CHAPTER 5

ARABIAN GULF BEFORE the Oil Boom

It is well known that the Gulf nations of the Middle East play an important role in the world economy today and also is a major place of interest for the world nations from the political and diplomatic point of view. The factor behind this development is not far to seek. In the words of a scholar, “By an accident of geography and geology, the eight countries of the Persian Gulf, with a combined territory of 1.7 million square miles (about the size of the western United States) and according to the estimate of 1996 with a total population of about 106,200000 people - Of which only 9624000 are citizens - (roughly equivalent to Nigeria), sit atop the largest underground pool of oil in the world, some 65 percent of the world’s”.\(^1\) By 1970’s, limitless financial resources flowed into the hands of the Arabs but their populations were too small and lacked the training and experience to undertake the massive and urgent tasks of nation-building. The only answer was to import foreign labour, and it was soon organized on an arduous scale.

The Arab Gulf states are unique in the world in their reliance on imported labor. In 1995, expatriates reportedly comprised 90 percent of the work force in the United Arab Emirates, 83 percent in Qatar, 82 percent in Kuwait, 69 percent in Saudi Arabia and 60 percent in Bahrain. In the mid-1990’s, up to 40 percent of Saudi Arabia’s annual oil revenue was repatriated to other countries in the form of remittances for foreign labor.\(^2\)

“The rise of the Gulf to global importance has been an affair of the past three decades before that the region tended to be seen as something of a


\(^2\) Ibid. p.9.
back water both by westerners and by other Middle Easterners”.³ We hope that this chapter which approach six Gulf nations (excluding Iran and Iraq) from the perspective of their social and economic conditions that existed before the beginning of international migration will provide some useful insights into the incentives that attracted millions of foreign labour force including those from Malabar to this region.

Towards the close of the 19th century the entire region on the shore of the Persian Gulf with a few exceptions passed into the hands of the British. Britain followed a clearly outlined policy aimed at preserving her exclusive position in the Gulf and preventing any outside interference in the Gulf and entered into treaties with the sheikhs of various regions.⁴ The rulers in exchange for protection agreed to surrender their external sovereignty.⁵ Thus, in the first half of the 20th century the region contained ‘a string of small and traditionally-run Arab states which were effectively under British suzerainty.⁶ “The economic and social scene was equally rudimentary. There was virtually none of the infrastructure normally regarded as necessary. There were no roads, no motorized transport, no hospital, no electricity, no running water, indifferent housing and rudimentary shopping facilities in the main towns. In short, society in the Gulf states before the advent of oil was very simple, very traditional and very conservative”.⁷

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⁴ Treaties were signed between Britain and the Sheikh of Bahrain in 1820, 1880,1892; with the Sheikh of Qatar in 1868 and 1916; the Sultan of Muscat and Oman in 1891; the Sheikhs of Trucial Oman (Abudhabi, Dubai, Sharja, Rasal Khaima, Ummul Quwain Ajman and Fujaira) in 1892, the Sheikh of Kuwait in 1899.

⁵ “They undertook not to enter into any agreement or correspondence except through the British Government, not to permit the residence of any foreign agent except with British consent and also not to cede, sell or mortgage any part of their respective territories except to the British government” (Ian Seccombe and Richard Lawless, ‘The Gulf Labour Market and the early oil Industry: Traditional Structures and New Forms of Organisation’, Occasional Paper Series, No.31 (University of Burham, England, 1986), p.93.

⁶ R.I.Lawless, n.3, p.4.

Prior to the discovery of oil, the small population of the Persian Gulf area was predominantly rural, comprised of nomads and semi-nomads working the land, and fishermen along the coast. The small urban populations were engaged in trading on routes that extended as far afield by sea to Southeast Asia and East Africa, and by land into the Levant and North Africa. Overall, the Gulf area population lived off a traditional subsistence economy, and was in a particularly poor state after the collapse of the pearl industry in the 1920s. The main occupation of the people living in the coastal area before 1920s was trade in pearls. It was estimated that more than 74,000 men were working in pearling at the turn of the century. In the mid-1920s the introduction of cheap Japanese cultured pearls led to the decline of this industry.

Labor migration is not new to the Gulf region, which has a long history of international trade across the Indian Ocean and economic activities connected with the Hajj. In addition, there has been considerable internal migration within the Gulf coast region. However, migration for wage employment is a recent phenomenon. Since the establishment of the oil industry in the 1930s, the Gulf area has been a magnet for large numbers of migrant workers, coming from other Arab countries and from Western Asia and the Indian subcontinent to work both in the developing oil industry, and in the growing service sectors.

Oil was first discovered at Masjid-i-Suleiman in South West Persia in 1908 and the first oil company – Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APCO) was formed in 1909. Bahrain was the second region to be blessed with the oil reserves. The discovery was in 1932. Thereafter, the attention of the whole world was turned to the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf.

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8 Ian Seccombe and Richard Lawless, n.5, p.96.
Bahrain

Bahrain is an archipelago of 33 islands in the Southern Persian Gulf. It has a total area of 707 square kilo metres. It was in Bahrain Oil was first discovered after Persia in 1932. Its net earning from oil leaped from $68 million in 1972 to $ 528 million in 1977. By the last of 1970s, the state entered a phase of dynamic developmental ventures like construction of roads, schools, hospitals, airport, electric power and water supply. However “Bahrain’s labour supply during this period has been insufficient to meet the demands of these areas of investments, the expansion of its social services, and the growth of its trade”.  

Bahrain has a commercial tradition of thousands of years. Compared with other neighbouring Gulf countries Bahrain’s revenue from oil was not so high. The annual income per capita of nationals in 1970 was $195, compared with $3,599 for Kuwait and $6,368 for Qatar. As early as 1932, Bahrain’s wells produced about 84 barrels per day. By 1940, the average output per day had been raised to 19,380 barrels, and reached a maximum in 1970 of 76,640 barrels, per day. Since Bahrain was the first nation to develop oil refining, the other nation especially Saudi Arabia depended Bahrain for refining petroleum. The discovery of large reserves of natural gas raised Bahrain’s oil-based revenue. In 1975, Natural gas reserves in the country were estimated to be between 8,000 and 11,000 billion cubic feet.

The human resources of the nation before 1970s were not remarkable. In 1971, out of a total work force of 60,300, the number of migrants were 22,350 (37.1%). But the developmental projects drew in a large number of

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migrants and by 1976 both their number and percentage increased. The total number of labourers in the year was 76,990 and the migrant’s share was 30,180 (39.2%). Indian migrants, which was 3,790 in April 1971 (16.9%) increased to 13,200 (33.2%) in June 1977.\(^{13}\) The Ten Thousand Scheme, a programme initiated by the government in 1980, to train ten thousand Bahraini nationals for positions currently held by expatriates show how much Bahrain depend on expatriate labour.

**Kuwait**

Kuwait is situated on the north–western coast of the Persian Gulf. The country is bordered on the north and north-east by Iraq, on the east by the Persian Gulf, and south by Saudi Arabia. Its total area including some islands is 17,818 square kilo metres. Petroleum was discovered in Kuwait in 1938, but not extracted until 1947. The oil era actually started in late 1940s and early 1950s due to the Second World War. The country became fully independent on 19 June 1961 when the protection of Britain ended. Its small national population and extraordinarily high gross national product as a result of its high oil production (2.5 million barrels a day, about a tenth of the output in the Middle East) combine to give Kuwait the world’s highest per capita income. It was $17,100 in 1979 well above that of the United States ($10,630), and even well ahead of Saudi Arabia ($7,280).\(^{14}\)

The major influx of migrant workers to Kuwait has been a function of both internal and external factors and conditions. Internally, the fundamental factor has been the lack of sufficient manpower in a constantly growing economy. While the supply of local manpower was limited, both in quality and quantity, in the traditional economy prior to the discovery of oil, so too

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was demand. With the beginning of oil exploitation in 1940s and the need to develop a modern economy, the demand could no longer be met by the local supply, creating the need for the import of foreign labor.\textsuperscript{15}

During the 1950s, the continued flow of foreign workers into Kuwait resulted from the heavy labor demand in the growing construction sector, the expanding consumer market, and the rapidly growing government bureaucracy. After the “oil boom,” the pace of economic development was accelerated, resulting in an expansion of the government sector, ambitious industrial development plans, rapid expansion of the physical infrastructure, and a marked increase in the standard of living. Because of its small population, Kuwait was forced to attract foreign workers, and it did so with great speed by providing for easy entry to the country.

The most important pull factor for the foreign workers in Kuwait was economic. Kuwait offered higher salaries than did most countries in the Middle East, including the other oil-exporting countries in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, consumer goods were relatively inexpensive, since VAT (Value Added Tax) was not imposed in Kuwait. Consequently, Kuwait attracted large numbers of workers from other Arab countries and from Southeast Asia seeking employment in Kuwait in order to acquire consumer goods. Another major pull factor was the free health care and education services available to all residents in the country, including the accompanying family members of the foreign workers. After the Gulf war, however, these services were no longer provided to foreign workers.

According to the ruling Sheikhs, the oil was a national asset and they decided to share the revenue with the citizens through the provision of free

\textsuperscript{15} Onn Winkler, ‘Demographic Developments and Population Policies in Kuwait’ (The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel, August 1998), pp. 36-39.
and compulsory social services.\textsuperscript{16} The expansion of social services, construction projects and launching of new industries called for the imported labour force. The demographic development in Kuwait from 1960s shows the importance of foreign population in Kuwait. An analysis of Kuwait’s population shows the dominance of foreigners from 1960s. Most of Kuwait’s industry is manned by expatriates, and in a sense Kuwait has exchanged one kind of dependence (on oil) for another (on expatriates).\textsuperscript{17}

The crude activity rate (number of active persons divided by total population) amongst the Kuwaitis was only 18.8 percent in 1970. During this period Kuwait embarked on five-year development plan comprising a total of $15 billion.\textsuperscript{18} Despite the government’s serious efforts, about 44.6 percent of Kuwaitis were illiterate in 1975. The developmental activities that started since 1950s got a sudden boost since 1973 after the oil price hike. Kuwait’s development plan allocation for the period 1976-1981 was $15,289 billion.\textsuperscript{19} Total employment in the country rose by 63,000 between 1970 and 1975 at an annual rate of 4.7 percent. Kuwait Census in 1975 shows that the share of Kuwait’s labour in two important sectors was very low. In manufacturing sector the share of Kuwaitis was only 9 percent; and in construction 5.5 percent was their share.\textsuperscript{20} “There is no question that without the assistance of migrants, Kuwait would still have a largely undeveloped economy”.\textsuperscript{21}

In less than ten years after the beginning of the export of oil, the Kuwaiti population already enjoyed free health services which few other countries in the Middle East were able to provide. The results were soon evident. Whereas in 1949, there were only two hospitals with a total of 200

\textsuperscript{16} Onn Winkler, n.15.
\textsuperscript{17} J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.33.
\textsuperscript{18} The Times, “Focus on Kuwait”, 12 July, 1977(Quoted in J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10 p.36)
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.,p.11.
\textsuperscript{20} Government of Kuwait, Census 1975 (Ministry of Planning, Kuwait, 1976), Table 14, p.39 (Quoted in J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.45).
\textsuperscript{21} J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.53. 108
beds, by 1962 there were eight governmental hospitals, and by 1983, there were 15 with about 5,500 beds. By 1992, there was one hospital bed for every 347 persons. While in 1960, the physician per capita ratio in Kuwait was 1:1,210, it had fallen to 1:590 in 1980, and to 1:551 by 1992. The nurse per capita ratio had also declined, from 1:270 in 1960, to 1:220 in 1990.

The high rates of natural increase of the Kuwaiti national population, an ongoing process for more than four decades, has resulted in a wide base of the age pyramid. In 1970, the percentage of the population below the age of 15 was 49.4, increasing slightly to 49.5% in 1986.

One result of the high proportion of the young in Kuwait’s population is the low rate of labor force participation. In 1957, the work force rate of the nationals was 30.6%. Those of non-nationals was 69.4%. The work force rate went on decreasing and those of non-nationals went on increasing. After 40 years, the rate of nationals and non-nationals was 16.3% and 83.7% respectively (See the table 5.1).

**Table 5.1**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nationals</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Non-Nationals</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>24,602</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>55,686</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>80,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>43,018</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>141,279</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>184,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>65,369</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>176,827</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>242,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>91,844</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>212,738</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>304,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>107,760</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>383,749</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>491,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>126,410</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>543,975</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>670,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>118,00</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>731,00</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>849,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>172,385</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>843,344</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>1,015,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>176,329</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>907,234</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>1,083,563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Onn Winkler, n.15, Table-8, p.40.

**Oman**

Oman is situated on the south-eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula. It is bordered on the north by the Gulf of Oman, on the east and south by the
Arabian Sea, on the south-west by the Republic of Yemen, on the west by the ‘Empty Quarter’ of Saudi Arabia and the north-west by the United Arab Emirates. Oman has an area of about 309,500 square kilometres. Before 1970, Oman was one of the more isolated and under developed countries of the world.\textsuperscript{22} The overthrowing of Sultan Said ibn Taimur by his son, the present Sultan, with the help of the British, marked a new era in Oman’s history. The development of oil production in Oman in 1967 and the change of Government in 1970, initiated a new era in the country’s modernization.\textsuperscript{23} Under the new government, a series of developmental projects were triggered throughout the country. Important industrial units were started in cement, petro-chemicals, glass making, oil refineries etc. New roads and pipelines were built. Since much of the Omani labour force is engaged in agriculture, and many educated Omanis had left the country and above all since Oman’s educational system was under developed, there was a shortage of trained manpower in the country. "The pace of development has been too fast here. But the people here are unprepared. They want consumer goods, no education".\textsuperscript{24} Sultanate of Oman ranks eleventh in the League of Middle Eastern Oil Exporters. Before 1970, that is during the reign of Sultan Said ibn Taimur, Oman and Muscat was under stagnation and the region was isolated from other Gulf states and the even the movement of the people outside the region was restricted.\textsuperscript{25} Regarding the population of the country, early seventies lacks paucity of data. Various studies have put different figures. According to one estimate, the estimated number was 435,000.\textsuperscript{26} Another study has put the figure as 550,000.\textsuperscript{27}

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\textsuperscript{22} Myron Weiner, n.9, p.19.  \\
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. p.20.  \\
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid. p.21.  \\
\textsuperscript{25} For details, See, I.Skeet, \textit{Muscat and Oman: The End of an Era} (London, 1974).  \\
\end{flushright}
Till 1970, the educational system of Oman was traditional in the sense that people received only learning in Quran and Islamic shariah in village-based Khuttab schools. The only institutions that provided modern education were three government primary schools, some secondary teaching in Muscut, Matra and Salala and an American Mission school which provided limited elementary education.  

Oman, though considered as one of the Arab Gulf states, it is in reality different from other Gulf states in terms of population, area and oil revenue. Oman ranks about eleventh in the League of Middle Eastern oil exporters. In 1967, the export of petroleum was only 20.9 million barrels. In 1975 it increased to 124.8 barrels. The rapid growth of development triggered under the Sultan Qaboos and the booming economy was with the help of imported labour. In 1975, out of the total 207,700 employment in Oman 70,700 (34.0%) were expatriates. Of these 26,000 labourers were from India. Unlike other GCC countries, the dependence on expatriate labour is remarkable in the case of Oman, for two reasons: (a) Oman is not really a capital-rich country; and (b) Oman is itself a labour exporter. The reason for this heavy dependence on migrant labour may be because of two reasons. First, the inexperienced and poorly qualified indigenous labour force to meet the challenges. Second, with small oil reserves and falling revenue the people and the government still keep the aspirations of a highly wealthy oil sheikhdom.

30 Ibid.p.148, Table.32
32 J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.29, p.60.
Qatar

It is a peninsula, which is bordered on the south by Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. It has an area of about 11,427 square kilo metres. Oil was discovered in 1937 but the export was started in 1949 only. According to the census of 1970, Qatar had a population of 111,133 persons. Of these only 45,000 (40.5%) were Qataris.\textsuperscript{33} The level of literacy in 1970 was very low in this country. About 57.4 percent nationals in the age group of 20-29 were illiterate. The percentage of the age group of 30-39 was 81. The older the age group, the more was the percentage of illiteracy.\textsuperscript{34} Out of the total of 1,066 male teachers, only 190 were Qataris. Of the total 1,106 female teachers only 372 were Qataris.\textsuperscript{35}

In 1975, the daily petroleum production of Qatar was 439000 barrels per day.\textsuperscript{36} The revenue increase of the country was at a high pace since 1973. In 1970, it was $480 million. In 1977, it rose to $2,270 million, a fivefold increase. In 1972 the assumption of power by Sheikh Khalifa bin al-Thani marked the beginning of various constructional and social activities in the country.\textsuperscript{37} The oil price hike of 1973 gave Qatar a great chance to put immense capital in various infrastructures required by the country. The state entered a phase of industrialization in both oil and non-oil ventures. In 1973, the minister for finance and petroleum, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Khalifa al-Thani, announced an expenditure of $1,500 million on industrial projects, to broaden the base of economy.\textsuperscript{38} The project included both heavy and light industries.

\textsuperscript{33} Government of Qatar, \textit{Census 1970} (Ministry of information, Qatar, 1970), Table 13.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. Table 9.
\textsuperscript{36} J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.29, p.62.
\textsuperscript{37} Manoli Abdullah Haji, Madappalli, Vatakara, Kozhikode, one of the early migrants we interviewed, revealed the backwardness of Qatar before 1960. When he reached in Qatar in 1954, he says that any one who knows ‘abcd’ would get white collar jobs. He was the chief clerk in the State Engineering Department at a salary of Rs.450 per month. He also revealed that the only one concrete building in Doha was a hotel named ‘Bismillah Hotel’ managed by one Hamza from Kasrgod.
\textsuperscript{38} S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair,n.10, p.66.
like cement, fertilizer, gas liquids plant, petro chemicals, steel, bricks, tiles, paper tissues, paints, detergents, cosmetics, PVC products, batteries, car, tyres, glass products etc. This industrial development required a significant number of labour for which the country had no option but to rely on supply from outside Qatar. For example, the total employment available in the country in 1975 was about 66,000 of which the Qatars were only 12,500 (19 per cent). In 1975, out of a total work force of 53,716, Indian contribution was 16,000 (29.8 per cent).

**Saudi Arabia**

The country is bordered on the north by Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait; on the east by the Persian Gulf and Qatar; on the south-east by the UAE and Oman and on the south by the Republic of Yemen and on the west by the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. It has an area of 2,240,000 square kilo metres. The oil was discovered in Ad Damman in 1938. The Arab American Oil Company (ARAMCO) soon after. The country has the largest reserves of petroleum (26 percent) in the world. “Saudi Arabia, in terms of geographical area, oil reserves and production, population and economy, is on an entirely larger scale than the other Gulf states”. The total population of Saudi Arabia in 1974/75 was 6,154,940. Of these the nationals were 4,592,540 (74.6 per cent). Number of total employment during this period was 1,799,800. Of theses the nationals were only 1,026,400 (57.0 percent). The kingdom’s share in world’s oil production was 14.5 per cent in 1976. During this period the Kingdom’s oil output was 8.6 million barrels per day. The educational level of the people was very pathetic in 1974. According to one study, out of a total 3,836,183 persons 2,540,499 were illiterate (66.2 per cent). The illiteracy rate

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39 Ibid. p.68.
40 Ibid. p.92.
41 Ibid. p.97.
among the females was 81.3. The Development Plan 1975-80 envisaged a detailed plan for economic and social development. Total expenditure planned was $41.2 billion. The aims are: to achieve a high rate of economic growth; to exploit the mineral resources of Saudi Arabia; to achieve independence from oil as a source of national income; to develop the kingdom’s infrastructure and to develop human resources. “But the more serious drawback than the financial cost was the lack of infrastructure and manpower to execute parts of this plan”.

United Arab Emirates

UAE is a federation of seven independent states lying along the coast of Arabian peninsula formerly called the Trucial States (from the perpetual maritime truce signed with Great Britain in 1853). It is bordered on the north by Qatar, and the Persian Gulf, on the East by the Gulf of Oman, and on the south and west by Saudi Arabia. The area of UAE is 83,600 square kilometres.

In 1968 the United Kingdom announced its decision (reaffirmed in March 1971) to end the treaty relationships with the seven Trucial Coast states and to withdraw British military forces from the area. In March 1968, the Trucial Coast states joined Bahrain and Qatar (which had also been under British protection) to form the Federation of Arab Emirates, but Bahrain and Qatar seceded from the federation in 1971, opting for independence. In July 1971, six of the Trucial States (Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Al Fujayrah, Dubai, Sharjah, and Umm al Qaywayn) agreed on a federal constitution for achieving independence as the United Arab Emirates. Rasal Khaima joined the Emirates later.

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44 J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair, n.10, p.104.
Now the United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven Emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm-al-Quwain, Ras al-Khaimah, al-Fujairah. The federation was established in 1971, a mere nine years after oil began to be exported. Until then, the Emirates had no boundaries, no roads, no newspapers, no telephones, and no electricity.\(^{45}\) In a short time, oil has made the United Arab Emirates one of the richest countries in the world. In 1980, the United Arab Emirates was rated the wealthiest country in the world with a per capita GNP of US$28,000 — in fact, closer to US$100,000 per citizen.\(^{46}\) “Oil income accounted for 88 per cent of total Government revenue over the period 1975–85”.\(^{47}\) Oil has given the United Arab Emirates the opportunity to break regional and international records in urban development and economic growth. Today, Abudhabi, the most important emirate of the UAE has some 9.5 percent of the world’s proven oil reserves and around 5 percent of the world natural gas reserves.\(^{48}\)

The UAE is perhaps the best example of a capital-rich state suffering from severely limited indigenous human resources, but experiencing spectacular economic growth.\(^{49}\) First school in UAE (then Trucial States) was established in 1953 in Sharjah by the combined efforts of Kuwait and United

\(^{45}\) The descriptions made by the early migrants show how Dubai in those days was. Manoli Abdullah Haji, Madapplai, Vatakara, Kozhikode, who reached in Dubai in 1954 after spending a few months in Qatar revealed that the only one concrete building in Dubai city was a hotel named ‘Qadar Hotel’ managed by one Keralite. All other buildings were \textit{jopadas} (buildings made of palm leaves and palm branches). He also says that the only one doctor in Abudhabi who treated the patients was a veterinary doctor. There was not a single Post Office in all UAE (then Trucial State). The Post Office was in Bahrain and the mail came from there would be kept in front of a shop. People have to go through these heaps of letters to get for theirs. M.K.Khalid Haji, Vengoor, Malappuram another migrant, who reached Dubai in 1958, said that there was not even a single toilet in the city either for Arabs or for non-Arabs. They used the sea banks for their primary needs. See also, Michael Tomkinson, \textit{The United Arab Emirates} (Hammamet, Tunissia, 1975); See also, Abdullah Omran Taryan,, \textit{The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates: 1950-1985} (Groom Helm, London, 1987).


\(^{47}\) Ibid.


\(^{49}\) J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.72.
Kingdom. Kuwait paid for the teachers and materials, the UK for the building. Until UAE could afford the expense this support continued. This alone reveals the quality of manpower in the Trucial States before the oil boom. This limited exposure to modern and technical education abated the proportion of experienced and educated nationals in the Trucial states.

Among the indigenous work force in 1968, only 13 per cent had formal education. In 1975, total employment in the UAE was 296,516. Of these indigenous workers were only a small minority (15 per cent). In 1970, educated females represented only four per cent of the population; in 1993, the proportion had reached 80 per cent. Before 1960, there were few hospitals and the population relied on traditional folk medicine. The country was endowed with a high level of “pull factors” for foreign migrants and so its economy was becoming almost fully driven by migrants. The nationals were only concentrated in the federal sectors.

The United Arab Emirates attracts both male and female migrants. Since the mid-1980’s, female migrants have increasingly dominated the influx of workers, especially in the area of domestic work and personal services, in roles previously fulfilled by men in United Arab Emirates society. In the United Arab Emirates, a domestic worker (or bishkar, in the local language) was traditionally a man but may now be a woman as well. The United Arab Emirates grants an average of 300 visas every day to domestic helpers. Official Ministry of Interior statistics reported that 116,083 visas were given

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50 Ibid. p.74.
52 Rima Sabban, n.46, p.12.
53 Engineer Hazem H. Qawasmeh, n.48, p.30.
54 The 1995 Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) report on the United Arab Emirates sees this dominance as a major risk to internal stability: “One of the potential threats to internal security is the minority status of the indigenous population. Despite efforts to redress the balance by introducing programs to employ more United Arab Emirates nationals, this problem is not going to go away and is likely to get worse” (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1995-96, Country Profile, United Arab Emirates, London, p.7).
to domestics in 1999. An average of three domestic servants is reported to be working in each United Arab Emirates household.

As revealed in the foregoing discussion, the indigenous labour available were not resourceful enough to meet the developmental projects triggered by the ruling Sheikhs in their countries especially after the oil boom. Naturally, Gulf became an eldorado for the unemployed people of Kerala who had already a tradition in migration to Malaysia, Ceylon, Burma etc and who had a cultural and commercial affinity with the Arabia and the Arab people. A large number of workers from India especially from the northern parts of Kerala reached the Arab Gulf through informal channels sacrificing their life against the adverse conditions both on journey and on arrival. In course of time, this small movement became a big flow the effects of which became great catalysts of the socio-economic and cultural transformation of the nation in general and the state of Kerala in particular.