	9.7	4.6	8.5
Professionals in science, health and education	9.7	14.6	10.9
Technicians	3.5	7.8	4.5
Clerical workers	13.0	26.6	16.3
Personal and preventive services workers	13.0	7.3	11.6
Sales Workers	14.7	5.8	12.6
Agricultural and fishery workers	0.3	0.0	0.3
Industrial and construction workers	5.2	0.8	4.2
Drivers and mobile operators	4.9	0.1	3.7
Unstated	25.9	32.5	27.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Special tabulation provided to author by PACI, April 2012.

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