

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND THE PROBLEM
OF MIGRATION IN LIBYA: A CASE STUDY OF BENGHAZI

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C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
List of Tables	i
List of Figures	vi
List of Maps	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
<u>CHAPTER I</u> Introduction	1
<u>CHAPTER II</u> The Socio-Economic Transformation of Libyan Society	37
<u>CHAPTER III</u> The Setting: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives	81
<u>CHAPTER IV</u> The Characteristics of Benghazi's Migrants: Trends, Patterns and Motivations	178
<u>CHAPTER V</u> The Socio-Economic Background of Migrants Before Coming to Benghazi	269
<u>CHAPTER VI</u> The Socio-Economic Position of Migrants in Benghazi	345
<u>CHAPTER VII</u> The Economic Behaviour of Migrants: Income, Housing, Education and Social Position Within The City of Benghazi	419
<u>CHAPTER VIII</u> Conclusion	472
Appendix (i) Scope of the research and questionnaires	492
Appendix (ii) Tables on the age structure of the population, entrepreneur activities and comparison of income and prices in Benghazi	250
Appendix (iii) The political system in Benghazi	537
Bibliography	546

L I S T O F T A B L E S

	<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 1</u> The origin and present residence of <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> Balance Migration, 1964.	2a
<u>TABLE 2</u> Inward, Outward and balance migration by province and <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> in 1964.	2b
<u>TABLE 3</u> The origin and the present residence of migrant Libyans from each <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> .	2c
<u>TABLE 4</u> Growth of Benghazi population compared with the total population in Cyrenaica between (1911-1954).	47
<u>TABLE 5</u> The distribution of arable land and the percentage of its utilization by <u>Muqāṭa'āt</u> (districts).	59
<u>TABLE 6</u> Crude oil production and the contribution of oil revenue to total government income.	60
<u>TABLE 7</u> The sectoral allocation of development expenditure under the first-year plan 1963-1968.	65
<u>TABLE 8</u> The sectoral allocation of development expenditure under the third-year plan (1973-1975).	66
<u>TABLE 9</u> The distribution of total active population by their nationality and occupation 1964.	70
<u>TABLE 10</u> The distribution of economically active population among five important occupations between the period of 1954, 1964 and 1973.	71
<u>TABLE 11</u> The main source of income in rural sector.	74.
<u>TABLE 12</u> The economic activities in rural sector.	74
<u>TABLE 13a</u> Benghazi's <u>Mahallāt</u> , its population and its cost of living with reference to rents.	93
<u>TABLE 13b</u> The preliminary results of the general housing and establishment 1973 of Benghazi municipality	94
<u>TABLE 13c</u> Type of dwellings in Benghazi <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> during 1954, 1964 and 1973.	110a
<u>TABLE 14</u> Population growth of Benghazi <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> divided by sub-municipality between 1954, 1964 and 1973.	116

	<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 15</u> A comparison of the 1954, 1964 and 1973 age and sex structure of the population in Benghazi.	118
<u>TABLE 16</u> The distribution of household and the marital status of its members in Benghazi during 1973.	121
<u>TABLE 17</u> The distribution of the population of Benghazi by the place of origin and sexes.	122
<u>TABLE 18</u> The distribution of the immigrants by place of birth in 1964 and 1973.	125
<u>TABLE 19</u> The distribution of employment in Benghazi <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> by the economy sector in 1964 and 1973 census.	130
<u>TABLE 20</u> The distribution of Labourers of loading and unloading of goods during 1967 and for a day and night shift (in number of labourers).	138
<u>TABLE 21</u> The distribution of Benghazi's active population by their occupation.	147
<u>TABLE 22</u> The employment status of the active population of Benghazi (<u>Muqāṭa'a</u>).	149
<u>TABLE 23</u> The distribution of citizen population from 10 years and above by sex active and unactive (in 1973).	150
<u>TABLE 24</u> Workforce according to period of employment in Benghazi 1964.	164
<u>TABLE 25</u> Number of people seeking employment	165

	<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 28</u> The distribution of migrants by their present and previous position at place of last residence.	183
<u>TABLE 29</u> The distribution of migrants by their previous movement and their occupational group at place of last residence.	186
<u>TABLE 30</u> The distribution of migrants by age at period of first move and period of arrival in Benghazi	195
<u>TABLE 31</u> The distribution of business entrepreneurs by age and period of first arrival in Benghazi.	202
<u>TABLE 32</u> The distribution of professionals by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi.	204
<u>TABLE 33</u> The distribution of students by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi.	205
<u>TABLE 34</u> The distribution of skilled labourers by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi.	206
<u>TABLE 35</u> The distribution of wage-labourers by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi.	208
<u>TABLE 36</u> The pattern of the migration of family of married migrants at their first trip to Benghazi.	231
<u>TABLE 37</u> The characteristics of migration before and after the 1960s.	234
<u>TABLE 38</u> The distribution of Migrants by place of last residence.	238
<u>TABLE 39</u> The distribution of migrants categories by place of origin	243
<u>TABLE 40</u> The distribution of migrants by their present socio-economic position, place of last residence and their motivation factor declared for moving to Benghazi.	253
<u>TABLE 41</u> The distribution of migrants by their present socio-economic position and the duration of stay in Benghazi.	262
<u>TABLE 42</u> The distribution of migrants pre-coming occupation at place of origin, at place of last residence, and migrant's father's occupation at place of origin.	289

	<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 43</u> The business entrepreneurs category and their father's occupation of origin/before coming to Benghazi.	292
<u>TABLE 44</u> The distribution of professionals and their father's occupation before coming to Benghazi.	300
<u>TABLE 45</u> The distribution of students and their father's occupation before coming to Benghazi.	307
<u>TABLE 46</u> The distribution of skilled labourers and their father's occupation before coming to Benghazi.	308
<u>TABLE 47</u> The distribution of wage-labourers and their father's occupation before coming to Benghazi.	313
<u>TABLE 48</u> The classification of migrants by period at arrival and their income in Libyan Dinars for the period 1950.	322
<u>TABLE 49</u> The classification of migrants by period at arrival and their income in Libyan Dinars for the period 1950-1959.	323
<u>TABLE 50</u> The classification of migrants by period at arrival and their income in Libyan Dinars for the period 1960-1969.	324
<u>TABLE 51</u> The classification of migrants by period at arrival and their income in Libyan Dinars for the period 1970-1975.	325
<u>TABLE 52</u> The social position of migrants before coming to Benghazi City.	335
<u>TABLE 53</u> The classification of migrants categories by level of education at place of last residence.	337
<u>TABLE 54</u> The classification of migrants by dwellings at place of last residence.	340
<u>TABLE 55</u> The classification of migrants by their present socio-economic position and income in Benghazi.	424
<u>TABLE 56</u> The classification of migrants according to their social position and the degree of their control over their earnings.	427
<u>TABLE 57</u> The distribution of monthly expenditure with respect to its percentage for the total migrants classified by their three income groups.	442

	<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 58</u> The classification of migrant categories by level of education in Benghazi.	463
<u>TABLE 59</u> The classification of migrants by dwelling in Benghazi.	484
<u>TABLE 60a</u> Comparison of 1954, 1964 and 1973 age and sex populations structure in Benghazi.	521
<u>TABLE 61</u> The distribution of migrants by age at period of arrival.	522
<u>TABLE 62</u> The commercial, industrial and crafts licences which have been issued from the general licence office of Benghazi Municipality during 1974.	523
<u>TABLE 63a</u> The salary for tenured government employees.	527
<u>TABLE 63b</u> The salary for non-tenured government employees.	528
<u>TABLE 64</u> Deductions (income taxes)	529
<u>TABLE 65a</u> Fluctuation in prices of basic food stuffs; clothes, transport etc., between October, 1974 and July, 1975.	529
<u>TABLE 65b</u> Prices on basic commodity during July, 1975.	531

L I S T O F F I G U R E S

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Schematic diagram of migration within Libya	4.
2	Income relations within traditional rural economic structures	278
3	The increase of socio-economic differentiation in the rural sector	279a
4	The political organization of the A.S.U. of Benghazi.	540

L I S T O F M A P S

<u>Map</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Libya: its geographical provinces, the location of its administrative units (<u>Muqāṭa'āt</u>) and oil fields	2.
2	Showing the present boundaries the administrative area of Benghazi and the surrounding district.	83
3	Benghazi: its quarters and the distribution of government houses.	85a
4	Benghazi's development in stages.	110.
5	Origin of Benghazi migrants from each <u>Muqāṭa'a</u> .	179

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

This thesis is based on fieldwork conducted during the period between September, 1974 - July, 1975. I also went for a visit in 1976, during which I collected additional data of the recent developments. During these periods, I resided in Benghazi City itself, but I also travelled extensively in the countryside of the Eastern Province.

My knowledge of the rural areas of the Western and Southern province was based on fieldwork which spanned two short periods, first (in Jālū and Aujla oases) during 1970, and second (in the Western province) during 1973.

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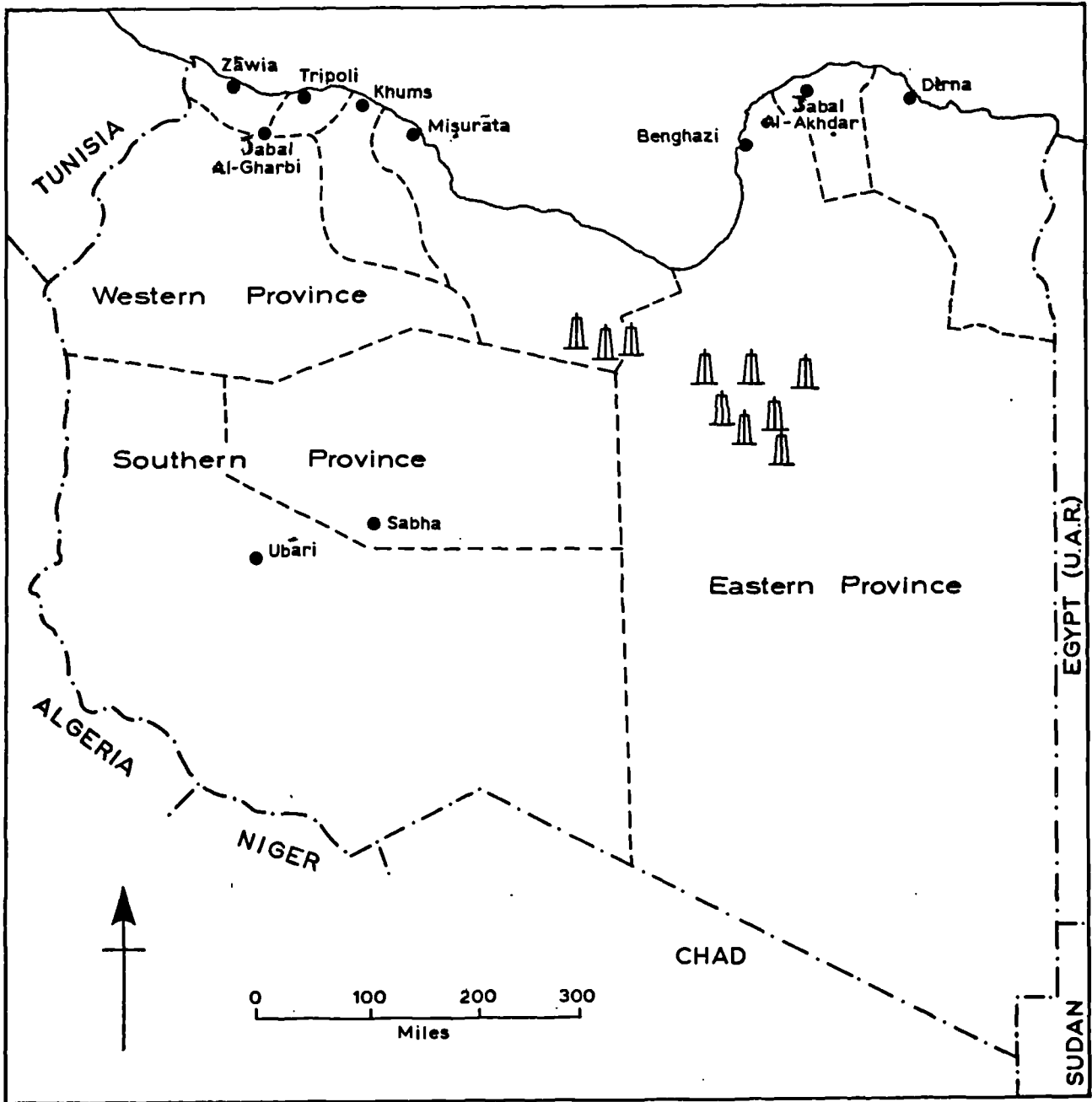
INTRODUCTION

In the opening chapter, the population movement in Libya will be examined alongside existing theories of migration which have been employed, in order to explain the problem in other developing countries within Africa. The methods of research will also be discussed in order to explain and analyse the Libyan case.

(I) Population Movement in Libya

Libya is divided into three provinces, (i) the eastern province (Cyrenaica), itself divided into three Muqāṭa'āt⁽¹⁾ (districts) namely Benghazi, Derna and ~~al-Jabal~~ al-Akhdar. (ii) the western province (Tripolitania) divided into five Muqāṭa'āt - Tripoli, Zāwia, al-Khums, Miṣurāta and Jabal Al-Gharbi. (iii) the southern province (Fazzān) divided into the two Muqāṭa'āt of Sabha and Ubāri. The Muqāṭa'āt are further divided into cities, towns and villages (see Map 1). Migration was principally towards the two largest cities; Tripoli and Benghazi. But there was also considerable movement between the Muqāṭa'āt throughout the country. These movements are analysed in Tables 1, 2 and 3. But at this stage it will help to give some idea of the percentage of the total population involved.

(1) Plural, Muqāṭa'āt, singular, Muqāṭa'a, which is the administrative sub-division of the province.



MAP 1. Libya: its geographical provinces, the location of its administrative units (Muqāta'at) and oil fields.

TABLE (1) THE ORIGIN AND PRESENT RESIDENCE OF MUQĀTĀ'A
BALANCE MIGRATIONS, 1964

The Origin of Migrants by Place of Birth	Present residence											
	Western Province (Tripolitania)						Eastern Province (Cyrenaica)			Southern Province (Fazzān)		Total
	Tripoli	Zāwia	Al-khums	Miṣūrāta	Jabal Al-Gharbi	Benghazi	Dārna	Jabal Al-Akhdar	Sabha	Uḅāri		
Western Province												
Tripoli	-8,700	+8,700	+21,005	+10,848	+19,331	-2,891	-508	-709	+3,871	+325	+59,972	
Zāwia	-21,005	-	+430	+171	+1,069	-1,595	-218	-494	+106	+38	-9,193	
Al-khums	-10,848	-430	-	-937	-81	-5,958	-479	-589	-229	+14	-29,694	
Miṣūrāta	-19,331	-171	+937	-	+507	-11,969	-1,512	-1,385	-757	-42	-25,240	
Jabal Al-Gharbi		-1,069	+81	-507	-	-1,756	-353	-465	-323	-36	-23,759	
Eastern Province												
Benghazi	+2,891	+1,595	+5,958	+11,969	+1,756	-	+2,819	+3,720	+1,667	+104	+32,479	
Dārna	+508	+218	+479	+652	+353	-2,819	-	-940	+188	+167	-334	
Jabal Al-Akhdar	+709	+494	+589	+1,385	+465	-3,720	+940	-	+191	+37	+1,090	
Southern Province												
Sabha	-3,871	-106	+229	+757	+323	-1,667	-188	-191	-	+1,765	-2,949	
Uḅāri	-325	-38	-14	+42	+36	-104	-167	-37	-1,765	-	-2,372	
Total	-59,972	+9,193	+29,694	+25,240	+23,759	-32,479	+334	-1,090	+2,949	+2,372	'	

+ = the increase of Net Migration
- = the decrease of Net Migration

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Economy and Trade, Libya, General Population Census 1964, Tripoli, 1966, p.74

Table 2 Inward, Outward and Balance Migration by Province and Muqā'ta'a in 1964

Province	<u>Muqā'ta'a</u>	Inward Migration	Outward Migration	Balance -(1) Migration
Western province (Tripolitania)	Tripoli	80,707	20,735	+ 59,972
	Zāwia	15,041	24,234	- 9,193
	Al-Khums	1,753	31,447	- 29,694
	Misurāta	5,588	30,828	- 25,240
	Jabal Al-Gharbi	3,166	26,925	- 23,759
Eastern province (Cyrenaica)	Benghazi	43,913	11,434	+ 32,479
	Derna	8,287	8,621	- 334
	Jabal Al-Akhdar	11,236	10,146	+ 1,090
Southern province (Fazzān)	Sabha	4,371	7,320	- 2,949
	Ubāri	423	2,795	- 2,372
Total		174,485	174,485	

Source: Compiled from: General Population Census 1964, op.cit., pp. 74, 75-76, Tripoli, (in Arabic).

(1) Balance Migration, means here the number of outward Migrations subtracted from inward migration. For example 416 outward migrants less 218 inward migrants gives balance net migrants.

TABLE (3) THE ORIGIN AND THE PRESENT RESIDENCE OF MIGRANT LIBYANS IN EACH MUQATA'Ā

The Origin of Migrants by Place of Birth	The Present Residence										
	Western Province (Tripolitania)					Eastern Province (Cyrenaica)			Southern Province (Fazzān)		
	Tripoli	Zāwia	Al-khums	Miṣurāta	Jabal Al-Gharbi	Benghazi	Darna	Jabal Al-Akhdar	Sabha	Ubāri	Total Outward Migrants
Western Province											
Tripoli	-	10,928	458	416	1,332	5,275	930	1,120	258	18	20,735
Zāwia	19,628	-	133	142	1,107	2,071	477	616	54	6	24,234
Al-khums	21,463	563	-	1,400	299	6,135	545	730	299	13	31,447
Miṣurāta	11,264	313	463	-	94	14,587	1,617	1,452	986	52	30,828
Jabal Al-Gharbi	20,663	2,176	218	601	-	1,888	375	470	480	54	26,925
Eastern Province											
Benghazi	2,384	476	177	2,618	132	-	1,891	3,568	177	11	11,434
Darna	422	259	66	105	22	4,710	-	2,999	36	2	8,621
Jabal Al-Akhdar	411	122	141	67	5	7,288	2,059	-	51	2	10,146
Southern Province											
Sabha	4,129	160	70	229	157	1,844	224	242	-	265	7,320
Ubāri	343	44	27	10	18	115	169	39	2,030	-	2,795
Total In-Migrants	80,707	15,041	1,753	5,588	3,166	43,913	8,287	11,236	4,371	423	174,485

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Economy and Trade, Libya, General Population Census 1964, Tripoli, 1966, p.74

(1)

The 1964 survey indicated that over 600,000 people (nearly 40 per cent) of the total population, had changed residence during their lifetimes. This movement has involved both a provincial and Muḡā ta'āt population mobility on the one hand, and changes amongst urban and rural dwellers on the other.

The most important urban areas receiving migrants were those of Tripoli and Benghazi, both of which had over 55% of the total
(2)
inward migrants in 1964, of whom more than two thirds had originated from rural areas, particularly ~~from~~ western provinces (Tripolitania), the rest coming from other urban areas of the country.

However, Tripoli and Benghazi themselves had a large volume
(3)
of outward migration (about 26,000 people left the two urban centres). These went to other parts of the country, both urban and rural.

The movement of population in Libya shows a complex pattern:

- (1) Movement to and from eastern province (Cyrenaica)
- (2) Movement to and from western province (Tripolitania)

-
- (1) The data on population in Libya is very scanty. The first official census in Libya was taken only in 1954 and the latest census of 1973, has not yet been completed. Because the 1973 census is still incomplete, the 1964 census will be used as a base to explain the population movement in Libya, since it is the only census to give information about migration in Libya.
 - (2) Inward Migration means the movement into an area from outside (the number of migrants arriving).
 - (3) Outward Migration means the movement between areas which will give the number of migrants who left home.

- (3) Movement to and from southern province (Fazzān)
- (4) and within each province there was inter-provincial migration, as is shown in Table (1) of the origin and the present residence of migrant Libyans in each Muqāṭṭa'a (see the Digrammatic view, Figure (1))

These movements can be explained as follows:

Cyrenaica province experienced an increase of about 36,000 people, and over the same period Tripolitania and Fazzān showed a decrease in their populations (1) of about 28,000 and 5,000 respectively (see Table 2).

Cyrenaica province therefore experienced a net increase of over 31,000 persons from Tripolitania and over 4,000 from Fazzān. Within the province of Cyrenaica, Benghazi had the largest population growth with most of its migrants coming from Tripolitania whilst others came from Jabal al-Akhdar and Derna, giving a net population increase in Jabal al-Akhdar Muqāṭṭa'a, and net decrease in Derna, (see Table (3) of the origin and present residence of Muqāṭṭa'a net migration.)

Tripolitania's province showed the largest net loss through migration of about 28,000. It showed a loss of population to Cyrenaica of 31,000, at the same time it experienced a gain of about 3,000 from Fazzān. Within Tripolitania, Tripoli was the only Muqāṭṭa'a to show a net increase compared with Jabal Gharbi, Al-Khums, Miṣurāta and Zāwia, (see Table 3). A similar movement

(1) Net migration means inward migrants - outward migrants = balance or Net Migration.

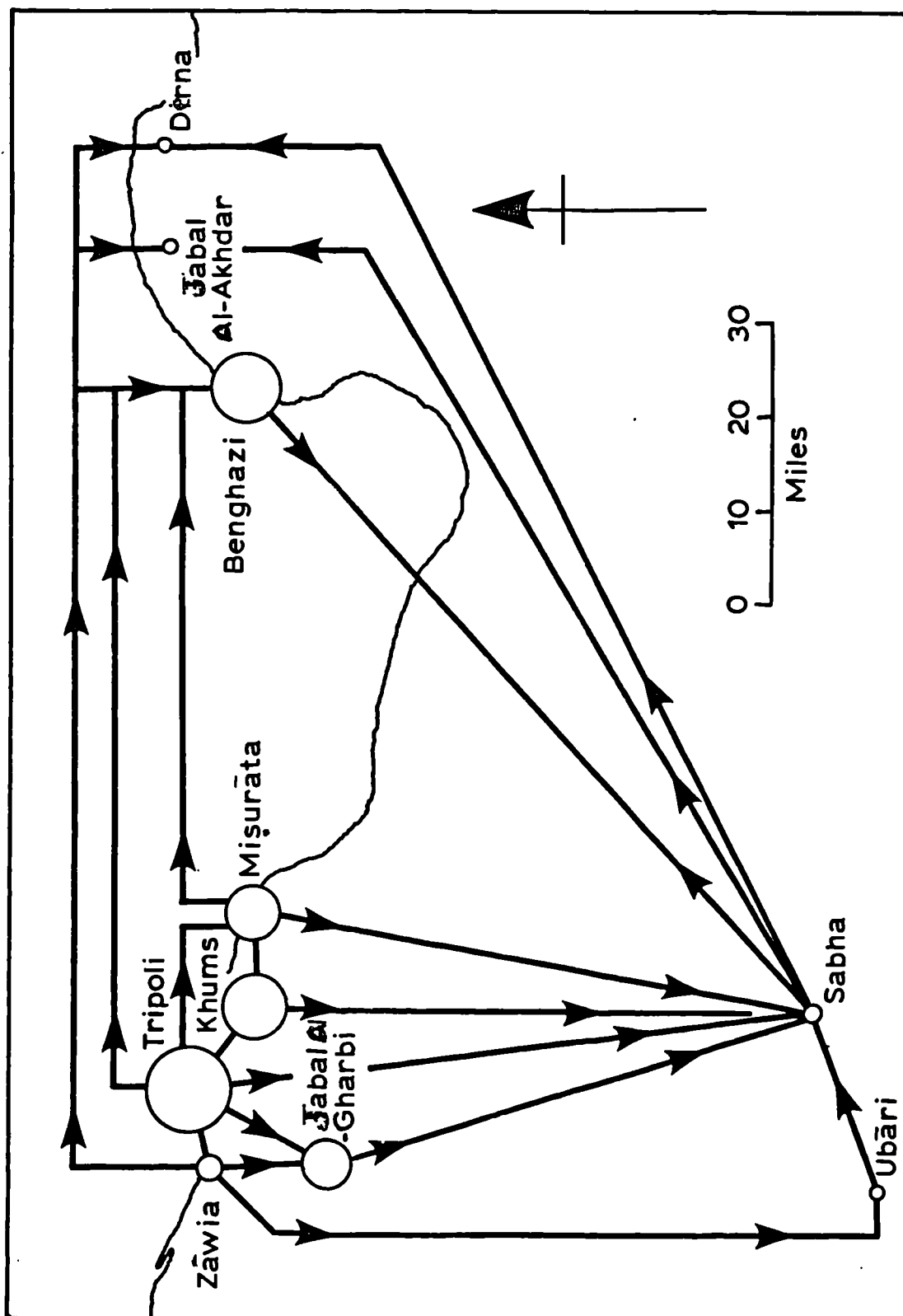


FIG. 1. Schematic diagram of migration within Libya.

showed net losses through migration from Jabal Gharbi and Khums to both Miṣurāta and Zāwia. In spite of the overall net increase of inward migrants from Fazzān, particularly to Tripoli, the Jabal Gharbi, Khums and Miṣurāta Muqā'ta'a showed, in fact, a net decrease to Sabha.

Fazzān province showed a loss of population from both Sabha and Ubāri to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The move of population from Tripolitania Muqā'ta'āt was mainly to Sabha. (1) Movement of population both inward and outward showed a net decrease from Ubāri to Sabha Muqā'ta'ā (see Table 3).

These figures highlight the fact that migration within the country was mainly from Tripolitania, which supplied three quarters of the Libya's total ^{migration} (see Table 2). However, the proportion of the migrants with respect to the total of Muqā'ta'a inhabitants varied from one area to another, for instance:

Khums and Miṣurāta supplied the largest proportions of migrants from their total inhabitants, i.e. about 21% of Miṣurāta's and about 23% of Khums Muqā'ta'a were emigrants. Jabal Gharbi supplied 15%, Zāwia 13%, while Tripoli provided the lowest proportion of outward migrants of about 6%.

In contrast, the proportion of outward migration was smaller in Cyrenaica. It accounted for about 20% of Libya's total outward migration, most of which originated from Benghazi (see Table 2), whilst

(1) Sabha is the largest urban centre in southern province, Fazzān.

both Muqā'ta'āt Jabal al-Akhdar and Derna had a smaller number of migrants. They represented larger proportions of their total populations (about 4% to Benghazi, 12% to Jabal-al-Akhdar and 11% to Derna).

Fazzān supplied a smaller number of migrants, about 5% of Libyan's total outward migration. Sabha provided about 16% and Ubārī 9% of migrants from the total of their inhabitants (in 1964).

In terms of inward migration within the country, Tripolitania had a net loss - in other words more people left than entered. Almost two-thirds of the provincial inward migration was concentrated in Tripoli Muqā'ta'a and especially in its urban centres.

The provincial inward migrants amounted to about 61% of the total migrants of the whole country. Tripoli Muqā'ta'a had over 46% of the country's total migrants, (amounting to about 49% of its total inhabitants). Zāwīa Muqā'ta'a had approximately 9% (about 21% of its total inhabitants). Khums had 1% (about 3% of the Muqā'ta'a total inhabitants). Miṣurāta had 3% (which was about 18% of its total inhabitants) while Jabal Gharbi Muqā'ta'a had 3% (15% of its total inhabitants) of the total migration.

Most of Tripoli's Muqā'ta'a inward migrants came from the surrounding areas (of Zāwīa, Jabal al-Gharbi, Miṣurāta and Khums) while a few came from Benghazi and Sabha Muqā'ta'a (see Table 1).

Zawīa Muqā'ta'a gained migrants mainly from Tripoli, Miṣurāta migrants came from Tripoli and Zāwīa. The rest of Tripolitania Muqā'ta'āt (Khums and Jabal Ghari) showed a similar pattern of inward migration.

Cyrenaica, had a high proportion of inward migration accounting for over 36% of the country's total inward migrants (representing 17% of the total inhabitants of the province). Benghazi Muqāṭa'a contained over 25% of the total migrants; more than two thirds of the provincial total and 32% of its inhabitants. Darna Muqāṭa'a had about 5% of the total migrants (or 23% of its inhabitants), while Jabal al-Akhdar had over 5% of the total migrants (accounting for about 27% of the total of its inhabitants).

Most inward migrants to Cyrenaica settled in urban areas. Benghazi city had more than one fifth of the country's migrants, these represented over half the total of Cyrenaica. Most of its migrants came from the western province (Tripolitania), particularly Miṣurāta, and a few came from other parts of the country. In contrast, al-Bayḍa city had about 4% of the whole country's migrants (accounting for about 87% of its inhabitants). Most al-Bayḍa migrants came from within the province of Cyrenaica, in comparison with Tubruq, Darna and al-Marj cities, which received most of their migrants from adjacent rural dwellers and from Tripolitanian towns (see Map (1)).

Both the rural Cyrenaican sector and urban centres gained large numbers of migrants originating from outside the provinces. No sector, either rural or urban, of each Muqāṭa'a received less than one-third of its total inward migrants from Tripolitania.

Fazzān had much smaller numbers of inward migrants, though the proportions of total provincial inhabitants was higher than those in Miṣurāta, being 2% of the total country's migrants, (about 5% of the

Fazzān provincial population). Sabha Muqā'ta'a was the major centre of inward migration of the province. It had about 95% of the total of Fazzān's inward migrants and 2% of the country's total inward migrants (forming about one fourth of its inhabitants). Almost 40% of Sabha's inward migration came from Tripolitania, mainly from Misurāta. The rest of Sabha's inward migrants was from other parts of the rural sectors of the province. To conclude briefly, Fazzān was a typical area of internal/provincial migration with a few migrants coming from Misurāta.

This magnitude of population movement in Libya poses the important question of how is the phenomenon of migration within Libya to be explained? Can the explanation be based on conventional theories or on the study of the socio-economic transformation within the country, which this thesis attempts to do?

(II) Conventional theories of migration:

The African case, including Libya; the most well-known and widely used of these approaches, has been one of two kinds of explanation of the problem of migration in the developing societies. In Africa for example, the two basic types are social anthropological and sociological/economic.

The migratory phenomenon has been explained (by both anthropologists and economists) by using a theoretical framework based on the hypothesis that the factors of production (labour, capital, land and other natural resources) are geographically distributed unequally.

E. Skinner maintains that, "Mossi Society has managed to remain viable while producing so large a number of labor migrants because of several important geographical, historical, and cultural factors."⁽¹⁾

The unequal geographical distribution of the available 'factors' of production also (as the conventional marginalist economic theory states) determines the unequal wages of each one of the factors. In certain areas labour is relatively scarce. In others, it is the opposite and labour is pushed in the direction which apparently provides the highest wages.

The anthropological approach in this field appears in Schapera (1947), Southall (1954), P.H. Gulliver (1955 and 1957), E.H. Winter (1955), E. Skinner (1965), Watson (1958 and 1959), Mitchell (1959 and 1969), and Audrey I. Richards (1973), works; while the writings of Berg (1961, 1965), Baldwin (1966) and Houghton (1966) and Tadora (1969) represent the economist's view.

Generally speaking, the anthropologist's approach is based on the assumption that people are trapped between the needs of what they called "tribe" and the demands of a money economy; the migratory labour system, was therefore the most efficient compromise for both situations.

(1) Elliott P. Skinner. "Labor migration among the Mossi of the Upper Volta", published in 1965, p.61, in Hilda Kuper (ed) Urbanisation and Migration in West Africa, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1965, p.61.

Schapera's study of Bechuanaland (1947), presents three main "causes" of labour migration: (a) Social and psychological factors, (b) Economic necessity, and (c) Propaganda and political pressure. The social factors arise from the desire to escape from domestic control or domestic disputes. The male member of a tribe may be punished for some misdemeanour by being dismissed from his home area. In this case, migration to the town seems to be the only possible means of livelihood for him. Social factors include the desire to escape from the dull life at cattle posts, and the fact that migration has become a form of initiation into manhood.

(1)

Schapera argues mainly that in South Africa, migration is regarded as a form of adventure, and this form of adventure has become institutionalised to the extent that, it is accepted as a substitute for the traditional initiation ceremonies. A young man can prove his maturity and courage by going to work for a period of time in the mines - the norms here are sanctioned not only by the young men but by women who are reluctant to marry a boy who has never been outside to work. It is interesting to note that the emphasis on the importance of the above factor as a cause of labour migration by anthropologists, such as Schapera and more recently by P. Mayer (1970),⁽²⁾ appeared after the decline of the political factors which appeared in the early period of labour migration. In Mozambique, for example, the first migrants were recruited compulsorily. Similarly, in other areas the colonial

(1) Schapera, I. Migrant Labour and tribal life: A study of conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London, O.U.P. 1947.

(2) see P. Mayer. Townsmen or Tribesmen; conservatism and the process of urbanisation in a South African city. (Second edition) Capetown Oxford University Press, 1971, p.241-242.

governments frequently brought pressure to bear on chiefs to supply labourers for various schemes. This compulsory recruiting tended to force people to migrate. Men began to flee from home to escape this kind of recruiting. For example, Mossi men were faced with a situation which meant either being conscripted to work in the Ivory Coast or running away to escape conscription. Some of the Mossi, therefore, went to Ghana where they found paid employment, whilst others were forced to work in the Ivory Coast.

Schapera believes that the basic cause of labour migration lies in economic necessity. He noted that only 1.8% of the people questioned gave non-economic reasons, and about 35% said they left their tribal areas in order to be able to pay taxes and to enjoy higher standards of living.

(1)

Southall's study of the Alur of East Africa (1954) explains labour migration in terms of economic necessity, as the chief cause of this phenomenon. People migrate for work in order to obtain money for taxes, clothes and other personal requirements. He also says that there are social factors such as, the desire to escape from those obligations which tend to disperse wealth as soon as it is accumulated. These obligations are imposed by chiefs or elder kinsmen.

(2)

P.H. Gulliver's study of labour migration among the Ngoni of Southern Tanganyika (1955) emphasised economic necessity as the over-

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- (1) See J.C. Mitchell. "The causes of labour migration". Inter African labour Institute Bulletin, 6: 1959, p.24.
- (2) Gulliver, P. "Labour Migration in a Rural Economy", East African Studies No. 6. Kampala, 1955. East African Institute of Social Research, p.16 .

whelming reason. He indicates that Ngoni men cannot or feel they cannot, earn sufficient money at home to satisfy their basic needs, and a minimum standard of living. On the other hand, men think that it is easier to earn sufficient money in other areas than at home. Gulliver's analysis of nearly 2,500 journeys, shows that 49% were for economic reasons. Furthermore, almost every man questioned by Gulliver said he would have preferred to stay at home, but economic necessity forced him to go elsewhere. Gulliver's account of labour migration among the Ngoni society, reveals more than economic factors as the cause of migration. The non-economic causes, or the "last-straw causes", as Gulliver called them, could be presented under the following headings: social factors, political oppression, mission, influence, desire to see other parts of the world, and recruitment.

(1)

Gulliver's analysis of labour migration amongst the Nyakusa (1957), shows, in addition that the basic cause of migration in this society is an economic one. The people move to an alien country in order to obtain money and goods which cannot be gained at home in a sufficient quantity, or which men feel they can obtain more easily abroad.

(2)

E.H. Winter's study of Amba society (1955), demonstrates that men leave their homes to seek work elsewhere, very few had monetary gains in their minds. On the contrary, most of them left because of trouble at home or because they wanted to see places beyond the boundary of their restricted world.

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- (1) Gulliver, P. "Nyakusa labour migration". Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 21: p.32-63.
- (2) E.H. Winter. Bwamba Economy: The Development of a Primitive Subsistence Economy in Uganda, Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, 1955.

(1)

Elliott Skinner's account of labour migration among Mossi of Upper Volta (1965), lays stress on the economic motivation. None of the migrants questioned by Skinner stated that he had gone to the Gold Coast or to the Ivory Coast for any other reason. Skinner continues that if anyone asks either the migrants or their relatives why young men leave their tribal areas to work in alien country, the answers are similar and almost repetitious: 'I am poor, I need money to pay taxes and to buy clothes, bicycle etc.'" On the other hand, social and political factors are not recognizable in Mossi society. Skinner's analysis shows that no one reported that men had migrated because of quarrels with family members or with the traditional chiefs. In fact, the Mossi people have always been able to leave their district or village and render their loyalty to another chief.

(2)

W. Watson, also indicates in his writings (1958 and 1959) the importance of economic factors when he maintained that the new economic needs, which forced African men out into the cash economy, are in fact necessities, since the African themselves consider them to be necessary. The existence of the cash economy brings Africans into contact with such products of western "civilization" as steel tools, manufactured clothing, pots and pans, schools (which charge fees) and taxes. The only way to fulfill these needs was by entry into the cash economy through wage labour.

Watson's view appeared also in the writings of writers like Richards, Mitchell and others.

(1) E. Skinner, op.cit., (pp. 60-84).

(2) W. Watson. Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy. Manchester U. Press, 1958. Also, "Migrant Labour and Detribalization", Inter-Africa Institute Bulletin, 6, No. 2, 1959 (pp. 8-33).

Audrey I. Richards' study of immigrant labour in Buganda (1973) for instance, seems to favour economic causes as well. Richards found out that out of 200 men investigated by her, only one man said he was avoiding labour obligations, nine men were coming to settle, and 75% of the rest said they were coming for variety of economic reasons. For instance, better wages, and the desire for money for special reasons such as tax or marriage payments. (1)

(2)
C.J. Mitchell seems to agree with A. Richards in the question of the importance of economic factor in migration. He found that economic needs forced African men out to distant labour centres for cash wages, while the tribal social system through each individual's network of social relationships, held men in the tribal area. In addition he argues that labour migration is not simply a form of population movement seeking work, since behind this simplicity lies complexity, which has not yet yielded to analysis. This complexity in his view was the question, how can one explain why African migrants leave their tribal areas for a while and then return to it, and possibly go out and return again and again? In other words, the

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- (1) Audrey I. Richards (ed) Economic Development and Tribal change, A study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda, Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 64-73, refers to the importance of "target workers" as significant assumption in the cause of migration. She maintains that "the economic motive was the one most frequently expressed by the immigrants passing through Kabak and Kyaka Ferry but the heading "economic" can be split up in various ways. In this sample actual famine was mentioned in some cases; a general shortage of money as distinct from a shortage of food; or the desire for money for special objects such as tax or marriage payments - objectives characteristic of the type of African migrant Orde-Browne refers to as "target workers".
- (2) C.J. Mitchell. "The causes of labour migration", Inter-African labour Institute Bulletin, 6, pp. 12-46, 1959. Also, "Factors Motivating Migration from rural areas" in Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban life, Raymond J. Apthorpe (ed), Lusaka, Rhodes. Livingston Institute, 1969, pp. 1-30.

question is, not only why men leave their tribal home but also why men consistently circulate between their areas of origin and labour centres? The answer to this question, as Mitchell indicated, is that kinship ties in African societies are fairly strong. These bonds undoubtedly create in the inner feelings of the migrants a moral obligation towards their relatives at home. A person in a well-integrated social system such as a tribe, occupies a position which links him to many other people around him. These links give the African tribesman the psychological security which he lacks in an urban environment. This seems to indicate that the circle of labour migration was the compromise which Africans found between the push force of their economic needs and the pull force of their tribal system. Economists, as with anthropologists and sociologists, have also emphasized the economic factor in explaining labour migration in Africa. (1) (2) (3) (4)
Berg's, Baldwin's, Houghton's, and Todara's models, for example, see migratory labour in Africa, as serving to

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- (1) E.J. Berg. "Backward-Sloping labour Supply Functions in Dual Economies; the African Case" in Quarterly Journal of Economics, 75, 1961, pp. 469-492. Also in "The Economics of the Migrant Labour System", in H. Kuper (ed). Urbanization and Migration in West Africa, University of California press, 1965 (pp. 160-181).
 - (2) R.E. Baldwin. Economic Development and Export Trade; A study of Northern Rhodesia, 1920-1960, Berkeley, University of California press, 1966.
 - (3) H.D. Houghton. The South African Economy, Cape Town, University of Oxford Press, 1966.
 - (4) M.T. Todora. "A Model of labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in less Developed Countries". American Econ. Review, March 1969 (pp. 138-147).

bridge the gap between primitive and modern economic systems. They suppose that labour migration results from the efforts of Africans to accommodate and adjust their existence within a "dual economy", and that it represents a "harmony of interest" between the colonial economy and traditional structures. Hence, the economic model attempts to justify migratory phenomena by suggesting that they are in the interests of both regions, i.e. those of emigration as well as those of immigration.

E. Berg, for example, defends and justifies the migratory labour system of West Africa, Houghton criticizes and condemns the social effects of the system in South Africa, while reluctantly accepting that the system is an economic necessity, and Baldwin's simulated "impartial" analysis reflects a deep commitment to the system. Hence, whereas Berg considers that seasonal migration is an 'effective' adaptation of the labour market to the economic conditions of the region, (1) Berg chooses to deal exclusively with economic factors, and he maintains that the harmful social effects of labour migration had been overestimated. Berg also claims that the labour market in West Africa exhibits the tendency "to be highly flexible and sensitive,

(1) S. Amin. Modern Migration in Western Africa, Oxford University Press 1974, p.98-101 gives an useful analysis of Berg's model. He comments that "the ideological character of this model is apparent from the fact that the labour market is supposed to be near to 'perfection' because of the greater quantity of sellers of labour (migrants) than buyers (the plantations and the urban enterprises). The position of strength represented by the monopoly of the 'buyers', reinforced by the economic policies which systematically create an over supply of labour, and often simply by politics itself, is not taken into consideration. He goes on to say that it is not true, as Berg claims, that migration will be beneficial to the regions of emigration. Berg starts tautologically from the principle that if the migrants leave their country, it is because they can gain better income elsewhere. It is forgotten that they are obliged to get money within the framework of a system that gives them no alternative."

close approximations to perfect markets in the economic sense." (1) He concludes that migratory labour represents an "efficient" adaptation (2) to the economic environment in West Africa."

Baldwin based his work on the migratory labour system of Northern Rhodesia (Now Zambia) on the individual preferences which may be called (3) "opinion surveys", and on the analysis of social anthropologists (basically Mitchell and Watson). He employed what he calls the "Target worker hypothesis" according to this hypothesis, the African labourers go to work in the mines and towns with a fixed sum of money in mind which he wants to take back to the village. As soon as he obtains it, he returns to the rural economy.

Baldwin's analysis of the problem of migration is very similar to Berg's; he uncovers the "cause" of labour migration in the individual preferences of Africans, who are obliged by a few "incentives" (such as the need for cash through imposition of taxes), to move into the urban economy on a temporary basis, thus fulfilling the colonizers interests as well as their own (i.e. the Africans). Like Berg and Baldwin, Houghton sees labour migration as a bridge from the "primitive" economy of the rural area to the "dynamic" economy of urban settings. However, where it is seen by Berg and Baldwin as an "efficient" adaptation to the economic conditions in West Africa and Northern Rhodesia, Houghton considers the South African labour migration "as an evil canker at the heart of our whole society, wasteful of labour, destructive of ambition, a wrecker of homes, and a symptom of our fundamental failure to create

(1) E.J. Berg, op.cit. (1965) p.162.

(2) E.J. Berg, op.cit. p.161.

(3) "Opinion Survey". See chapter IV for an analysis of this term.

(1)
a coherent and progressive economic society." In addition, while Houghton acknowledges the significance of the social effects of labour migration, Berg chooses to ignore it, and Baldwin converts them into economic factors. Hence, it is in terms of these considerations one might question the models used for instance, how could such a system be at one and the same time an economic necessity for the survival of "black and white" and an "evil canker at the heart" of the society which supports it?

Like Berg, T.M. Todara's analysis of the labour migration phenomena in Africa tends to ascribe the motivation of migration to the migrant. Todara's model assumes that the decision of the individual to migrate is based on two factors:-

- (a) The gap in real income between the city and the rural sector, and
- (b) The probability of being employed in the city. The model postulates, that, the individuals are situated in a defined situation which constitutes the framework of their calculations and that they have a sense of future depreciations, which permits them to compare future costs and benefits. Todara believes that the behaviour of potential migrants (2) can therefore be predicted.

Much has been said to show the models which were adopted in order to explain the migratory phenomena in African societies. Hence, though

(1) Houghton, op.cit., p.95.

(2) S. Amin, op.cit. pp. 90-92, gives a useful analysis of Todaras' models, where he says that Todara's model does not teach us anything that we do not already know. It is evident that the migrants being rational, would be heading towards areas where they have a better chance of success.

one may say that the above models have now passed out of vogue in explaining the problem of migration in western societies, it is still however, widely used in Africa and other developing societies, such as Libya.

Recently, in a conference on migration and ethnicity, B.M. Du Toit presented a paper criticizing the above-mentioned approaches in the analysis of labour migration in Africa and he introduces a model (1) which A. Howard (1963) (2) refers to.

In this model, the factors of migration are seen in the work situation, the home, friends, relatives and a host of other factors. B.M. Du Toit maintained that "invariably we found that the migrants evaluates a complex nexus of factors, factors which are given perspective by their social and cognitive context." He goes on to say that, while the title of his paper refers to language and ethnicity as factors in migration, "we might think of them as contextual factors, or what Philip Mayer called 'moral content'". He continues by saying that "a person might not migrate simply because he has ethnic and linguistic contacts (although this sometimes allows the migrants to move and then to consider the implications), but given a certain amount of information and a decision-making situation, the choice is invariably made in terms of these factors. While these factors decrease in significance as persons become urban-oriented or as they are better able to travel, they must be considered of primary importance for persons making the initial migration from their natal family and social setting." He then concludes that

(1) Brian M. Du Toit. "Decision making model for study of migration" in Brian M. Du Toit and Helen Sufa. Migration and Urbanization, Models and Adaptive Strategies. The Hague, Paris, 1975, pp.50-76.

(2) See A. Howard. "Land activity systems, and the decision-making models in Rotuma" in Ethnology, vol. 2, 1963, pp.407-440.

" ... if urban anthropology is going to progress beyond analysis and description, a decision-making model must be instrumental to an understanding and planning for migration." (1) Du Toits' model appears to employ the individualist approach in explaining migration. He starts tautologically from the principle that migrants are individuals who move because they are attracted by better remuneration elsewhere. His assumption leads us to question whether migrants have "a choice" at all in their movement, or whether they are merely obliged to obtain money within the framework of a system that gives them no alternative? Yet this does not explain the movement of a migrant who was forced to leave his village by the appropriation of his land?

The analyses employed by the anthropologists and sociologists/economists to explain the problem of migration in African societies appear to be mainly concerned with the study of the 'consequences' of migration rather than the study of its cause. They were preoccupied with the study of the "outcome" of migration, thus the greater part of the research on migration tells us something about the culture effect or the study of what happens to people and their communities when they move from rural to urban settings. But it tells us very little about the social effects: what happened to people and their communities when they changed from rural to urban settings and in particular when they moved from one socio-economic organization to another and why.

Similar theories were used for the analysis of the problem of migration in Libya. In March 1975, a conference was held at the University of Benghazi (now called the University of Gar Yunis) on "the Geography of Libya". At the conference the problem of migration

(1) Brian M. Du Toit, op.cit., pp. 71-72.

was discussed briefly, by some of the participants who were trying to reduce migration. Several points were made by delegates who wished to analyse the problem and specifically its cause and consequences.

However, migration problems was either not understood, was taken for granted or just seen as not important. This issue appears in almost all the papers by the various participants. Among them was Dilip Kipal, who maintains that, "As in many other countries, economic and social planning is taking shape in Libya, the three years, Economic and Social Development Plan (1973-1975) is about to be completed. At this stage, however, a major weakness i.e. the absence of a national long-range policy for guiding future physical distribution of economic growth forces, remains the current pattern of imbalanced urban growth, and if allowed to perpetuate can ultimately weaken the socio-economic structure of the nation. Corrective measures should be adopted, through the agencies of control of investment and migration flows, for the evolution of a stable and spatially balanced urban form."⁽¹⁾

In addition, the internal migration has been viewed as a phenomenon by which the labour force moves itself from one area to another as a 'natural' response to changing economic conditions. In other words, migration is seen as a result of search for employment. And the results of migration were the over-crowded urban settings and the decrease of agricultural productivity.

Abdulhamed S. Benkhail, seems to agree with the conventional approach which has been employed in explaining the migratory phenomena

(1) Dilip K. Pal. "Urbanization of Libya - a Geographic perspective", a paper represented at the Geography conference Secretariat, Faculty of Arts, University of Benghazi (Gār Yūnis now) 1975, p.1.

in Africa. His analysis was carried out within a theoretical framework based on the hypothesis that the 'factors' of production such as labour, capital, land and other natural resources are geographically distributed unequally, and migration is a natural response to re-establishment of an 'equilibrium' between the different 'factors'. In this context, he states that 'the physical environment has strongly affected the distribution of the migrant population through the country. It is obvious that physical distance from the centres of economic interdependence and absence of basic communications grids make these people only remotely aware of their national image.' He goes on to say that "a shift from a subsistence economy, social mobilization of the migrant and rural population in nuclear areas of denser settlements and establishment of basic communication networks linking these settlements with the centres of political authority; have to be encouraged in order to induce a strong centripetal force in the nation; with that end in view, a national policy should be formulated for regulating interregional and interregional migration, creating new foci of political and economic activities at strategic locations and stimulating flow of goods, capital, technology, and information throughout the national settlement distribution."⁽¹⁾

One wonders whether the above analysis of migration in Libya is sufficient for the understanding of the problem. Does the establishment of communications between the different areas of the country really reduce migration? And does the transference of capital and other economic activities to some strategic locations solve the problem of migration in Libya?

(1) Abdulhamed S. Benkhail. "The need for a population policy for Libya" a paper represented to the first geographical conference in the University of Benghazi, Libya, March 1975, pp. 15-16.

Of the three factors of production, capital, labour and land, it is the latter that is of prime importance to agriculture. In the industrial manufacturing field, however, the natural factor i.e. land, is insignificant in relation to industrial production, because manufacturing industries do not always go to areas where labour is particularly 'abundant'. More often it is labour that has to move to areas where industry has decided to install itself in "the strategic location", and not the other way around? (this phenomena will be explained later).

Professor B. Nigim has also agreed with A.S. Benkhail, when he says "it is reasonable, in fact logical, to assume the migration is a function of perceived differences in conditions between here and elsewhere, of the balancing of options available (whether nationally or subliminally), and of the effective ability to exercise the options. The resulting migration is a useful indicator on an interval scale, of differential population pressure. By interval scale is meant that we can compare areas not only by saying that one is larger than another, but also by how much. As I was saying, the resulting migration is a useful indicator, on an interval scale of population pressure is understood to mean the inability of a given area to support its population at a certain level of satisfaction." (1) He goes on to say that "migration reflects an individual's perception, perhaps conviction, that he can do better somewhere other than at home, irrespective of, and not with-standing, what others may tell him. It is to this

(1) Basheer K. Nijim. "Sex ratio patterns in Libya" a paper presented at the conference on the geography of Libya, University of Benghazi, Libyan Arab Republic, March 15-25, 1975 p.8.

perception that policy and decision makers ought to be sensitive. Analysis of sex ratios and of age composition can provide a tool which may be sensitive to early and subtle changes in the perceptions of individuals of their conditions."⁽¹⁾ The above account also indicates the problem of the unequal geographic distribution of the available 'factors' of production (as the conventional marginalist economic theory states). In certain areas, for example, labour is relatively more scarce; in others it is the opposite and labour moves in the direction which provides the highest wages. It is clear that B. Nigim's theoretical stand led him to suggest the study of the distribution of population and their sexes in order to balance between the natural resources and the labour force. He concludes his paper presented at the conference by saying that:

"... the government considers programs to retard rural to urban migration ... thus a careful analysis of sex ratios may be a useful input at an early stage of the government's decision making process regarding agricultural aid."⁽²⁾ Hence the question is; Is it sufficient to study the sex ratios in order to understand the problem and are the agriculture aids distributed by the government to the rural population really reduced the migration from rural to urban settings? Is it sufficient to study the factor of production in the country i.e. labour, capital, land etc., in order to understand the problem of migration or should one understand the socio-economic organization (or what is called the mode of production) of the society? Can we understand the problem by isolating the cause of the problem from its consequence as Nigim does?

(1) Ibid., p.13.

(2) Ibid., p.13.

The movement of people has consequences as well as causes.

Two can be noted. One is the "over-population" of urban centres within sprawling bidonvilles, at least until recently. A second is the decrease in agricultural productivity because the migration is rural to urban, so much so that Libya is increasingly dependent on imported food products. A partial reaction to these consequences has been governmental activity aimed at forestalling this migration by providing a variety of agricultural aids.⁽¹⁾

Clearly not all rural population has experienced migration. It has been shown earlier that the movement of people in Libya was inward and outward from and to provinces, Mugā:ta'āt villages, towns and cities and within each of them. Hence, the question is how and in what ways the problem of migration could be explained in the Libyan case.

It is interesting to see the explanation of the question of why the size and number of inward and outward migrations varies from place to place. The phenomena have been explained by some members of the conference held in 1975, as follows: Immigrants to Benghazi are mostly Tripolitarians. Miṣurāta, the eastern parts of Jabal Nafusa and the Coastal Zone west of Tripoli City are the main areas from which Tripolitarians come to Benghazi. Localities like Taḥiura, Gharian and Tripoli City are also important. The Berbers of the west Jabal (e.g., Nulut, Jifrin) are the only Tripolitarians who did not contribute to the eastward immigration. The explanation for this pattern was in terms of preservation of ethnic origin combined with

(1) Nigim, B. op.cit., pp. 8-9.

their nature as sedentary people. On the other hand, the explanation of the pattern of Fazzān migration specially to Benghazi was as follows: Migration to Benghazi from Fazzān is a recent phenomenon. Independence in the 1951 has stimulated the conception of one nation. Differences in dialects, the colour of the skin, and more important, the consideration of all Fazzānese as primitive and backward people have caused some segregation and have consequently acted as barriers to family migration. Because of this, most Fazzānese migrants are youths who often come in groups and work together mainly as hotel attendants and waiters.

But the explanation of the pattern of migration from Cyrenaica is related to the question of why the early Cyrenaican migration (in the five years after independence in 1951) was mostly from the three social groups of ^ʿAwagīr, ^ʿAbidāt and ^ʿBārāf ṣa tribes. But now, in recent decades, it has been a mixture of the individuals of these social groups and others. Why is the drift to Benghazi basically from urban centres and areas of farming and experience like the coastal oases and most parts of the Jabal; why is migration permanent for some people and temporary or seasonal for others? The main answer was that migrants come to Benghazi to work with a fixed sum of money in mind which they want to take back to the village - their original homes. (1) As soon as they obtain the money, they return to their homes. The explanation of permanent migration for some migrants was that migrants stay in Benghazi because they were attracted to the city's

(1) It is interesting to see that the explanation of migration in Libya has been adapted from the analysis of the problem in African societies, for example, these findings are stated by R.E.B. Baldwin, 1966, and other writing on African migration.

(1)

freedom that could be enjoyed there.

The above explanation of the problem of migration in Libya is typical of the analyses which tend to be general and analytically poor. This type of analysis was mainly the result not only of the lack of empirical research, but also, it seems, because of the way in which the problem is conceptualized. It is necessary therefore, to question the method and the models used for explaining the problem. For instance, can the problem of migration in Libya be understood by employing the conventional approach, which indicated that the distribution of the 'factors' is given a priori and not as the results of the strategy of development? And can one explain the problem in the psyches of the individuals or in the socio-economic structure within which the individuals make their choice.

Is it possible on the one hand, to analyse the 'cause' of migration and on the other to isolate the evaluation of the 'consequence'? Does the observation of supposedly significant objective facts (such as differences in income from one place to another) defined by the standard type of survey of the experiences and motivation of individual migrants, enable one to determine the 'cause'? Does an analysis in terms of decision-making or the

(1) This implies the use of the "bright lights" theory in the explanation of the problem of migration in Libya. P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the process of urbanization in a South African city, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1971, p.241, maintained the importance of this aspect in migration and settlement of girls in East London that, "in the dull country the school girl is able to form a picture, however distorted of other lives which go on in the world outside, particularly in cities and among sophisticated people: girls who had been in East London before told me the most interesting thing earning money and buying anything you like."

decision of a person to move, enable one to evaluate the 'cause' and subsequent results. Is it also possible to decide whether the movement is 'positive' (and for whom it is so) or, if having exceeded certain limits, whether it becomes negative (and for who that is so)? Does such an analysis and conclusions to which it leads, enable one to arrive at a full understanding of the problem of migration in Libya?

The aim of this study, therefore, is to understand and analyse the problem of migration as part of the total system emerging from specific circumstances to show that the controversy is not then, between those who pretend to be empirical (i.e., dealing with fact) and those who do not hesitate to engage in abstract theories (meaning those who ignore facts). The debate is over the nature of significant facts in individual motivations (which are nothing but the rationalization of behaviour within the system) or the processes of the system (which cannot be discovered from the motivations). What must be taken into account is that such behaviour is produced by the system within which the individual makes his choice, e.g., the migrants' social strata is in a low position in the city of Benghazi not because they are ignorant of social mobility, but because the opportunities provided by the system do not allow for every person or group to change their position. It (i.e., the system) allows certain people to be mobile - as many as it needs - to maintain the market economy in Benghazi.

The labourers of recent rural migrations are mostly either in underemployment or unemployment positions. There is a very high employment turnover between labourers, especially among those

working with the oil companies and private sectors. This is in contrast to the public sector, which is known for its employment stability. It follows that migrants are mostly in the public sector, specifically the service sector, not because they prefer this, but because the conditions within which they made their choice was limited (this study will elaborate this point in its coming chapters).

The crux of this thesis is to give more precision to the inter-relationships between individual motivations and the system (mode of production), in other words, the inter-relationship between migration and the process of social formation in Libyan society; to examine and explain the whole process of the mobility of migrants in order to see to what extent internal migration is a process used to maximize the whole balance of satisfaction derived from the requirements of certain income groups as the result of the market situation, required style of life, of housing, employment, wages, education, social intercourse and location.

The theoretical approaches to the present study of the problem of migration have been formulated in response to specific types of questions and have themselves influenced the ways in which the

(1)
problems have been posed. It is difficult to describe comprehensively the range of issues raised for they cover two questions of a very general nature one concerning the evolution of the transformation of Libyan society and two the significance of particular factors causing migration.

(III) Method of research

Research was done on Libya because it had experienced an acceleration in the process of social formation especially in the eastern part (i.e., Cyrenaica). In the past, its social and economic power was concentrated in rural areas, mainly in the hands of the three tribes of ^ʿAwagīr, A^ʿbidāt and Barā^ʿsa.

Power has now been transferred to the urban sector, mainly to Benghazi, being a centre of the social and economic change which profoundly affects the traditional socio-economic system and provides the context within which new social structures appear.

(1) This problem was a result of the way in which the research has been posed. Most people who wrote about migration were not interested in migration at all. They were interested in its consequence. Economists, for instance, study migration because they were interested in income and employment, and migration of labour influences the spatial distribution of income and employment. Anthropologists also study migration because they were interested in culture, and migrants as "culture brokers" in the process of culture diffusion. Sociologists, as well, study migration because they are interested in all aspects of social relations, and migration affects virtually all aspects from institutions as the family. Thus, in almost all the discipline that deal with migration. The analysis of the problem's causes is sharply distinguished from the analysis of its "consequence".

In the analysis of "causes", it should occasion no surprise that the approaches of the several disciplines were very similar.

It indeed, as J.S. Berliner, correctly stated in his article "Internal Migration a comparative disciplinary view" in Alan A. Brown and E. Neuberger (ed) Internal Migration, A comparative perspective. Academic Press, Inc., 1977, pp. 443-461.

That, almost all writers agreed on method of justification of the cause of migration, while they disagreed on the outcome of these justifications.

These elements have been a product of history as well as of
(1)
recent development in Libya, especially in the last two decades,
where Libya was described as a stereotype case of a poor country.
Today it is a stereotype once more, no longer of a poor country,
but rather one of unbalanced development.

In studying the migrants in Benghazi, it appeared that the
relationship between migrants and economic development (i.e. in
terms of demand and supply) had to be clarified by considering
the problem in a specific context and in quantitative terms,
because these trends exist there in an accentuated form.

This study is therefore an attempt to view internal migration
problems from several standpoints:

(1) in a comparative frame of reference as part of the worldwide
trend (see Chapter I).

(2) as a specific product of its own historical and contemporary
context (see Chapters II, III, IV, V).

(3) in its dynamic dimensions as reflected by case studies
collected during a year's field work in Benghazi City (see Chapters
VI, VII).

In regard, to the first an evaluation of the theoretical analysis
of the migration problem is needed, to contribute to an understanding
of the main concern - the migration problem in Libya and, specifically,
in Benghazi City. The material of this part of the thesis was gathered
mostly before conducting the field work, but its evaluation was set up

(1) The term 'development' means in this context the process by which
the Libyan populations are drawn into the wider national and inter-
national economy and with the accompanying social transformations
and local-level responses.

during the field work.

Secondly, it is widely believed that every problem is a specific product of its own historical and contemporary context. The second standpoint therefore requires an evaluation of the processes of socio-economic structure, not only of a small area, like Benghazi City but also the wider situation, involving not only the whole country but including aspects of the world-wide situation.

This part is mainly concerned to show the pre-conditions and conditions of migration, and will clarify the phenomenon of migration in Libya under the impact of the oil industry. It will explain why certain areas provided the main supply of migrants and others did not; why Tripolitania was the main supply of Benghazi migrants; who did and who did not migrate and why; why Benghazi migrants tried to bring established families to the city whilst others married within the city. Above all, it will show that the Benghazi migrant is family patterned and from different ages ⁽¹⁾ and socio-economic groups.

Since the written literature on this area is very poor, and on some points non-existent, three main limitations are inherent in this part of the study. Firstly, in addition to the available data, there has been strong reliance on information collected through discussions with some of the experienced people in this field (mainly government officials and other academics) and through my own observation and analysis of such situations. This is mainly with the section on the history and contemporary development of socio-economic structure in the country in general. Secondly,

(1) See Chapter IV for further explanation of this point.

in relation to the present condition of rural areas, I overcame the problem by making a number of visits to some of the villages and towns in eastern, western and southern Libya. I hoped to find out the condition of the country-side, the standard of living compared with urban centres (especially Benghazi), their occupations, income, rural economic, social and political institutions (e.g. co-operative agricultural society), the economic sectors, schools, the socio-economic relations between them and their migrants in the city, their problems, such as housing and education, their image of the urban centres as a focus of political and economic power and as agents of change for rural sectors.

The final limitation was the strong reliance upon official sources for the basic demographic and economic information; much of this data was scrappy and scattered. Even where there was officially-published material, the information was sometimes defective. Because of dissimilarity of data on the same subject, this problem was overcome where possible by interviews and detailed field studies in order to test the accuracy of the data. For example, the use of the three population censuses in 1954, 1964 and 1973 indicated a large heterogeneous administrative province census, in which the authorities counted this Muqāṭāʿ or part of the community sometimes with this province or sometimes with another. The same was true with the subdivision of the province or Muqāṭāʿ, which made the comparison between the changes of population in these areas very difficult. The 1954 Population Census was based on the administrative subdivision of the three provinces - Tripolitania,

Cyrenaica and the Fazzān. Each province was divided into a number of regions called Muqāṭāʿā. The Muqāṭāʿā were sub-divided into districts known as Muta ṣarrifīya, which in turn were divided into Mudīriya.

The 1964 census contained some changes of the names of the old administrative system and some changes in the regional structure. The three provinces became known as Regions: Tripolitania - Western Region, Cyrenaica - Eastern Region, and Fazzān - Southern Region. Within the three Regions were 10 Muqāṭāʿā, which in turn were divided into 28 Muta-ṣarrifīya districts.

Between 1954 and 1964, three new Muta ṣarrifīya were created and several Mudīriya were transferred from one Muta ṣarrifīya to another: for instance, the Mudīriya of the 1964 census placed the Muta ṣarrifīya of Mizda in ^hGavian Muta ṣarrifīya; in 1964 the Mudīriya of Jufrah, Bint-Bahi and Ubāri were in Ubāri Muta ṣarrifīya, but in 1954 Ubāri Mudīriya did not exist and Bint-Bahi was in Sabha Muta ṣarrifīya. Another problem which emerged was the administrative difficulty of Mudīriya locations which were allocated on a tribal basis instead of a specific area. Thus, several people may be registered in the same Mudīriya but live in different places outside the administrative units.

Both the 1954 and 1964 censuses gave different definitions of the terms used in each of them. Definitions of 'households' and 'household units' varied in the two censuses. In 1954, 'household' was defined as the number of nuclear families (i.e., husband, wife and their children). In 1964, 'household' was defined as 'one or

more persons living together at a dwelling and sharing food from a common arrangement for preparation'.

The same may be said of the 1973 census which was very limited and much generalized. It is important to know how far the official figures reflected the real situation, and to know this a check had to be made on some fundamental facts. There are no official obligations for any Libyan living in the city to be locally registered. Thus the method of official registration is the transfer of a registration from the previous place of residence to the present one. Although this method sounds easy and logical, it is not, in view of the fact that the immigrant's registration depended very much on his situation. For example, it was found that 35% of the migrants in Benghazi were not registered in Benghazi. 10% had transferred their family record (or registration) to Benghazi although their families still lived in their former village or town. For the people who were not registered, the main reasons given were lack of easy access to the official documents which were left at home in their own villages or towns. These documents included driving licences, agriculture aids, social security, passport, etc.; which were left because they were not sure of permanently settling in Benghazi. On the other hand, for those whose families still lived at home, but were registered in Benghazi, the reasons stated were mainly the need to qualify for government housing, a commercial licence, a mortgage or for social security.

The same may be said in relation to the official administrative registration within the Mahallât or the quarters of Benghazi, where one might live, in a particular 'quarter' but the administrative registration is in another Mahalla where there is easy access to the official papers required.

Thirdly, in order to view the problem in its dynamic dimensions as reflected by case study, the second most important city in Libya (Benghazi) was chosen for its importance as a focus of socio-economic and political activity since the nineteenth century. The structure of Benghazi has been affected by historic events, reflected in the changing structure of the city's population under the impact of immigration, emigration and death on the one hand, and the restructuring of the city's economic, political and social patterns as a result of the impact of World Wars I and II, on the other.

During the last twenty-five years the population of Benghazi has been growing at an annual rate of about 3.5%. During the last decade the rate was from 3.9% to 4%. This increase is derived from the following sources:

(A) natural increase

(B) external migrants or the Libyans who came from abroad, having left the country during the colonial occupation and who were estimated at about 20,000 persons over the last twenty-five years.

(C) internal migrants or those Libyans who came to Benghazi from other parts of the country, both rural and urban areas.

The estimation of the growth of the city due to internal migration would be about 2½% annually. A first observation of the sample revealed that migrants in Benghazi were in different positions within the socio-economic strata or income groups in the city. They lived in various quarters of the city, in upper income, middle income and in low income groups. Some of them were recent migrants, others had come during different periods. Most of them were government

employees in the service sector, and especially in the public sector; this gave rise to the decision to use a random sample of 500, between single and married, between heads of households and individuals, from different socio-economic categories where possible, to be able to compare the characteristics of different categories of migrants. (see Appendix (1) for more information of the way in which the sample is obtained).

C H A P T E R I I

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF LIBYAN SOCIETY

It was suggested in the previous chapter that in order to understand the exact nature of the migration movement in Libya, the factors underlying the flow of migration have to be known. In other words, it is necessary to consider the socio-economic transformation of Libyan society which was brought about by the discovery of oil. In this chapter an account of the historical process which formed the present socio-economic structure of the society and its problems, is to be presented briefly, in order to understand the characteristics of this transformation.

(I) Libya; From early history to the late 1950's

For more than a thousand years Libya has experienced continuous invasions and has been a victim of history as well as geography. From its early history until 1950, Libya was invaded by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, then by the Vandals and later by the Arabs, who conquered the country in the beginning of the seventh century. Libya was then ruled by Turks for several hundred years. The Italians invaded the country in 1911-12 and were in occupation for more than thirty years (until 1943); then Libya was controlled by the British, who occupied Cyrenaica (the eastern part of Libya) and Tripolitania (western Libya) and by the French who were occupying the Fazzān Province (the southern part of Libya). (See Map 1).

Some factors contributing to the development of socio-economic differences of Libya's provinces (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fazzān)

may be ascribed to the nature of the invaders on one side and the natural barriers and differences on the other. For example, Cyrenaica's early history was influenced by Greece, whilst Tripolitania fell under the Romans. The economy of Roman Tripolitania was agricultural, and sustained by the Sahara (or caravan) trade.

Under the early empire the land was farmed by the indigenous peasants and smallholders. At a later period, large state-owned or privately-owned properties forced the indigenous peasants to leave their land. Under these circumstances the ~~peasants~~ turned to work on Roman-owned estates as agricultural workers, or to take up pastoral nomadism.⁽¹⁾

Roman administration brought a new infusion of technical and architectural expertise to North Africa. Large cities were built and existing centres were developed, state-held farms were constructed, irrigation and water supply systems were built and Libya became a granary for Rome. Libya was supplying one-third of Rome's imported corn; olive oil, slaves from Central Africa, horses, cattle, wool and leather became major exports.⁽²⁾

Cyrenaica had a Greek rather than a Roman tradition. Greek influence, however, was relatively weak compared with the Roman one in Tripolitania and Fazzān, because they were more interested in trade and accumulating taxes from the indigenous people who were driven to the south, away from the Greek cities in the north-east.

(1) J. Right, Nations of the Modern Libya, London, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1969, pp. 55-70, gives some interesting information on that period.

(2) Stanford Research Institute, Area Handbook for Libya, US Government Printing, 1969, p.21.

In the sixth century, the area fell under the sway of Byzantium, whose control was more effective in Cyrenaica than in Tripolitania. They merely resumed the imperial tradition. Rebellion and unrest on the part of the indigenous population were not uncommon because of heavy taxes and religious persecution. It has been estimated that in early history (from the second century to the seventh century) most of the indigenous people migrated to the interior areas in order to escape from the heavy taxes imposed on them and the general state of unrest resulting from conflicts between colonial (1) powers.

New invaders, the Arabs, in the seventh century (643) introduced a different form of economic and social structure. They were interested mainly in trade and the spread of Islam. Their settlements were chiefly located north of the centre of the country, and they developed as important caravan centres. These trade settlements were very active not only within Cyrenaica but also in the area from Cyrenaica to Tripolitania and to the rest of North Africa, Central Africa and to other parts of the Middle East.

(2)

According to al-Idrisi, an Arab geographer who recorded in the first half of the twelfth century (1150 A.D.) that Arab settlements in al-Marj and ~~Tj~~ ^Jidabiyah were then the two most important caravan

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- (1) Charles A. Julien, History of North Africa, London, 1970, p.xv. For more information on this point see Johnson, D.L., Jabal al-Akhdar Cyrenaica, the Department of Geography, the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 1973, pp.92-145. Also see Merip Reports which have been produced by Carole Collins and others Imperialism and Revolution in Libya, Middle East Research and information project No. 27, April 1974 pp.1-3; and Ruth First, Libya the Elusive Revolution, Penguin Afridan Library, Hazell Watson and Virey Ltd., Great Britain 1974, pp.31-34. Chapter two in this book gives some interesting analysis of that period.
- (2) al-Idrisi gives an interesting account of the activity of the caravan trade during that period in his Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushraq fitar'iq al-faq, Algiers: La Maison des Livres, 1957, pp.98-104.

centres of Cyrenaica, possibly because they offered better watering and were nearer to main trans-African camel routes.

Arabs attempted to become integrated with the indigenous population, unlike the former invaders. At this point, Johnson commented on the Arab conquest as "relying for its smooth and rapid success on the tacit if not the overt, support of the nomadic Berber population and its latinized and sedentarized kin resulted in only a partial triumph of the nomadic value system."⁽¹⁾ He goes on to say that "A new equilibrium between the two groups was established. Nomads now had greater access to the better-watered higher elevations of the Jabal [mountain], but farming communities were still able to sustain a viable level of existence".⁽²⁾

The relation between the invaders (Arabs) and the indigenous population was based on equal exchange; as Johnson says: "The city population of Ijdabia was mixed, being composed of Arabs, Berbers or the indigenous descendants of the ancient Romans, Copts and Jews. The city functioned as an entrepot for Sudanese exports and imports and for the exchange of imported goods for the wool and mediocre quality garments made in the city but undoubtedly representing the output of animals herded by the area's nomadic Berbers."⁽³⁾ Hence, one may conclude that this period was characterised by the movement of people to where the resources for subsistence were available, round wells, the productive land and the market, in order to exchange their surplus production for other goods. Arabs also profoundly changed the culture and religious life of the society.

(1) Johnson, D., op.cit, p.153.

(2) Ibid., p.156.

(3) Ibid., p.153.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the entire North African coast had been incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. For the first time the three regions of Libya (Cyrenaica, Fazzān and Tripolitania) were included in the regency established in Tripoli under one Bāsha. Unlike the Arabs, Turkish colonial relationships involved domination, oppression and exploitation of the agricultural wealth of Libya by ruinous taxes which destroyed the foundation of economic life and impoverished the indigenous people. On this, J. Hamilton states that, "Like so many countries belonging to the Turkish Empire, most bountifully endowed by nature with every source of wealth under the former it was flourishing, but it has now become a waste, its scanty inhabitants are sunk in hopeless barbarism."⁽¹⁾

The Turkish rule of Cyrenaica tended to be a joint effort by Turks and tribal leaders, sheikhs,⁽²⁾ in contrast to Tripolitania which was controlled by Kogholis. Both groups were responsible for the accumulation of the taxes in the hands of the ruling elites among the Turks, where in Tripolitania private ownership of land had been established during the late nineteenth century when the Kogholis became the landlords exploiting the landless peasants. Some of the landless peasants were forced to leave for urban and rural Cyrenaica where they worked in agriculture or construction within the province.

By using this method, i.e., using the leader of the powerful and dominant tribe to collect taxes from the rest of the individuals from other

(1) Hamilton Jones, Wanderings in North Africa, London, John Murray, 1956, p.157.

(2) Kogholis - this group had been a military caste who were Christian but brought up in Muslim schools. They were the tax collectors in Tripolitania.

tribes in Cyrenaica, the Bedouin were for the first time in their lives controlled and forced to pay taxes by their own people who were allies (1) to the Turkish ruler.

This resulted in a kind of social stratification within the tribes in Libya as it concentrated the control of the major economic resources (2) in the hand of the dominant tribe or the tax collector. Eventually one of the Kogholis, Ahmed Karamanli, made himself "Bey" of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica through force and murder and became independent from the central government in Turkey. Karamanli made great attempts to build a "New state" by imposing heavy taxes on the people both Bedouin (or rural dwellers) and haḍdar (town dwellers), by piracy at sea, and from agreements with other countries whereby the Karamanli refrained from attacking the foreign ships in return for a price paid by the government concerned.

By 1835, the Karamanli fell from power and the Ottoman reasserted authority with the help of United States Marines who attacked the (3) Barbary pirates, in return for monetary tribute which gave the U.S.

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- (1) For more information on the events of this period see Hamilton, J., op.cit., pp.79-157 and Charles Lapworth, Tripoli and Young Italy; London, Stephen Swift, 1912, pp.40-43.
- (2) This conclusion was drawn through my discussion with old migrants who describe the situation of the events of that period. This information has been transferred from generation to generation (i.e., oral information) concerning the history of that period.
- (3) The practice of the extortion of "protection money" from the traders passing the Barbary Coast, brought about the first contact and conflict with the United States. "Between 1790 and 1800, American traders had paid over \$ 29 million in safe conduct to the Barbary regencies and city ports. In 1801, when the US refused to increase payments, several American ships were seized, inducing Thomas Jefferson to send seven warships to the area in 1804 to demand satisfaction. From this episode, and Stephen Decatur's exploits, comes the "Shores of Tripoli" refrain in the US Marine anthem". Carole Collins op.cit., p.5.

the right to implement the cultivation of certain crops in the area
(1)
such as tobacco plants.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was in a state of decline and was attacked by Italy in Libya in 1911.

The impact of the events of the pre-twentieth century period on the present Libyan society could be briefly summarised as follows. The emergence of various kinds of production systems in the area, where in Tripolitania and Fazzān private (individual) property and public (government) farms were developed where land passed from the tribe to the family, and the poor were forced to live off less land,
(2)
while the wealthy amassed large holdings.

The new land tenure system in Tripolitania and Fazzān not only produced these social groups but it also produced surplus population who were compelled to leave their land, either to go outside the country or elsewhere inside the country. Many left for Cyrenaica, and especially Benghazi where there was a great demand for labour.

(1) Ibid., p.5. M. E.-Mehdawi, A geographical analysis of industry in Libya with special reference to industrial location, unpublished thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Durham University 1975, gives an useful account of the industrial agricultural activities in the country at that period. He stated that state farms of large Tobacco cultivation were established in order to pay the required tribute to U.S.A. government.

(2) For more detail of Benghazi activities at this period see M. Bazama, Banghāzi ʿabr Al-tārīkh, or Benghazi through the ages, Dar Libya Benghazi, 1968, pp.243-318 (in Arabic).

This demand was a result of increasing economic activity in the city due to salt production in the area. Construction and new manufacturing industries were developed there (such as iron-forging) in order to provide agricultural tools for the cultivators in the rural sector, in addition to leather, pottery and trade. (1) In contrast, Cyrenaica had experienced a different form of social transformation. The demand for high taxes from the Bedouin by the ruling elite, and demands for more "production", resulted in some Bedouin becoming more settled where the powerful and dominant groups among them represented a tribe or section of a tribe, who were able to control the resources of production, e.g., the wells and the productive land, while they forced the weaker groups (tribes) either outside the country or into the urban sector, chiefly Benghazi. (2) A Scotsman who visited Benghazi in 1767 gave a description of the state of dwellers in the town, with serious shortages of food, and overpopulation, and where a local tribal war had just ended with the flight of the defeated tribe into Benghazi town. Hence, though individual property has not developed in Cyrenaica as in Tripolitania, in Cyrenaica tribal "communal property" had developed strongly. (3) It has created a kind of social stratification among the tribal groups in the society. (4)

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- (1) Bkehony, N., A Geographical Study of the Jebel Tarhuna, Tripolitania, Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1961, p.264.
 - (2) M. Bazamà, op.cit. pp.265-279 gives an interesting information of the situation of Benghazi during the intertribal war at that period.
 - (3) This social stratification comprises superiors and followers.
 - (4) For more information on the subject see E. Evans Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenaica, Oxford University Press, 1949 and Nicola A. Ziadeh, Sanusiyah: A study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam, Leiden, 1958.

In this connection Carole Collins maintains that

Most of Libya at this time (late 19th and early 20th centuries) was pre-feudal and tribally based, in the sense that most land, whether for grazing or farming, was held as communal property by the tribe or kinship group. Land was apportioned to individual members of a tribe, and often passed from father to son, but the tribe had all residual rights. Only in a few areas traditionally used for farming did more feudal relations develop, where a tribal leader would, in effect, become a landowner with other tribal members operating as tenant farmers or, occasionally, day labourers. (1)

Among this group was the Sanusi and his Ikhwān or brotherhood and other tribal leaders who were the controllers of the land and the caravan trade
(2)
at that time.

Certainly, these changes had affected the socio-economic situation in different parts of the country. Despite the lack of information in all that concerns socio-economic conditions at that time, and the impossibility of finding census returns of the population movements within and outside the country, one can say that the socio-economic conditions of the country were very poor, whilst the productivity of the land was declining as a result of over use.

While a very small number of the population, among these the tax collectors, were much better off, the rest of the people were suffering from the harsh conditions imposed on them; whilst a considerable number of Tripolitarians had become landless, and left their land for rural and urban Cyrenaica. They had also been pushed by tribal warfare outside the country or settled within the country on poor land.

(1) Collins, C., op.cit., 1973, p.7.

(2) Sanusi and his allies became later the rulers and controllers of the "New State" (which starts from 1951-1969). For a more detailed account of the activities of this group in Cyrenaica during the Turkish period, see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, ibid, and Nicola A. Ziadeh, op.cit.

Generally speaking the population of Cyrenaica had increased in contrast to Tripolitania which lost a great number of its population.

The situation of the country in the early twentieth century did not improve. The war with Italy, and subsequent Italian colonization, brought about a mass settlement scheme which, in 1938, planned for 20,000 Italian colonists to be settled in the area severely limited economic and social mobility for Libyans. (south Libya) was neglected for the most part, while northern Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were extensively settled. Libya for the most part provided a pool of manual and menial labourers, for the colonists, Libyans were also drafted into the Italian army to fight its wars in Ethiopia".⁽¹⁾

Hence, the destruction of much of the economic basis of rural life during the colonial era, the confiscation of the best farming land, the fighting of the occupiers with the Libyans, caused death and movement within and from the area. A considerable number of Libyans were being killed and in this Cyrenaica suffered most. It lost more than two-thirds of its population during the early period of colonization: whereas it was 302,000 in 1896, it decreased to 100,000 in 1909.⁽²⁾

The new demands for workers in the urban sector and the enforced expulsion of the natives from their land by the Italian Colonists brought about a substantial urban migration. The rural native population consequently decreased but was replaced by Italian immigrants during the mass settlement in 1938.

(1) Carole Collins, Marp Report No. 727, op.cit., 1973.

(2) For more elaboration of this point see Bulugma, M. Benghazi through the Ages, Benghazi, 1968, pp.280-284.

The following table shows the growth of Benghazi's population (1) compared with the total population in Cyrenaica between 1911-1936 (2) and 1954.

Table 4

Year	Cyrenaica		Benghazi City	
	Population	Rate of increase or decrease	Population	Rate of increase or decrease
1911	198,345	-	16,500	-
1922	181,750	-8.4	19,110	+15.8
1931	136,215	-25.0	-	-
1936	137,582	+1.0	40,000	+109.3
1954	278,007	+102.0	69,718	+74.2

The figures in the above table seem to indicate that a growth of about 4 per cent per annum during the period of 1936-54 for the city of Benghazi, the growth rate for the province was over 5 per cent per annum and for the whole Libyan population in the same period it was less than 1 per cent per annum. This means that the rate for Benghazi in particular and Cyrenaica in general are bound to be greatly affected by migration of both natives and Italians.

The characteristics of the settler colonial presence established in Libya are similar to other settler colonial situations that were developing during that period. The work laws which were enforced by the Italians in Libya were similar to those which applied in South Africa and Palestine, insomuch that, no Libyan could hold a

(1) Pani, C.L., 'The Population of Libya', Population Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1949, p.115.

(2) United Kingdom of Libya, General Population Census, 1954, Ministry of National Economy Census Department, Tripoli, 1959, pp.14-15.

post or practice a profession resulting in an Italian serving under him.

Italian rulers attempted to provide some modern communication (1) such as roads and railways between the cities and the new villages or settlements in rural areas and also provided new building, roads and other facilities for the cities where their fascist headquarters and administrations were to be found. They improved Benghazi and Tripoli harbours. New industries were established (2) in main urban centres (Tripoli, Benghazi). They provided schools and other services for the Italian community. The Libyans were driven to provide the services for these activities, in which men were working chiefly as labourers and women and children as domestic servants. Eighty per cent of Libyan workers in these two cities were employed in the harbours while the rest were employed in the building industry, in agriculture and as salt gatherers; all were very poorly paid.

As far as the population were concerned in both rural and urban sectors, the colonial period was one of frustration and trauma. Constriction of movement, confiscation of tribal land, reduced agricultural holdings, decimated herds, loss of freedom, and enforced concentration of the resources in more marginal areas, served to place their aspirations in grave jeopardy. At this point

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- (1) At the present time all the railways have been demolished in Libya as the result of World War II.
- (2) For more information on the Italians' economic development in Libya see Stanford Research Institute, op.cit., for general information and M. Al-Mehdawi, op.cit., for information on industry, and Allan, J.A., (ed) Libya: Agriculture and Economic Development, Frank Cass, London, first published 1973, on agriculture.

Johnson states that "The history of the period can be viewed as the story of the cultural and economic conflict of two mutually suspicious and hostile life styles for control of the same set of resources in the upper terrace."⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, the nature of the Italian occupation and the response by the Libyans established regional differences which have found expression in the current social and economic pattern. Not only were the Tripolitani^{rulers}ans/subjugated more quickly than their Cyrenaican compatriots, but they collaborated with, rather than opposed,⁽²⁾ Italian colonization. The old established antipathy between the nomadic and settled population was paralleled for the first time by a provincial antipathy between Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Major regional variations in social and economic structure and urban-rural contrasts were found.⁽³⁾

However by the end of the Second World War, the main urban centre in Cyrenaica (Benghazi) was largely destroyed, along with its inhabitants, buildings and its economic activities and most of the Italian settlers left for Italy, some to Tripolitania.

Allan and others describe the situation at that period by saying that "Many Italian farmers stayed on the land, but farmers

(1) Johnson, D.L., op.cit., p.191.

(2) One of the prime motivations behind Italy's adopting a policy of military conquest when it had failed to persuade Libyans to sell their land peacefully to Italian businessmen. For more elaboration of the process of Italian colonization in Libya with respect to the above point, see Carole Collins, op.cit., 1973, p.27.

(3) The division between two areas goes back to Roman time. However, now it has begun to disappear.

who had not completed the terms of their original agreements with the Italian colonising agencies, or who were on farms without fertile soil or adequate water supply and were isolated from urban life and markets, gave up or more commonly sold out their holdings". (1)

Standing on the threshold of independence, Libya at the close of 1951, was faced with serious economic problems. Agriculture occupied the efforts of over 80 per cent of the population and yielded in most cases, a pitifully small return due to a combination of factors, including poor rainfall, hot destructive desert winds (qiblic), locust swarms and primitive farming methods.

If prospects for rapid expansion of agriculture were not bright the prospects for industrialization were even more limited. The basis for industrialization was almost completely lacking, there was no coal, no water power and, it was thought, no oil. The majority of labourers were unskilled.

It was commonplace among observers of Libya's affairs to describe the economy as being in deficit. The deficits appeared in the budgets of all three provinces. There was a deficit in the balance of trade and most Italian colonization schemes operated at a loss.

(1) Allan, J., *op.cit.*, p.42.

Furthermore, the problem of the workforce in Libya took the form of inadequate skills and low productivity, rather than insufficiency of total numbers of workers. Despite the small size of the total Libyan population, which was about 1,200,000 there was no evidence that the country was underpopulated in relation to its natural resources and existing techniques.

There was, moreover, a larger pool of unemployment and low-productivity employment which probably exceeded one-third of the labour force. This unemployment was aggravated by seasonal fluctuations sometimes reaching 80 per cent of the country's labour force in the off-seasons. (1)

In general, the economic condition before the discovery of oil was one where the bulk of the people lived at a marginal subsistence level, where per capita income was less than fL15 a year. (2) There was no sources of power or mineral resources, where the agricultural expansion was severely limited by climatic conditions, where capital formation was zero or less. (3) There was no skilled labour supply and almost no indigenous entrepreneurship.

In this connection Collins writes that, "The most pressing problem during this period was that of economic subsistence. Libya had extremely little capital, virtually no industry, and agricultural productivity was insufficient to meet internal demand." (4) The income

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- (1) In addition to unemployment which was a result of uncertainty of the position of the farms which had been abandoned by previous Italian peasants.
 - (2) The Libyan pound was renamed the Libyan dinar in 1969. There was no change in its value.
 - (3) Higgins, B., The Economic and Social Development of Libya, prepared for the government of Libya, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme 1953, p.164 and International Bank for reconstruction and development, The Economic Development of Libya, The John Hopkins Press, 1960, gives an interesting illustration of the bitter condition of the country and its population during the period after independence and before the oil exploration.
 - (4) C. Collins, op.cit., p.12.

of the government of Libya was derived mainly from foreign aid and from rent of the military bases for the UK and USA. This aid gave access to foreign powers who were able to direct and control the policy of the government in their own interests. This aid was very limited in relation to the country's need for money in order to develop its economy, it was during the period 1950-65 (in million FL) as follows:

1950 (1.35)	1951 (1.46)	1952 (3.56)	1953 (3.31)
1954 (5.75)	1955 (10.26)	1956 (8.66)	1957 (10.63)
1958 (10.75)	1959 (14.71)	1960 (14.32)	1961 (10.38)
1962 (10.33)	1963 (10.54)	1964 (7.18)	1965 (1.75)

The major expenditure was on law and order, the civil service, building, transport and administration. The expansion of government administration had provided jobs and new opportunities in the police, the army and in the civil service as clerks, custodians and doorkeepers for government offices. The latter being largely confined to the major cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, where patronage was a major source of employment. It was restricted to a small number of ruling groups and their agents, while the rest of the population either living in their shanty towns (in the urban sector) on poor land (in the rural sector).⁽²⁾

(1) Source: Bank of Libya 'Statistical Supplement', Economic Bulletin, Tripoli, July, 1967.

(2) R. Higgins, 'The economic and social development of Libya', UN Report No. 15, 1953, gives a useful illustration of the condition of the country and of its people at that period, i.e., 1951.

(II) Libya; since late 1950's onward

The discovery of oil in the late 1950s has changed the structure of the country economy overnight. Although oil was not produced in substantial quantities until 1962, the presence of oil companies led to a great demand for services which were provided by the private sector of the economy. These activities led to the emergence of new socio-economic groups in the main urban centres. Building contractors, (1) lorry operators and drivers, oil company employees, etc.

The money derived from oil was able to transform the Libyan economy from a poor to a rich one. The rate of growth of national income since 1960 has been very high. The change in the economic situation with the recent growth and prospective growth in the immediate future is dependent almost entirely on the volume of production of petroleum and world market prices for this single export. Neither the value nor the price is predictable with any degree of certainty, particularly in the more distant future. Thus Libya's economy is characterized by an unusual degree of economic uncertainty.

The new infusion of oil income represents wealth from a single domestic source, free of charge to the national government, to be dispensed by it to the population.

The impact of the oil boom is most readily apparent in the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, where the oil companies have their offices and workshops and employ large staffs. New hotels are being built and other enterprises have grown as a result of associated activity.

(1) I will elaborate this point further in Chapter III.

In general, the impact of the oil boom on the lives of Libyans from 1960-1969 has been great and yet minimal; many were untouched by the new-found wealth, which went into government and royal coffers. But the boom created demands for more highly educated Libyan technicians, accountants, managers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, clerks, administrators, the armed forces and labourers, etc. These demands were met mainly from two main cities (Tripoli and Benghazi).

Petroleum exploration was carried out mainly in the interior of the eastern part of Libya (or Cyrenaica) (see Map 1), where it often utilized local Libyans as guides and in some of the more unskilled jobs. (The number of Libyan workers employed in oil exploration was estimated to be between 10,000 to 15,000 during the period of the late 1950s to early 60s.)⁽¹⁾ Hence, as a result of expansion employment opportunities in a modern industrial sector in the interior, some of the people in the rural sector experienced for the first time employment outside the traditional agricultural sector with relatively high wages and an expanded range of social relations, services and food etc. The place of work of the oil industry is different from that of the agricultural sector. Given the situation of the movement of many of the exploration teams and because of the government regulations that labourers should be hired from the village or region or province in which exploration was taking place, this structure led to employment with the exploration teams

(1) Kabbah, Q., Libya: its Oil and Economic System, London, 1964, p.158.

being of short duration and limiting the chances for sustained training of the Libyan workers. These labourers were unable to go back to their poor, neglected land and they moved instead to urban sectors looking for alternative opportunities. As a result of this development, massive unemployment emerged in Benghazi as well as Tripoli, a tremendous increase in urban migration from the rural sectors. Benghazi was growing almost five times as fast as the rural sector, with increased demand for both goods and services by the urban sector in particular. The productivity of agriculture dropped as farmers migrated to the cities in the hope of a better life. The Libyan government was, however, unable to take the initiative in diversifying the economy in order to meet demand, and came to rely on imports.

Indeed, the Libyan case was similar to that of other countries in the Third World where economic benefits and political power are concentrated overwhelmingly in urban areas. In consequence, the increase in wealth is disproportionately in the hands of an urban elite which monopolizes whatever wealth exists.

In fact, Libya has experienced two outlooks, an increase in economic wealth, but also an increasingly unbalanced distribution of this wealth between rural and urban sectors on the one hand and between the individuals among both societies, on the other. The average national income has surpassed 574 dinārs or 1608 dollars in 1970 to 1303 dinārs or 4401 dollars in 1975 and it increased to 1763 dinārs or 5955 dollars in 1977 per head per year on the basis of this
(1)
new economic resource, Libya is already approaching a level

(1) Al-jihād, a daily newspaper, No. 1354, the fourth year - 12 October 1977 and 11 October No. 1410, "The per capita income in Libya since 1970 to 1972".

comparable to that of some other ^{developed} countries; however, such comparisons
(1)
can be very misleading. In terms of the standard of living of low-income groups, of the farmers and unskilled workers, who still constitute the bulk of the population, or in terms of the levels of health and education, Libya is still clearly an underdeveloped country.

In theory, the first economic development plan (1960-1963) set up a policy to develop the agricultural sector and consequently to improve the situation of the rural population. Instead, the government instituted in 1961, long-term agricultural loans on easy terms for the purchase of agricultural land from the Italian settlers who had acquired it during the period of colonisation. This policy began with a credit scheme of lending up to 50 per cent of the estimated sale price of the farm, but a year later it was modified and 100 per cent of the price of the farms was lent. Though this credit policy helped to transfer the ownership of many Italian farms to Libyans, the economic and social price paid for this attainment was very high. The first result of these loan terms encouraged many of the market and ruling elites to enter the market as competitive buyers, while the supply side was unorganised and inflexible. This had the effect of further raising the cost of agricultural production and diminishing its competitive position in the economy. The money which was supposed to be invested in agriculture and the farmers in particular had been invested by Italian merchants and industrialists in urban modern sector, it had been also invested outside the country.

(1) This point will be explained further in the chapters of the migrants' income before and after coming to Benghazi. (chapter V and VII).

Hence, the above-mentioned aspect of government intervention in agriculture during the period 1960-1963, combined with the adverse impact of the oil revenue on the agrarian sector, caused a great deterioration in the position of agriculture in the Libyan economy, especially where these farms were taken by urban people who had neither the experience nor the incentive to maintain and improve the productive capacity of their newly acquired farms. Since they had other sources of income, either in government or trade or other interests of the modern sector in the economy, they generally looked upon the purchase of these farms as a good investment for the future. Another motive for buying these farms was the recreational environment associated with agriculture and highly valued by urban merchant and ruling elites. In other words, production was not a primary objective in the purchase of these farms. In the case of small parcels of land, where long-term credit was extended for the whole value of the purchased farm, the consequence was extensive fragmentation of farm units adding to the sale price of agricultural land and further diminishing its productivity. (1)

This, in addition to the limited agricultural lands compared with the total land area of Libya which represents 10 per cent of the total area, the cultivated land represented 5 per cent of the total area. (2)

In 1960 the total cultivated area was 988,000 hectares and out of this only 165,000 hectares were irrigated, mostly in the western

(1) The data presented by Allan, op.cit., p.4, suggests both aspects; an extensive migration of persons to the cities during the 1950s-1960s added to the decline in agricultural activity, and an increase in wage employment in both urban and on small scale in the rural sector.

(2) Ministry of Planning, Survey on National Economy, Tripoli, January 1970, p.54.

province. The rest was dependent on dry farming. Since the latter in turn depends on rainfall, which fluctuates from year to year and from place to place, the result is a low yield per hectare. For example, in 1960 the yield of wheat in the irrigated land was .77 metric tonnes per hectare; in the dry farming area it was only about one-fifth of this amount: .15 metric tonnes.

Table (5) shows the arable land and the percentage of its utilization by the ten Muqā.ta'āt. It indicates that the size of arable land and its utilization varies from Muqā.ta'a to Muqā.ta'a. It signifies also that the arable land of each Muqā.ta'a has not been cultivated at its best. That is, the agricultural importance of each Muqā.ta'a is reflected not only by the size of its arable land, but also by the use and the amount of investment of capital and labour in this land. Hence, though Tripoli Muqā.ta'a has less arable land than some other Muqā.ta'āt, the area of cultivation with high valued crops is much higher than those which have more arable land.

This aspect is ascribed to the policy of the government (at that time) in respect of allocation of capital in order to develop the agricultural sector. (1) In the period (1963-1968) the share of agriculture from the development plan was fL29.275 million (2) or 17.7 per cent, of which most, if not all, had been taken by the ruling elite and their agents to be invested in their private farms.

(1) Kubbah, Q., op.cit., p.32.

(2) Worz, J.G., "Abstract 406,886", in World Agricultural, economic and rural sociology, February 1973, vol.15, no.2., gives an interesting account of the problem of agriculture and how and in what way money has been used in this sector in 1963.

Table 5. The distribution of arable land and the percentage of its utilization by Muḡāta'at or districts

Province	Muḡāta'a	Total Arable Land hectare %	Total % of land under temporary crops	Total % of land under temporary meadows	Total % of land under vegetables and flowers	Total % of land temporarily fallow
Tripolitania (Western Province)	Tripoli	202,024 8.9	11.4	38.1	34.9	4.9
	Zāwia	169,878 7.5	11.2	4.0	11.1	5.1
	Mums	305,156 15.4	10.9	25.9	2.6	18.2
Cyrenaica (Eastern Province)	Misurāta	177,402 7.8	9.0	4.9	9.1	7.2
	Jabal-Gharbi	599,347 26.5	24.3	5.7	9.7	29.6
	Benghazi	386,168 17.0	12.5	9.3	12.1	20.8
Fazzān (Southern Province)	Derna	87,319 3.9	7.4	0.4	13.8	1.4
	Jabal-Akḡar	264,677 11.8	13.0	9.7	4.8	11.0
	Sabha	18,409 0.8	0.2	1.9	0.9	1.1
	Ubari	10,097 0.4	0.1	0.1	1.0	0.7
	TOTAL %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	2,265,477	883,036	78,363	26,340	1,277,738

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Planning and Development, Agriculture in Libya and the Plan for its Development, Government Printing Press, Tripoli, Libya, 1966, p.43.

I have attempted to study the process of the growth of the Libyan economy and its impact on the society of both sectors, rural and urban, related to the questions of how the oil revenue has been used; is it use to develop the potential resources or natural assets in the country which can assume continuity of effort in the progress of its projects? What is the characteristic of these projects; and finally, how do all these things affect the Libyan society and in what ways?

Given the fact that oil revenues have been rising rapidly since 1961-1962 onwards (Table 6), crude oil production and the contribution of oil revenue to the total government income, indicates the rapid increase in oil production and its revenues during the last two decades. ⁽¹⁾ The increasing importance of oil resources is apparent in its progressive contribution to the total revenue.

Since oil revenues accrue directly to the government and is its main source of income (see Table 6), the socio-economic development of the country thus depends chiefly on the management and allocation of oil revenue. Thereafter, the government's regular and developmental budget expenditures are by far the most vital factors in the way in which the money is to be spent.

(1) The decrease of crude oil production in these years is due to government policy in a cutback in production in order to conserve crude oil reserves and the increase in oil revenues is due to a drastic rise in oil prices after October 1973.

Table 6 Crude oil production and the contribution of oil revenue to total government income

Year	(1) Oil production (in millions of metric tons)	(2) Total government income (in millions of Libyan pounds)	Oil revenues (in millions of Libyan pounds)	% of oil revenues to the total gov- ernment income
1961	6.6	-	-	-
1962	8.7	30.963	2.4	7.8
1963	21.8	43.232	8.64	20.0
1964	40.7	76.042	28.56	37.6
1965	57.9	103.224	65.4	63.3
1966	71.5	151.2	100.099	66.2
1967	82.1	386.04	324.1	83.9
1968	122.8	299.4	229.217	76.6
1969	146.3	430.68	333.347	77.4
1970	156.2	532.8	436.181	82.0
1971	136.8	661.849	562.489	84.9
1972	109.2	1014.312	720.983	88.4
1973	107.9	804.136	690.329	85.3
1974	74.04	2565.25	2444.901	95.3
1975	72.02	2083.122	2001.	96.0

Note: The Libyan pound was re-named the Libyan dinār in 1969. There was no change of value. Numerous devaluations in international currencies have improved the value of the Libyan dinar (LD to fL until November 1967, when the pound sterling was devalued, the Libyan pound was equivalent. Thereafter the Libyan pound was equivalent to £1.14, and it was equivalent to US \$2.8 until the dollar was devalued in 1972. The Libyan dinar equivalents have moved as follows:

	US dollar	pound sterling
1951	2.8	1.0
1967	2.8	1.14
1972	3.04	1.20
1974	3.36	1.40

Source: 1. For oil production see Ministry of Petroleum, Libyan Oil, Tripoli, Libyan, 1972, p.22; Statistics Unit Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1972, Vienna, Austria, pp.20 and 34; International Petroleum Encyclopedia, New York, 1974, p.306; Ministry of Petroleum, Annual Reports, Tripoli, Libya, vol. 74-78

2. For government income and oil revenues see General Bank of Libya, Fourth Annual Report, Tripoli, Libya 1970, p.116; Bank of Libya, Seventeenth Annual Report, Tripoli, Libya, 1973, p.110; Bank of Libya, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1975, p.17.

Note: the decrease of oil production since 1974 and 1975 was due to government policy in a cutback in production in order to conserve crude oil reserves.

The observable results of the impact of the investment of oil money have been crowded urban centres, but with deserted farmland in many parts of the country. A side result was the sudden increase in the demand for food in the towns, as a result both of the increased urban population and of the great demand for consumer goods by the aliens, employees and the citizens. This should have been a strong stimulus to agricultural production, but the low state of technology in agriculture was one of a number of factors which made this impossible.

In any event, there were higher profits on investment in trade and the other modern sectors of the economy, so both capital and labour continued to move away from agriculture. (1)

Dr Ali Attiqa (the Minister of Planning and Development in 1968) stated that agriculture in Libya was left to stagnate to its low level of development, while the consumer turned to world markets for the purchase of his daily food. He went on to say that at the beginning of oil exploration (1955) the total value of imported food was about fL0.5 millions which increased to fL27.6 million in 1968 and to 53.1 million in 1975. In addition the increased incomes and prices in the urban area brought about by oil made agriculture even more inefficient by increasing the cost of labour. (2) These

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- (1) Dr A.A. Attiqa, The impact of oil on the Libyan economy (1956-1969) A thar al-bitröl wāla Al-iqtisād al-Libiy, Beirut Lebanon, 1972 pp.124-142 (in Arabic). Also he discusses this problem in his article "The economic impact of oil on Libyan agriculture", in J.A. Allan and others (eds), Agriculture and economic development, Frank Cass, 1973, pp.9-18. The above two studies are the best available literature on the above subjects.
- (2) There is no government regulation which decides the wages labourers receive in the agricultural private sector, where the amount of wages is totally dependent on the contract agreed between the labourer and employer. My field data shows, however, that labourers' wages have increased from a few piastres in a month before 1950 to three to five pounds after the 1950s to 10 to 15 during the 1960s and early 1970s, to 30 pounds during 1975.

developments have been accompanied by a liberal import policy which has had the effect of destroying traditional industry and enterprises which had already been established, but which are unable to compete with imports at the present time. This, together with other factors (1) has brought about the decline of the village market in Libya.

D.L. Johnson states that imported consumer items had become commonplace in Libya. Electronic equipment was very popular, with television sets, record-players, tape recorders, and stereo systems particularly being widespread in the cities. Even in the countryside few tents or barakāt (huts) are without a transistor radio or cassette tape recorder. At less technologically sophisticated levels, a bewildering array of foreign products have deluged Libya. Rural markets are the avenues for the introduction of imported goods to the Bedouin and the diligent shopper is hard-pressed to find items of local manufacture. The Bedouin is apt to depart from weekly market with plastic sandals from Hong-Kong, baggy trousers from China, a porcelain teapot from Rumania, a pair of sheep-shears from Italy, Panamanian bananas, and Lebanese apples, all carried in an American surplus wheat sack. Local craft industries are losing ground (2) rapidly as imported products are substituted for them. Furthermore, traditional transport has been replaced by modern Toyota and Landrover or similar vehicles and have replaced the camel in rural areas. The phenomenon of nomadic sedentarization is being widely experienced by (3) the Bedouin population in rural Libya.

(1) For more elaboration on this point see the following chapters (V,VI,VII)

(2) D.L. Johnson, op.cit., p.199.

(3) Tony, Y., "Social mobility and relative stability among the Bedouins of Cyrenaica", in Bulletin De la societe De Geographic D'Egypte, Tome XXVI, Vol. 36-37, 1963-64, gives an interesting account of the process of the Bedouins settlement in Cyrenaica.

All development and changes in the country have caused the widening of the socio-economic gap within Libyan society. The improved social services in this field of development, scores of new village schools, urban schools and colleges at every level and technological and specialised institutions and universities being open to women as well as men. These new institutions are housed in well-equipped buildings, and staffed by both indigenous and foreign teachers. To this picture can be added private and religious schools. As the former serves the upper and middle income group in the urban sector, the latter serves the rural sector, specifically its upper and middle income groups. In the field of public health much the same may be said; rural dispensaries, village clinics, central big city hospitals, both general and specialised, epidemiological services, attention to sanitation, food and water control, medical education and research, all form part of the new services placed within the reach of all, and may appreciably raise the hitherto depressed standards of health, subsistence and well-being. These developments are accompanied by extensive slum clearance, town planning, low-rent housing and the provision in towns and villages of sewage services, public parks, and the like. Large-scale spending improvement in communications include the building of main and branch roads, improved telephones, public transport, district industry (1) which is unevenly (2) allocated between the rural and urban sectors on the one hand and

(1) The only available literature on the distribution of industry and the size of the capital invested and the number of labourers employed in this industry is to be found in El-Mehdawi, op.cit.

(2) The only available survey on economic life and rural social services in Eastern Libya has been done by Saad Al-Arial and his team of social service workers. These unpublished articles are to be found in the Department of Social Affairs in Benghazi, which have been carried out as a result of government recommendation in 1970, in order to carry out plans for the development of the rural sector.

between the villages, towns and cities on the other.

Table 7 The Sectoral Allocation of Development Expenditure under the First Five-Year Plan (1963-1968)

	£LM	%
1. Infrastructure		
(1) Physical Infrastructure		
(a) Public Works	78.8	16.4
(b) Transport and Communications	92.3	19.2
(c) Municipalities	60.2	12.5
(2) Human Capital		
(d) Education	44.2	9.2
(e) Public Health	17.4	3.6
Totals	<u>292.9</u>	<u>60.9</u>
2. Productive Sectors		
(a) Agriculture and Animal Wealth	49.9	10.4
(b) Industry	11.6	2.4
(c) Tourism and Archaeology	4.1	0.9
(d) Economy and Trade	0.4	0.1
Totals	<u>66.0</u>	<u>13.8</u>
3. Sectors Serving Production		
(a) Civil Service	3.1	0.7
(b) Labour and Social Affairs	5.0	1.0
(c) Planning and Development	3.8	0.8
Totals	<u>11.9</u>	<u>2.5</u>
4. Social Services Sector		
(a) Housing and Public Ownership	79.2	16.5
(b) Youth and Sports	17.1	2.7
(c) Information and Culture	7.6	1.6
(d) Interior	7.5	1.6
Totals	<u>111.4</u>	<u>22.4</u>
Total of All Sectors	487.2	99.6
Project Reserve	2.1	0.4
Total Development Appropriations	484.3	100.0

Source: L.A.R., Ministry of Planning, National Accounts 1962-1971, Tripoli, 1972, p.42, Table 3.

Table 8 The Sectoral Allocation of Development Expenditure under the third three-year plan (1973-1975)

Sector	L Dinārs
Agriculture and Agrarian Reform	337, 456 , 400
Integrated Agricultural Development	496, 603, 000
Industry and Mineral Wealth	461, 028, 400
Oil	260, 033, 200
Electricity	365, 761, 200
Transport and Communications	309, 528, 800
Education	308, 609, 000
Public Health	90, 836, 200
Labour	32, 596, 088
Social Affair and Social Security	33, 056, 800
Housing and Utilities	497, 140, 000
Economy and Tourism	13, 496, 000
Municipalities	270, 942, 000
Administrative Development	1, 850, 800
Project Reserves	14, 762, 552
Nutrition and Marine Wealth	5, 418, 000
Marine Transport	88, 718, 000
Total	3, 547, 536, 440

Source: Arab Dawn, Arab Dawn, London, Sept., 1975 P.11.

The above statement seems to indicate not only the existence of imbalanced strategy of development between the two sectors (rural and urban) as between the districts in the area, but it also manifests the amount of capital invested in both sectors which has consequently shaped the economic and social structure of the two communities in both sectors, based on unbalanced development. This aspect may be clarified by illustration of the policy of economic development plans in the country.

The first economic development plan (see Table 7), was to cover the period from 1963-1968, which cost LD484 million; two-thirds of the total expenditure was destined for the modernization of the physical infrastructure such as roads, harbours, airports, electric power, urban water supplies, sewage, housing, schools and hospitals, but only LD49.9 millions was spent on agriculture particularly for agricultural credit, price support and the subsidization of farm machinery and fertilizers and to buy land from the Italians, while almost nothing went to the ordinary farmer. (1)

Investments totalling LD591.3 million were envisaged for the second development plan 1969-74 which was put forward by the ex-regime. This development plan was abandoned following the revolution in September 1969, and all projects approved by the monarchy were carefully re-examined. A three-year economic and social development plan, set up for the period 1972-1975, provided for a total investment of LD 1,165 million almost doubled the allocations planned under the second five-year plan (1969-74).

(1) Source: LAR, Ministry of Planning, National Accounts 1962-1971, Tripoli 1972, p.42, Table 3.

This plan was revised in 1973 and investment was further increased (see Table 8).

The aim was to shift the emphasis from investment in the basic physical infrastructure to the development of productive enterprises in agriculture and industry, and to achieve a diversification in sources of income in the national economy and lessen the almost total dependence on the oil sector.

However, in financial allocations industry received some priority over agriculture for the three-year planning period as a whole. Some LD165 millions were allocated to agriculture, 14 (1) per cent of the total budget allocations of the three-year plan. The agricultural development programme included projects for agricultural expansion, reclamation and cultivation of valleys, dam construction, and preparation of studies on natural and human resources in the country's most important agricultural areas, e.g. the Jafara plain in the Tripoli district, and the Jabal al-Akhdar plain in the Jabal al-Khadar Muqāṭa'a. Large allocations were devoted to a programme for the utilization and development of valley waters, to a number of separate development projects (e.g. at Tawargha near Misuratah and hidā-al-Khadra near Tripoli).

As assessment of the achievement of the agricultural sector during the first year of the plan is limited by the amount of information available. But it is known that in the first half year of the plan LD24.6 millions of a total of LD 53 millions

(1) LAR, the year plan for agricultural development, Economic Bulletin, Central Bank of Libya, 12, 5-6, September-December 1973, p.131.

allocated for agriculture in the first year was spent. Agricultural credits totalling LD9,811,750 were granted during 1972, which contained seasonal and short-term and long-term credits. Government subsidies in the form of fertilizers, insecticides and animal fodder totalled LD3,911,270.

Hence, the question which may arise here is, can such improvement in one sector, i.e., agriculture, which is the main activity in the rural sector, compete with the very high development of other economic sectors which are mainly concentrated in the urban sector? Can the traditional agricultural community fulfill the new demand of the modern machine? Could they compete with the urban community, i.e., bureaucracy, entrepreneurs, etc., who control the economic development plan and divert it for their own interests? Finally, could the small farmers, who comprise the majority in the rural sector, stand the economic and social pressures imposed on them while other alternatives might be available in the short or long-term?

Recent development shows that the country now stands at the threshold of great economic transformation with a small population - a little over 2.2 million in a country of more than 650,000 square miles. The shortage in human resources seems to be the most critical problem that faces economic development in Libya. The supply of labour, especially skilled labour, is extremely limited. Also, technical manpower; experts in these fields, managerial skills and entrepreneurs are still lacking in Libya. The scarcity of local labour is reflected in the increase in the proportion of non-Libyans in the population of Libya, from 3 per

Table 9 The distribution of total active population by their nationality and occupation 1964

Occupation	Libyan	%	Non-Libyan	%	Total	%
(1) Professional, Technical and related workers	11,830	3.0	3,399	19.4	15,229	0.2
(2) Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers	5,420	1.3	768	4.4	6,188	1.5
(3) Clerical workers	18,481	4.8	3,242	18.5	21,723	5.3
(4) Sales workers	23,291	6.0	1,058	6.0	24,349	6.0
(5) Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Loggers and related workers	145,459	37.5	1,250	7.1	146,709	36.2
(6) Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	6,925	1.9	329	1.8	7,254	1.8
(7) Workers in transport and communications occupations	19,676	5.0	866	4.9	20,542	5.0
(8) Craftsmen, Production Process workers and labourers	72,457	18.7	4,879	27.8	77,336	19.0
(9) Services, Sports and Recreation workers	39,695	10.0	1,048	6.0	40,143	9.9
(10) Workers not classifiable by occupations	45,065	11.6	720	4.1	45,785	11.3
TOTAL of all occupations	387,699	100.0	17,559	100.0	405,258	100.0

Source: LAR, General Population Census 1964, The Ministry of Planning, Tripoli, 1966 p.38

Table 10

The distribution of economically active population among five important occupations between the period of 1954, 1964 and 1973.

Occupational Groups	(1) 1954	(2) 1964	(3) 1973	The amount of increase or decrease in the two periods (1954-64)	The amount of increase or decrease in the two periods (1964-73)
Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry workers, fishermen and other related occupations	211,448	145,459	101,106	- 65,989	- 44,353
Clerical and related workers	1,582	18,481	34,961	+ 6,899	+ 16,480
Production and related workers, transport and communication workers	23,940	42,133	117,727	+ 68,193	+ 85,594
Services, sports and recreation workers	17,460	39,095	74,977	+ 21,635	+ 35,882
Professional, technical and related workers	3,328	11,830	34,615	+ 9,502	+ 22,785

Sources: (1) Kingdom of Libya, General Population Census 1954, Tripoli, pp.192-97.

(2) Kingdom of Libya, General Population Census 1964, Tripoli, p.38.

(3) Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Population Census, Summary Data, 1973, Tripoli, p.9.

cent in 1964 to 8 per cent in 1973. The increase in the number of non-Libyans in the population has ^rgone rapidly in the one single year of 1973. From 1964 to 1973, the total number of non-Libyans had gone up by 42 per cent. This was due to increased demand for labour generated by the rapid economic and social development.

The following table (Table 9) of the total economically active population (Libyan and non-Libyan, six years and over, and occupational division, 1964) shows that the majority of non-Libyan workers are in professional and skilled jobs, while the majority of Libyans are in non-professional or unskilled jobs, mostly in farming, which means that there is a great opportunity for social mobility with respect to Libyans.

It is indeed, during the last ten years from 1964, that the impact of economic expansion has brought about large-scale occupational changes. In other words, it has transferred a considerable section of the population from work in traditional or subsistence farming to the modern sector. In Table 10 an attempt is made to show the scale of this change. It shows a comparison between selected occupations taken from the census of 1954, 1961 and 1973, and explains that there has been a sharp decline in individuals working in farming, while there has been a considerable increase in other occupations listed in (Table 10).

Wage opportunities and government positions have been expanded in the urban sector as well as in the rural sector in the last twenty years.

In the rural sector, wages have become very important, whereas farming has become increasingly less important as a source of livelihood. Furthermore, the population censuses of 1954, 1964⁽¹⁾ and 1973 shows that active populations in the agricultural sector in 1954 were 57 per cent, which has decreased to 30 per cent in 1964 and to 24 per cent in 1973. In addition, it indicates that the age group (15-24) comprised 49 per cent, and the age group (25-34) had about 55.4 per cent of the total population who were engaged in the agricultural sector. However the number of people involved in agriculture has decreased to 17.2 per cent for the age group (15-24) and 28.1 per cent for the age group 25-34, according to the results of the 1964 Census. That is to say, that the number of people involved in agriculture has decreased in 1964 to almost half what it was in 1954. This indicates that the population in Libya not only migrated to the urban sector in order to take non-agricultural employment, but also that they had left this activity for other modern activities in the rural sector. This aspect appears clearly from the following figures on the source of income of the population living in the rural sector of the Al-Abiyār administration and the surrounding villages. The figures have been gathered from the administration files of 1970.

(1) United Kingdom of Libya, General population Census 1954, Report and tables, Ministry of National economy, Census department, Tripoli 1959, p.226.

Kingdom of Libya, General population Census 1964, Ministry of economy and trade, Census and statistical department, Tripoli, 1966 p.57.

Socialist peoples Libyans Arab Jamāhīriya, Population Census 1973, Summary data, Secretariat of planning, Census and statistics department, Tripoli, 1977 p.8.

Table 11

<u>Main Source of income</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Wages or salary	460	52
Rent	13	1.4
Social security	91	10.2
Farming	198	22.3
Trade	40	4.5
Animals (<u>mawala</u>)	42	4.5
Unknown	42	4.5
Total	886	100.0

The above table shows that the majority of people in the rural sector, town and villages, derived their income from wages and other activities.

These activities are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Workers	290	34.4
Farmers	149	17.7
Unemployed	175	20.7
Animal herders	23	2.7
Merchants	22	2.6
Police and Soldiers	41	5
Butchers	15	1.8
Tailors	2	0.2
Animal Owners	25	3
Teachers	23	2.7
<u>Imām and Mu'adhdhin</u> (1)	10	1
Male nurses	5	0.5
Administrators	27	3.2
Masons, drivers	36	4.3
Total	843	100.0

(1) Each mosque has a religious leader called an Imām who leads the congregation of worshippers in prayer five times per day. On Friday he is responsible for giving a sermon in addition to performing his duty as prayer leader. In 1967, the Imāms became government employees, thus receiving monthly salaries. The Mu'adhdhin is the person who is responsible for chanting the call to prayers five times per day at a particular mosque. The mu'adhdhin are government employees and receive monthly salaries.

These activities appear to be limited compared with those found in the urban sector (see the Chapter III). Moreover, the above figures illustrate the activities of the population of this area of rural Libya, who were generally either from inactive persons, mainly old people (21 per cent) or unskilled labourers (37 per cent) from workers employed by the government or workers in the private sector or from those with professional jobs such as police or soldiers, etc., only a very small number were employed in farming. (1)

It has been said that the shortage of labourers in agriculture is not the cause of the unsatisfactory performance of this sector. It may be argued that the reverse is true; labour is leaving the rural areas because the prospects appear bleak. Wages increased in the last ten years in agriculture because the cost of labour is high in a booming economy, but modern employment (in economic sectors other than agriculture, such as the public sector, construction, trade, etc.) offers better wages and additional facilities. Wages in the agricultural sector have in fact increased from less than ten dinar during the 1950s to 15 dinars during the late 1960s, and to 30 dinars during 1970-75. This increased cost of labour was not because of any increased productivity in agriculture or because of the high profits derived from land, it was because of the scarcity of labourers who were available in the traditional agricultural sector.

Wages in traditional agriculture are considered to be the lowest

(1) Compiled from the municipality's files of 1972. A random sample of 5 per cent of the total number of 17,944 and 23 per cent of the total number of families of - 3,654, were collected with the help of Sa'ad Al-Arial and his team of social services assistants in Benghazi.

with respect to the rest of the economic sector. This aspect is highly significant in the phenomenon of labourers' movement experienced by the rural areas, and it appears that foreign workers - especially from neighbouring countries (Egypt, Tunisia, Chad, Sudan, etc.)⁽¹⁾ began to replace Libyans who had migrated from the rural areas to the urban sector. This migration had a noticeable effect on the decrease of population in the rural sector. For example, my census data which is comprised of 42 families, collected from a village called ~~al~~-maqrūn, which is about 100 km from Benghazi city, reveals that from 42 families, 6 left the village for Benghazi before 1975, 12 families planned to migrate to Benghazi as their household heads had jobs in Benghazi. The remaining families in the village will be 24, of which among them are 6 households headed by widows and 6 households headed by old men, and the rest of the household heads employed in Qimīn's town (which is about 30 km from ~~al~~-maqrūn village) and the rest are working on a wage basis in the village.

A new policy has been adopted recently by the new social and economic development plan (1973-75) to help the farmers to increase their production in order to encourage them to stay on the land. This policy was to increase the allocation of agricultural co-operative societies in the rural sector. These societies were established in order to distribute the government aids in the form of credits (money) and machines such as harvesters, tractors, drills, marketing, seeds, fertilizers, etc. The outcome of the activities of

(1) These labourers are generally illegal workers who come to Libya without official work permits; they accept low wages.

these societies has not been studied yet. However, from my little experience of these activities it seems that the benefits are going to a small group of people from both the urban and rural population, who somehow are able to exploit the situation, (1) and have access to the available material resources in both sectors.

The new political system has encouraged the rural population to participate more in the political activities of the country. These activities are to be represented by a body of people's committees. (2) At this point the leader of R.C.C. states in one of his speeches that "People's committees are to be set up in every village, city faculty, institute, school, harbour, airport and popular organization." (3) New laws as stated by the A.S.U. (4) were planned to include all working forces, such as peasants, non-agricultural working people, soldiers, the revolutionary intelligentsia and non-exploiting national capitalists. The objectives outlined in the basic law of the A.S.U. issued in June 1971, were to "entrench national unity", "to enable the masses to exercise authority and to determine, supervise and guide policy", to achieve social justice; to prevent the people from being dominated by a single class or by individuals; to protect the revolution; and to eliminate class differences peacefully". Membership was restricted to those "good, non-exploiting citizens" over 18 years of age who agree (5) to abide by the decisions of the majority.

(1) For more elaboration of this point see the chapter V.

(2) R.C.C. is the Revolutionary Communist Council in Libya.

(3) L.A.R. "Popular revolution and the people's responsibilities", the Ministry of Information and Culture, April 1973, Speech by Gaddafi. (the Chief of R.C.C. and the President of L.A.R.).

(4) A.S.U.: Arab Socialist Union, the main political party and organization in Libya.

(5) C. Collins, op.cit., p.19.

By the Fall of 1973, over 2,000 popular committees had been
(1) formed. Initially the activities of these committees were centralised in the urban sector and mainly in the cities of each Mugā ta'āt, headed by Tripoli and Benghazi cities.

The economic and social significance of these activities were that they gave more opportunities to the rural population to have access to material resources. However these opportunities appeared to be limited to small groups of people. It is interesting to note here that the recent socio-economic development demanded the contribution of more
(2) individuals from different socio-economic groups in the growing modern activities than in the previous decades, where these activities were limited and restricted to individuals from certain tribes or
(3) families.

The above chapter on the socio-economic transformation of Libyan society shows how the present Libyan society was a product of historical and contemporary events. That is where the movement of the Libyan population was forced by the old colonial powers towards the interior part of the country. The modern colonial power forced the movement towards the north of the country in order to settle in urban areas. The impact of the ancient and modern colonial powers on Libya and its

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- (1) For more information on the recent political system in Libya see Africa Contemporary Record (1971-1972), New York, 1972, p.136; Journal of Modern African Studies, L.A.R., Arab Socialist Union: Its Rules and Regulations, General security of public co-operation, Tripoli, 1972, pp.27-28 (in Arabic); H. Habib, Politics and Government of Revolutionary Libya, Ottawa, Canada, 1975.
- (2) See the chapters VI and VII.
- (3) The only available literature on the political development and its impact on the society is Majid Khadduri, Modern Libya: A study in political development, John Hopkins Press, 1962, for the period 1950-1960.

society is revealed in its small population as a result of death and the massive emigration of its people away from the country.

The movement of the population within the country before and during the oil discovery was significant in the process of forming the present society.

Almost exclusively, all the Libyan population are Arabic speaking and their religion is Islam. Furthermore, the impact of the appropriation and exploitation of the country's resources by the colonial powers, added to that of its geographical condition, is reflected in the poor condition of the country. Before oil was discovered Libya provided a stereotype of a poor country. (1)

Today, as a result of the oil boom, Libya may be characterised once again as a stereotype, but it is rather a stereotype of unbalanced development between its human resources and its economic development on the one hand, and between the development of its rural and urban sectors on the other hand. It is its economic sectors, i.e., modern and traditional sector that have experienced unbalanced development. For example, while the agricultural sector was declining, trade, construction, transport and industry were developing rapidly.

(1) At the time of Libya's independence on December 24, 1951 it has been described by Benjamin Higgins as the "prototype of poor country - the bulk of people lived on a subsistence level - no sources of power and no mineral resources, where agricultural expansion is severely limited by climate conditions, where capital formation is zero or less, where there is no skilled labour supply and no indigenous entrepreneurship - Libya is at the bottom of the range in income and resources". B. Higgins Economic Development Problems, Principles and Policies, Revised edition, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1968, p.26. Now and especially following the oil discovery and development in the early 1960s onwards, Libya was dramatically transformed by its petroleum wealth into one of the richest countries in the world. Per capita income in 1977, for example, is estimated to be more than LD 2000 (¥5,178).

Added, the unequal development has been reflected in the private and public sectors in both rural and urban areas, that is the majority of active populations in the rural sector are employed by the private sector, mainly in the traditional agricultural sector, the majority of the active population in the urban sector were employed in the modern sector and specifically in the public sector.

This aspect will be illustrated further in the following chapter concerned with the study of the impact of the above development on the urban sector, in Benghazi City.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE SETTING: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

The previous chapter was concerned with explaining and analysing the socio-economic transformation of Libyan society. The most noticeable features of this process were the rapid development of economic activities and the transformation of the society in order to adapt to the structural change which the country has experienced. The discussion that follows in that chapter bears closely on the problems of the pattern of different forms of development through various historical periods, and on the changes that Libyan society has undergone with the impact of "imperialism", and with contemporary development as a result of oil discovery.

Migration was the most universal problem experienced by the country and its society within this process. In other words, the conditions within which migration has been produced has been explained in general terms. The main object of this thesis however is to understand the problems of migration and its causes in specific terms. It is therefore necessary to understand the socio-economic structure of the "host" area, Benghazi. This chapter attempts to illustrate the historical background and the contemporary situation of that city; it will explain and analyse briefly post World War II development in Benghazi, with reference to its socio-economic transformation. In addition, present socio-economic, geographical and demographic structure will be discussed in some detail.

I Ecological pattern and the structure of Benghazi setting

A - Location of the setting

Benghazi is located on the Mediterranean coast, roughly at the point of the bend between the great concavity on the Sinitic Gulf and

the protruding arch of the Jabal al-Akhdar (Green Mountain). Tripoli is 1045 km away to the west of Benghazi by road and Sabha, the main urban centre of the southern province of Fazzān, is 1185 km., to the south-west.

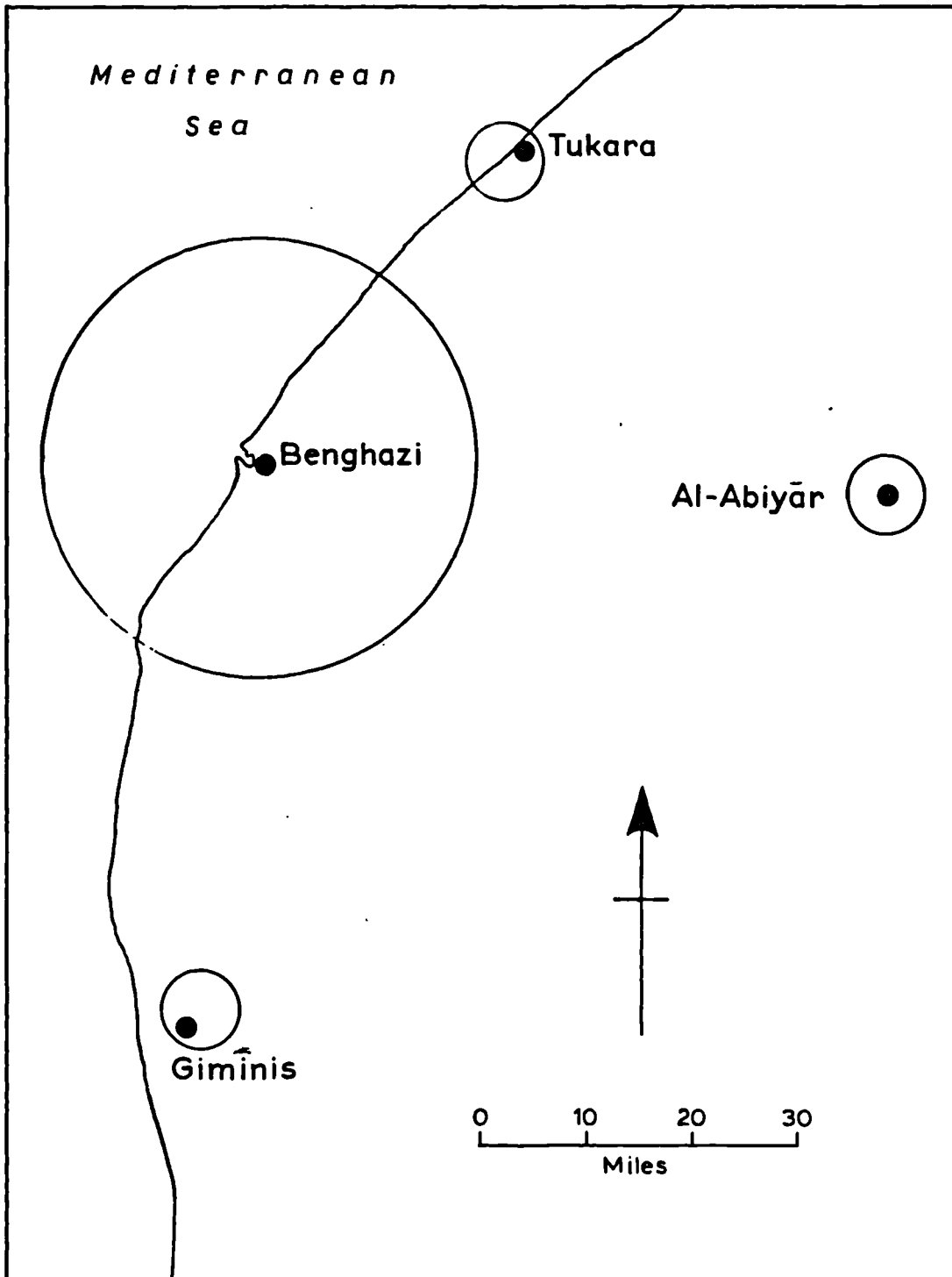
The city's limits are not clearly defined by municipal boundaries. The 1953 municipalities' law merely indicated Benghazi as encompassing approximately 30 sq. km.

It is worth noting that the city is a part of a large, roughly triangular area called the plain of Benghazi, which rapidly widens from a width of 4 km., at Tukara (village) to 25 km. at Benghazi. An escarpment running the length of the plain rises from sea level in the Sinitic area to about 400 ft. at Tukara (village).

The present city's boundaries may be estimated as follows:

- (a) Mediterranean sea from the west
- (b) Municipality of Qim. Inis from the south
- (c) Municipality of Al-Abiyār from the east
- (d) Municipality of Tukara from the north (see Map 2)

Climatically speaking, Benghazi is in a transitional area between the lessening influence of the sea and governing influence of the dessert (The Sahāra). Rainfall commonly decreases from the coast inland. Rainfall and temperatures necessarily influence Benghazi's climatic condition because of its proximity to the sea. The area in the south east and north east of the city experience oppressive conditions. August has the highest recorded maximum temperature of 30.1°C; January the minimum with 8.8°C. Although these conditions are not such as to exclude habitation during this period, they can be sufficiently oppressive for those who are not able to escape to more favourable areas in the city.



MAP 2. Showing the present boundaries, the administrative area of Benghazi and the surrounding district.

B - Present economic structure

1) Industrial area. Industry does not account for a major share of land use in the city's present stage of development. A few intensive factory establishments, such as sweet and shoe factories, exist in al-Birka (see Map 3). There is also a textile factory adjacent to the Main Market (the Funduq). The rest of Benghazi industrial activity is mainly connected with oil company storage yards. Some other establishments are scattered along the rest of the "ring road", such as the Pepsi-Cola bottling plant and various transport oriented industries serving the Benghazi market.

Most of this peripheral industrial development has extensive land requirements, although covered floor space is very limited. Small establishments of an artisan nature, such as bakeries, carpenters, repair garages, etc., are scattered along the main routes of the city. There is also a new industrial development area in al-thāma, east of Ṣabri (or east of the city).

In addition to industrial establishments, there is a business section which is distributed in most of the old and modern areas of the city, as we shall see in the following account.

2) The Business area. The central business district can be traced from the western sea front in the al-Shābbi quarter to the southern periphery of the old town, spreading into the modern part of the city of Sīdi-Huṣṣīn quarter and along Shārī' (street 'Abd al-Nāṣir). The al-Shābbi area contains the main financial and commercial activities of the city, as well as some of the first-class residential areas. The whole harbour is included in the district. Next in importance is the district of Ighrībīl, with the peninsula

development along Sharif Abd al-Mun'im Riad, along Sharif al-fatih
in September. Ighribil is the site of the main embassies, hotels,
clubs, and part of the university. El-Drawi, Al-Whēshi and Bin 'Isa
quarters were originally residential, but are now becoming more
commercial in nature as they merge into Ighribil.

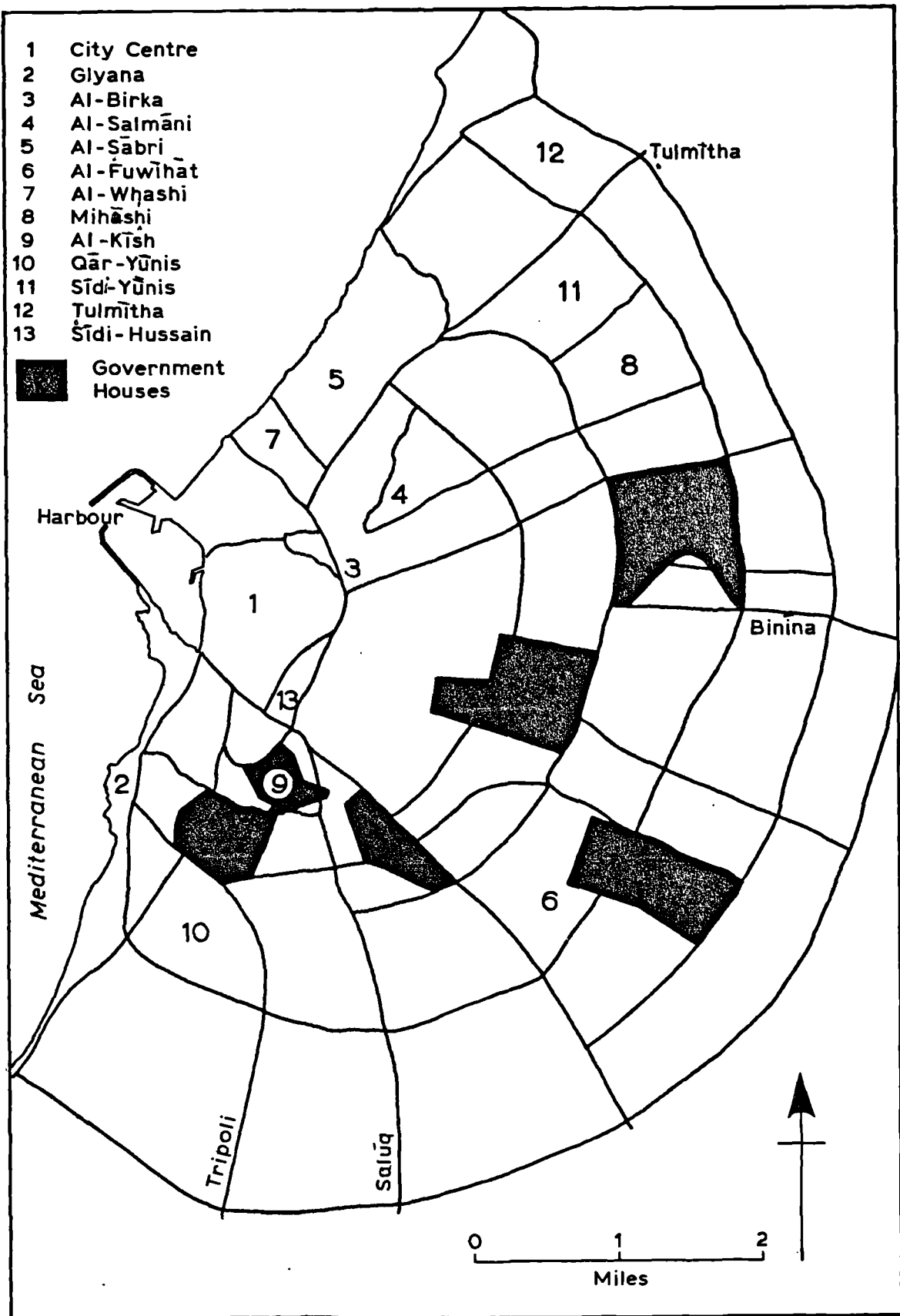
The main concentration of administration of administrative
offices, banking, commercial and retail activities, hotels, theatres,
the university, etc., is located in Benghazi's city centre, which
surrounds the commercial harbour, and stretches along to the Birka
area. (see Map 3)

All these areas within the old core of the city are becoming
extremely commercial, and non-residential establishments are
gradually replacing residential ones.

(1)

More establishments are to be found in the old and modern
parts of the city, such as the utilities and distribution nodes,
which are contained in the following establishments; the harbour,
the main market which serves not only the city but also the whole
Muqāta'a district; the hospitals also providing services for
the whole eastern province; the municipal abattoir, garbage
collection, power plant and water works and work associated with
these professions. These are the most important utilities and
distribution centres in Benghazi, which together generate consider-
able traffic and congestion in and outside the area.

(1) The old part of the city or what is called Benghazi al-Qadima
covers close on two square kilometres, while the modern part
covers more than twenty-eight square kilometres.



MAP 3. Benghazi; its Quarters and the distribution of Government houses.

(1)
C - The Mahallāt (quarters) settings

At present Benghazi City is divided into thirty-three Mahallāt.
(2)
For administrative purposes each Mahalla has its Mukhtār, and also its Imām. The Mukhtār is considered the director of the Popular Committee of his Mahalla, and is elected by the Mahalla conference. He is a paid government official. The Imām is also a government paid official and is the Mukhtār's assistant. His responsibilities are concerned with religious affairs, including marriage and divorce. The Mukhtār's main functions are the registration of births and deaths, recommendations for commercial and driving licences and social security for poor people in his Mahalla, and official consultation in respect of the needs of his Mahalla's development.

The boundaries of the quarters are well-defined, except in the case of sub-quarters, such as Sīdi Dāwud, Sabri, where no reliable official boundaries could be fixed, although each sub-quarter had its separate organization of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) which is the political organization of the Mahalla.

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- (1) The term quarter means in the local language Mahallāt, (plural) Mahalla (singular).
- (2) The foundation of the Mukhtār as representative of his Mahalla is not new. The idea of dividing the city of Benghazi into separate administrative quarters was established in 1862 by the Turkish governor, in order to reduce the influence of the tribes as the social and racial unit in the city. The number of Mahallāt was twelve. Italians kept the system of Mahallāt functioning on the Turkish basis, where the number had increased to fifteen Mahalla. See Hadi M. Buluqma, op.cit., p.410.

The main object of this study is aimed at understanding the relationship between the environment and the urban community of each quarter of Benghazi in order to give a background of the migration structure. For instance we need to know the relation between migrants' income groups (or their socio-economic position) and the communities they are likely to join; why they are likely to join a specific community and can conventional theories be applied which suggest that the peasant migrants tend to build their shanty towns because they are unable to adjust to city life? On this point Abu-Lughod says that "the non-selective migrants are attracted to the city with a lower capacity for assimilation, they tend to build for themselves within the city, a replica of the (1) culture they left behind."

In order to discover why labour migrants tend to build cheap dwellings for themselves, creating shanty towns within or outside the city, we must understand whether or not they are truly building an exact copy of the culture they left behind in their villages, or are victims of a system which tends to keep the labourers on the lowest level of subsistence. One must give an account of the formation of the city's quarters, their inhabitants, their activities, and their cost of living, which are extremely important elements.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in details the structural formation of each quarter in the city. It is necessary, however, to indicate briefly some of the characteristics of these quarters.

(1) J. Abu-Lughod, "Migrant Adjustment to City Life - The Egyptian Case", in Breese, The City in Newly Developing Countries, London, 1972, p.376.

1) City Centre Mahalāt. The city centre area is the old part of the city or what is usually called Banghazi Al-qadīma. It comprises eleven Mahalāt, whose population has decreased since the last decade, as a result of the movement of some of its old inhabitants to newly-developed areas. They turned their old houses into storage places for goods, or into offices or into new apartment buildings. In this area, the main political, financial, business and commercial functions of the city are found, and the dwellings are very limited.

Hence, the rents in this area are relatively high, and its inhabitants are mostly from upper and middle income groups. They are merchants, shopkeepers, foreign government employees, landlords (i.e., house proprietors), and university students who live in groups. Few migrants from upper and middle income groups (mostly merchants, government employees) tend to settle in this area.

By contrast, the following areas tend to have the majority of migrants of all income groups.

2) Al-Fuwīhāt Mahalāt: are a mixture of settlements of upper, middle and lower income groups, associated with oil companies or with the small manufacturing firms around them. The lower income groups work in wealthy people's gardens and on farms.

Al-Fuwīhāt has three major ecological features which are:

- (a) the upper income group residential area with its big villas, its large gardens, and with a modern and expensive shopping area;
- (b) the middle income group residential area, which has developed

(1)

as the result of the new government's policy of selling its land and giving loans to its employees in order to build their own dwellings. The residents of this area are the people, who were able to buy land from the municipality at a very low price and obtain loans at under 4 per cent interest in order to build first floor villas with small gardens on plots of land of 450 sq.m.

(c) The low income groups' area or the area of new government houses in the Fuwīhāt which replaced the poor shanty towns scattered in different places within the area. These shanty towns were considered by the Government as illegal squatter settlements. The owners of the land, according to the property law, are given the right to move settlers whenever they want their land. Since 1971 until 1975, the government has built 2603 wihdāt (dwelling units). Each wihda comprises six flats and the wihdāt are scattered between three areas: firstly, the Zātūn area or what is called locally hayy (area) Al-Zātūn, which has 550 dwelling units. Secondly, 286 dwelling units in Al-Fuwīhāt, al-Bahria; and thirdly, 1767 dwelling units in Al-Sharqi.⁽²⁾ These areas are still facing difficulties in the process of developing, because of poor shopping facilities and inadequate service facilities (e.g. schools, health clinics, transport etc.), in comparison with the middle and upper income group areas which have a modern shopping area and private schools.

Generally speaking, Fuwīhāt Al-Gharbi is considered one of the most modern and well-planned residential areas in the city. It

(1) For more elaboration concerning the government's policy at this period (1970s) see the section on housing in chapter VII.

(2) Source: The Ministry of Housing Bulletin, March 1975, Tripoli, 1975.

enjoys most of the public facilities, such as good transport, playgrounds, first-class schools in both public and private sectors, and well-equipped hospital facilities which serve not only Benghazi but also the whole eastern province (Cyrenaica).

As a result, the rent in this area is very high indeed; it is obviously the most expensive area in the city in this respect.

The population has increased rapidly in the three areas mentioned above. Table 13 shows that, the population of this area, Fuwihāt, has increased from less than 11,000 to over 37,384 persons. Most of the increase has been in the low income and middle income areas, as in the case of Fuwihāt Al-Bahri and Fuwihāt Al-Sharki.

3) Sābri Mahallat. This area is the extreme northern quarter of the city. Since 1930 the name Sābri generally means "the area of the shanty town". After 1958 the area became one of the most populated parts of the city because of the continuous entry of migrants to the city. Between 1964 and 1973 the population has increased from 22,189 to 29,590. Until 1967 only 15 per cent of its population resided in Arab old houses, ⁽¹⁾ and the rest lived in

(1) Arab old houses, or what are called hōsh are typical upper income type housing since the Turkish régime and Italian occupation. It was the most common dwelling for both Arabs, rich merchants and Jews. Now it is mostly inhabited by the lower and middle income old families in the city. These houses are mainly found in the old areas of the town like Benka and the City Centre.

(1) wooden or tin huts, zarība, (2) or in tents. The inhabitants of this quarter are considered to be the poorest and most deprived people in the city, living on subsistence level.

(3) The Libyan government of 1968 issued a law which aimed at demolishing the shanty towns, or the huts which were within the city of Benghazi, and replacing them with government buildings. The government decided also to settle the shanty town people in an area lying outside the city, which was called Al-Mihashi land (4) or ward Al-Mihashi.

However, Sabri is still one of the most crowded and poorest areas in the city. The average income per person was 15.6 L.D., per month (5) in 1968 its population coming mostly from lower income groups,

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- (1) Zarība, the straw huts, are much less common than the scrap metal or wooden huts. The scarcity of the usual building materials of palm leaves (jarīd) in the Benghazi area may be the reason for this. The zarība are in most cases built to provide one single room for the whole family, and are often found surrounding these type of poor dwellings.
 - (2) The tent is socially and economically associated with the Bedouin on the open ranges, but in the mid-1960s it became a common dwelling around the city to accommodate the manual worker.
 - (3) Benghazi Municipal Bulletin (1973) states that in 1968 a plan was set up by the Municipality of Benghazi in order to demolish the huts (barrack) which were scattered within the city, and move the inhabitants to an area outside the city - Al-Mihashi district, Benghazi Municipality 1973.
 - (4) The reason for the government's policy to resettle the huts' inhabitants, as claimed by local people, was explained when I asked one of the people who was living in Sabri's huts about it. He replied that "the Sabri's shanty town was on the road of the main northern entrance to the city. Therefore, the government's first decision was to hide the 'huts' from the eyes of foreigners and tourists, by selling the land lying between the main road and the shanty towns to the big merchants and businessmen, in order that they may build multi-storey buildings. But this policy failed because of the rapid growth of the shanty towns. As it became over-populated it could no longer absorb the continuous flow of migrants. Due to the financial and health problems which were thought by the authorities as being too close to the city centre the government then moved us and our huts to the Minaski area.
 - (5) Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Planning and Development, Census and Statistical Department, Report on the first phase of the household Sample Survey (Benghazi Town) Tripoli, 1969, p.23 (in Arabic).

comprising both Libyan and foreign migrants, some of them living as families, others in groups.

As is indicated in Table 13a, the rent in Sabri depends on the condition of the dwelling. An old hō'sh (house) is about 30-40 LD a month, whereas for a new apartment, it is 50-60 LD a month. Şabri is known for its scattered small private industries manufacturing building material, furniture and food, and large numbers of garages and stores. It has 826 commercial and business establishments. (see Table 13b).

4) Al-Salmāni Mahallāt. A similar situation has been experienced by this area as in the area discussed previously. It is divided into two Mahallāt: Al-Salmāni Al-Sharqi and Al-Salmāni Al-Gharbi.⁽¹⁾ Both Mahallāt are inhabited by the middle and low income groups which numbered 56,536 persons in 1973 (see Table 13a). These two Mahallāt have been mostly developed after the mid-1960s.

Like the Şabri area, Salmāni is a residential area for middle and low income groups, but it has more business establishments. It has 918 establishments which are scattered among its sections, except for Mifawz Binīna section which has no such facilities. This section has almost 98 per cent of migrants in its population, most of whom are married. They settled in Benghazi with their families. The area was built as a part of the Idris Housing Project in 1966-

(1) Local people claim that Al-Salmāni Al-Garbi was^h ^{First} inhabited by the migrant labourers who were working with the British Army camps which were set up there in the early 1940s.

Table 13a Benghazi's Mahalāts, its population and its cost of living with reference to rents

The Mahalāt	1964(1)	Population 1973(2)	Rent(3) LD.,
(1) The City Centre Mahalāt			
i. Sīdi Sharīf	2,967	2,367	70-80
ii. Sīdi Khribīsh	7,476	6,704	100-150
iii. Bal-Khār	1,522	1,130	50-90
iv. Sīdi-Salim	653	669	70-90
v. Al-Shābi	1,354	1,419	70-90
vi. Ighribīl	6,504	7,605	100-150
vii. Al-Darāwi	6,112	5,425	70-90
viii. Bin-Isa	2,215	1,705	80-100
ix. Sīdi-Hussain	30,404	11,385	80-100
x. Al-Whāshi	2,389	1,793	35-50
(2) Al-Ṣābri Mahalāt			
i. Al-Ṣābri Sharki }	22,189	29,590	30-60
ii. Al-Ṣābri Gharbi }			
(3) Sidi Dāwad Mahalāt			
i. Dāwad Al-Bahri)	42,629	74,029	50-100
ii. Dāwad Al-Qabli)			
iii. Dāwad Al-Gharbi)			
(4) Al-Fuwihāt Mahalāt			
i. Al-Fuwihāt Al-Sharki	10,885	12,359	-
ii. Al-Fuwihāt Al-bahri		18,585	-
iii. Al-Fuwihāt Gharbi		5,420	100-150
(5) Al-Salmāni Mahalāt			
i. Al-Salmāni Sharki		21,881	12-15
ii. Al-Salmāni Gharbi		34,755	40-60
(6) Al-Mihashi Mahalāt			
i. Mihashi		26,384	-
ii. Sīdi Yūnis			35-40
(7) Al-Qawarshia Mahalāt	5,230	8,126	
(8) The rest of the Mahalāt of			
(9) Binīna	7,147	9,637	
(10) Al-K wāfia	3,867	2,184	

Source: Kingdom of Libya, General population Census, Benghazi Muqa ta'a 1964, Tripoli, 1965, p.1. (2) Socialist people Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Population Census, Benghazi, 1973, Tripoli, 1977, p.28-29 (3) compiled by the author 1975.

Table 13b The Preliminary Results of the General Housing and Establishment Census, 1973 of Benghazi Municipality

The Maḥallāt	No. of Houses	Zariba Huts Tents	Total Dwellings	Other Establishments
Al-Sābri Al-Gharbi	2,859	-	2,859	592
Al-Sābri Al-Sharki	1,967	37	2,004	234
Al-Fuwihāt Al-Bahri	3,410	-	3,410	344
Al-Fuwihāt Al-Sharki	3,654	130	3,784	188
Fuwihāt Al-Gharbi	1,114	17	1,131	87
Salmāni Al-Sharki	3,874	27	3,901	411
Salmāni Al-Gharbi	5,103	-	5,103	507
Sīdi Hussain	2,410	4	2,414	620
Qūr-Yūnis	207	20	227	64
Sīdi Salām	113	-	113	78
Bal-Khā'ir	186	-	186	211
Al-Darāwi	1,107	-	1,107	286
Al-Shabi	238	-	238	241
Ighrībīl	2,712	-	2,712	1,429
Jalyānia	193	39	232	98
Mihāshi	4,012	2	4,014	598
Dāwūd Albahri	4,237	-	4,237	793
Dāwūd Al-Qabli	4,901	167	5,068	909
Dāwūd Al-Garbi	3,827	323	4,150	746
Sīdi Khreibīsh	1,148	-	1,148	360
Bin 'Isā'ī	324	-	324	147
Sīdi Sharrīf	407	-	407	859
Al-Whāshi	451	-	451	202
(1) Sub-municipality of Benghazi	48,454	766	49,220	10,004
The Maḥallāt				
Binīna	636	185	821	184
Bu-Itni	641	195	836	27
(2) Total for the sub-municipality of Binīna	1,277	380	1,657	211
Al-Qawārshia	664	97	761	89
Al-Fa'ikat	261	88	349	23
Kanfūdia	87	32	118	21
Bu-Fakhrda	125	79	204	14
Tikda	100	98	198	21
Bu-Trāba	146	122	268	18
(3) Total for the sub-municipality of Qawārshia	1,382	516	1,898	186
Total for Benghazi Municipality	51,113	1,662	52,775	10,401

Source: Preliminary Results of the General Housing and Establishment Census, 1973, op.cit., pp.22-24.

(1)
1967. It has two patterns of dwellings, the villa type with one floor, specially built by the King Idris government for the army officers; the other type of accommodation being similar to the old Arab hō.sh, specially built for low income groups. It has no public service facilities at all, and is considered to be one of the poorest slum areas in the city.

According to the Municipality Bulletin's family records of this area, the occupations of the households of Mifawz Binda are either wage labourers working in the seaport or with building companies, etc., or working with the municipality of the city as dustmen or road makers etc. Family records also indicate that most of the section's population are migrants who came from different parts of the country. The households number between 1700 and 2000. The houses in this area are given by the Department of the Ministry of Housing in Benghazi to the low income married individuals who pay very small rents.

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- (1) Idris Housing Project was planned in 1965 in order to provide one hundred thousand housing units, costing approximately 400 million Libyan pounds. Forty per cent of the budget allocation for the project goes to cities, covering not only the construction of housing units, but also the construction of other government buildings, such as hospitals, clinics, schools, police centres, sports fields, etc. The remaining sixty per cent of the budget allocated for the Idris Housing Project has been earmarked for the agricultural section and will go towards the development of villages. The project is to be implemented over a period of five years at a cost of 80 million Libyan pounds per year. Another part of the project focuses on the retired officers. Special houses are being built for them in whichever spot they choose. Construction of houses for army and police officers, who will also be allowed to choose the sites of their homes, is also planned. See Ministry of Information and Culture, This is Libya, Libya 1968, pp.172-3.

5) Al-Mihashi Mahalat. These quarters lie on the opposite side of the Salmāni al-Sharki Mahalla. They consist of two Mahallāt, Sidi Yūnis Mahalla and al-Mihashi Mahalla, the latter was established in 1968 especially to rehouse the people of the shanty towns settled within the city. This area was planned to accommodate 30,000 persons, ⁽¹⁾ and has its own services, such as shopping areas, schools, clinics, etc.

The government of 1968 constructed a peripheral wall around 120 to 180 square metres to be given to the families concerned, so that tents or wood or metal shanties (barracks) could be built inside. In 1971 Benghazi municipality decided to give loans varying from 2,500 and 3,000 LD to the people who were able to repay this amount of money within twenty years. Some people built a type of Arab old hōsh whilst others still lived in the wooden or metal shanties. This area is considered to be one of the poorest quarters in the city, and most of its residents are either daily labourers or people dependent on social security ⁽²⁾ benefits. Until April 1975, 406 families lived on social security. This constituted the highest number in comparison with the whole Mahallat in Benghazi. The area has a few small shopkeepers who

(1) These figures were compiled by the author from the Municipality Bulletin, July 1973, Benghazi, 1973.

(2) The social security regulations in Libya give a basic income of 30 LD a month to families which have no income. In addition it gives 4 LD to the wife and 2 LD for each child in the family each month. These figures were compiled by the author from the files of the department of social security in Benghazi, 1975.

have their own shops or work in the Mahalla small market, and other people who drive their own kārru (horse-drawn carriages) or karūsa (1) (donkey-drawn carriages). Seventy-five per cent of the total number of labourers working with this kind of transport in the city live in this quarter.

The area has very limited economic activities. Most of its working people are employed outside the quarter and the standard of living of its population is low compared with the Benghazi average. Almost all of its population are migrants.

The other section of Al-Minhashi, called Sīdi-Yūnis, has, like the above section experienced recent development in the 1970s. The dwellings here constitute the ordinary hōsh and three to five-storey buildings.

The rents in this section are relatively low, being an average for a three-room apartment or modern house, of between 35 and 40 LD per month (see Table 13a), compared with newer developed areas in the city, partly because of its distance from the city centre and its lack of economic importance.

The population of this area is mostly low and middle income groups; being people employed either in the public sector or the private sector. A few of them are small business entrepreneurs; shopowners, taxi-drivers and owners, or small contractors, etc. Generally speaking, it is an area of low and middle income groups. This section being more economically active than the former section, has almost 90 per cent of the quarter's 598 business establishments, including the most important, and it includes well-equipped garages

(1) Compiled from the Files of the Municipality, 1975.

for small cars and lorries, car spare parts shops, blacksmith shops, small manufacturers of building materials and furniture, storage firms, and small food and clothing shops scattered within it.

The population of the area, together with the above section, is 26,384 persons. The majority of them are migrants who came from abroad and within Libya to settle in Benghazi city.

Migrants are also scattered in other areas of the city, for example the low income group among them live in Al-Kish which has the same standard of living as Mihashi. It has 572 units (each consisting of six flats) of government houses, in addition to its old part with old hōsh. This section is the most industrial and business oriented area in the city. The largest textile industry in the city is to be found there, as well as most of the oil companies' offices, the large building material manufacturers, the soft drink factory, and other kinds of industry.

Generally speaking, each Mahalla in Benghazi has its own type of ecology, economic activities, population, and standard of living, and consequently its own socio-economic groups. Benghazi migrants have to settle within the above Mahallāt, especially after the government's new housing law of 1973. This law was issued to prevent any new establishment of shanties in the city.

The recent low-income migrants who cannot afford to live in such areas, tend, therefore, to settle in the new developing shanty towns on the periphery, about 18 km., distant from Al-Qawārsha,

(1) In 1973 the local government of Benghazi passed a law which indicates that citizens are not allowed to establish any new shanties in the city, and those living in shanties at the time of the issuing of the law will be accommodated in the new government houses.

Binina and Bu-ḡitni etc. These newly developed areas have the largest industrial establishments in the city, and include the manufacture of building materials, cement, etc. The population of these areas is also growing, where for example, the population of Al-ḡawārsha and Binina increased from 12,377 to 17,763 persons, the number of males is almost double that of females in these area. The housing consists of huts constructed from petrol cans, pieces of corrugated iron and scrap, and pieces of wood. The water supply and sanitation are inadequate in the recently erected shanty towns.

The foregoing shows that there is a significant relationship between the type of migrants' settlement and the socio-economic standard of the migrants; being a product of the integration of historical, economic, political and social factors, rather than personal factors as suggested by some sociologists, such as Abu-Lughod. Castells correctly points out that

'Space is a material product, in relation with other material elements - among others, men, who themselves enter into particular social relations, which gives to space (and to other elements of the combination) a form, a function, a social signification. It is not, therefore, a mere occasion for the deployment of the social structure, but a concrete expression of each historical ensemble in which a society is specified. It is a question, then, of establishing in object, the structural and conjunctural laws that govern its existence and transformation, and the specificity of its articulation with the other elements of a historical reality. (1)

This account indicates that a space, i.e., a settlement, is not only an occasion for the development of the social structure, but it is also a structure which is superimposed on the people by the

(1) Castells, M., The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Social Structure and Social Change, Edward Arnold Ltd., London, 1977, p.117.

historical and economic structure experienced by the city. The low income group amongst the migrants, therefore, is forced to live in certain areas in order to fulfill the demand made by the condition of the socio-economic structure in their society. For example, since the migrants, in Benghazi, and the residents of certain other places must pay extra costs to enjoy certain facilities, (1) and the cost is beyond their reach they have therefore to go without them. This is primarily the reason why the low income group of migrants live either in slums or shanty towns of the city. In order to explain this issue and other related problems in the next section of this chapter I wish to turn my attention to a consideration of the changes which have occurred in the process of the development in the city with reference to its socio-economic structure and the growth of its population.

II Post-war developments in Benghazi Society with reference to its socio-economic transformation (from the late 1940s to the early 1960s)

A - The period after the World War II and before independence (1950)

In World War II Benghazi was changed during thirty months of severe fighting and changed hands five times: from the Italians it was taken over by the British, then by the Germans, then the British, then the Germans, who were forced to withdraw for the last time in the face of General Montgomery's Eighth Army, who finally entered Benghazi on 20th November, 1942.

To understand how much Benghazi and its people were affected during those thirty months of severe fighting, one may consider the

(1) B.E. Coates and others, Geography and Inequality, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977, p.181, gives an interesting analysis of the relation between space and socio-economic structure of a city.

following account given by Goodchild. He maintained that,

... Benghazi had suffered every violence and humiliation that modern warfare can provide. It had been shelled from the sea, pounded incessantly from the air and had changed hands five times, each change involving demolitions or installations which, whilst of military importance, were no less vital to the civil life of the town. During the peak of air bombardment large numbers of the citizens had moved out to the surrounding countryside, leaving an empty desolate city with its doors walled up and its municipal services at a standstill. (1)

Hence, by the end of World War II Benghazi was desolate.

The shops were shattered and the markets closed. Benghazi lost its economic position because of the termination of the mass agricultural schemes and the repatriation of the whole Italian population. Thus, by the end of the war it is believed to have had less than one quarter of its former native population.

The British administration in Benghazi did little to help the city and its people to recover from the severe hardship which they faced. The British authorities were unwilling to undertake any major reconstruction programme because of the uncertain future of the country as a whole. Later, however, the city started to regain some of its socio-economic activities, which were carried out by native migrants mostly from Cyrenaica, and, for the first time in the city's history, it was ruled by native Libyans.

The participation of the Libyan army headed by Idris El-Sanusi (later King Idris) with the allied forces (Britain and her allies) gave the Sanusi family of Cyrenaica the right to rule the country. This was started with the announcement of the first Cyrenaican government resident in Benghazi in 1949, and the later recognition of special status for the city.

(1) Goodchild, E., Benghazi, The Story of a City, Benghazi, 1954, p.26.

Benghazi became the focus for political affairs in regard to the settlement of the whole Libyan question. Subsequently a limited reconstruction programme was introduced, the idea being to provide enough administrative offices and headquarters for both provincial and federal requirements. The transfer of hundreds of federal government employees from Tripoli meant that enough houses had to be provided for the provincial government. A private reconstruction scheme was then initiated to fulfil the demand for more houses both by government employees or craftsmen and manual workers. The introduction of a few schemes under foreign aid agencies also helped to some extent in providing better accommodation for high-ranking state employees.

The economic activities of this period were limited to creating job opportunities in the city's dockyards, the British army camps, in construction and administration. There was little private enterprise and the government faced severe economic difficulties due to the consequences of the war.

The overwhelming majority of the city's population, therefore, was very poor, living in shanty towns.

B - Development from the early 1950s to the early 1960s

In discussing these developments from independence onwards, five factors must be taken into consideration in order to follow the stages which finally gave Benghazi its present level of evolution.

First, immediately after independence Benghazi became a city with two administrative functions. The first was as the local

capital for the eastern part of Libya, and the second was as the seat of the federal government transferred from Tripoli (in the mid-1950s). Nevertheless the city developed little from these functions. The economic problems facing the federal government at the time cause difficulties with the development of schemes aimed at fulfilling the administrative requirements such as reconstruction of some of the former Italian government buildings.

The second factor assisting growth was the arrival of many Sanusi families who had been abroad. The growth of Al-Fuwiḥāt quarter as the first suburb was due to the establishment of some of the royal families in the area in the early 1950s. These families had access to state income and they were the first to establish their enterprises, which expanded year after year, and which consequently developed the economic and social activities of the city.

The third and most important of all factors in the recent development of the city was the presence of many foreign experts working for the oil companies drilling in eastern Libya (eastern province or Cyrenaica) and the discovery of considerable amounts of oil in the Syntic area as early as 1959. Tripoli and Benghazi were the only places where facilities required by the oil companies could be provided. The result of this need made Benghazi in particular a favourable place for oil companies because of her comparative proximity to the first oil discovery in the Syntic area. Hence, in contrast to Tripoli's development, which was agricultural and where traditional industries were of major importance, oil being less instrumental in its development,

in Benghazi the oil industry was the core of its development, while both agricultural productivity and traditional industry were less important because of the historical conditions which the city had inherited and due to the arrival of large numbers of foreign oil employees, ~~The~~ need for better accommodation was acted upon to satisfy the demand for villas and apartments by those who could afford to pay very high rents. The government provided the stimulus for the building industry, as well as transport and commerce, by encouraging private enterprise.

As a result of these economic developments in the city more employment opportunities were provided for the people. Before the oil boom, employment opportunities were restricted to a few individuals who came from specific social groups. Those people who came from certain tribal groups directed their activities towards the cities instead of the hinterland in an attempt to gain economic, political and social power over the country. These people were supported by the British authorities in return for co-operation with the British army during World War II.

This had a tremendous effect on the social, economic and political activities in the city, and consequently played an important role in shaping the type and trend of migration during the period between 1950 to the early 1960s. The internal migration during the period between 1950 to the early 1960s. (The internal migration in this period) was therefore mostly from Cyrenaica, but, the impact of this was not significant in the later period (i.e., from 1964 onwards) as a result of the

(1)

federal government being moved in 1964 to Al-Bayḍa'.

The consequence of this section was the decline of tribal influence on the question of the access to city employment by specific social groups, and most of the government employees and entrepreneurs moved to the newly established capital Al-Bayḍa'.

Another important factor, was the completion of Al-Bayḍa', which had a serious effect upon Benghazi's development. This was due to the fact that new schemes were concentrated in Al-Bayḍa' city instead of Benghazi. Another serious factor affecting the city was the abolition of provincial authorities, which meant that Benghazi could not act as a provincial capital for Cyrenaica. Benghazi's economic influence, however, was greater than ever before, owing to the concentration of three major oil companies, and to some extent to the reconstruction scheme aimed at giving the city its pre-war size of harbour, including the outer basin which was specially designed for military purposes.

(1) There are different interpretations of the reason for the creation of Al-Bayḍa'. Local people gave the explanation that it was "His Majesty's desire to commemorate his father's birthplace at Bayḍa' in Cyrenaica, east of Benghazi. Others say that what influenced the creation of Bayḍa' was the leaders of the Baraa'sa tribe, because it was their homeland. In my opinion, it is more likely that Al-Bayḍa' was chosen to be Libya's new administrative centre because of the particular economic situation of the period. There was massive unemployment attributed to redundancy in oil exploration in Libya (specifically in Cyrenaica). This led to extensive migration into Benghazi. The situation in Benghazi was one in which unemployment was aggravated by the inflows of migration, because the people who were discharged from their jobs in the oil field failed to go back to their deserted dry farms. Al-Bayḍa' would be seen as providing an alternative (at the time) in drawing off administrative over-employment out of Benghazi, consequently stimulating favourable socio-economic activities in the "new" city.

These developments meant on the one hand, the emigration of
the majority of administrators, teachers, businessmen etc.,
from Benghazi to Al-Bayḍa', but on the other hand, the
reconstruction schemes meant the need for labourers, professionals,
entrepreneurs, etc., to replace those who left for Al-Bayḍa'
This probably explains why the size of migration has increased
at that period in spite of the decrease in the political importance
of Benghazi.

The **last** factor assisting Benghazi's growth was the establish-
ment of some important federal projects, such as the foundation of
the Libyan University (Department of Arts, Commerce and the Law
Faculty), the Royal Army Headquarters and the reconstruction
schemes for the harbour and Binina airport. All these projects
meant the development of different kinds of occupation which were
opened to some members of Benghazi society, such as university
teachers, army officers, doctors, and other professional people.
Also students, nurses, administrators and labourers, some of which
were from Benghazi and others from outside.

The city's population increased rapidly from about 30,000
in 1942 to over 64,000 in 1954 to 81,000 in 1962. The number of
aliens also increased from 1,800 in 1954 to about 6,000 in 1962.

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- (1) In order to encourage this movement the government set up new employment laws, which gave the employees who went to Al-Bayḍa' an extra allowance called Al-ḥawit Al-Bayḍa' .
 - (2) This point is very significant in understanding the nature and the role of migration to Benghazi during that period. See chapters (IV, VI and VII).

Social amenities such as health services, schools, housing, transport, entertainment, water and electrical facilities were all needed to meet the demand of the new social structure. Although greatly increased and modified, these were still inadequate, and the best of them were to serve only a small proportion of the population.

All these activities were especially favourable to the upper income group. The people that gained the most from oil operations were commercial agencies (who were able to satisfy the requirements of oil companies), the landowners, and owners of entertainment facilities, such as restaurants, hotels and cabarets. The total number of these individuals however was insignificant and came mostly from the ruling elites and their agents.

Briefly, all these economic activities had produced a distinct segregation of different income groups, styles of living and occupations. Most foreign experts, i.e., Americans, British and other Europeans together with rich Libyan business people, occupied most of the new area of Al-Fuwīhāt and elsewhere (1) in the city where new buildings were to be found. High ranking administrators occupied the houses which had been left by the Italians in Adrian Pelt Street (or what is now called Shāri' 'Abd Al-Mīn' in Riyad). The other high officials were almost all concentrated in the skābli area (or what is called now Sīdi Hussain area) and also in the houses which were left by the Italians.

(1) The Al-Fuwīhāt area is one of the best in the surroundings of Benghazi. From a residential point of view it is comparatively higher in altitude, farther away from the sabkha (salty deposits found in desert areas), from the industrial district, and from the city noise.

The middle income groups, on the other hand, were scattered all over the old part of the city, while the lower income group lived mainly in the shanty towns of Sabri area, which accommodated one quarter of the city's population. (This area was first mentioned (1) a century and a half ago by the Beecheys, 1828). The labourers also spread into the newly established Bidonville in Ras-^lbedā', Dar Al-Kīsh and Ard-bin-^ūynīs (now Sidi Yūnīs). (2) All these areas were surrounded by sabkhāt. All these features have developed more rapidly in the present phase of Benghazi's development. In the next section, this issue will be taken up again and dealt with more analytically.

III The Present phase of Benghazi's Development from the early 1960s to the late 1970s.

The first phase of Benghazi's development appeared in the rapid physical expansion of the city and the growth of its population, which doubled since independence and expanded to the north-east, the north and the east. Alongside the rapid increase of its population there developed new economic, political and social activities. All these features have developed tremendously during the last decade.

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- (1) For more information on the geographical structure of the city at that period see Beechey, F.W., Proceedings of the Expedition to Explore the Northern Coast of Africa, London, 1828.
 - (2) Sabkha (singular) Sabkhāt (plural): the Arabic word sabkha usually refers to the salty surface deposits found in desert areas, whether in lagoons or in closed interior depressions. Benghazi sabkhāt are mostly lagoonal, and form their salt as a result of sea water evaporation.

- A) The geographical and demographic structure of the city.
- B) The new expansion and development of the economic activities of Benghazi city, and
- C) The social stratification of the city's society.

The above points are relevant to the purpose of this study, in order to show how these developments have taken place in the city and what kind of changes have, been brought to the city and its society in which the migrants became integrated and diffused.

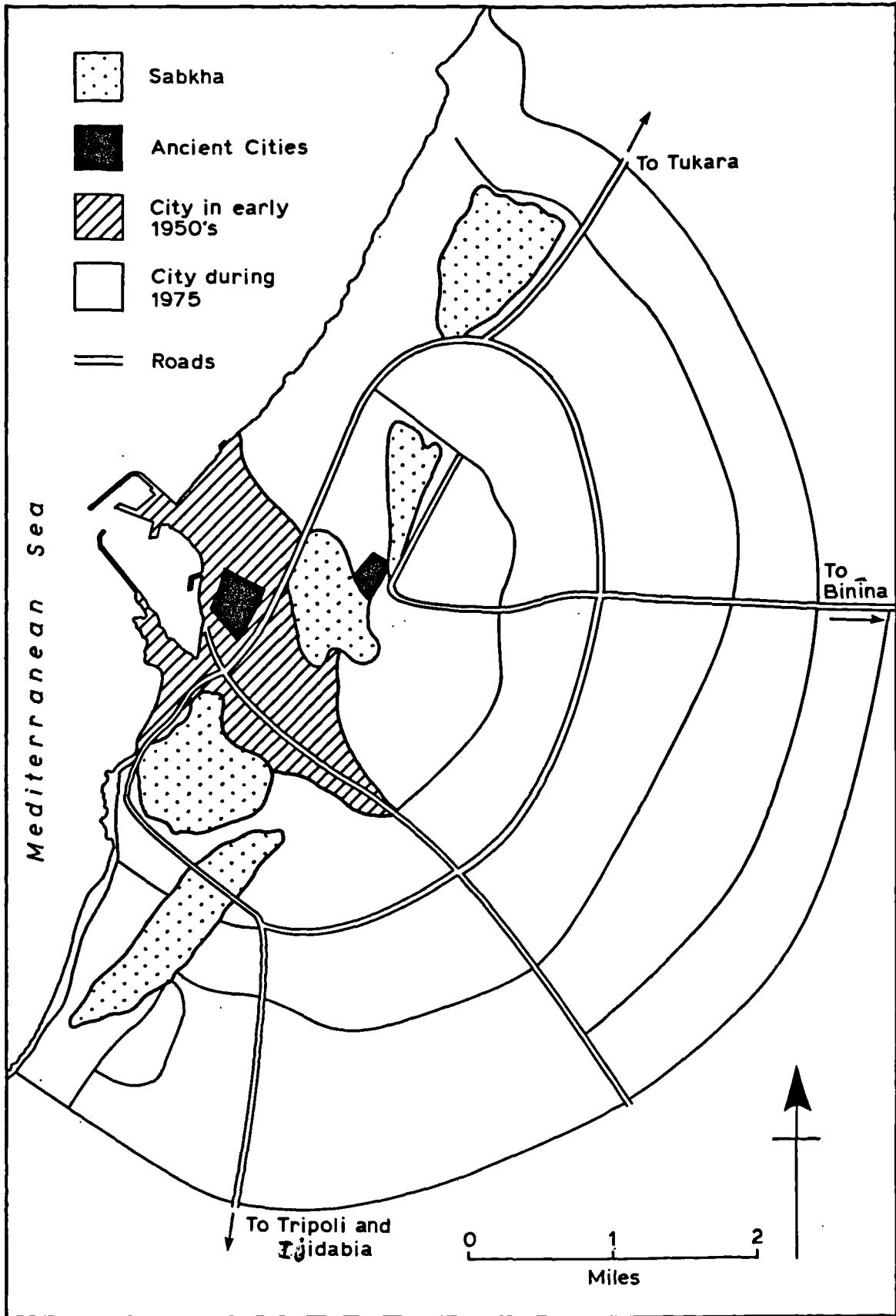
A - The geographical and demographic structure of the city.

In recent years, Benghazi city has expanded rapidly, to cover an area nearly ten times its size before 1954. (see Map 4) In 1954 the city was covering about 256 hectares of residential land.

This expansion has been followed by physical development in the city, which has taken the following patterns of dwellings, namely hōsh, villas, apartments, zarībā, huts and tents.

(1)
The Revolution Command Council (RCC) had demolished many of the zarībā, huts, tents and replaced these dwellings with the more modern types (see Table 13c). The most important types of dwelling in the city are the government houses, which were planned by the Ministry of Housing to accommodate the low income group. These houses are a mixture of villas, apartments and hōsh. Some were built to accommodate senior government employees, such as the staff of the Royal Military Academy, and others were for lower

(1) The new government which is headed by the Revolutionary Command Council.



MAP 4. Benghazi's development in stages.

income groups. Most of these houses have from two to four rooms, a courtyard with separate kitchen and toilets, and all provided with piped water and electricity.

In the last three years, the government buildings have increased immensely, in order to rehouse the shanty town people. According to the third development plan, between 1973 and 1975 (1) it was planned to build 90,000 (2) houses in Benghazi Muqāṭa'a, of which by 1974; 13,565 (3) had been built, added to 22,338 housing units (each unit with six flats) which were built between 1971 and 1973. (3) This policy plays an important role in decreasing the shanty towns of the city by demolishing most of its houses, as we shall see in the following table.

Table 13c Type of Dwellings in Benghazi Muqāṭa'a During 1954-1964-1973

Type of Dwelling	1954*	1964*	1973***
Hōsh	11,400	29,366)	56,548
Villas and apart's	329	1,943)	
Zariba and huts	2,336	7,464)	5,797
Tents	311	15,731)	
Others	443	671)	
Total	14,819	55,175	62,345

Sources compiled from: * General Population Census, 1954, pp.68-69
 ** General Population Census, 1964, Benghazi, p.53
 *** Preliminary results of the general housing and Establishment Census, 1973, Tripoli, p.4 (in Arabic)

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- (1) L.A.R., The Department of Planning of Benghazi Muhafaza, The Annual Report of the Economic Development Schemes of Benghazi Muhafaza for 1973, Benghazi, 1974, p.60 (in Arabic).
 - (2) L.A.R., the General Housing Institute, The Report of Housing Institute Activities during 1973, Tripoli, 1973, pp.6-17 (in Arabic).
 - (3) These figures are compiled by the author from the registration files of the building licences during 1972-1973, Municipality of Benghazi, October-December, 1974 (in Arabic), and from an interview with the Director of the Housing Institute in Benghazi, 1975.

The above table is limited to three population censuses: the first was taken in 1954, the second taken in 1964 and the last taken in 1973. It indicates that whilst the number of dwellings has been increased in recent years, the number of shanty town dwellings has decreased from 1964; it was only 5,797 in the whole of Muqā'ta'a. Benghazi municipality has only 1662 huts, zarība and tents, while the rest (4,135) are scattered in other areas of Benghazi's Muqā'ta'a; they are also located in the villages within a short distance of Benghazi Municipality. As indicated by Table 13b, such dwellings found outside the sub-municipality of Benghazi, where this type of construction is allowed to be built, and where developing industries are to be found in the new areas, for example in Binīna and Al-Dawārshia. Evidently Benghazi Municipality contains the majority of hō'sh, villas and apartments; it has 52,777 out of a number of 56,548 dwellings.

The growth of other private dwellings in the city is equally remarkable. The private modern types of dwellings have increased rapidly over the last ten years. The first official census of 1954 indicates that Benghazi hardly provided any modern private housing, and only 329 housing units could be described as modern. The reason was the extensive damage done to the Italian quarter, as a result of World War II. In recent years modern private dwellings of hō'sh, villas and apartments have increased two-fold.

Both pre-revolution and the present RCC "governments", have adopted policies to alleviate the housing problem caused by the rapid growth of the city's population.

The ex-regime policy was that the government had to pay rent for its employees, mainly the people who were employed in the public sector. This rent was to be paid directly to the house owners, according to the contract between the Ministry of Housing and the property owners. This policy led to more demands for houses, and consequently it encouraged the merchants and businessmen to agitate for a new policy.

1) The government is to give an unlimited loan to the merchants and businessmen in order for them to build the housing required for government employees.

2) The government is to adopt new housing schemes in order to build housing for lower and middle income groups.

The consequences of this policy were very serious. On the one hand, it led to an increase in the price of the land and to rents in Benghazi, which were out of the reach of the lower and middle income groups in the city. On the other hand, the situation meant that only a small number of senior officials, merchants, businessmen, persons from the royal family, and other members of the ruling elite, had access to government loans. This created a problem of concentration of the dwellings in the city in the hands of a small group of individuals, which aggravated the housing crisis.

The net result of this process was in the interest of small groups who benefited most from this policy and who were simultaneously operating as building contractors and as property owners. In fact, they took money from the government to build housing at a high price, and then rented it to the government for an equally high price. Not only that, but they also had the opportunity to pursue their own

interests in relation to the selection of the government employees who were to be given these houses. The consequence was that it increased the socio-economic gap between government employees, where some of them were able to have access to free housing, whilst others were paying almost one-half of their income as rent.

The housing problem during the 1960s was attributable not only to the lack of public amenities and unfavourable living conditions, but also was the direct consequence of earlier housing policies. These policies could be said to have been favourable to the governing elite, especially the Italian community here.

The ex-regime policy proved a failure in solving the housing problem. The present government has adopted measures to facilitate house building and to lower prices. Government intervention is not unique, but is part of its policy. In particular, the intervention takes the form of socio-economic and political policies relating to narrowing income gaps between the socio-economic groups in Libyan society. It therefore adopted a policy which gave a housing allowance for all people employed in the public sector to enable them to rent their own dwellings direct from the landlord. It passed housing legislation which controlled and limited rents. It provided loans at the relatively low interest rate of 4 per cent to people employed. Loans were determined according to the size of one's salary. It undertook to build government houses

(1) According to a law passed in the late 1970s.

for lower income groups, and it gave aid (loans and other facilities) to the businessmen who have industries connected with the building trade.

Here too, the size of the initial contribution of the interest to be repaid excludes a considerable mass of the population with low incomes, whereas members of the upper, middle and high income groups profit from loan facilities. They carry out speculative investment by building two or more apartments for the purpose of drawing rents (from dwellings, shops etc). in addition to their private accommodation. Added to this, the government houses were isolated from public services such as shopping centres, clinics, schools, etc., and poor transport characterised by high cost. (For more information on this issue see the chapter VII which explains how the migrants respond to the present housing problem in Benghazi).

The Population Structure

In this section an attempt will be made to indicate the nature and extent of the population structure, of its increase and density, of its distribution by age and sex, and its increase from migration. It is considered that a discussion of such aspects of the population in the host area is of importance in giving us some understanding of the position and role of the migrants in Benghazi.

Between 1954 and 1964 Benghazi grew rapidly and its population rose from about 70,000 to over 137,000. In the next decade up to 1973 it expanded to a total of over 264,000. This increase is due to the following:

- 1) Natural increase

- 2) external migrants or Libyans who came from abroad, having previously left the country during the colonial occupation
- 3) internal migrants, or Libyans who came to Benghazi from other parts of the country

Regarding groups 2) and 3), it is estimated that 35,000 people settled in the city from 1954 to 1964, and about 113,000 had arrived in the city during the period 1964-1973. This accounts for well over three times the population settled in Benghazi in the earlier period, and amounts to well over two-thirds of the population increase that took place during the period 1964-1973. The remaining growth has occurred through natural increase i.e. a decrease of the mortality rate and an increase in the fertility rate.⁽¹⁾

Villages and towns (or less developed areas) in the Benghazi Muqā ta'a are "stagnant" in the sense that depopulation takes place in these places. For instance, Benghazi City constituted 52 per cent of the total population of the Muqā ta'a, the rest of the Muqā ta'a population was 48 per cent, but by 1964 the proportion of Benghazi's population had increased by 56 per cent, while in the rest of the Muqā ta'a it increased by only 44 per cent and in 1973 by 38 per cent of the total population of the Muqā ta'a while Benghazi had increased to 62 per cent of the total Muqā ta'a population. Generally speaking, Benghazi and its surrounding areas have most of the Muqā ta'a population, as we can see from following Table.

(1) This last was the result of improved medical services.

Table 14 Population growth of Benghazi Muqāṭa'a divided by sub-municipality between 1954-1964-1973

Benghazi <u>Muqāṭa'a</u>	1954*	1964**	1973***
Benghazi City	69,718	137,295	264,491
Binīna	3,238	7,147	9,578
Al Qawārsha	4,914	5,230	8,123
Tuḳara	4,643	5,918	5,456
Dariyana	3,292	5,550	3,137
Sīdi Khalifa	4,938	3,328	5,780
Al-Abiyar	10,377	14,298	11,980
Al-Rajma	4,150	3,871	3,258
Al-Maltānia	-	4,255	2,421
Dim ^h in ^s	5,901	5,864	4,313
Salūk	9,240	12,387	6,501
Al-Maqrūn	8,354	5,635	3,044
Jardina	5,372	4,769	3,098
Other areas		11,614	
Total	134,137	227,161	331,181

Sources compiled from: * General Population Census, 1954, Tripoli, p.14.
 ** General Population Census, 1964, Tripoli, p.1
 *** General Population Census Preliminary Results, 1973, Tripoli, pp.26-27. (in Arabic)

The above table shows that most of the Muqāṭa'a population is concentrated in the city of Benghazi, and the two areas which have increased their populations in recent years were Binīna and Qawārsha only. Binīna increased from 3,238 in 1954 to 7,147 in 1964, and has grown to 9,578 in 1973. Qawārsha increased as well, from 4,914 in 1954 to 5,230 in 1964, and to 8,123 in 1973. These two areas are the nearest areas to the centre of the city. One might consider them as the outskirts of the city, where most of the industrial establishments and oil companies and the airport are found, and consequently the employees live there.

Hence, the economic structure in the Benghazi Muqā'ta'a reflects the number of people settled in the area, the size of population growth in the area, and also the size of the population growth in the Muqā'ta'a and its districts. It also shows the migrants' movements, which will be indicated in the sex and age ratio pattern (see Table 15).

The sex ratio (defined here as the number of males per 100 females) was in 1954 above the national average in Benghazi and Tripoli. Benghazi continued to have a higher than average ratio in 1964 and 1973, and to a lesser extent this was true in Tripoli. Families, and not only individuals, apparently were increasingly involved in the migration. This phenomenon has been observed to occur elsewhere in the Middle East, for instance in the Nile Delta, ⁽¹⁾ but is not so in the case of some ⁽²⁾ other African countries.

In order to put the growth of the population structure in Benghazi into a general perspective, the age structure of its

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- (1) J. Abu-Lughod, "Urbanization in Egypt - Present State and Future Prospects", Economic Development and Cultural Change, vol. XIII, No. 3, April 1965, pp.313-343.
- (2) For example, PCW Gutkind in his article "African Urbanism, Mobility and Social Network", in G. Breese (ed), The City in Newly Developing Countries, Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization, Princeton University, London, 1972, pp. 389-400. Gutkind described the migration movement as "target workers" where migrants are seen as tending to go back to their origin after spending a limited time in the host area. Their movement according to his findings, tend to be individual rather than family patterned. In other words, the migration process was temporary rather than permanent.

Table 15 A comparison of the 1954, 1964 and 1973 age and sex structure of the population in Benghazi

Sex	Under thirty age group 0 - 29		Middle age group 30 - 59		60 and over age group		*	Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	
1954	Male	24836	63	10886	27.5	2480	6.3	38	38240	100
	Female	20790	65.8	8236	26	2419	7	23	31478	100
	Total	45626	64.8	19122	26.9	4909	6.9	61	69718	100
1964	Male	49201	67.5	20828	28.6	2457	3.4	141	72627	100
	Female	46082	69	16042	26.9	2465	4.1	79	64368	100
	Total	95283	69.4	36870	26.6	4922	3.6	220	137295	100
1973	Male	106089	73.3	31229	21.6	7272	5.1	5	144595	100
	Female	101088	75.6	25969	19.4	6494	3.8	4	133555	100
	Total	207177	74.5	57198	20.6	13766	4.9	9	278150	100

Source: Compiled by the author from,

- (1) General population Census, 1954 Tripoli, 1959, 100
- (2) General population Census, 1964, Benghazi, Muqā ta'a,
Tripoli, 1965 (in Arabic) p: 3
- (3) General population Census, 1973, of Benghazi, Tripoli,
1977 p.11 (in Arabic)

* unknown cases

population will be compared with that of Tripoli.

Benghazi and Tripoli clearly stand out as having a high sex ratio. However, these two Muqā ta'āt differ from each other if the total working population of each Muqā ta'a is compared to the population of Benghazi as a whole. For instance, as indicated in the 15-40 age group in the 1964 and 1973 censuses. For Benghazi the two figures are virtually identical (111.5 and 111.6),⁽¹⁾ while for Tripoli the working population sex ratio is clearly higher at 113.4 and 109.8. One could say that migration streams had far more of a family structure in the case of Benghazi than of Tripoli. These findings may be ascribed to several historical and contemporary factors which have been discussed in the previous chapter II.

It will become evident from the figures in Table 15 that, migration is the major influence affecting the increase of population in the city, and migration to Benghazi tended to be a mixture of males, females and children of both sexes.

- 1) It also shows that the increase of males in the under thirty and middle age groups are only slightly higher than the female increase in the same group, during the periods 1954, 1964 and 1973.
- 2) A sizeable portion of immigration took the form of a basic family unit (i.e. husband, wife and children), the ratio of under thirty age group to the total population also jumped from 64.8 per cent to 69.4 per cent to 75.5 per cent in the period 1954, 1964 to 1973.

(1) Compiled from Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Economy and Trade, General Population Census 1964, Census and Statistical Department, Tripoli, pp. 3-4 (in Arabic).

It also indicates that Benghazi's migrants are mostly of "working" age or of an age of expectation to be productive and not from the "old" people (i.e., in an unproductive category). In the 1973 census 74 per cent of the city's population was from the under thirty age group and 21 per cent from the middle age group while about 5 per cent are among the age group 60+.

The movement of people from outside to inside Benghazi is clearly of paramount importance in a discussion of the population structure in the city. It is particularly interesting to note that, as shown in (Table 16) the marital status of the âusra (1) (household) in Benghazi was high (2) in relation to the rate of population expansion. About 95 per cent of the total citizen households are from married families, while approximately 58 per cent of the total aliens' households are from married families. This is a matter which will require closer examination when the characteristics and position of migrants in Benghazi are discussed more fully in successive chapters (IV, VI and VII). It would be interesting to elaborate further by referring to the distribution of the population in Benghazi by their place of origin or "place of birth" as stated by the municipality records.

Table 17 shows that out of a total of 235,840 people registered in the municipality of Benghazi, 34 per cent were born in the

(1) It has to be pointed out that a household constitutes a unit insofar as its members share living expenses, although they may not be related. Families here refers to married couples (or nuclear families) living in these households.

(2) According to the preliminary results of the general population census of 1973, the family consists of any person who is capable of providing his own food, clothes and other life requirements. Since this definition seems to be somewhat confusing, to avoid the problem of obscurity in this issue, I will call the family in the above context, a "household", and the family which consists of a wife and husband will be called a married family.

Table 16 The distribution of household and the marital status of its members in Benghazi during 1973

The household structure in Benghazi	Citizen		Alien		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Household with married couple	43398	94.9	5760	57.5	49158	88.2
Household of unmarried couple	2344	5.1	4260	42.5	6604	11.8
Total	45742	100.0	10020	100.0	55762	100.0

Source: Compiled from Population Census, Benghazi, 1973 Tripoli, 1977, p.9 (in Arabic)

Table 17 The distribution of the population of Benghazi by the place of origin or birth and sexes

Benghazi population composition by sex	Eastern Province				Western Province				South-Bin Province	External Migrants	Total	Total			
	Born in a Benghazi municipality	Migrants from the Muqata'at	Berna	Tabal Akhdar	Al-Khums	Misurata	Tripoli	Zawia Gharian					Ubari and Sabha	Foreign Born Libyans	Aliens
Males	40899	46490	3200	4793	4673	8815	3879	1697	1128	1160	1180	5203	25185	82228	123127
Females	39805	44341	2835	4636	3995	6404	2863	1426	795	839	728	4041	18498	72908	112713
Total	80704	90831	6035	9429	8668	15219	6742	3123	1923	1999	1908	9244	54183	155136	*235890

Source: Compiled from the files of the Municipality of Benghazi for the year 1973.

* excluding unknown cases which is 10 cases of which 5 are female and 5 are male

municipality whilst 65.7 per cent of the total were born outside, in other words, they were migrants. It shows also that only 33.7 per cent of the total males in Benghazi were born in the city, while 66.7 per cent of the total males were migrants. The female migrants were also important in the composition of the population of Benghazi. They comprised 64.6 per cent of the total females in the city: the females who were born in the city were only 35 per cent of the total females. This indicated that migration, obviously, is a key factor in the process of the growth of the city's population.

These points may be illustrated further by a comparison of the two censuses of 1964 and 1973 with respect to citizen
(1)
immigrants. In the 1964 Census the number of males was 23,577 and the number of females was 19,669. The sex ratio (defined here as the number of females per 100 males) was 83. By 1973 the difference between the two sexes had been reduced considerably. It was 82,228 for males and 72,908 for females, the sex ratio being 88.

The above findings may be explained by the fact that 1964 was rather a special year because Benghazi had experienced two massive migrations outwards and inwards. The emigrants left Benghazi with their families for the newly established capital Al-Bayda, in order to settle there; secondly, the immigrants who arrived in Benghazi were mostly workers who were dismissed from work as a result of the end of oil operations in the desert

(1) These figures include internal and external citizen migrants coming to Benghazi.

areas of the south. In addition, there were immigrants (amongst them, professional people, students, merchants) who just arrived without their wives because of events occurring in 1964, i.e.,
(1)
the establishment of Al-Bayḍa as the new capital. The differences in sex ratio between the two censuses of 1964 and 1973 might also be due, in part, to job employment biased towards male recruitment.

By 1973, as a result of the expanding economic sector (as will be seen later) new employment opportunities were opening up for females as well as males.

It is interesting to note that the situation has been different with respect to alien immigrants in Benghazi. For instance, in the 1964 census the number of males was 3,423, and females 3,254, thus
(2)
the sex ratio was 95. By 1973 the difference between the two sexes had increased considerably: it was 35,685 for males and 18,498 for females, and the sex ratio being 51.8. It must be added here that the figures do not include illegal entries by alien migrants who were males and who had come into Benghazi without their families, the great majority of them being labourers. It is likely that their presence would increase further the differences between the two sexes.

Hence, the difference between the pattern of the Libyan immigrants and alien immigrants with respect to sex ratio might be attributed to the fact that while the pattern of migration of Libyans is permanent the pattern of migration for aliens was temporary.

(1) There is no census of the exact figures of the number of immigration and emigration at that special year of 1964.

(2) Sex ratio is defined here as the number of females per 100 males.

To sum up, immigration to Benghazi has developed tremendously in recent decades. Table 18 indicates the importance of internal migration in Libya.

Table 18 The distribution of immigrants by place of birth 1964 and 1973

Date of census	Tripolitania	Cyrenaica	Fazzān	Foreign-born Libyans	Aliens	Total
1964*	25,093	8,169	1,655	7,230	6,677	48,824
%	51.4	16.7	3.4	14.8	13.7	100.0
1973**	29,046	24,132	1,913	9,244	54,183	118,518
%	25.0	20.4	1.6	7.7	46.3	100.0

Source: * Kingdom of Libya, General Population Census, Benghazi 1964, Census and Statistics Department, Ministry of Trade and Commerce, Tripoli, 1965, p.41 (in Arabic)

** Compiled from the files of the Municipality of Benghazi for 1973.

Migrants who came from other parts of the country constitute 71.5 per cent of the total sum of immigrants into Benghazi. External migrants, i.e., those who came from outside the country, both foreign born Libyans (or those who left the country during the Italian occupation) and the aliens, made up 28.5 per cent of the total immigrants. It also shows in the 1964 census that the Tripolitanian supply of migrants to Benghazi was 51 per cent, while Cyrenaica's was 16.7 per cent and Fazzān's was 3 per cent. The 1973 census also indicated that the number of migrants to Benghazi increased with regard to the provinces mentioned above.

Finally the 1973 census showed that Benghazi was still important in having immigrants from all of the country's Muqā ta'āt (districts)(see Table 17). In other words, the contribution of all Muqā ta'at of immigrants to Benghazi had increased from 1964 to 1973. Miṣurāta Muqā ta'a was in the leading position in supplying immigrants

to Benghazi. It needs to be stated that the categorisation of the population into migrants and indigenous is somewhat arbitrary, and too much should not be read into the figures. For example, some of those who were stated as being born in the city might well have been born outside the city, and similarly some of those who were registered outside the city could also have been born in the city. (1) However, the above findings serve to provide some of the ideas as to the nature of migration to be investigated in the ensuing chapters, which will be examined in the light of the following questions. Why was Tripolitania the main supply of Benghazi migrants, and does the recent migration give us the same findings? Why are Benghazi migrants mixed, from different provinces, Muqā ta'āt and from various age groups, and is it still the same with the present migration? Why were families and not only individuals increasingly involved in the migration? Are these findings still taking place in recent migration?

These questions, which are most important in this study, can be answered in two ways:

- 1) By studying the socio-economic transformation of the country as a whole - historical and contemporary - in relation to the world-wide situation.
- 2) By studying Benghazi's socio-economic structure in relation to the country's historical and contemporary situation.

In connection with the first problem, it is intended to study it in a separate chapter, which will give a background to the analysis of the present findings of recent migration

(1) I have illustrated this point in chapter I.

phenomena in Benghazi. But in relation to the second aspect, it must be answered in the following account, which will attempt to demonstrate the socio-economic activities of the city and its impact on the life of its people.

B - The New Expansion of Economic Activities in Benghazi

Having discussed in the previous chapter 'II', it is understood that at the time of the country's independence in 1951, the economy of the country was in a serious position to such an extent that its viability as a state was in doubt without the assistance from foreign aid. The agricultural sector was the most dominant single activity, occupying the efforts of over 80 per cent of the population, but yielding in most cases a pitifully small return owing to a combination of factors which include poor rainfall, hot, destructive desert winds (qibli), locust swarms, and a low level of technology. (1)

Education had been almost completely neglected; it has been estimated that almost 95 per cent of the indigenous population was illiterate. Industry, at the same time, offered even fewer possibilities, since there were practically no known mineral resources or power potential. Capital was non-existent, apart from a few small merchants and two or three industrialists, who has only very limited capital. Tripoli was in a better situation,

(1) According to the report of a mission organised by the international bank wrote in 1950, "the bulk of the people live on a subsistence level, where there were no sources of power and no mineral resources, where agriculture expansion was limited by climatic conditions, where capital formation was zero or less, where there was no skilled labour supply and no indigenous entrepreneurship", see B. Higgins, The Economic and Social Development of Libya, New York, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1953.

compared with Benghazi, in these respects.

The economic structure was poor and controlled by a few aliens, entrepreneurs. The emergence of the oil industry in Libya meant that the state-owned industrial enterprises sponsored and subscribed to the capital of private and public companies, and extended long and short-term loans in order to meet the requirements for the transformation of the economic sectors.

Hence, the government policy was, to quote the Master Plan of Benghazi, as follows:

The first task is to foster private enterprise, avoiding at the same time conflicts between individual interests and public need. In these terms, public planning should not become an imposition of abstract principle upon the behaviour of private entrepreneurs, but should attempt to rationalize the relationship between public and private interests, and establish a basis of agreement and co-operation. In other words, the Municipality of Benghazi should play a mediating role among private individuals and between those and the community, to avoid a situation where disadvantages to some should turn to the advantage of others, and try to maximise the positive contribution that private entrepreneurs can give the whole community. ... It is certainly of the utmost importance for Benghazi's economic development to promote the formation of a modern and well-established entrepreneurial class. Consequently local authorities should, in this phase, support private enterprise as much as possible, so that urban development may act as a stimulus for greater social and economic progress. (1)

Since the new industrial or modern sector, of the economy was obviously urban in nature, it established most of its activities at Tripoli and Benghazi. These activities included public and private services, construction, commerce, food supply marketing and storage, wholesale marketing, retail marketing, transport

(1) Whiting Associates International, Benghazi Master Plan, Final Report, December, 1966, p.27.

and communication, and other activities, such as mining, and
(1)
quarrying, oil extraction, manufacturing, finance, insurance,
real estate and business services.

A more detailed picture of Benghazi's economic structure emerges from an understanding of the characteristics of its economic sectors; the relative weight of each of them in the total system, and an analysis of its employment structure.

Although Benghazi's economy is undergoing a rapid change, it is clear that the most dominant single activity still remains the provision of public and private services which accounts for almost one-third of the city's employment. This is shown in the following Table 19 whilst the service sector had about 24 per cent of the total employment in 1964 it had increased further in 1973 to
(2)
34 per cent of the total employment. Construction also had increased from about 8 per cent to over 22 per cent of the total employment. Transportation and communication had increased from 8 per cent to 10 per cent.

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- (1) Though these industries are established outside the city they involve those who live in Benghazi.
- (2) It is important to take into consideration that the classification of the population with respect to their employment in 1964 and 1973 censuses is somewhat arbitrary. Too much should not be drawn from the figures. For instance, whilst the 1964 census was based on classification of the population aged six years and above, the 1973 census was based on classification of the population aged ten years and above. Furthermore, in 1964 the number of districts (mudiriya) in the statistics were more than that involved in the census of 1973. Therefore, this indicates that the number of people employed in 1973 in comparison with 1964 should be much larger than is represented in the above table. Since the problem is to examine the growth of employment in the above findings, they can serve to provide some ideas as to the nature of the development of economic activities in the area (or Muqā'ata'a).

Table 19 The distribution of employment in Benghazi Muqā ta'a by the economy sector in 1964 and 1973 census

Sector	Employment in 1964 (1)			Employment in 1973 (2)		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing	21145	316	21461	8107	90	8197
Mining, Quarrying and oil production	4697	74	4771	1297	39	1336
Manufacturing	3861	161	4022	4566	123	4689
Electricity	1527	30	1557	1775	21	1796
Construction	5656	33	5689	19879	58	19937
Wholesale and Retail trade, Restaurants and Hotels	5833	118	5951	7677	138	7815
Transport, storage and communication	5579	61	5640	8995	119	9114
Financing Insurance real estate and business services	-	-	-	1261	144	1405
Community, social personal services	16233	1280	17513	26200	3974	30174
Activity not adequately defined and not stated	6871	463	7334	4258	59	4317
Total	71402	2536	73938	84015	4765	88780
			100.0			100.0
			9.9			4.9
			23			34
			-			1.5
			7.6			10.2
			8.0			8.8
			7.7			22.5
			2.1			2.0
			5.4			5.3
			7.8			1.5
			28.5			9.2

Sources: Compiled from (1) Kingdom of Libya, General Population Census, Benghazi Muqā ta'a 1964, p.28

(2) Population Census, Benghazi, 1973, p.81

Commerce had 8 per cent in 1964 and it had increased to almost 9 per cent in 1973.

By contrast, the agricultural and mining sector had lost a great deal of its employment during the period of 1964 to 1973. The above table also shows that only (3 per cent) of the total employment in 1964, were females over a half of them being employed in the service sector, by 1973 the number of employed females had increased to 5 per cent of the total employed; the majority of them (over 83 per cent) were employed in the service sector. In other words, the activity and importance of each sector depends relatively on the proportion of its employees in that order, except for the mining sector (includes the oil companies employment). Although mining (oil production) has only a small proportion of employment, it does not reflect their actual importance in the emerging economy of Benghazi, since it has stimulated much of the growth in construction and services, as well as a large proportion of importing and related commercial activity.

Not only the employment in each sector reveals the size of its activity, but also it indicates its structure. This will be seen in the following analysis.

It is interesting to note that out of 88,780 people actively employed in the Muqāṭa'a, 66 per cent of them were citizens, while the rest of over one-third were aliens. The latter were concentrated mainly in the construction sector, having 52 per cent; followed by the service sector having 10 per cent; the agricultural sector having 10 per cent; the people working in the manufacturing sector

(8.8 per cent) and commerce (4 per cent) of the total of 30,150 persons. The remaining (9 per cent) were distributed amongst the rest of the sector of mining and quarrying, electricity, transport etc.

The above data indicates that the service sector was the most important sector, constituting the citizen population. It had 44 per cent, followed by transport and communication (16 per cent) then by commerce (over 12 per cent) and then by the construction sector (over 8 per cent), this was followed by the manufacturing sector (4 per cent) and a few were involved in mining (1.8 per cent) of the total recorded active population in the city. Based on these figures, and since the main concern is the study of citizen immigrants in Benghazi, the following account will concentrate on a discussion and analysis of the economic sectors mentioned above.

(1) Service sector

This sector has seen a substantial increase in its activity and employment as a result of the expansion of the city since the last decade. It constitutes those working in private and public service and government. They include teachers and clergy, administrators, clerical workers, police, guards, armed forces, janitors and maintenance technicians and professional people. This is in addition to those working in entertainment, hotels and coffee houses, barbers, laundries and baths, etc.

Data collected from the Master Plan of Benghazi, 1966, indicated that the majority of the citizens involved in the service sector were employed in the public sector. This is shown

(1)

in the following accounts.

a. Public sector and government. The traditional administrative functions remain economically dominant in Benghazi, at least in terms of employment, which accounted for one out of every four or five of the city's employees in 1964. It is estimated that there were about 8,200 government employees, as follows:

Teachers and clergy	1,200
Administrators	200
Clerical workers	2,000
Police, guards, armed forces	3,000
Janitors and maintenance	1,500
Technicians and professionals	300
	<hr/>
Total	8,200

In addition to the above groups there were other important groups working in service in the public sector, such as those in the utilities sector. According to the 1964 census, the utilities sector employed a considerable number of people within Benghazi. They included the city's rubbish collection department, water supply and distribution, sewerage and drainage, etc.

These departments accounted for the biggest proportion of labourers working in public services and for the government. The labourers, e.g., the refuse collectors were the most important and active of the labourers' group in the city. They were the first to protest against overtime and ask for wage increases, the first to strike etc. (1) There was co-operation between them and

(1) The refuse collector and the street sweeper are the first to strike, because they are employed in the public sector. They are regular job holders. They are employed on daily wages, unlike the rest of the employees in the public sector. Their wages are the lowest compared with the rest of the people employed in the public sector. They work for eight hours a day, which is more than civil servants and less than the labourers working in the private sector. Thus they see themselves as the most oppressed group in terms of their pay and conditions of work.

other labourers' groups working with the private sector, and they were (and still are) amongst the most powerful groups in the trade unions in Benghazi.

b. Private sector. There was a total of 654 services licences in the city in 1964, of which 203 licences were for commercial services and 160 were for commercial agents. In addition there were:

	<u>licences</u>
Professional services	39
Engineering	27
Secretarial and driving schools	20
Entertainment, hotels and coffee houses	237
Barbers, laundries, baths	128

These employed nearly 3,000 workers, in addition to 200 or more household workers. This made a total of between 5,000 or 6,000 persons.

Like public services, private services constituted one of the fastest growing sectors of Benghazi's economy. This aspect appears from the number of licences which had been given to private entrepreneurs in 1974, where they numbered 12,313 (1) licences. This involved 107 different kinds of establishment. These developments constituted a new type of activity, and consequently a novel pattern of occupation, in which they created a new model of relations between their (occupational) members.

It is interesting to note that the overwhelming number of employers in the private sector are from the citizen population,

(1) Compiled from The Municipality Bulletin, Nos. 4/2,4/3,4/4 (in Arabic). The above data relies on the number of licences and not the actual number of people who are working in the sector, because licences are the only data available concerning the size of the private services activities see Table (62) Appendix (ii) for further information on the type of the licences in private sector.

while a majority of the employees and labourers in this sector are aliens. This is in contrast to the public sector where the main employer is the government and the majority of its employees and workers are from the citizen population. This is due to the socio-economic and political system, which has been reflected by the government law. This law is to "Libyanise" the business entrepreneur in Libya, i.e., to be owned by citizens, whilst it allows the employees to be aliens. Citizens are given priority in
(1)
government employment.

It is important to note that although in recent years (since 1970), the administration and political activity on the national level have been transferred to Tripoli, Benghazi still has the highest employment figures in the service sector (both public and private) after Tripoli. It has 16.8 per cent of the total number
(2)
of citizens employed in the country (which is 149,849 persons).

2) Transport and communication

This is the second important sector with respect to citizen employment in Benghazi. According to the 1964 census, there were about 5,000 people employed in transport and communication. This figure had increased to over 9,000 in 1973, making it the fastest growing sector of the city's economy after the services sector. In 1964 there were 1,227 transport establishments, such as lorry companies, where there were 2,548 lorry licences, 54 taxi licences, (these figures had increased to 1,500 licences in 1975 and 101
(3)
horse and cart licences).

(1) This point will be elaborated further in chapters VI and VII.

(2) Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census and Statistics Department, Population Census, Summary data, 1973, p.22.

(3) The figures are compiled from the files of the Ministry of Transport in Benghazi, 1975.

According to the Municipality Bulletin data transport facilities have developed not only to serve the city, but also other parts of Cyrenaica, because of the location of the airport, and harbour, and the commercial role of the city. In addition to the Binina Airport, which handles most of the international traffic an increasing amount of small plane traffic between the oilfields and Benghazi city has developed in the last two decades. These activities have affected the people of Benghazi in that they created new business groups which acted as owners and directors of lorries, taxis, etc., as well as associated groups involved in repairs and maintenance.

3) The commercial sector

It has been made clear that Benghazi has a long history as the major commercial and government centre of the Cyrenaican province, and as the second leading community in Libya. Public administration has dominated the local economy from Ottoman times onwards. Since Benghazi was a main governmental centre, it remained the major port and commercial port of entry of Cyrenaica.

The import trade is the fastest growing commercial line in Benghazi. Benghazi's harbour handles nearly 40 per cent of Libya's commercial traffic and serves the whole Cyrenaican region. Little is exported from the port, but imports have become a vital part of the economy as expanding markets have not yet been met by Libyan producers. Goods for the whole province pass through the port of Benghazi. This fact has created a different kind of activity, and consequently developed different social groups in Benghazi, such as labourers, agents, merchants and

(1)
administrators.

The labourers in the sea-port work continuously in two shifts: day and night. In each shift the workers unload the cargoes from the ships, and are working under agents who oversee the operation. Since the unloading of goods is a continuous job and is dependent on the density of shipping in the port, the number in each shift is changeable from day to day and from night to night, from month to month, and consequently from year to year, as we shall see in Table 20.

The figures in Table 20 shows that the number of labourers working in the harbour during 1974 has increased considerably compared with the figures for 1967. In other words, the number of jobs which were available in 1974 was more than double that in 1967. The amount of activity in this sector has increased proportionally. The census of the import commercial establishments (2) in 1964 showed 341 establishments, in 1974 it was 1238 (3) establishments.

In addition there is internal commercial activity between Benghazi and other parts of the country in connection with food supply.

-
- (1) In addition to these, it has been estimated that in 1973 employment in this sector totalled 7,815. 6,484 were citizens, the rest were aliens. 4,131 were wholesale merchants and retail merchants, whilst 727 were shopkeepers and hawkers.
 - (2) Compiled from the Municipality Bulletin, No. 7, Benghazi, October - December, 1964 (in Arabic).
 - (3) Compiled from the Municipality Bulletin, No. 1/4 Benghazi, 1974 (in Arabic).

Table 20 The Distribution of Labourers of Loading and Unloading of Goods during 1967 and 1974 for a Day and Night Shift (in number of labourers)

Month	1967		1974	
	Day	Night	Day	Night
January	11,588	6,559	27,950	35,509
February	10,561	7,154	27,753	34,907
March	11,062	10,310	27,764	38,074
April	12,065	11,113	25,383	36,496
May	14,412	14,658	28,471	43,129
June	9,374	14,426	31,467	45,893
July	8,937	13,407	33,864	42,271
August	9,967	12,361	30,448	43,809
September	10,389	12,922	27,540	40,462
October	12,047	26,290	13,270	39,560
November	11,240	27,725	12,164	39,889
December	11,246	8,843	25,389	34,230
Total	132,898	165,768	311,463	474,229
TOTAL	298,666		785,692	

Sources: Compiled from (1) The files of the Registration of Labourers Loading and Unloading of Goods during 1967 and 1974;
 (2) The Organization of Seaport and Light in Benghazi, 1975

marketing and storage, wholesale marketing and retail marketing.

It is useful to study these aspects to enable a judgement to be made on the number and kind of people who were involved in this activity, and consequently the structure of commerce in Benghazi. Generally speaking, Benghazi marketing activities are dominated by the small shop unit rather than by specialized and large commercial enterprises. Food marketing has undergone less modernization than trade in other types of goods. Wholesale food marketing is carried on mostly in the Funduq, and the major

portion of retail food markets are located in three smaller sūq (1)
(markets). Many wholesale and retail dealers also act simultaneously
as importers. The issue of a licence represents the main form of
control over marketing activity. According to the 1964 Census,
the number of people employed by the retail marketing sector was
nearly 5,000 persons, whereas the shop licences which were given
(2)
during the same year were 3,390.

These activities have developed even more in recent years,
indicated by the number of the shop licences which had been given
(3)
in 1974 which was 7,239. There is no doubt that the structure
of this sector had its impact on the society of Benghazi, which
in recent years had developed rapidly. As Benghazi became a market
for the manufactured goods imported from abroad, it also increased
the wealth of some individuals in the society which led to greater
inequality between the members of the city's society. Consequently
it led to the development of small socio-economic groups, such
as the big merchants, who sometimes act as commercial agencies,
and wholesale dealers, commercial agencies and different levels
of shopowners and shopkeepers, labourers, etc. These activities
affected other parts of the economic sector, such as transport
and communication, as was shown earlier.

4) Construction sector

It has been indicated in the earlier pages of this section that

(1) singular, sūq; plural, āswāq.

(2) Compiled from the Municipality Bulletin, No. 7, Benghazi, October -
December 1964 (in Arabic).

(3) Compiled from the Municipality Bulletin, No. 2-4, Benghazi. The
classification and number of these licences will be given in the
Appendix ii, Table 62.

this sector was the fastest growing sector in Benghazi. It had increased its employment almost four times during the period from 1964 to 1973. It increased from having over 5,000 in 1964 to almost 20,000 employees in 1973. However, the majority of the people involved in this sector were aliens.

The 1964 data reveals that 130 establishments in Benghazi were currently engaged in construction activities, and they employed 5,000 to 7,000 (excluding the illegal labourers). The city's present construction boom results from the variety of demands. Growth in population has stimulated construction of new housing, mainly apartment buildings, catering for the demand of upper income groups.

Both new and expanding firms have augmented the demand for office and storage space. At the same time, increased government spending on utilities and other public facilities further stimulated construction activity.

Unfortunately, the construction boom has been accompanied by a steep rise in building costs. Land speculation has sharply raised the price of building sites which has been passed on in the form of higher rents, beyond the reach of the lower and middle income groups.

It has been explained earlier that both governments, i.e., the ex-regime and the present regime, have adopted certain policies in order to overcome the housing crisis in urban areas. The ex-regime policy had increased building activity mostly in the private sector, but loans were restricted and given to the merchants, businessmen and other members of royal families and their agents, by the

government and other commercial banks in the country.

Both the building contractors and the dwellings' proprietors were among the above mentioned groups. Skilled and wage-labourers constituted both citizens and aliens. They were among those who were low wage employees.

At present the construction activity is developing at a faster rate. This is a result of the RCC ⁽¹⁾ housing programme for providing sufficient housing for the people living in shanty towns and slums so as to ameliorate housing conditions in the area.

Hence, new developments in construction industries have increased building activities in both the private and public sectors.

In relation to the public sector there were 7,838 housing units ⁽²⁾ which comprised six flats each. These were built between 1971 ⁽³⁾ and 1972, 14,500 units were built between 1972 and 1973 ⁽⁴⁾ to accommodate the lower income groups and to get rid of the shanty towns in Benghazi. For the middle and upper income group, housing activity has developed through the private sector.

These activities have increased occupational groups involved in construction industry such as large contractors, middle construction contractors, small construction contractors and skilled and unskilled labourers (i.e., masons, carpenters, plumbers,

(1) RCC is the Revolutionary Command Council.

(2) Units are residential blocks comprised of several flats.

(3) An interview with the Director of Housing Institute in Benghazi, 1975.

(4) Compiled from the registration files of the Building Licensee during 1972-3, Municipality of Benghazi, 1974 (in Arabic).

messengers, night-watchmen, etc.).

Though it has been estimated by the municipality of Benghazi that the total number of people involved in construction was 19,937 persons, 1,199 of them were contractors and industrialists or the owners of the firms which manufactured the building materials. Some 15,560 of them were labourers. The majority, 12,339 or about 79 per cent of the total labourers were aliens, and over 81 per cent of the total contractors and industrialists were Libyan. (1)

It should be pointed out however that the above figures have to be considered in the light of several facts:

a) people who take up contracting activity usually have other kinds of economic activities, such as trade or transport operations. However, people who own construction licences may not be involved in this activity, and vice versa. People who do carry on contracting activity may have no licences, but they often "hire" other people's licences in the sense that they work as partners with others who possess construction licences.

The same situation applies to building labourers. Wage labourers in Benghazi operate within a system of labour circulation from one economic sector to another. For example, a labourer could work in construction as well as taking up a job on the docks, move on to transport and then be unemployed and so forth. The majority, (2) therefore, are employed on a temporary basis.

(1) The reason for this state of affairs is simply due to the fact that the government had put less restriction on the employment of aliens in this sector. Obviously, priorities are given to Libyans whenever possible.

(2) See chapters VI, VII for further illustration of this point.

5) The manufacturing sector. Benghazi has always had some manufacturing activity. The few activities of the past consisted mainly of the production of essentials by artisans, with the exception of one textile firm and a few food industries. At present, however, Benghazi is the second industrial growth point of the country. It has 2,012 persons (1) 15 per cent of the total of 13,099 citizens working in manufacturing activities, while it has 2,677 30 per cent of the total of 9,074 aliens working in manufacturing activities.

Benghazi has 204 small manufacturers, 25 medium-sized industrial establishments and 6 large industrial establishments. (2) The majority of large and medium industries are owned by the public sector while small manufacturers are owned by individuals in the private sector.

6) Mining quarrying and the oil production. In contrast to the above sector, the number of people involved in this activity has decreased from 5,771 persons in 1964 to 1,336 persons in 1973. According to the 1973 Census, the number of people working in the oil industry was only 948, of whom 856 were citizens and 92 aliens. The number of people working in other mining industries and quarrying was 388, of whom 132 were Libyan and 256 aliens, this indicates that a great number of those working in the oil industry are Libyans. This is due to the employment law. This law restricted the employment opportunities in this sector to citizens, unlike the construction sector.

(1) See General Population Census 1973, p.22.

(2) M. Al-Mhdawi, "The industrial establishment in Libya 1971-1972", unpublished paper presented in the first geographical conference in Benghazi, 1975, pp. 14-15 (in Arabic).

It is interesting to note that the important position of this industry is not due to its direct employment, i.e., in the number of people employed with the oil companies, but in fact its importance is derived from the structure of its indirect employment and the making of capital available for investment. Indirect employment appears in the service sectors required by the nationalized oil companies. These activities provide numerous openings for economic enterprise, such as transport, construction, especially food contractors (Muta'ahidin).

Mining and quarrying has recently employed more Libyans than ever, since the implimentation of the policy of (1) "Libyanization", which encouraged citizens' employment in senior and junior positions and as labourers, in the oil fields.

The discussion of the development of the economic structure in Benghazi indicates that Benghazi has experienced a rapid expansion in its economic activities; construction, commerce, transport, administrative work and industries, etc., consequently the number of people who are involved in these economic activities has increased in proportion.

So far the discussion has centred on the expansion of the economic activities in Benghazi. Now, attention is turned to a consideration of structural change, and the question will be asked, how far it is possible to discuss the structure of Benghazi society, moving towards a situation ordered on the

(1) Since 1973, where the majority of the mining sector is owned and controlled by the public sector or the government. The employment opportunities in this sector were given to citizens or the "national ideology".

the lines of the recent economic development which has been
(1)
integrated into the modern world market.

It has been stated earlier that Benghazi and its society were affected by the great destruction caused during World War II. It had lost its economic activities, its ruling elite of Italian colonials when almost all of them left Benghazi for Italy and more than two-thirds of its population died during the war. Benghazi adjusted itself to the "new wealth" by change within the socio-economic structure of its old town, and by increasing its important commercial functions. However, its role changed from an exporting centre of raw materials (such as salt and other agricultural produce) from its province of Cyrenaica to an importing one serving adjacent areas. Goods such as food, clothes, cars, furniture, radios, televisions, watches and other consumer goods were the main items imported. These activities led to the enormous importance of land speculation in Benghazi, whether through the sale of land for building on the periphery or through redevelopment of the urban central area. Another significant change in the basis of economic power has been increasing government intervention in economic affairs, through the policy of "Libyanization" of the business entrepreneurs and the senior jobs in public sector employment. The "Nationalization" policy of oil companies has also increased the number of people involved as professionals, administrators, labourers, etc.

The demand for more civil servants to run the new state and administer the economic activities in the city has led to the creation

(1) This relation between Libyan economy and the world market is characterized mainly by exporting its raw material, i.e., oil and importing manufactured goods in exchange.

of "civil bureaucrats" - professional and service occupations (see Table 21).

These occupations are continuing to increase in importance as a means of economic support (i.e., employing people, with wages and salaries based on regular hours). In addition, traditional ⁽¹⁾ sūq (markets) runs as family enterprises are facing diminishing importance with the production of manufactured goods. Some of the goods produced locally have been replaced. For instance, Sūq Al-Hashīsh, the market which was held daily, where people used to meet in order to sell and buy agricultural and livestock produce such as milk, butter, wool, eggs and other goods such as coal and wood; Sūq Al-Hadāda, or blacksmiths' market, which was the place where traditional agricultural tools were made and sold; and Sūq Al-farīd, which was the market for traditional clothes. All these sūq have disappeared and have been replaced by modern markets and showrooms. These modern markets are for the sale of imported goods such as electrical apparatus, watches, western clothes and other modern manufactured goods. The family, which was the basic unit of economic activity, has declined in the traditional economic sector. The production of members of the family may involve production for the market (i.e., the manufacture and sale of clothes, which was usually done by the wife and children at home, and sold by the husband and children in the market), or production for home consumption (i.e., using some of the clothes produced by members of the family).

Self-employment and unpaid family workers may both be

(1) The term sūq (singular); Aswāq (plural) means market.

Table 21 The distribution of Benghazi's active population by their occupation

Active Population	1964 (1)		1973 (2)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Production	14071	19.0	38351	43.1
Agriculture	21920	24.6	7237	8.1
Sales	5468	7.4	6054	6.8
Services	8399	11.3	15048	16.9
Clerical	4923	5.1	7982	9.0
Professionals and Administrators	4151	4.1	10011	11.2
Unclassified	15006	20.2	4097	4.6
Total	73938	100.0	88780	100.0

Source: Compiled from (1) General Population Census, Benghazi, Muqā.ta'a 1964, pp.22-27

(2) Population Census, Benghazi, 1973, pp. 93-96.

considered as indicative of the traditional small-scale sectors. Table 22 shows a decline from 33 per cent to 15 per cent of the total active population productive family between 1964 and 1973, during the same period a rise from 60 per cent to 83 per cent was noted in employers and employed persons. Hence the above data signifies the increasing importance of the modern sector and the decline of the traditional sector, while the overwhelming majority of active people have been drawn into wage and salaried employment.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that any division of Benghazi's population into economically active and inactive persons is to some extent arbitrary. In particular the case of females, where only 5 per cent were in active employment in the 1973 Census (see Table 23). However, several females whom I met in my field-work (1974) who registered in the official Census as inactive (i.e., as a housewife) were in fact "active". For example, in two cases the women were domestic servants; in one case making cakes and sweets for a restaurant, the other was a tailoress. In other cases housewives made fishing nets and raised chickens for both home consumption and for the market. The question is therefore how many of these economically active persons are actually employed? Official census statistics tend to give very low rates of unemployment (see Table 23), yet it is generally believed that the circulation of labour ⁽¹⁾ and turnover of jobs, i.e., "disguised" employment is one of the most serious problems facing Benghazi society. And since unemployment benefits do not

(1) This means the movement of people from one job to another and from one economic sector to another.

Table 22 The employment status of the active population of Benghazi (Muqā ta'a)

The employment status of the population	1964 (1)		1973 (2)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Employer	811	1.1	1320	1.5
Employed	42095	59.3	72437	81.6
Self-employed	19160	27.0	13239	14.9
Unpaid family worker	4405	6.2	619	0.6
<i>Unknown</i>	<i>4483</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>1165</i>	<i>1.3</i>
Total active population	70954	100.0	88780	100.0

Source: Compiled from (1) General Population Census, Benghazi, Muqā ta'a 1964, p.20

(2) Population Census, Benghazi, 1973, p.17

Table 23 The distribution of citizen population from 10 years and above by sex active and unactive (in 1973)

active and unactive population (age 10 years and above)	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(1) active population	56701	63.8	3071	3.9	59772	35.8
employed	54754	61.7	2922	3.7	57676	34.5
unemployed	1947	2.2	149	0.2	2096	1.3
(2) inactive population	31869	35.9	75275	96.0	107144	64.0
Housewives	-	-	54244	69.1	54244	32.4
Students	28231	31.8	19437	24.8	47668	28.5
Others	3638	4.1	1594	2.1	5232	3.1
unknown	206	0.2	99	0.1	305	0.1
(3) Total population including unknown cases	88776	100.0	78445	100.0	167221	100.0

Source: compiled (1) Population Census, Benghazi, 1973, p.14

exist in Benghazi (or Libya as a whole), a person would not declare his employment position in any case. But he must seek work for himself.⁽¹⁾

It has been said that the occupation structure of each city reflects to some extent its function. Almost half of the people recorded as active employment were concentrated in services, sales, professions and technical and clerical occupations in Benghazi (see Table 21), while the other half was involved in the production sector. Over 60 per cent (23,113) were recorded as being construction workers, dockers and labourers or were involved in transport. According to the official census, the active population in Benghazi was divided, so to speak, into those involved in productive activities and those in unproductive activities (see Table 21). Unproductive activities include services, sales, administrators and professional people. Since the construction and transport sectors have the largest number of people employed in them, it has been said that they played an important part in providing services.

The central discussion so far has been on the question of the economic activities and the changes which occurred in the city. The recent development of economic activity in Benghazi has led to an increase not only in economic wealth, as one might expect, but also to an increase in inequality between the different sections of Benghazi's society. In order to understand the issue of inequality, one has to understand how and in what way the "new wealth" or the oil revenue has been distributed among

(1) This point will be elaborated further in the following section on the position of low income group in Benghazi.

the city's society. The next section deals with the pattern of individuals access to material resources in the city, that is to say, the problem or the "issue" of social stratification.

C - The Social Stratification of the City's Society

The previous sections of this chapter indicate that in the last two decades, Benghazi experienced a rapid growth in its population. The economic activity has also developed rapidly in the city. This was necessary in order to fit in with the new economic system, not only in Benghazi or Libya as a whole, but also in the economic systems of the world market. Therefore, certain activities and consequently certain socio-economic groups have developed within modern Benghazi.

In this section I shall adopt an approach on the basis of the varying accessibility of material resources in Benghazi to its socio-economic groups. The range of socio-economic differentiation among these groups with respect to their income and their activities will be explained and analysed. There are several difficulties which arise from any attempt at studying the social stratification of the urban society in developing countries. The issue has been a subject of inquiry and much discussion for some time, ^{and} there is, still much controversy among sociologists about the definition and the explanation of social stratification in these societies. Some writers have indicated the difficulties of applying a system of social stratification to the study of Middle Eastern and African societies. V.F. Costello, for example,

has discussed the problem in some detail and points out the difficulty of analyzing the social stratification system in the Middle East, which led him to conclude that,

' ... we might expect the ingredients of a class system in this differentiation between occupations, since occupation largely decides income and therefore life-styles, and is itself largely determined by education We saw that traditional urban society was divided into two classes. On the top were the ruler, landlords, the mercantile bourgeoisie and the wealthy religious; below were highly segmented agglomerations of workers 'respectable' workers and "unrespectable" workers. The modern change from this comparatively simple division has been related by a number of studies of similar processes which occurred in western society during the transition from a pre-industrial society with its concomitant social, demographic and economic characteristics, to an industrial urban society with the gamut of distinguishing features which make up the term 'modernism. (1)

He goes on to say that,

"More cautiously, however, Snajberg (1970:83) warns that one should not carry too far the metaphor of 'modern' man, and so create a new sociological ideal type". (2)

An important point here is that occupation is not necessarily a decisive factor of income distribution, though it may determine to some extent the salary and the pattern of accessibility to material resources in the city. It varies from person to person (this point will be explained in chapter VI and VII).

The "problem" of social stratification in African society has also been indicated by I. Wallerstein in his article written in 1977. In this connection he commented,

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- (1) In this context he (Costello) refers to Lerner, D., The Passing of The additional Society. Modernising the Middle East, London 1964, where he (Lerner) sees in his model the shift from pre-industrial to modern society as pursuing its own autonomous historical logic, coloured by culture but basically the same everywhere.
- (2) V.F. Costello, Urbanization in the Middle East, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p.73.

How do we explain that status group consciousness is so pervasive and powerful as a political force in Africa and throughout the world today and throughout history? To answer that it is false consciousness is simply to push the question one step logically back for then we should have to ask how it is that most people most of the time exhibit false consciousness? (1)

The above data attempts to explain the difficulties and confusion in establishing a criteria for studying the aspect of social stratification in contemporary developing societies. In spite of these difficulties, there are some general features of social stratification which are not in dispute. One approach, suggested by M. Berger, notes that,

It is easy to see that in the Arab world there are the rich and the poor. As elsewhere, the rich own the means of production and land, enjoy the occupations that are usually regarded as most desirable, have greater political power, are better educated and more articulate on public affairs. The poor, of course, do not own productive wealth or much land, are usually in occupations with little prestige, have less political power, are less educated and less articulate on public affairs'. (2)

Though the above approach seems to be convincing, it appears, however, to be ambiguous when one tries to go beyond these broad differences in order to specify in detail the various social groups in a given society (in the Arab world). (3)

The problem of the difficulty of social stratification appeared in the modern writings as well as old writings; for instance, the distinctive features of Marx's theory of social stratification are,

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- (1) P.C.W. Gutkind and P. Waterman, African Social Studies, A radical reader, First published 1977, p.277.
 - (2) M. Berger, The Arab World Today, New York, 1964, p.245.
 - (3) In the case of Benghazi, for example, the rich do not necessarily have greater political power or have better education than the rest of the city's population.

the conception of social classes in terms of the system of production, ... the principal classes, in Marx theory of social stratification, are the bourgeoisie and the working class; or "the oppressors and oppressed which are in conflict with each other in every type of human society beyond the most primitive." (1)

Though, Marx theory may fit reasonably well the social stratification of western society, it does not fit so well, nor has it been used so successfully in explaining a number of other types of social stratification. In developing societies, like Libya. The growth of the new middle strata which has resulted from the rapid economic development manifested the greater complexity of social stratification in Libyan society.

The first to present an alternative to Marx's theory was Max Weber. Weber attempted to distinguish between different modes of stratification. Class stratification with which Marx had been principally concerned and stratification by social prestige or honour. He maintained the possibility of the appearance of the two types of stratification in different historical periods. He states:

As to general economic conditions making for the predominance of stratification by status, only the following can be said when the bases of the acquisition and distribution of goods are relatively stable. Stratification by status is favoured. Every technological repercussion and economic transformation threatens stratification by status and pushes the class situation into the foreground. Epochs and countries in which the naked class situation is of predominant significance

(1) Karl Marx, Capital; A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, progress publishers, Moscow, reprinted 1974, vol. 1, see part VII and VII pp. 531-716.

are regularly the periods of technical and economic transformations. And every slowing down of the change in economic stratification leads, in due course, to the growth of status structure and makes for a resuscitation of the important role of social honours. (1)

Although Weber's explanation of the process of stratification appears to be valid, it does not tell us how one may deal with the explanation of stratification of a society like Benghazi in its early social formation, or how one may explain and justify the existence of traditional groups alongside the modern groups.

Rousseau in his well-known passage has indicated a system of ranking based on inequality between the members of society.

He wrote:

'I conceive that there are two kinds of inequality among the human species, one, which I call natural or physical, because it is established by nature, and consists in a difference of age, health, bodily strength, and the qualities of the mind or of the soul; and another, which may be called moral, political inequality, because it depends on a kind of convention, and is established or at least authorized, by the consent of men. This latter consists of the different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others; such as that of being more rich, more honoured, more powerful, or even in a position to exact obedience.(2)

These passages illustrate the difficulty of constructing a theory of stratification specifically in urban society and in reference to Africa and the Middle East. Therefore it is proposed to offer a scheme of empirical approach, based on varying access to economic material, mainly income and economic activities, by the members of Benghazi society.

(1) Weber, Max, Economy and Society (3 vols), New York, 1968, p.438

(2) J.J. Rousseau, A dissertation on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality of Mankind, Everyman Edition, p.160. in T.B. Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, 7th edition, London, 1965 p.16.

(3) Ministry of planning and development Census and statistical department, report on the first phase of household sample, Benghazi town, Tripoli, 1969, p.7. (see p.157)

This system of social stratification is comprised of three groups which are as follows:

1) The upper income groups. These groups consist of individuals whose economic activities or social-economic position allow them to maximize their access to a high income. It has been estimated that in 1968 the average monthly income of households in this group ranged from LD218 to LD 417, the per capita income of this group ranging from LD 26 to LD 47 a month. ⁽³⁾ They constitute the big merchants, large contractors, big industrialists and landowners, who usually invest their capital in two or more economic sectors. Some of the members of this group have contact or connections with the agricultural sectors. At present they carry out the modernization of this traditional sector, along with the department of the Ministry of Agriculture, e.g., Hussan, who has a big building company, and an industrial enterprise for making building materials, a shop for the sale of this firm's products, and a 30 hectare vegetable and fruit farm. Added to this group are the university professors, judges, high ranking administrators, and the directors of private and oil companies. This group of people enjoy a high income and control the economy, not only in the city, but also within the private sector and obviously work in co-operation with other upper income groups in other parts of the country. This group operates as agents on behalf of the industrial entrepreneurs in other foreign countries. They are found in economic activities as wholesale merchants, or car dealers, large building contractors and shipping agents. They were able to establish relations for economic

(3) see p 156 .

(1)
reciprocity between themselves and other socio-economic groups in the society. Although this group was very small in Benghazi, it has increased over the last two decades. This is due to the economic growth and activities in the city as well as in the country as a whole. The group is not a homogeneous social one, i.e., it is not comprised of people from an ethnic group unlike the situation in some other parts of the Middle East (2) and Africa until recently the group was restricted only to the ruling elite and their agents. They were only large-scale merchants, real estate owners, industrialists, food supply contractors for the oil companies and large construction contracts. New groups have now been joined to it from the wholesale import merchants, construction contractors, and the new appointees of high ranking administrators in the city. However, the members of this group may be described as small and heterogeneous, drawn from all segments of society. They are unified in wealth, and influence in local affairs, but, their political power which they practiced in Majlis al-aʿyān, (3) which

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- (1) Economic reciprocity is termed by Blau, P.M., Exchange and power in Social Life, New York, 1964, p.6, as "actions that are contingent on rewarding reactions from others and that cease when these expected reactions are not forthcoming". In other words, the persons a member knows at work are willing to provide services for him in a different context, in expectation of future services which may be returned, either in the workplace or in some new context to which only they belong. It is important to mention here that this exchange is not necessarily based on equal exchange. It depends strongly on socio-economic and political forces within which this exchange has taken place. (This point will be elaborated further in the following chapter VII, on the socio-economic behaviour of migrants in Benghazi.)
- (2) ie Iran whose upper income group is drawn from elite related to Reza Shah families, while in Saudi Arabia the upper income group is mainly from the Saudi Arabian royal family.
- (3) These people are mainly from awlād Li-blād (or sons of or for the city) i.e., from the wealthier traditional families such as merchants, contractors, industrialists, landowners, etc.

may be called the city council but this has been weakened in the years since 1975.

Majlis Al-ia'yān has been replaced recently by the "popular committee", i.e., a committee which is comprised of elected people from the director of ministerial departments and the leaders of trade unions, chamber of commerce, contractors' union, engineers' union and so on. The life style of these people is not easily visible, since the forces which preserve private life separate from public life are still maintained in Benghazi. The wealthy can obviously afford to preserve their privacy, their expensive clothes and means of transport (the ownership of Mercedes and other expensive cars), their large villas, set apart and surrounded by high walls and tall trees, with large gardens, are found in the best area such as Al-Fuwihāt. They enjoy the best social amenities such as better education, good hospitals, shopping facilities, electricity and water supplies.

2) The middle income group. This group consists of individuals whose position or economic activities limit their attempts to maximize their access to the available material resources. They are involved in the development of trade and manufacture and services and the state. The function of this group is characterized as being managerial, exchange and services.

(1)

According to a survey undertaken in 1968, it was estimated that the average monthly income of this group ranged from LD 73 to LD 163 for a household, while the average monthly income for a person ranged from LD 12 to less than LD 20. It is constituted from

(1) Ministry of planning; op.cit. p.7.

middle-ranking administrators, army officers, and those self-employed merchants (such as jewellers), dealers, and small manufacturers, whose income and influence are not great enough to place them among the wealthy, powerful men in economic or political life. In addition, there are the newly appointed doctors, engineers, pharmacists, lawyers, university teachers, dentists and Imāms. There are also the middle contractors, salesman, retailers, dealers, business agents, proprietors of garages, technicians, accountants, interpreters, journalists, and publishers. Also in this group are the people in the lower positions of the middle income group such as policemen, clerical workers, secretaries, nurses, photographers, small government employees, and other skilled labourers, carpenters, artists, hairdressers, barbers, drivers, foremen, masons, mechanics, electricians and the like.

The accessibility to the material resources in the city by such groups is varied. Notably the 'name of the game' is to gain privileged access through occupation. The political influence of bureaucrats and their access to state resources facilitates their entry into business on favourable terms alongside the merchants in the city and consequently enhances their socio-economic mobility to the upper income group.

There are no recorded statistics on the size of the middle income group in Benghazi, but generally speaking, it may be estimated that there is a rapid increase in the size of this group as a result of expansion of government bureaucracies and professional activities and other economic activity in the private sector.

Although this group has developed in recent years, it is still like its counterpart in other parts of the Third World: weak and unorganized, and with little economic power. The members are small merchants, small retailers, who employ few people outside the members of their own families; shopkeepers who are self-employed, civil servants and administrators, who are salaried. The middle income group in Benghazi is therefore largely a self-employed group and is less an employing group than that of the entrepreneur in the upper income group. As a non-employing group, it has little economic power. Despite this, the middle groups in Benghazi have enormous influence as a vehicle of "modernization" under the present climate of change and development of new political institutions (see Appendix III). They are the carriers of new skills and ideologies, and the demonstrators of new styles of life, such a participation in the new political organization and the recreation clubs. It has been assumed by sociologists, ⁽¹⁾ who study the social and economic structure of the cities in the Middle East, that traditional religious functionaries are in an important position. In fact the position of this group in Benghazi has never been strong outside their religious functions, as sermonizers, preachers and teachers (in the mosque for children). This situation was the result of the following:

i) given the fact that the religious movement in Libya had been developed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was developed strongly in the Cyrenaican countryside and not in urban

(1) See, for example, IRA M. Lapidus, Middle Eastern Cities; A symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism, University of California Press, 1969.

centres like Benghazi. The result of this structure was therefore to cause the disappearance of Al-Allama's elite in Benghazi and other parts of urban Cyrenaica.

ii) Secondly the Italian's rule in Libya had prevented any movement or emergence of leaders who could unite and organize the masses against prevailing colonial policies. Hence, during the period of their control of Libya the religious figures were discouraged from taking part in any social activities which could lead to a political force against the colonial rulers.

Among those who exercised their activities as traditional sermonizers, preachers, and as religious teachers for children are the Figiy of the Mosque. They earned their living from the people from whom money was collected in exchange for their services. At the present time Figiys have been replaced by Imāms who receive their occupation by obtaining a secular education. They are graduates from Al-jami'at Al-Islamiya (or the Islamic University, and are generally government employees receiving monthly salaries.

3) The low income group. This group consists of individuals whose socio-economic position hinders their attempts to maximize their access to the available material resources, such as income. This group's income is characterized by irregular and uncertain wages.

(1)

According to the survey of 1968 done by the Ministry of Planning on the study of the standard of living in Benghazi, it was estimated that the average monthly income of households in this group ranged from LD 12 to LD 36 and the average monthly income per person from LD 5 to LD 7.

(1) Ministry of Planning, op.cit., p.7.

Salaries and the minimum daily wage have more than doubled in the last few years for this group. Before 1971, according to government regulations, the minimum wage had increased from LD 30 per month, or one dinar per working day, while from the beginning of 1971, the minimum wage increased to LD 60 per month. It must be borne in mind however that the cost of living during recent years has at least trebled, according to the prices index which existed before 1970 and up to 1975. For example, a report by the Ministry of Economics on the study of the redistribution of incomes in Libya (1972), stated that between 1964 and 1971 the cost of living increased by 156 per cent, while the minimum wage increased by only 140 per cent in the same period. (1) It means that the wages and standard of living of the lower income groups in Benghazi are very low indeed, and is barely at the level of subsistence. (2) It has been explained earlier that this group live either in old hōsh in the slum areas within the city. They live also in government houses or huts on the periphery of the city. In both cases they lack the social facilities of transport, health clinics, better schools, shopping facilities, water services and electricity.

Those who live in dwellings provided by government housing schemes, have experienced a serious economic and social problems, to which their present conditions do not enable them to adjust. The isolation of these houses from social amenities of the city led to the high cost of access to these public facilities and placed them in a more difficult situation than ever.

(1) LAR, Ministry of Economics, The General Administration of Economic Affairs: the Study and Proposal of the Redistribution of Incomes in Libya, Tripoli, 1972, p.20 (in Arabic).

(2) See Appendix, ii Table 63 and 64 for clarification of this point.

This group is comprised mostly of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, petty traders and people who live on social security benefits. The structure of this group is, according to the 1964 census data, young, with 50 per cent of all workers between 15 and 35 years of age. Nearly all workers are male; perhaps a total of only 2,000 females are employed in Benghazi, and these are mainly (1) in the service sector. The majority of females and children working in Benghazi are derived from low income families; they sought employment to supplement their families' income.

Generally speaking, most of these workers are illiterate and a large proportion of them who are semi-skilled labourers, have developed certain skills only from experience in their present jobs. There is clearly a very high rate of job turnover amongst this group.

This aspect appears from the work force, according to period of employment in Benghazi shown in the following Table.

Table 24 Workforce according to period of employment in Benghazi 1964

<u>Length of employment in present position</u>	<u>% of work force</u>
Unknown	24
One year or less	30
One to five years	18
One to more than five years	28
Total	100

Source: compiled from the General Population Census, 1964, p.30

The above table shows that the proportion of the length of employment of one year or less is the highest, covering 30 per cent,

(1) This figure is compiled from General Population Census 1964, p.3 (in Arabic), and Master Plan of Benghazi, 1966, pp.36-7.

and 18 per cent for one to five years of the total workforce. This means that most workers are recent in their present position. It shows not only a very high rate of job turnover, but possibly the rate of increase of this group, i.e., the increase of urban workers, mostly peasant in origin. The present table of the number of people seeking jobs, registered in the Labour Office in Benghazi during 1972 (which was the only available date in that respect) is shown below.

Table 25 Number of people seeking employment, 1972

	No. of people seeking employment	No. of people finding jobs	No. ^{un} / _h employed
January	689	588	101
February	1076	719	307
March	897	740	102
April	1046	950	96
May	1103	905	198
June	814	641	178
July	780	775	121
August	770	765	111
September	620	786	119
October	1077	877	106
November	994	608	386
December	1113	398	402
Total for 1972	10979	8752	2227

Source: compiled from the files of the Registration Office of the people seeking employment in Benghazi, 1972.

The above table shows that 10979 people were looking for jobs during 1972, of which more than three-quarters were unskilled and labourers, the rest were either semi-skilled labourers or school leavers looking for clerical and secretarial jobs.

It shows also that 8752 persons found jobs, but those still looking for jobs numbered 2227. These aspects reveal the type

and the structure of employment affecting the working group in Benghazi.

The figures given of the number of people seeking employment does not include all people seeking employment in Benghazi, because of the fact that some people depend on their own personal efforts (i.e., some people rely on their relatives or friends) to find jobs. In this connection, the Director of the Labour Office says, "The people who come to this office looking for jobs are the people who are desperate and find difficulty in finding a job".⁽¹⁾

Activities of lower income groups

i) Trade unions. The workers are organized into a few trade unions, but these are largely under state control. The trade unions were encouraged by the new government under the 1970 law which states that "Trade unions are not to have a direct or indirect relationship with any other foreign union. Meetings of the trade unions are to be open at any time for representatives of the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs. The Ministry must receive notification of a meeting and the minutes of all meetings. A trade union can be dissolved at the request of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs by a decision of the Court of the First Instance."⁽²⁾ An acceptable explanation has been presented by Berge, who says that "Arab governments, have encouraged trade unions while retaining close control over them and using them in the struggle against older combinations of power."⁽³⁾

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- (1) An interview held between the author and the Director of the Labour Registration Office in Benghazi, 1975.
- (2) Henri Habib, Politics and Government of Revolutionary Libya, Ottawa, Canada, 1975, pp. 47-48.
- (3) M. Berger, op.cit., p.248.

However, the workers in Benghazi seem to be thankful for government support, because for the first time in Libyan history, labourers have such unions legally recognized. One of the leaders of the trade unions said, "The workers have not been able to achieve such goals on their own strength, but only through the support of the state apparatus."⁽¹⁾

Since this is too vast a subject to discuss in detail, suffice mention only one very important aspect namely, the impact of trade union activities on the labourers. The Director of Labour and his staff (of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs branches in the Muqāṭa'āt⁽²⁾ have to be elected by popular committees which are closely associated with the local trade unions. The result was that some of the semi-skilled and skilled labourers became involved in political and civil service activities, consequently these activities have both advantages and disadvantages as far as the workers are concerned, e.g., the Head of the trade unions⁽³⁾ in Benghazi is at the same time the Director of Labour of the Ministry of Labour. This means that leaders of trade unions cannot support other unions in any industrial action, legislation or laws because of the fact that he himself represents the law.

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- (1) An interview held between the author and the President of Trade Unions of Benghazi, 1975.
 - (2) See the Appendix III on the political structure of Benghazi for more clarification of the activities of these committees.
 - (3) The Director of the Labour Office in Benghazi is an ex-wage labourer, employed by the Municipality of Benghazi. See the chapter on the socio-economic position of migrants in Benghazi for further elaboration of how and in what way the Director of the Labour Office was able to have access to such a high position.

It is indeed true that some of the working group as well as some of the middle income group experienced a high rate of social mobility during the last five years, as a result of the process of socio-economic and political change which is reforming Benghazi society. (1)

In this, as Berger stated in connection with the impact of technology on Arab society: "Technological change is also stirring Arab society and shifting socio-economic classes once accepted as it is coming to be in the Near East. It places different values on certain skills and brings with it new social relationships and ideological commitments." (2)

ii) Training and education. It is the new element of technology, especially in industrialization which is giving wider opportunities for the unskilled labourers to be trained as semi-skilled and skilled labourers. (3) A spokesman for the Ministry of Labour has reported that the Ministry of Labour is making concerted efforts which will have a strong bearing on social development, and goes hand in hand with economic development. These efforts relate to the question of the training of unskilled and semi-skilled people, for which a number of vocational training schemes have been established. The spokesman noted that the development plan in Libya faces a major obstacle resulting from the scarcity of skilled labour. Accordingly, the number of vocational training centres has jumped from only one before 1970 to four centres in Benghazi, in order to supply the new economic

(1) See Appendix iii for further illustration.

(2) M. Berger, op.cit., pp.256-7.

(3) An interview held by the author and the President of the trade unions of Benghazi, 1975.

establishment with skilled labour. He added however that with this tremendous expansion, a major problem has arisen which the Ministry is working on to find a practical solution. The problem concerns the lack of a sufficient number of skilled instructors who will join the new centres. It is significant that these requirements give the labourer opportunities in Benghazi as well as the rest of Libya; it allows him to be mobile in new occupations, new positions, and consequently in new income groups. For instance, some labourers have been moved to positions of instructors. Here, "the Ministry estimates that it needs about 400 instructors, a number which cannot be met with existing facilities. This has urged the Ministry to conclude an agreement with the Torino International Institute for technical and industrial training, to give field training to 120 labourers who would form the nucleus for the instructors needed." (1)

In addition, the Ministry will send another group of trainees to Egypt, Tunisia, and some European countries.

Among the attempts made by the Ministry to train unskilled workers is the implementation of a decree concerning the training of government-employed daily workers, whose health and age permit . (2)

Establishments in the private sector are also required to set up training units in these fields and to provide education for their labourers.

(1) Interview held between the author and the Director of the Labour Training Centre in Benghazi, 1975.

(2) LAR, Ministry of Information and Culture, The General Administration of Information, The Revolution of the 1st September - The Fourth Anniversary, Dar Al Hakika, Benghazi, 1975, p.183.

iii) Labour education: There is no doubt that the new technology needs new forms of labour in order to adapt to its systems. The quotation is from the Ministry of Information:

In the light of the awareness by the Ministry that the source of labour problems and complaints that fill work offices lies often in the lack of awareness on the part of the labourer and his lack of understanding of his duties, and his placing of his rights in the forefront without taking into consideration his obligations, the Ministry saw the need of finding practical methods that would increase the labourer's awareness and his feeling of responsibility. Among these methods is the creation of institutes and centres for labour education. Labourers would enroll in these institutes for specific periods and would be lectured on all aspects of their lives. (1)

So far, nine such sessions have been held for union leaders, comprising members of boards of directors of various labour unions. The number of graduates of such programmes totalled 339 from various districts.

According to the Director of Labour (in Benghazi):

In view of the importance of labour education, an institute for the labour education was established in Tripoli, and a labour education centre in Benghazi ... The institute and the centre will provide services to labourers who come from various districts. (2)

Surprisingly the application of this labour education is carried out in order to explain the basis of the industrial relations between the employer and the employees.

The above statements show the development and changes of Libyan economy, of which many have been involved in new activities and social positions in the society. Indeed, as G. Sjoberg (1960: p.41)

(1) Ibid., p.185.

(2) An interview held with the Director of the Labour Training Centre in Benghazi, 1975.

stated, "The industrial milieu witnesses the incessant creation of new occupations and the destruction of older ones, necessitating (1) continual revamping of the status hierarchy". This development has led to an open system of social status. Some of the labourers have experienced socio-economic movement in the society, as has the middle income group, e.g. the movement of clerical administrative (2) bureaucracy into managerial-technological positions".

It seems desirable not to leave the subject without considering the complex subject of social mobility, opportunity and social structure of Benghazi Libyan society. All these elements appear in the recruitment of personnel to new positions and the reform of social relations between the members of Benghazi society, i.e., the relations of the socio-economic groups within the income group (3) itself in relation with other income groups in the society.

To sum up the impact of this socio-economic structure on the society of the city.

1) The most noticeable phenomenon of the increase of economic wealth in the city was the increase of socio-economic differentiation within the city's inhabitants. The increase of wealth has been disproportionately distributed in the hands of small group of people within the upper income group. Hence the increased wealth

(1) Sjoberg, G., The Pre-industrial City: Past and Present, Glencoe Free Press, 1960, p.41

(2) I will elaborate this point further in the chapter on the socio-economic position of migrants in Benghazi.

(3) This aspect will be discussed in some detail in chps. VI and VII.

in the country has led not only to the increase of economic activities but also an increase on economic wealth of some of the inhabitants of the city. It led to a drastic increase in socio-economic inequality between the citizens, in which the low income group provides cheap labour and supportive roles. According to a survey (1) in 1968, it was estimated that the average monthly income of households in Benghazi was about LD 109, compared with LD 93 for Tripoli. It also indicated that 34 per cent of the households in the lower income group got about 8% of the total income, while 7.5 per cent of the households in the high income group get 28.8 per cent of the total income of the sample, which was LD 60,293.

2) The increase in socio-economic differentiation was felt by not only the income groups within Libyan society, but also it was experienced within one generation, from father to son. For example, the differentiation in income, occupation, education, housing, social status was experienced by kinsmen and by the members of one family or social group.

The society has moved from its restricted system of social stratification which was formed on the basis of ethnicity. For example, before World War II Benghazi society was comprised mainly of two ethnic groups: the Italians and the Libyan citizens or "the

(1) This survey was set up in 1968. The main goal of its enquiry was to study family expenditure and income in Benghazi. The total number of households in the survey was 553, with 3417 persons, and the total income was LD 60,293 the average income of the households was LD 109.0, while the average per person was 17.7 LD, compared with the national accounts for 1967 which estimated LD 246 per capita income in Libya. See Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of planning and development, Census and statistical department, report on the first phase of household sample survey, Benghazi Town, Tripoli, 1969, p.7.

rulers and the ruled". The access to the material resources, therefore, was based on one's political position. After independence, and especially during the period of the 1950s, the city of Benghazi saw a more rapid development than any other part of the country. It was the centre of the administration of the new state. Consequently, the social stratification of the society had changed in favour of a small number of Libyan people who became the ruling elite, replacing the Italian rulers. It became, for the first time in the city's history, the capital and the centre of the federal government of all the three provinces of the country. During the early 1950s Benghazi's society was shaped from the following groups:

1) Upper income group, which was included in the traditional groups of the Sanusi (the king) and his agents, of the leaders of the dominant tribes and the large merchants. This group was very small in number, although it had the lion's share of material resources.

2) Middle income group, this was developed but it was also very limited due to small opportunities in administrative offices. These jobs were restricted to the people who were allied to the upper income group.

3) Lower income group, or the mass of people who formed the majority of the city's population. The people of shanty towns, of the unemployed, or poor health, the overwhelming majority of whom lived on the margin of subsistence. Most of them had no jobs, and they were moving to and fro between Benghazi and its countryside, seeking a means of subsistence for their families.

Now, under the present socio-economic and political developments in the country, more opportunities have been opened for these people.

A large number of them are called from outside the city to participate in its socio-economic, political activities, and consequently they join its income groups. The upper income group is still growing, but it is small compared with the other income groups. The middle income group is also growing rapidly, but still is smaller than the lower income group. The lower income group constitutes the overwhelming majority of the city's population.

The discussion indicates that Benghazi society is a product of its past, and of the contemporary forces that shape the nation and its people. It is also in the process of rapid development in stages of transformation of its socio-economic structure. It was explained previously in the account of the ecological pattern and the structure of the urban setting, that Benghazi has experienced changes in its Mahallāt or "quarters". They are structured and characterized by the features of high income group settlements, middle and lower income group type of quarters. Each quarter may be recognised by its building and the pattern of its service and social amenities.

It was also seen how government intervention stopped the continuation of the development of certain quarters. The Sabri quarter, for instance, changed after government intervention. The policy of rehousing the shanty town people in Al-Mihāshi area stopped the development of Sabri area from being an area for newcomers in the low income group. The type of settlements of zarība huts, and other poor housing has been replaced by three to six-storey buildings, inhabited by the middle income group and lower income group who are

capable of paying the rents. Similarly, Al-Fuwihat area development was stopped. From being an area which was limited to upper income groups only, the government has built (in 1974-75) dwellings to accommodate the low income group. These dwellings are found within the area of the upper income group type of dwelling. Dwellings for middle income groups have also developed there. It has been shown that the type of migrants' settlements varied from one period to another. For example, the old settlement of shanty towns had been replaced by government houses. The crowded shanty towns had disappeared from the city. It can be concluded that the type of migrant settlement in Benghazi are shaped and formed by the socio-economic structures which are experienced within the city and its peoples and not due to the migrants' psychological factors. These issues are elaborated further in the section on the development and growth of geographical and demographic structure in the city. It has been seen how the process of the two aspects has been growing rapidly. Migration has played a major role in the development of the city and its society. It has also contributed to the development of its economic activities. To conclude, the great demand made by economic growth on various occupational groups was clearly responsible for the improved socio-economic mobility experienced in the city by its population.⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, this development has also played a major role in the process of the transformation of the city's society, from the

(1) This point will be elaborated in Chaps. VI and VII.

restrictive traditional social stratification (mainly consisting of two income groups i.e., upper and lower) to an open one in which the middle income group is developing rapidly. The gap of socio-economic differentiation became wider within the members of the city's population. Some were able to move above their socio-economic position, others, however, were not able to do so. There is no doubt that these developments will also play an important role in the movement of migrants from one occupation, income, social position, level of education etc., and consequently from one income group or stratum, to another.

But there are other factors which cause the migrants' mobility and which are likely to shape the role of migrants in Benghazi city. A description of the migrants' background is a necessary prerequisite to the interpretation of this role in the process of industrialisation.

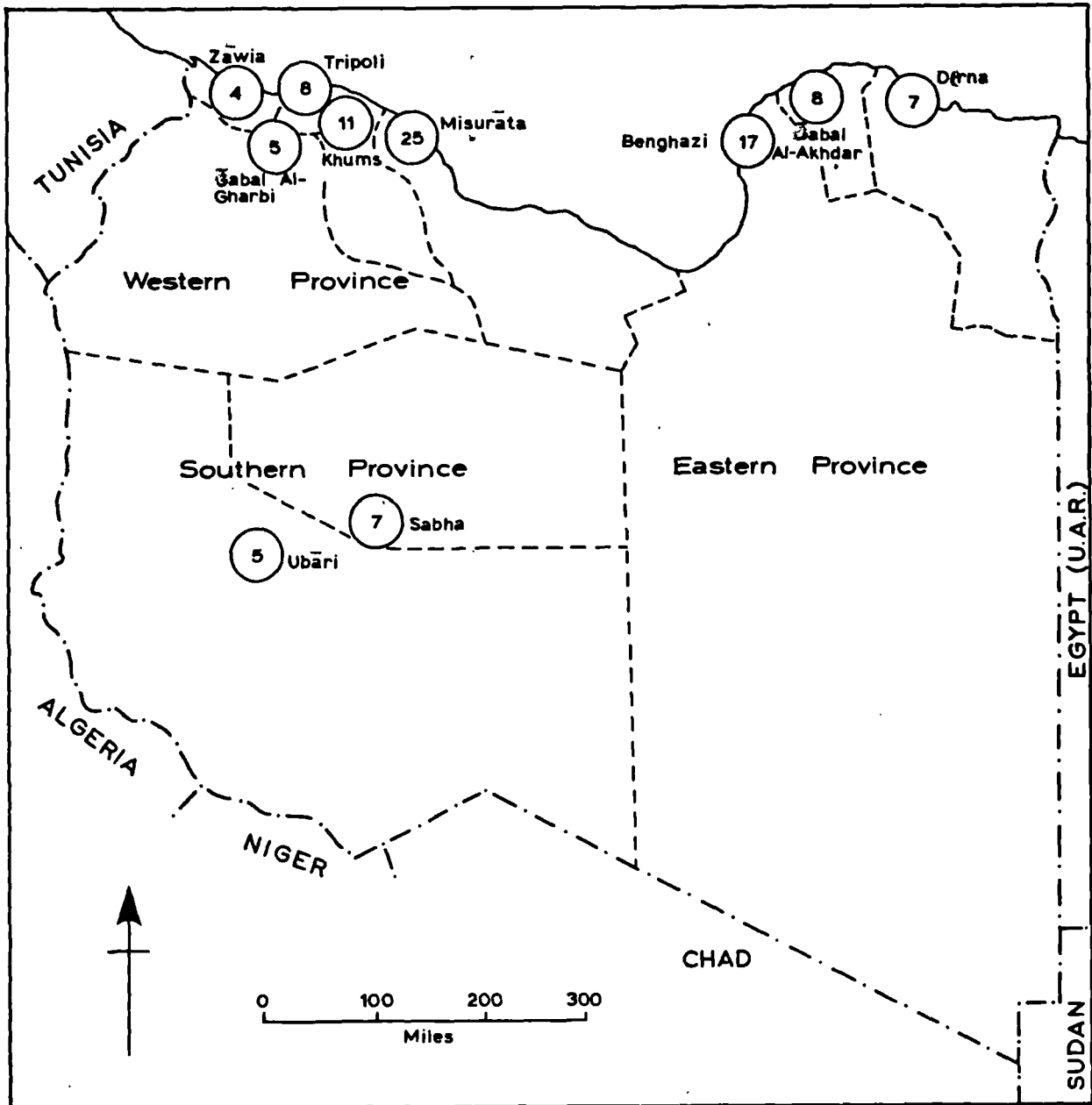
C H A P T E R I V

The Characteristics of Benghazi's Migrants:
Trends, Patterns, and Motivations

The previous two chapters, attempted to demonstrate, in general terms, the conditioning factors of migration. However, the question relating to who actually migrates is in itself problematic. Migration does not just apply specifically to migration of the rural population but to the urban counterparts also where migrants originated from different districts (Mugā'ta'a) see map 5. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse structural changes in the pattern of migration and this involves understanding the characteristics of the migrants who reacted to certain conditions and factors influencing social movements (i.e., socio-economic transformation of society) by emigrating. The following chapter will discuss whether migration is a regional or super-regional problem; whether it is because of poverty or the inequality between the members of the whole society.

Attention will be focused mainly on the analysis of the characteristic of Benghazi migrants. It will examine in some detail the trend and pattern and motivation of the migration. (1)
It will examine the migrants' income groups, their age-sex composition and type of migration, i.e., whether it is individual

(1) Income group: groups which have similar occupation, income, and other forms of access to the material resources in the country such as Housing, education etc.



MAP 5. Origin of Benghazi migrants from each muqāṭaṭa.

or family patterned, and whether it is a seasonal or permanent. Consequently, it will examine the relations between these aspects and the period of arrival in Benghazi, and see whether the aspects of previous mobility, origin of migrants, the destination of Benghazi are important in giving a full understanding of the trends and patterns of migration. Two points will be examined;

1. The migrants' first experience of migration, or the migrants' experience of first move from place of origin ⁽¹⁾ to places other than Benghazi.
2. The migrants' last move before leaving for Benghazi, or what will be called in this study, the place of last residence.

Migrants' motives are important in order to complete the analysis of such characteristics of patterns and trends of migration. The section is mainly based on the question of what is the motive of migrants, or what he hoped to achieve in his move to Benghazi City. In other words, this section will be concerned with the migrants' answer to the question: Why did you migrate to Benghazi? The answers will be classified according to the migrant's present socio-economic position in Benghazi. This is in order to see the relationship between the individual migrant's motivations and his previous and present socio-economic position in Benghazi on the one hand, and the migrant's socio-economic position at place of last residence, on the other. By doing this it is hoped to gain a better understanding of the problem of migration. Whether

(1) Place of origin means here the village or town which the migrant and his family (father and mother) lived in up to the first five years of the migrant's life. In other words, this is the place which the migrant left at school age, or the age of opportunities for young people, the migrant's place of birth. Place of last residence indicates the last place of residence before settling in Benghazi.

one can use a migrant's opinion on the issue as to why he migrates is also problematic but for our purpose it will suffice to assume that it reflects in some general way the migrant's own consciousness of and reaction to, his environment.

I) The Socio-economic Position of Migrants and their previous mobility Before Coming to Benghazi.

A - Socio-Economic Position of Migrants before coming to Benghazi.

Since the socio-economic position of migrants before coming to Benghazi, will be discussed in some detail in a separate chapter V, an attempt will be made here only to state briefly the migrants' socio-economic positions at the place of last residence.

In relation to this, migrants were mostly from wage-labourers' groups, followed by the students, the farmers', the livestock owners, professionals, the skilled labourers, and finally by the business entrepreneur groups. (1) The data shows that the internal migrants of Benghazi came from different socio-economic groups, the majority coming from wage-labourer and students' groups.

It is of interest to note that there are some similarities and differences with respect to the present socio-economic position among the migrants' categories in the sample. For instance:

i) Business entrepreneur category. About 23 per cent of the Business entrepreneurs were wage-labourers, 27 per cent were farmers, 20 per cent were skilled labourers, and 3 per cent were livestock owners, professionals and students.

(1) Internal migrants indicates migrants who came from rural or urban areas into Benghazi: not from outside the country.

- ii) Professional category. This was 62, 25, 10, and 3 per cent respectively for students, professionals, wage-labourers and livestock owners. None of the professional category were farmers or business entrepreneurs.
- iii) Student category. All of the sample of 39 cases were students before they came to Benghazi.
- iv) Skilled labourer category. Over 8 per cent of skilled labourers were farmers; 39 per cent were students; 22 per cent were skilled labourers; and 31 per cent were wage labourers.
- v) Wage labourer category. 23 per cent of wage labourers were farmers, 10 per cent livestock owners, and 67 per cent wage labourers.

These figures, covering the five categories, indicated that migrants came from different socio-economic groups, with the exception of the students, who, came generally from one socio-economic group. In addition, most of the socio-economic groups persist through the five migrant categories, although they vary proportionally from one category to another. For instance, the student group had 3 out of every 100 in the business entrepreneur category, while the professional category had 62 out of every 100, and 100 per cent for the student category, and 39 out of every 100 were in the skilled labourer category (see Table 28).

The majority of the migrants from the rural sector: viz 377 persons or 75.4 per cent while only 123 persons or 24.6 per cent of the total sample of 500 cases came from the urban sector of both

Table 28 The distribution of migrants by their present and previous position at place of last residence

Migrants Present Position	Migrants Previous Position								Total
	Farmers	Livestock Owners	Business Entrepreneurs	Professionals	Students	Skilled Workers	Wage Labourers		
Business Entrepreneurs	16	2	12	2	2	12	14	60	
%	26.6	3.3	20	3.3	3.3	20	23.3	100	
Professionals		3		26	65		11	105	
%		2.8		24.7	61.9		10.4	100.5	
Students					39			39	
%					100			100	
Skilled Labourers	3				14	8	11	36	
%	8.3				38.8	22.2	30.5	100	
Semi-skilled	60	26					174	260	
%	23	10					66.9	100	
Total	79	31	12	28	120	20	210	500	
%	15.8	6.2	2.4	5.6	24	4	42	100	

(1)
towns and cities. This pattern of migration increased when the place of origin is considered. For instance, the migrants from the rural sector increase to 88.8 per cent or 444 persons, whilst migrants from the urban sector decrease to 11.2 per cent or 56 persons.

The above figures show that a high proportion of the migrants are from the rural sector of both places: place of origin and place of last residence. This fact seems to suggest that previous mobility (that is, the existence of one or more migratory stages) will not be high. (2) Whereas, the number of people who came from the rural sector had decreased from the place of origin to the place of last residence by 67 persons (15 per cent of the total of rural migrants at the place of origin of 444 persons), the number and proportion of people who had experienced previous movement was 168 persons (about 34 per cent) of the total sample. That is to say, although the number of people who experienced previous movement was not very high, it was more than double the number of those who moved straight from the rural sector to the urban sector.

-
- (1) Towns in Libya generally include both the traditional agricultural sector (where the landowners or animal owners live, especially those whose property, farms or animals are still under their own supervision) and the modern sector of schools, government offices, modern markets and banks. In some places it includes economic, political and social activity, but on a very small scale compared with the city.
- (2) It is important to bear in mind here that the migrants in the sample were selected from those who had experienced first movement of who had migrated after the age of five years. The limitation of five years of age, would be justified because the movements at this age, in general, have an important meaning in contemporary Libyan society. It is the age at which children, especially those who live with their family in remote rural areas, tend to be sent to schools in areas other than their area of origin, and they stay mostly with kin or friends of their family. In addition, some of the families of the pastoralist nomadic society send their children or sons from this age with other members of the pasture moving camp in order to take care of the new-born sheep and goats.

The migrants' previous mobility will be explained further in order to understand which of them experienced previous mobility with respect to their previous occupation or socio-economic position and their period of arrival.

B - Previous Mobility of Migrants Before Coming to Benghazi.

The analysis indicates that about 297 persons or over 59 per cent of the total sample did not make any previous movement they in fact moved directly from the place of origin to Benghazi, and 194 persons, or about 39 per cent had one or more previous moves.

(a) The migrants of Benghazi can be classified into two groups: one group which had experienced previous movement and the other which had not.

(b) For those who arrived directly from the place of origin to Benghazi, most were from the farmers and animal owner groups, followed by wage labourer groups, then by students, business entrepreneur groups, professionals, and lastly by skilled labourers.

This data (in Table 29) shows that the greatest mobility of migrants was observed for skilled labourers, secondly for professionals, then business entrepreneurs and students who had a previous move as for those who had more than one. For the rest of the groups - farmers, livestock, wage labourers - this is only observed in the figures for migrants with one previous move as the relation would be in the inverse sense considering the migrants with more than one previous move. Thus we can deduce from the above analysis that there is a relationship between one's economic activity and one's mobility. The degree of mobility in each category depends upon how many people (i.e., those characterised by their greater geographical movement, such as

Table 29 The distribution of migrants by their previous movement and their occupational group at place of last residence

Previous Movements	Migrants' Occupation at their place of last residence									
	Farmer	Livestock Owner	Business entrepreneur	Professional	Students	Skilled Labourers	Wage Labourers	Total		
None	65	21	7	4	74	1	125	297		
%	82.2	67.7	58.3	14.2	61.6	5	59.5	64.6		
One	8	4	3	12	25	5	37	94		
%	10.1	12.9	25	42.8	20.8	25	17.6	18.6		
Two	4	2	1	3	6	6	25	47		
%	5	6.4	8.3	10.7	5	30	11.9	9.4		
Three or more	2	4	1	8	12	8	18	53		
%	2.5	12.9	8.3	28.5	10	40	8.5	10.6		
Total *	79	31	12	28 ^a	120 ^b	20	210 ^c	500 ^d		
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

a.- includes immigrants whose previous movements are unknown

b.- " " " " " " " " " " " "

c.- " " " " " " " " " " " "

d.- " " " " " " " " " " " "

businessmen, professionals and skilled labourers) constitute the respective categories.

It is important to examine therefore who had or had not experienced previous moves amongst the migrants in each category of the present socio-economic groups of the migrants in Benghazi. This is necessary in order to see to what extent the research in each category supports such an assumption.

i) Business entrepreneurs category. The greatest mobility was observed among this category in relation to the other categories. About half of the migrants of this category had previous movements, whilst the rest had not made a previous move. From those who had experienced previous moves about half of them had more than one. The highest proportion of those who had moved more than once was found among the skilled labourers and business entrepreneurs, followed by wage labourers. Few farmers had experienced more than one previous move.

It is significant that though the business entrepreneurs are expected to have greater spatial mobility as part of their occupational necessity, it was only the old migrant merchants who had experienced a much previous mobility, whilst the majority of the present merchants were characterised by less movement. Historically speaking, the old merchant migrants came from commercial families who were involved in long-distance commerce in the pre-colonial Italian period. They originated in areas like Misurata Mugā ta'a and other parts of the Tripolitania province which was known for its importance as one of the central caravan routes. Such commerce played a decisive role in these societies. (As has been

indicated in chapter II the trade was carried out by certain groups who monopolized the commercial sector during that period, but this type of commercial activity has now virtually disappeared having been destroyed by the colonialists' policy which aimed to stop the commercial network between the interior and coastal regions of Africa. (1) Hence, the commercial activities in some parts of Libya have been declining for several reasons. These activities were stopped by force during the colonial periods, but at present they have been declining because of the poor productivity of rural areas and the transformation of the Libyan economy to an 'import economy'. Consequently 'traditional' merchants changed from exporters to distributors of imported manufactured goods. They were concentrated in the main urban centres. (This fact will be elaborated further in chapter V and case histories will be studied in more detail). However, one point needs to be made here; which is that the present migrant merchants tended to have one previous move or to come direct to Benghazi. This can be attributed to the pattern of the socio-economic structure in Benghazi in contrast with other urban settings in the country, and may be seen from data gathered from migrants who moved from Miṣurāta Muqā ta'a to Tripoli City. Some of these were unable to continue their activities for the reason that Tripoli City, unlike Benghazi, has a mercantile group which monopolizes commercial activities there. It was difficult, therefore, for an outsider to carry on a business. Among the migrants who had

(1) C. Meillassoux (ed.), The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa, London, 1971, gives a useful analysis of the transformation of traditional commercial activities to modern activities in West Africa.

experienced previous movement were those who left their place of origin for Tripoli but who failed to carry on their businesses there.

The wage and skilled labourers in this category had also experienced a great deal of movement; A considerable number of them had moved more than once. The migrants in this group had left their place of origin during the period 1950 to the early 1960s, and headed towards urban and rural settings other than Benghazi City. Most of the migrants in this group came to Benghazi after they had spent a long time in the same socio-economic position and occupation. They were in activities such as shopkeeper for two years and three months. From there he came to Benghazi city, hoping to work as a partner in a cafe.

ii) Professional category. A different result for professionals from that of the business entrepreneurs. The proportion of people who had moved before was less than those in the business category. It shows also the greater mobility of migrants with more than one movement, as observed for professionals, and for students. This result may be explained by the need for geographical mobility in these two groups in order for them to obtain the necessary education (1) for their trade or occupation because schools and higher education were not available in all areas (i.e., provinces or Muqā ta'a, cities or villages). For instance until recently Fazzān Province had no high schools, it had only a few grammar schools, an institute for primary school teacher training, Qurānic schools, and elementary schools for secular education. These were found only in Sabha or in the urban

(1) For more details see the chapter II.

centre of the province. Some villages also had schools for children. This situation is explained further in the following case.

Migrant (A) was a student in his village of Al-Rajama (in the eastern province or Cyrenaica). He went to a religious school in the village. In 1960, after four years of study, he left his village for another town in the area called Salūq in order to further his education. In this town he lived with his married sister, since there were no hostels there. After he finished at the grammar school in the town he was appointed as a school teacher in his village of origin. In 1969 he moved to Al-Marj town in order to pursue further education at a secondary school and hoped to teach at the same time. After three years, when he had finished his secondary school, he came to Benghazi where he was transferred to a primary school. He was able to carry on his studies at the University of Benghazi.

The above categories of professionals and business entrepreneurs, however, agree in one important respect, to be seen in the figures for migrants with previous movements, concerning those who had moved and those who had not. The relation was, on the average, high for the former with respect to the latter. It was about 58 per cent and 38 per cent for the business migrants, and approximately 48 per cent and 44 per cent for the professionals.

iii) Students category. In contrast to the above two categories, the migrants with previous moves were less than those with more, where the proportion was about 25 per cent for students with previous mobility (for which the proportions of people with one and with more than one previous move were fairly equal) and over 74 per cent with no previous movement. It is interesting to note the similarity

in experience of student groups in the professional category and those in the student category, with respect to the relations of the proportion of the migrants with previous movement.

iv) Skilled labourers category. The proportion of migrants who had experienced previous movements was higher than those with no previous movements, about 53 per cent and over 44 per cent respectively for each of the above groups.

The result of the analysis with respect to the above aspects confirmed the result of the analysis for the professional and business entrepreneur categories, but was inconsistent with the student category.

In addition, it indicates also the similarity of the experience of the skilled labourers and wage labourers groups among the business entrepreneurs', and skilled labourers' categories.

v) Wage labourers category. This category has similar results to that of the students but it varies from the other categories of business entrepreneurs, professionals and skilled labourers. The proportion of migrants with previous movement was about 29 per cent, substantially less than the proportion of migrants with no previous movements, which was over 70 per cent. In addition, the previous movements experienced by the wage labourers in this category were different from the wage labourer groups of the previous categories, especially the business entrepreneurs and skilled labourers.

The analysis of the migrants' previous movements, shows that more than one-third of the migrants in Benghazi (a total of 500 cases) had moved from place of origin to places other than Benghazi.

This aspect varies in character with respect to migrants' previous socio-economic positions. That is, the proportion of those who experienced or who did not experience mobility was different

from one occupational group to another; it can be seen that the level of previous movements among the migrants from one occupational group varies from one category to its counterpart in other categories. For example, wage labourers who had moved were found mostly in the business entrepreneurs' rather than amongst those in the labourers' category. Those of the students' group who had experienced previous movement were found in the professional rather than in the students' category. These findings may be ascribed to several reasons which are to be found in the study of the socio-economic structure of the host and supply areas in relation to the country as a whole at the time of first move. (This point will be elaborated further in the following chapter on the socio-economic background of migrants before coming to Benghazi). It is important to take into consideration that the previous mobility of migrants does not include the migrants' movements for the purpose of short visits, what is taken into account here is the motivation of the movement, defined by the migrants' economic activity in the host areas. It is interesting to note the migrants' previous visits to Benghazi and their reasons for such visits before their last move and long stay in Benghazi.

Generally speaking, the number of migrants' previous visits to Benghazi was very high in the case of recent migrants, particularly for business entrepreneurs, professionals (almost 50 per cent with respect to students and skilled labourers) but very few in the case of wage labourers, farmers and animal owners categories, where most of them came direct to stay in Benghazi. This indicates the relationship between a persons economic activities and movements. However, it is important to explain the reasons for migrants' movements with respect to the period ⁽¹⁾ of experiencing the first

(1) There are four periods under consideration, they are: prior to 1950; 1950 to 59; 1960 to 69; and 1970 to 1975.

move and the period of arrival at Benghazi in order to see more clearly the pattern of migrants' movements at each period and the trend of migration from urban and rural sectors both from the place of origin and the place of last residence.

In carrying out this analysis, it was hoped that it may be of help in solving the question; why is the number of people who experienced previous movement greater in a particular period and not at others? The answer to this question is the main object of this thesis: what are the causes of migration in Libya? Therefore the following section will deal with the movements of migrants during the period of experiencing their first move from their original home, whether village, town or city, and the period during which they arrived in Benghazi.

II) Period During which First Move was Experienced and Period of Arrival in Benghazi:

This section will examine two points.

- (a) The period during which migrants moved from their original homes to places other than Benghazi.
- (b) The period during which migrants moved from the place of last residence to Benghazi.

An attempt will now be made to show the number of people who emigrated from their original home and the number of people who immigrated into Benghazi during the same periods in order to see the magnitude of the two movements at the various periods: before the 1950s; from 1950 to 1959; from 1960 to 1969; and from 1970 to 1975. These periods have been chosen to complement the stages of socio-economic and political development in Libyan society. (1)

(1) For greater elaboration on this point see the chapters II and III.

For example, the most important period was the colonial era prior to the 1950s. This was characterised by the policy of confiscation of land from the citizen farmers and by a movement of the population within the country particularly from rural to urban areas. Added to this were the consequences of World War II, which were characterised by a high death rate amongst the Cyrenaican people in both rural and urban areas.

The period 1950-1959 was significant because of the achievement of political independence and the establishment of the new state in the urban centres, of Tripoli and Benghazi, it was also characterised by the search for oil and its eventual discovery (mostly in the eastern province of Cyrenaica). The 1960-1969 period was noted for the development of economic and political activities and by oil discoveries; the new economic and political activities were mostly in Cyrenaica, particularly Benghazi, and Al-Bayda city. 1970-1975 was characterised by the rapid expansion of commerce, administration, construction and industry.

The movements within the above periods will be studied with respect to the number of migrants who moved from both rural and urban areas. Hence, table: (30)! show, the distribution of migrants by age at period of first movement and period at arrival.

1. Period prior to the 1950s. The movement of migrants during this period tended to be from rural to urban areas. Data on the pattern of migrants' movements at this period indicates that about 40 per cent of the total sample came direct to Benghazi without any previous movements, of which about 71 per cent came from rural settings and about 29 per cent from urban areas. (see Table 30).

Table 30 The distribution of Migrants by age at period of first move and period of arrival in Benghazi.

Periods of Migration	Age Structure	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of First Move	under thirty	23	1	24	53	9	62	98	12	110	173	32	205	347	54	401
	middle age	3	-	3	13	-	13	27	-	27	47	-	47	90	-	90
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	3	3	1	4
	unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	1	3	4	1	5
Total		26	1	27	66	9	75	128	12	140	224	34	258	444	56	500
	%	96	4	5	88	12	15	91	9	28	87	13	52	89	11	100
Period of Arrival	under thirty	11	6	17	23	20	43	45	25	70	160	47	207	239	98	337
	middle age	4	-	4	6	2	8	23	11	34	100	11	111	133	24	157
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	3	1	4
	unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	2
Total		15	6	21	29	22	51	69	36	105	264	59	323	377	123	500
	%	71	29	4	56	43	10	66	34	21	82	18	65	75	25	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

It is interesting to see the relation between the pattern of movement at this period and the socio-economic structure of the society at that time, which may be illustrated by the following two examples. These cases have been chosen from two categories of migrants who came to Benghazi at different times.

Migrant (A) who is now a businessman and a Mukhtar in one of the Mahallāt (or quarters) in Benghazi, migrated from his original village near Al-Abiyar town at the age of eighteen in 1938. He explains his movement by saying,

‘I was the only male in the family.’ My mother, my four sisters and I. My father died when the Italians attacked my village. After the Italian government, which was in Cyrenaica at that time, had taken my farm in order to resettle one of the Italian peasant families, I was ordered to move somewhere out of my farm. I came to Al-Abiyar town where I found a job as a labourer building a road between the town and one of the new Italian settlements. I continued to work here and there in the same area near my family until 1953. I was given a job with the Libyan government with the Ministry of Labour as a foreman in Al-Abiyar town. In 1955, at the age of 35, I was transferred to work in Benghazi as a director of road repairs with the Labour Department of the Ministry of Labour.

The above example shows A's movement from his village to the town, and from working in the traditional sector to working in the modern sector, and then his move to Benghazi City. Although the above case had experienced more than one movement during that period, some other migrants who migrated during the same period had not. The data shows that there was considerable mobility
(1)
from rural areas direct to Benghazi.

The following case, B, is a driver, 49 years of age, who works in Benghazi, and is another example in another province (Tripolitania), in

(1) For more elaboration of this point, see the chapter III.

a different time and pattern. He says,

I left my home village at the age of 21 years in 1947. Before this I was working with an Italian family in their farm called Alkararim near Alkhums town. My father was working on our land which was very poor, and he had only one crop, barley. If it failed, we all suffered. My father sent me to work with this Italian family in order to maintain ourselves. In 1947 the Italian family decided to leave the farm because of scarcity of money to support their modern farm. I left with no job. I came to Benghazi, therefore, looking for employment in the seaport .

The two examples show that the pattern of movement during the period before 1950 both reflect the socio-economic and political conditions of the country at that time, especially after the Second World War. Generally speaking the Italian period in Libya showed a movement of the rural population towards the urban areas. (1)

The Italians established their numerous concession farms in rural areas and the land became the private property of Italian individuals. This policy began after 1935 and continued until the early 1940s. The farms were both private and state commercial enterprises and were established on the best land. As the farms were intended to absorb the excess population in Italy the Libyan farmers were driven from their land towards urban areas in order to make room for the Italian settlers.

2. Period 1950-1959

The people who arrived in Benghazi at the same period as indicated in Table 30 were less than the number of people who left

(1) It is important to bear in mind that the period before 1950 saw the movement of only a small number of migrants, partly because of the statistical selection of the sample and partly because of the high rate of young people in the productive economic sector in Benghazi who generally came in the three periods from 1950 to 1975. In addition the small proportion of people who came in this period could be ascribed to the high mortality rate among this group during the Italian-Libyan war.

their original homes by 22 per cent. Seventy-five persons left their homes whereas fifty-one persons arrived in Benghazi during the same period.

The tables also show that the number of rural people who arrived in Benghazi was less than the rural people who left home by 151 per cent, while the urban people who arrived in Benghazi numbered more than the urban migrants who left home by 144 per cent. This means that a great deal of the movement during the period 1950-1959 was towards the urban sector.

The movement during the period (1950-1959) was actually more complex than it may seem from the figures, which are shown in Table 30. While the figures show that movement was towards an urban setting, it was also towards rural settings, although on a smaller scale. People were moving towards the oil fields which were found on the oases in Cyrenaica (see Map 1). It is also indicated that the movement was generally from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica, towards land which was left by farmers who moved in order to work on the oil fields. Another reason for the movement from rural Cyrenaica and Tripoli City to Benghazi was that Benghazi was the capital of the federal government of the three provinces at that time, and new employment in the service sector was introduced into the city (Benghazi).

3. Period 1960-1969

The number of people who left home and who arrived in Benghazi was generally higher than in the two previous periods. Data on the distribution of migrants by age during the period of first movement and during the period of arrival, show that the number of

people who actually arrived in Benghazi was 21 per cent and the number of people who emigrated or left their homes, was 28 per cent of the total sample.

A similar result with respect to the pattern of movement of people, was found for the two previous periods where the number of rural people who arrived in Benghazi had decreased relative to the number of people who emigrated from their original homes, whilst the number of urban people who arrived in Benghazi had increased relative to the number of people who left home at the same period. It was about 66 per cent for the rural people who arrived in Benghazi, over 91 per cent for the rural people who left home, over 34 per cent for the urban people who arrived in Benghazi, and about 9 per cent of the urban people who left home. (see Table 30).

In addition, it shows that the number of people who arrived in Benghazi was less than the number of people who left their original homes by 25 per cent. This shows that some of the people who emigrated had left for places other than Benghazi City. The movement during this period was, primarily of people moving to and from Benghazi. Movement was towards urban centres in general. Al-Bayda City was an important area for receiving migrants from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, especially from Tripoli and Misurāta Muqā ta'a.

4. Period 1970-1975

The movements of people in this period was much greater than the number of people who arrived in Benghazi and who emigrated from their original homes during the previous three periods. They

were, respectively, about 65 per cent and almost 52 per cent of the total sample. Consequently, this period was the only one in contrast to the above periods (before 1950, 1950-1959, 1960-1969) that showed an increase in its people during the period of arrival, over the people who left their original homes, and was 25 per cent. That is to say, the people who left home and did not come to Benghazi within the previous periods, had arrived in Benghazi during this period (1970-1975). The majority of these people were among those who emigrated from village to village, within the three provinces of Tripolitania, Fazzān and Cyrenaica, as will be explained later.

Thus, the pattern of migration of this period shows that not only did the majority of people who left home arrive directly in Benghazi, but also that the movement of the people who emigrated and settled in the rural sector earlier also moved towards Benghazi. The result of the movement in this period was an increase in both rural and urban people during the period of arrival with respect to rural and urban people during the period of first movement, this is in contrast to the previous periods, which showed only an increase in the urban people and a decrease in the rural people. The data seems to suggest the following:

1. The period 1970-1975 was the only one in which the rural and urban people had increased during the period of arrival compared with the period of first movements.
2. The first period (before 1950) had the lowest proportional decrease of its people during the period of arrival in contrast to the period of first movement in the two subsequent periods (1950-1959 and 1960-1969), where the majority of people either migrated directly to Benghazi or to other urban areas.

3. The two periods 1950-1959 and 1960-1969 generally experienced a tremendous rural to rural and urban to urban mobility, which was mostly the movement of people from the traditional to the modern sector of the economy.

4. The result of all this mobility within the four periods shows a decrease of rural people and an increase of urban people, respectively being 444 persons (89 per cent) to 377 persons (over 75 per cent) for rural people, and 56 persons (over 11 per cent) to 123 persons (about 25 per cent) for urban people between the people who left home and who actually arrived in Benghazi, of the total sample.

It is important to examine the similarities and the differences in the pattern of migration between the migrants of the five categories;

i) Business entrepreneurs category.

Almost two-thirds of this category had left their original rural homes to move towards urban areas other than Benghazi. The same pattern of movement was seen generally throughout the four periods, which highlights the importance of the periods of first movement and the period of arrival. That is, while the period 1950-1959 had the highest number of migrant who left home (over 38 per cent), it had the second place with respect to the number of migrants who arrived in Benghazi (35 per cent). The period 1960-1969 had second place (with about 27 per cent) with respect to the percentage of migrants who left home, but it had the highest percentage (over 38 per cent) with respect to migrants who arrived in Benghazi. The other two periods (before 1950 and 1970-1975) had fewer migrants, shown in (Table 31).

Table 31 The distribution of business entrepreneurs by age and period of first arrival in Benghazi

Period of Migration	Age	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total.		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of First Move	under thirty	5	-	5	14	5	19	9	-	9	3	2	5	31	7	38
	middle age	2	-	2	6	-	6	6	-	6	6	-	6	20	-	20
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	2
	Total	7	-	7	20	5	25	16	-	16	9	3	12	52	8	60
	%	100	-	12	78	21	42	100	-	27	75	25	20	87	13	100
Period of Arrival	under thirty	-	3	3	8	11	19	8	3	11	-	3	3	16	20	36
	middle age	-	-	-	-	2	2	4	8	12	4	5	9	8	15	23
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
	Total	-	3	3	8	13	21	12	11	23	4	9	13	24	36	60
	%	-	100	5	38	62	35	52	48	38	31	69	22	40	60	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

ii) Professionals category.

This shows a similar situation to the previous category where the majority were of rural origin; 81 persons (77 per cent) had lived in villages, and 24 persons (about 29 per cent) of the rural sample of 105 cases were from urban areas. Of those who arrived in Benghazi, about 47 per cent of them were from villages and 53 per cent from urban areas. This means that the majority of professionals moved to urban areas through the four periods before coming to Benghazi.

The period 1960-1969 had the highest number of migrants who left their original home, 50 per cent and of migrants who arrived in Benghazi, 45 per cent. The period 1970-1975 had kept its position of second place in relation to the others for the period of experience of first movement and period of arrival (see Table 32).

iii) Students category.

Students generally left their original homes between 1960 and 1975, and arrived in Benghazi during the period 1970-1975. The majority of them were of rural origin. Few of them had experienced previous movements between villages or to urban areas (see Table 33).

iv) Skilled Labourers category.

Skilled labourers had left their homes during the period before 1950 to 1975, and had been arriving over the same time span. (see Table 34).

Like the business entrepreneurs category, the highest number of skilled labourers had left home or had experienced first movement and arrived in Benghazi during the period 1960-1969. There were 17 persons (over 47 per cent) of the total sample of 36 cases and there were 14

Table 32 The distribution of Professionals by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghezi

Period of Migration	Age Structure	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of First Move	under thirty	5	1	6	9	1	10	45	8	53	22	14	36	81	24	105
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	5	1	6	9	1	10	45	8	53	22	14	36	81	24	105
	%	83	16	6	90	10	10	85	15	50	61	39	35	77	23	100
Period of Arrival	under thirty	3	3	6	4	6	10	26	19	45	13	21	34	46	49	95
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	5	-	4	4	2	7	9
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
	Total	3	3	6	4	6	10	28	22	50	14	25	39	49	56	105
	%	90	90	60	40	60	9	56	44	47	36	64	37	47	53	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

Table 33 The distribution of Students by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi

Period of Migration	Age Structure	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of Arrival	under thirty	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	23	11	34	28	11	39
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	23	11	34	28	11	39
	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	13	68	32	87	72	28	100
Period of First Move	under thirty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	15	39	24	15	39
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	15	39	24	15	39
	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	38	100	62	38	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

Table 34 The distribution of Skilled Labourers by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi

Period of Migration	Age Structure	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of First Move	under thirty	4	-	4	10	-	10	16	1	17	4	1	5	34	2	36
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	4	-	4	10	-	10	16	1	17	4	1	5	34	2	36
	%	100	-	8	100	-	28	90	10	47	90	10	14	94	6	100
Period of Arrival	under thirty	3	-	3	7	3	10	8	3	11	3	3	3	21	2	30
	middle age	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	3	-	3	6	-	6
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	3	-	3	7	3	10	11	3	14	6	3	9	27	9	36
	%	100	-	8	70	30	28	79	21	39	67	33	25	75	3	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

persons (about 39 per cent) who arrived during this period in Benghazi.

The data in Table 34 shows that the number of skilled labourers who moved towards urban areas were 20 per cent of the total rural people who left home. The data on the previous mobility of this category, shows that, the people who experienced previous movements in this category were 53 per cent. This was a result of two factors.

(a) The movement of the rural people towards rural areas, vis-a-vis the movements of the rural migrants in Tripolitania (mostly from Misurāta Muqā ta'a) to rural Cyrenaica, either to work with the oil companies or in the agricultural-communal system.

(b) The movements of the people from smaller urban areas, towards cities, and the movements of the two urban people in this category; one case to Al-Bayḍa City from his first movement in 1965 and the other to Ijdabiya in 1971. Thus, the movement of these groups was towards two sectors: rural to rural and rural to urban.

v) Wage Labourers category.

The period of the experience of first movement or the period of first experience of leaving the original home and the period at arrival with respect to the migrants of this category were, according to Table 35, as follows:

(a) The emigration and arrival of migrants was throughout the four periods, from before 1950 to 1975.

(b) The period 1970-1975 had the highest proportion of migrants leaving home and arriving in Benghazi. It was 171 persons (above 65 per cent) for the former and 223 persons (about 86 per cent) for the latter period. It shows that this category has a similar pattern with regard to the above aspect as had the students category. In other words, the students and semi-skilled labourers are mostly recent migrants in contrast to the other categories.

Table 35 The distribution of Wage Labourers by age and period of first move and arrival in Benghazi

Period of Migration	Age Structure	Period of Before 1950			Period of 1950-1959			Period of 1960-1969			Period of 1970-1975			Total		
		R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
Period of First Move	under thirty	9	-	9	20	3	23	23	3	26	121	4	125	173	10	183
	middle age	1	-	1	7	-	7	21	-	21	41	-	41	70	-	70
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	2
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	1	3	4	1	5
	Total	10	-	10	27	3	30	46	3	49	166	5	171	249	11	260
	%	100	-	3	90	10	12	94	6	19	97	3	65	96	4	100
Period of Arrival	under thirty	5	-	5	4	-	4	3	-	3	120	5	125	132	5	137
	middle age	4	-	4	6	-	6	14	-	14	93	2	95	117	2	119
	60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	2
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	2
	Total	9	-	9	10	-	10	18	-	18	216	7	223	253	7	260
	%	100	-	3	100	-	3	100	-	8	97	3	86	97	3	100

R = rural U = urban T = total

(1)
(c) Most of the people who experienced previous movement were generally from those who left home during 1950 to 1969, in contrast to the recent migrants who on the whole came directly to Benghazi.

The movement of the migrants who had experienced previous mobility before coming to Benghazi City was mainly towards the rural sector. They moved from one rural area to another, towards the urban sector and from urban to rural areas. The proportion of urban labourers of the migrants in Benghazi was very small compared with the rural labourers who arrived in Benghazi. This was the result of the high demand for this group by the other urban centres in the country. There were only five cases in the whole sample who migrated from their rural origins to urban centres and then came to Benghazi. Of these labourers, three migrated from rural Tripolitania Province to Tripoli City and the other two from rural Fazzān Province to Sabha City.

These results are inconsistent with the result of the analysis in respect of the migrant categories of business entrepreneurs, professionals, students, skilled labourers, whose previous movement were from rural to urban and to Benghazi.

The above analysis of the mobility of migrants in the five categories during the period of experience of first movement and the period of arrival in Benghazi show that in the five categories each contain people who left home during the four periods (before 1950, 1950-1959,

(1) It must be remembered that the proportion of these people was small compared with the people who did not have previous mobility, where it was 18 per cent to 77 per cent.

1960-1969 and 1970-1975) in order to move to places other than Benghazi. However, the proportion of the people who did not come directly to Benghazi in the last period was very small in comparison with the rest of the periods.

It was also found that the proportion of people who left home or arrived in Benghazi differed from period to period, and consequently differed from one category to another.

Another interesting observation is the movement of the urban migrants directly towards Benghazi, particularly in the recent period, even if on a small scale.

Finally, the data from the above section indicates that the migrants who moved from their original homes and arrived in Benghazi in the same period were distributed among the five categories. In other words, they are found to be involved in a different socio-economic activity in Benghazi at the time of the research from the time of their first arrival in Benghazi. Hence, this aspect necessitated the examination of the following information about the migrants; in their age and sex, in order to answer the question; why were the people who came to Benghazi during the same period, involved in a different socio-economic activity and was it because they were from different age and/or sex-groups or for other reasons. This section therefore aims to see whether migration (or movement) can be related to age and on sex.

III Age, Sex and the pattern of migration; Family, seasonal and permanent

The above section was considered with respect to the pattern and trend of migration; migrants' socio-economic groups; their previous movements; and the periods during which movement took place the period

arrival in Benghazi and the period of leaving the original home.

It was clear that the pattern and trend of migration varied from one category to another, and it also varied among the members within each category. Among the migrants of each category, some had experienced previous movement, and others had not.

In almost all the migrant categories, some who arrived during the above periods had experienced previous movements, before coming to Benghazi. Several questions arise which of the immigrants experienced previous movement and what was their age at the time of first movement and at arrival in Benghazi, to what extent was the migrants' age structure important in shaping the pattern of their previous movement? Finally, what is the relation, if any, between the period of arrival, the places of migrants' origin and places of last residence, to their age structure?

The answers to these questions are important in explaining and clarifying the characteristics of migrants and in giving a clear understanding of the migrants' histories. These two aspects are important also in an understanding of the analysis in the coming chapters, especially the migrants' socio-economic positions in Benghazi, where these aspects might be of help in explaining the main concern of this thesis, which is, the understanding of the problem of migration in Libya.

Thus, this section will be concerned with explaining the following points: the relation of the period of experience of first movement and period of arrival in Benghazi; the structure of migrants' place of origin and place of last residence; and their previous mobility with respect to age.

This will be demonstrated first with respect to 500 migrants' cases and second with regard to each category compared with the rest of the categories.

(A) The Age Structure of Benghazi's Migrants

As has been indicated in the chapter III concerning demographic structure, that Benghazi's migrants are mostly of working age or at an age of expectation of being productive. For convenience, the age group from 5-29 will be referred to as the under-thirties; the middle group being the 30-59 age range; and lastly the sixties and over. Several interesting points of the age structure of the migrants from different periods of both movements, during the period of first movement and period of arrival in Benghazi, are summarised here.

The under thirties were the most numerous being 337 persons or about 66 per cent of the total sample, who arrived in Benghazi, of whom 74 per cent came from the rural sector and 24 per cent from the urban sector. The majority of these people came during the period 1970-1975, only a few came in the period before 1950.

The lowest number of migrants were in the age range 60 and over, and all came during the period 1970-1975. (see Table 30).

For urban migrants, the highest number of 95 persons, 77 per cent of the total urban migrants) were under the thirties the lowest number was from the age-group 60 and over.

For rural migrants, the highest number of 239 persons (about 63 per cent) from the total of 377 cases was of the age group under thirty. The lowest number was from the 60 and over age-group. The majority of rural migrants came during the period 1970-1975 and were under thirty. The majority of urban migrants came during the same

period and were of the same age group. This is for the period of arrival in Benghazi, while the data for the period during which first movement took place had the following structure:

The highest figure of 401 (80 per cent) of the total sample, was from the age group under thirty of whom 87 per cent were from the rural sector and the rest were from the urban sector. The lowest figure for those who left their home was in the age group (1) 60 and over.

The majority of rural migrants who left their original homes did so during the period 1970-1975 and were from the under thirties group,

The majority of urban migrants, some 15 persons (26 per cent) came in the same period as that of the majority of rural migrants.

The lowest number of urban and rural migrants was from the age-group 60 and over and was for periods of before 1950s and 1950-1959.

This data shows the variation in the migrants' age structure between the ages during the period of first movement and the period of arrival in Benghazi City.

This can be attributed to the important effect of the previous movements experienced by some of the migrants, of whom there were 168 persons (or 24 per cent) of the total sample.

Some of the people in each of the migrant age groups had experienced previous movement. The high proportion of those who had, was among the

(1) There were no people of the age group 60 and over during the period before 1950. This could be ascribed to the type and selection of the sample, studied.

age group under thirty who had left home in the periods before 1950 to 1969 and who were mostly from rural origins; whereas the migrants of both rural and urban origins who experienced first movements recently (1970-1975) among the same age groups, tended to move directly from their original homes to Benghazi.

Figures show that the pattern of migration in Libya occurs mostly among the under thirty age group, and particularly among the migrants from rural origins.

This may be due to several factors, amongst which are the socio-economic structure of rural settings and the economic opportunities available to this group, and to the accessibility of these opportunities which are very important factors in determining the pattern of migration.

In the case of migrants "income", this was found to be one of the most important factors perhaps more important was the question of their product which was generally at the disposal of the elders in their households (reference will be made to this matter in greater detail later).

It was also found that the majority of young migrants made their first move unaccompanied by their families. These individuals, under the age of thirty are apparently flexible enough to fit themselves into various types of jobs most noticeably as students or wage labourers. This will be discussed in some detail later.

It is important to explain further the above aspect with respect to migrant categories in order to see the similarities and differences between categories.

1. The age structure of business entrepreneurs

The age range of this category during the period of arrival in Benghazi was from under thirties and middle age group. Almost half of them came from the rural sector and the remainder from the urban sector. The lowest number and proportion was among the age group 60 and over.

Most migrants came during the period 1960-1969, and were from the middle group, half of these were urban, the rest were rural migrants.

The age structure of the period during which first movement among the business entrepreneurs took place showed that the starting age of migratory history was in the age groups under thirty or middle age, with one migrant whose age was 60. The highest number of migrants, 19 persons amongst the age of under thirty, 14 persons of them were of rural origin and the other 5 were from urban settings.

The highest number of rural and urban migrants were in this age group, they had left home during the period 1950-1959.

Among those who had experienced previous movements, 35 persons (over 58 per cent) were spread across all age groups (see Table 31).

2. The age structure of the professional category

Data of the distribution of professionals by age and period at arrival, shows that the highest number of migrants in this category was in the middle and under thirties age groups. The number of people from the rural sector in this group exceeded those from the urban sector.

The highest number of people of all four periods were those who

came from the rural sector during the period 1960-1969, numbering 15 persons, from under thirties age group, just over half came from the rural sector, the rest from urban areas.

The second largest number of people came from the urban sector during the period 1970-1975 were also from the under thirties age group. The smallest age group which was represented in the sample was the middle age group. There being only one case aged over 60. The data from the informal interviews found that this fact of emigration of an old government employee to be a new phenomenon; they generally emigrated just before the retirement age of 65 years. (This aspect has various motivations which will be explained later).

The above figures were for those who arrived in Benghazi. The investigation now centres on the age structure of professionals when they left home, in order to see which amongst them came directly to Benghazi and who which not.

Data on the distribution of professionals by age and period at experience of first movement, reveals that the migrants in this category had left home at the age of under thirty. Thus, the interval age in this group seems to be much closer than the interval age of migrants who arrived in Benghazi. This appears to suggest that the initial age should be lower, the more the number of people who experienced previous movement increases. The simple consideration of the proportion of the professionals who experienced previous mobility, (about 48 per cent), is a clear indication of this fact.

The movements of the migrants before settling in Benghazi were found to be quite high over all periods and age groups.

The largest number of professionals left home at the age of

under thirty, more than two thirds of them came from rural sector and a few from the urban sector. The highest number of professionals moved during the periods of 1960-1969. The majority were from rural areas, and were from under thirty age group.

The highest proportion of urban migrants came during the period 1970-1975. They were from under thirty age group. The figures from Table 32 indicates the importance of these two periods for the migration of professionals, both rural and urban in origin, and for the migration of the rural and urban professionals who had experienced considerable movement before coming to Benghazi.

Age of greatest movement for the majority of professional people was in the under thirties category. This trend appeared during the period (1960-1975).

The above may be explained by two important facts,

- 1) The development of education in the country as a whole, and the greater demand for educated people from different levels of education by various economic sectors (teaching, civil service, etc). Education and jobs for educated individuals were both available only in some areas.
- 2) The second fact is the acquisition of further skills which would qualify them for better opportunities in the well-established urban centres like Benghazi. For example, individuals who had a low level of education, perhaps only a religious education, had fewer opportunities for being appointed to the civil service or teaching positions. However, some of these individuals might be appointed in the villages or in remote places where, after having spent some time there, they could apply for transfer to the city.

The data on this category indicates that the majority of this group

who had experienced previous movements covered all ages, viz, under thirty, middle aged and over sixties groups throughout the period 1950-1975.

3. The age structure of students

The information on the student category indicates that the pattern and trend of this group covers all periods from before 1950 to 1975, and from the group of under thirty (see Table 33). Their movements towards Benghazi and other places can be said to be attributed to a desire for higher education (i.e., in elementary, grammar, high schools and universities) in order to acquire the appropriate qualifications to pursue better employment.

They were found to have different levels of education, from primary school to university, and were in the two systems of education in the city, - day and evening schools. Some of them worked during the daytime and attended evening school; others went to day schools. The sample was selected from recent student migrants who were in daytime schools and whose level of education was above grammar school.

The age group of student migrants at the period of arrival in Benghazi among the cases chosen was from the under thirties and comprised 24 persons (about 62 per cent) of the total sample, of whom (about 63 per cent) came from the rural sector and about 38 per cent from the urban sector. They all came during the period 1970-1975.

A similar result was found with respect to the pattern of the initial age of migratory history. There was practically no variation in the position of the previous age groups (see Table 33).

Considering narrower limits, certain differences appear that are worth pointing out. Such differences tend to appear as a result of the migrants' previous movements: the movements of the age group 15 - 19 years from their rural origins to the urban sector during the period 1960-1969, the movement of the age group 20 - 24 years from rural to rural sectors during the same period, and the movement of the age group 25 to 29 years from the rural sector to the urban sector within the recent period, 1970-1975. These facts have changed the proportion and number of students coming from rural and urban sectors between the period during the first movement and the period of arrival. This helps to explain the pattern and trend of migrant students whose movements were towards the institutions of education wherever they were to be found, regardless of their ages.

4. The age structure of skilled labourers

People within this category leave home at an early age. The majority of people in this category come from rural sector (see Table 34). Rural and urban migrants were from the age groups of under thirty. This refers to the pattern of their migration which comprised two kinds: (1) people who accompanied their families or came to vocational training schools and (2) people who finished their training somewhere else and were appointed to work in Benghazi.

More than half of these immigrants arrived during the period 1960-1969. Previous movement had generally been experienced by the majority of the migrants. A considerable number of them (over 63 per cent) had experienced more than one movement. These movements have contributed to the increase of the average age of migrants arriving in Benghazi over that of the average age of migrants at first move.

The majority of migrants in this category left home during the last decade, 1960-1969. There were 17 persons or about 47 per cent of the total. One of them was from an urban sector and the rest from rural areas. These people were from the age of under thirty. Recent emigrants who left their original home at a young age between the ages of 10 and 19 years had almost all experienced previous mobility before coming to Benghazi.

5. The age structure of the wage labourers

The age structure of this category was, on the average, under thirty, for the period during the experience of first move and for the period of arrival. The lowest number of labourer migrants were in the age group 60 and over, having only 2 persons (less than 1 per cent) of the total. The majority of them were recent migrants. The figures in Table 35 shows that, migrants in the wage labourers category arrived in Benghazi from the young adult age groups.

Labourers arriving during the two previous decades, 1950-1959 and 1960-1969, were generally from under thirty and the majority of them were from the rural sector. Most of the labourers who had experienced previous movements were from the middle age and were among those who arrived during 1950-1969 group. In contrast, the migrants who arrived during the recent period 1970-1975 were from a wider age interval, 15-60 years, and very few of them had experienced previous movements, they had in fact generally arrived directly from their original homes to Benghazi.

The age group under thirty had the highest proportion of (about 86 per cent) the total migrants, and arrived during the period 1970-1975. Over 97 per cent of them came from the rural sector, while only about 2 per cent came from the urban sector.

The highest number of urban migrants (about 71 per cent) of the total 7 cases, were among the age group under thirty and came during the period 1970-1975.

It is perhaps surprising to find a similarity between the figures for the age structure of labourers on arrival and the age structure on experience of first movements. They show that the age group under thirty has the highest proportion and the age group 60 and over the lowest proportion.

The age group under thirty has the highest proportion of rural migrants. Also it has the highest proportion of urban labourers in periods both of first movement and on arrival in Benghazi. Considering within narrower limits, certain differences appear that are worth noting. For instance, while the average age of migrants during the period of arrival in Benghazi was about 25 years, it was 24 years when considering the initial age of migratory history of the migrants. In the period 1970-1975 the average age of the migrants was 25 years for the period at arrival, it was 20 years for the period of first movements.

For the period 1960-1969 the average age of migrants was 36 years for the period of arrival, it was 27 years for the period of experience of first movement. For the period 1970-1975, the average age was 30 years on arrival, and it was 19 years for the period of first movement.

For the period before 1950 the majority of migrants were from the age groups 10 - 24 during the time of first movements and period of arrival.

Those differences were partly due to the previous movements

experienced by some of the wage-labourers mostly in the last two decades, 1950-1969. Although the number and proportion of labourers who had experienced previous movement was not high, 29 per cent of the total, these movements were patterned on long-period stays, especially for those who left home in the early period from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica.

The above figures show that labourers left home, on the average, at a young age. They also arrived in Benghazi at a young age. However, in the recent periods, Benghazi has received people who were 60 years and over.

Two cases studies are presented as examples. In one case, the migrant labourer came to settle in Benghazi, while in the other case, the migrant labourer had gone back home to his village.

The migrant in the first case, who came from a small village at the age of 61 years, was working as a porter in a primary school in his village. His monthly income was 60 dinars. He is married with four children, two sons and two daughters. One of his daughters is married and lives in the village, and one of the sons joined the army a year before his father migrated to Benghazi. The other two, a son of 14 and a daughter of 12, were both in primary school in their last year. According to the informant's own words in describing his situation, he says,

I was working with the government as a porter three years before I came to Benghazi (1975). In my village, I lived in an old house which was built of mud. It was impossible to live in. I am 61 years old, which means that I have four more years in my job. And after that I will be retired. I am on a daily basis employment. That is, after my retirement age, I have no right to retirement money, or social security. This means that if I stayed in the village, I would be without income and possibly without a house. My son's income will not be enough to keep us and his future family. I thought if I moved to Benghazi, our life will be better, where I will move as an employee with the government

with an income to live on and rent a flat from the government. I was fortunate to have my transference to work in Benghazi and to have a new government house. Now I am not worried as I was in my village; job opportunity is much better than there. My son goes to the grammar school, which my village does not have, and my daughter will be a nurse after a couple of years. I hope to work with my cousin in his business as sheep-broker simsār saḥīy after my working time in the afternoon".

In the second case, the migrant came to Benghazi in 1976 hoping to find a job, stayed with his son who had migrated to Benghazi two years before his father. He says,

"I came with my wife in order to be near our only son. I am 60 years old. I have a palm ~~farm~~ in my village. After my son left me, it was hard to look after the farm. I have been two months looking for a job in Benghazi, but unfortunately have had no success. I tried most of the places my son could think of. I am willing to work as a night watchman, gardener, porter and the like. I do not know what to do. I am thinking of going back to my village. However the life there will be difficult for my wife and me. My son works as a driver with the government and earns 85 dinars a month. He rents a small house with almost half of his salary, and the other half goes for food for him and his wife. He used to send us a little money from time to time, but now he has a family and other responsibilities. I am going back to my village and possibly I will come again if my son finds a job somewhere for me".

The above two examples indicated two facts: although the informants in both cases were over 60 years old and came in the same year to Benghazi, one was able to stay and live in Benghazi, the other informant was unable to do so.

These two facts seem to suggest that the proportion of the socio-economic activity open to the young is higher than that open to the people who are aged over 60, there is less suitable work for the persons over 60 in the city. (See the chapter VI and VII for further elaboration.

In addition, it seems to indicate that the small number of people who emigrated (under normal conditions) at age 60 or more is not because of their low number in the index of the population age structure in the

country as a whole but it may be attributed to the demands made by
(1)
the socio-economic structure in Benghazi.

Hence, the above data seems to contradict the assumption which is emphasised by some sociologists. Among them, J. Elizaga who stated in his article in 1972, which was based on fieldwork data conducted in Greater Santiago, Chile,

The low index (57) for people who emigrated at age 50 or more could be ascribed to the decisive effect of masculine over-mortality, which is stronger even in people who arrived in recent periods. On the contrary, the relatively low index for those under the age of 15 has no immediate explanation.(2)

The above statement explains the phenomenon of the small proportion of old migrants or people aged 50 or more in comparison to the rest of the age groups as a result of the high death rate among this age group in relation to its small proportion of the overall population age structure in Chile. Although this explanation may be ascribed to the fact of the high proportion of over-mortality among this group, it seems an unsatisfactory tool for the explanation of such a fact, because it was unable to give an explanation for the low index for those under the age of 15 years. Hence, the findings of this thesis concentrate on the comparison of the number of the people who emigrated with those who did not, within the same age groups, in order to give a fair judgment and satisfactory explanation to the above-mentioned phenomena.

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- (1) This point of the movement of "old" people as being less important than the young and middle-aged people has drawn the attention of several writers, among them J.C. Elizaga, 1972.
 - (2) Juan C. Elizaga, "A study on immigrations to Greater Santiago (Chile), The City in Newly Developing Countries - Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization, G. Breese (ed.), London, 1972,p.334.

The previous discussions of the migrants' age structure during both the period of experience of first movement and the period of the movement to Benghazi, indicated that Benghazi's migrants are mostly of working age (i.e., at productive age or at age of expectation to be productive and not an unproductive age. The pattern of migration covering the five categories of business entrepreneurs, professionals, students, skilled and semi- and unskilled labourers indicates in fact that in each category there is a variety of age groups, although the proportions of the age groups were different from one category to another. It shows that the migrants' ages were not similar and that they came to Benghazi from several age groups. The question poses itself how is it that some of the present migrants in Benghazi have a similar socio-economic position, while they originally came from different age groups? The answer to this question will be discussed later in a separate chapters, VI and VII.

B. Sex and the pattern of migration; family, seasonal and permanent

One point of interest is the low female representation in the index of immigrants, being only 37 persons (about 7 per cent) of the total of 500; most of the women were labourers. Fifteen were employed as labourers at the time of the survey and six were unemployed; there were 10 students, and five professional employees; of which three were teachers and the other two were secretaries in one of the oil company offices in Benghazi. One female in the sample was in business.

The answer as of why the number of women found in the sample is so small may be explained to some extent by looking at the employment structure in Benghazi.

- (i) It has been indicated earlier (in the chapter II) that employment opportunities were very limited with regard to females. The total females employed in Benghazi is 4,760 or 5 per cent of the total of 88,780 persons recorded in the working population. Among the employed females 1,822 persons are aliens and the rest of them (2,938) are Libyan citizens. 458 of those were employed as midwives and nurses, 742 teachers, 155 clerks and typists, 1,336 cleaners, 80 in the textile and tailoring industry and the rest in other jobs, mostly connected with providing an array of social services.
- (ii) The typical female migrants were those who moved with their families, whether they were housewives, daughters, or students who came for a higher education.

Since family members only occasionally reach the city as a group during the first movement, the sexual dichotomy is especially evident in the pattern of female migration. Fathers generally precede daughters, and husbands establish a base in the city sometimes for periods of a few months up to five years before they are joined by wives and children.

Although the migration of a wife before a husband appears extremely rare, there are some instances where daughters arrive in the city before their fathers. This is especially common where higher education is the main motivation and in such cases the women usually take up residence with others in student houses, which are fully maintained by the government.

Women who come to Benghazi with young children, where job-seeking was the main motive in order to support their children, were

(1)
mostly either divorced or widowed. They generally intended to take up residence with some of their kin who could offer social and economic aid.

This indicates that the reasons for moving by female migrants, excluding those whose motivation was higher education, stemmed from the move by other members of the family, e.g., wives followed husbands, mothers followed their children, and they worked as cleaners or cooks. This had to be done in order to maintain herself and her children in the city. In addition, the data from the above cases shows that, at the time of arrival in Benghazi, female migrants were usually received by some kin, unlike student migrants, who were received by a representative of the school or university, where they were given some financial and social security.

For the above reasons, and because of the pattern of female migrants has been a consequence of male migration, the migration of females is more conspicuous than that of males. Although this is true for the

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- (1) For more elaboration on the position of the female migrants in Benghazi, see the chapters VI and VII. One important aspect should be stated here: generally speaking, male migrants usually arrive before their families, however, their families tended to join them a short time afterwards.
- (2) The number of females in the quantitative sample constituted 37 cases. The people in the sample were chosen on the basis of their employment activities and on the basis of their sex. Since this thesis is concerned more with the independent migration, i.e., how far do migrants have "independent" motives which are not dependent on other people's motives, for this reason, males were more represented in the sample. However, the subject of the family and female migration is important in our inquiry towards explaining the problem of migration in Libya.

migrant cases which have been studied, fieldwork data shows that there were three cases, not included in the sample of 500, which were wives and daughters' who had moved independently of husbands or parents. This occurrence was mostly among the professional females whose jobs had transferred them from their place of last residence to Benghazi.

The information indicates that single female migration is substantially less than male migration, but the ratio of females to males among the Benghazi population is fairly balanced (cf. Ch., III, section on demographic structure), and that is to a large extent explained by the migratory pattern to Benghazi. It is family based which indicates that the rural migrant intended to stay. The information from migrants to Benghazi revealed that 74 (about 45 per cent) of those married before coming to Benghazi were followed by their wives and children after periods of from two months to five years after their arrival. Almost 90 per cent of the migrants who married after coming to Benghazi had done to women from areas outside Benghazi and these were brought within a few months of their marriage to stay in the city. There were only 8 (5 per cent) unmarried migrants who were followed by their parents, brothers and sisters from two months up to six years after their arrival in Benghazi, the remainder stayed in Benghazi without their families.

The family pattern of migration depends partly on the migrants' socio-economic involvement in his village or town, and partly on his socio-economic position in Benghazi City, the latter factor being more important than the former. Almost all migrants who had a secure socio-economic position in Benghazi intended to bring their

(1)
families in the meantime all the members of the family will frequently go back to their homes whenever it was necessary for example, to plant or cultivate the land for those who owned property, or to help in looking after their animals, which had been left in the care of others. (2)
Some went back in order to visit kin or to contribute socially and economically to their relatives' social ceremonies, such as marriages, funerals, etc.

The above data indicates that the highest proportion of the migrants who brought their families to Benghazi, especially following a short period after their arrival, was among the professional and the business entrepreneur categories followed by the skilled labourer category, and lastly by the wage labourer category; the people who brought their families were mostly from amongst those with regular and secure incomes comprising both old and recent migrants.

The migration of the family has been developing very much in the last two decades, and more especially in the last eleven years. This point may be elaborated a little further by an explanation of the pattern of migration during the two periods before and after the 1960s, where two-thirds of migrants on their first trip to Benghazi were bachelors. The majority of married migrants on their first trip to Benghazi left their wives at home. But the increase is noticeable, during the post-oil discovery period, in the number of wives and children who accompany their men-folk to Benghazi (see Table 36).

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- (1) The term 'family' means here, the wife and children of the migrant (i.e., nuclear family).
- (2) A more detailed discussion of these will follow in the chapters VI and VII.

The majority of those who brought their families on their first trip to Benghazi were among the professionals, business entrepreneurs, skilled labours, but more than one-quarter of the wage-labourers left their wives behind. Generally speaking, before the period of the 1960s, it was relatively uncommon for wives and children to accompany their men-folk, but since the decade following 1960 there has been a marked increase in the number of wives and children accompanying, or following soon after. Nevertheless the majority of newly married labourers among the migrants leave their wives and children behind in the meantime they try to obtain a government house or reasonable accommodation, secure employment and wages to maintain
(1)
their families.

The above data shows that the pattern of migration has been of a more permanent than temporary or seasonal nature, especially among the business entrepreneurs and professionals, followed by skilled labourers.

(1) In other African countries it has been found that migrants tend to return home, but this is not the case in Libya. P.G.W. Gutkind maintains that, "Africans came as 'target workers' to acquire money and perhaps some new skills but return to their rural areas when it suits them or when their agricultural activities demand it". Gutkind, P.C., in his article "African urbanization, mobility and social network", in G. Breese (ed.), op.cit., pp. 389-400, called these migrants who experience coming to urban areas and returning to their rural areas "target workers". While P.H. Gulliver found that "children are taken by migrants rather less often than wives ... they are a nuisance to that large body of men who walk out to work ... It is uncommon for very young children to go abroad in any case". He maintains that "most men [migrants], even if they are willing to spend money on their wives; food, refuse to do so for their children". P.H. Gulliver, Labour Migration in a Rural Economy: A Study of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli of Southern Tanganyika, East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala, Uganda, 1955, pp14-15. For further studies of pattern of temporary and seasonal migration in Africa see Mitchell, J.C., "The Causes of Labour Migration, Inter-African Labour Institute Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1959, pp.12-46; Richards, A.I. (ed), op.cit., 1954, pp. 119-140, 161-223; and Mayer, P., op.cit.

Table 36 The pattern of the migration of family of married migrants at their first trip to Benghazi

No. of Married Migrants	Wife stayed		Wife went	
	No.	%	No.	%
Migration before 1960s No, (86) ^a	64	74.4	20	23.2
Migration after 1960s No, (80) ^b	15	18.8	64	80
Total 166 ^c	79	47.6	84	50.6

^a-includes ^{two} unknown cases
^b- " ^{one} " ^{case}
^c- " ³ " ^{cases}

Wage labourers and students belong however, to a more complex pattern with respect to the above mentioned aspects and the question of seasonal, temporary or permanent residence in Benghazi varied from one group to another.

The student group was the only group, who, when asked whether they intended to stay in Benghazi after they finished their study, answered very much in relation to their place of origin. For instance the students who came from Tripoli and Misurāta Muqā'ta'at, especially those from the urban sector, stated that they intended to go back to their cities after they finished their study, while most of the rest of the students, especially those from the rural sectors and some others from the urban sector of Derna, Jabal Al-Garbi and Jabal Al-Akhdar and Benghazi Muqā'ta'at intended, however, to settle in Benghazi City.

In contrast to this, the desire and intention of wage labourers was generally to settle in Benghazi. The question of their settlement however depended on their having a secure job and income. More than half the sample of the labourers settled permanently in Benghazi but

(1)

few of them paid frequent visits to their original homes.

The rest of the labourers are patterned by temporary migration rather than a seasonal one. A proportion of those go home as a result of a period of unemployment in Benghazi, i.e., the numbers involved in temporary migration is higher than those who leave their jobs in order to go back to their villages to cultivate the land, who are described as seasonal migrants.

Such was the case of 'S', who came to Benghazi in 1972 as an unskilled worker on a construction project. He lived in a company barracks on the city outskirts after completing his job. He was unemployed for a month in the city, then he returned to his village. A year later, he came to Benghazi to take up a permanent job with the public sector, and this time he brought his wife to live with him in Benghazi. The decline in importance of the pattern of circulation of migrants between the urban setting (i.e. Benghazi) and the migrants place of origin (i.e., rural settings) in recent years may be attributed to the development and growth of economic activities in the city, where the circulation has been replaced by a new one which is characterised by the circulation of labourers within the various economic sectors in the

(1) The patterns of labour migration known in Africa are of three kinds: firstly, the seasonal migration. In this type the migrants spend a short time away from home, usually six or nine months and this pattern of migration is the most common one in African societies. Secondly, short-term migration, in which the migrant stays away from his tribal areas between two to five years. Thirdly, long-term migration, in which the migrant stays away from home over ten years, and sometimes for good. It should be noted, however, studies done on Africa show that the migrants of this pattern are a minority in Africa. See Skinner, E., "Labour migration among the Mossi of the Upper Volta", in H. Kuper, op.cit., also Gulliver, P.H., op.cit., In the Libyan case, however, the pattern of migration to Benghazi is characterised by a permanent one.

city rather than between the city and the countryside. Since the temporary or "seasonal" migration was the highest amongst the labourer group in relation to the rest of the categories, and since most of the labourers were rural migrants, this fact, therefore, seems to have an important impact on the importance of the position of migration of families from the urban sector, more so, than those from the rural sector.

Thus the above analysis reveals the importance of the female migration in the sense of its relations to the family pattern of migration.

The number of both types of migration (female and family) has increased considerably in the recent decade (see Table 36). Add to the structure change of the characteristics of migration to Benghazi (see Table 37). This may be the result of the opportunities for migrants in Benghazi which generally meant permanent employment, availability of housing and easier access to the material resources in the city, such as income, education, housing etc. (for further elaboration see chapters VI and VII).

It is this point which is fundamental to an understanding of the cause of migration in Libya and is the basis of this work.

The following section includes the proportion and number of migrants from each province and Muqā ta'a and their movements within those areas.

The aim is to show the kind of socio-economic group which emigrated from each province and Muqā ta'a. This will be of help in understanding the pattern of migration of each Muqā ta'a, and consequently will clarify and define the reasons beyond the explanations

Table 37 The characteristics of migration before and after the 1960s

<u>Prior to the 1960s</u>	<u>After the 1960s</u>
1) Circulation between Benghazi and rural origin. From agricultural sector to docks, construction sectors and <u>vice versa</u>	1) Circulation between the economic sectors within the city of Benghazi, from oilfield to docks, construction, transport, commerce, service sectors, etc.
2) Temporary	2) Permanent
3) Mostly individual, male patterned	3) Family structured, i.e., with wife and children
4) Young adults aged from 15-30 years	4) Mixed ages
5) Mostly wage labourers and some professionals	5) Migrants from different socio-economic categories, wage labourers, skilled labourers, students, professionals, business people, etc.
6) The majority of migrants emigrating during this period experienced previous movements	6) The majority of migrants came direct to Benghazi, few experienced previous movement.
7) Mostly rural migrants	7) A considerable number of migrants came from the urban sector as well as the rural sector
8) Migration was from rural-rural, with a little directed toward the urban setting.	8) Massive migration directed to the urban setting.

of the people concerned for the pattern of migration of each Muqāṭa'a. Such an explanation with respect to Fazzān migration was that "The consideration of all Fazzānese as primitive and backward people has caused some segregation and consequently acted as a barrier to family migration"⁽¹⁾.

Several important questions arise here, such as, why is the pattern of migration of the Fazzānes (people from Southern Libya) not family structured? Why do they experience spatial segregation? It has been claimed that this is because the Fazzānes are "primitive" and "backward" in their culture; they therefore resist integration and adjustment to Benghazi society, and as a result, do not settle permanently in Benghazi City. The analysis on this point is important because the method used for its interpretation has been taken as a model to explain the characteristics of migration on the basis of ethnic grouping and on the psyche of its individuals, and not on an explanation of the socio-economic system. Hence, in the case of Benghazi City migratory labour fulfills the needs of a contemporary socio-economic system, and therefore the explanation for it must be sought in the requirements of the system, not in the psyche of the individuals it exploits. It is true that Fazzānes migrants were faced with difficulties in the process of the economic development in Libya, during the 1960s, not because they were "primitive" in their culture, but because this was the position of all labourers in Benghazi. Since the majority of Fazzānes were labourers, then the case of Fazzānes is bound to be characterised by the pattern of labour migration as

(1) The above quotation was from a discussion with one of my colleagues at the University of Benghazi, 1975. I have discussed this point in the Introduction.

indicated above. This issue will be demonstrated further in the coming section.

IV The Pattern and Trend and the Area of Emigration

Previously it was shown that the mass of Benghazi migrants came from places with rural characteristics. A similar result was observed when the place of origin was taken into account instead of the place of emigration or the place of last residence. This result confirms, in general, the increasing importance of the rural migrants to Benghazi City. (This movement was generally from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica and from rural Cyrenaica to Benghazi City).

Another interesting observation was the movement of some migrants towards the rural sector as well as the urban sector, particularly in the early periods, before 1950-1959. This movement was generally from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica and from rural Cyrenaica to Benghazi City, the urban centre of Cyrenaica. (1)

It would seem logical, however, to assume that the magnitude of the migratory pattern is related to the size of the area and of the population from which it springs, and to see that the relative importance of immigrants is related to the corresponding importance of the size of population in the area, whether Province or Muqā ta'a. However, the data for this work seems to contradict these assumptions, at least when comparisons are made on the size of emigration for each Muqā ta'a. It was 6 per cent for Tripoli Muqā ta'a, Zāwia 13 per cent, Al-Khums 23 per cent, Miṣurāta 21 per cent, Jabal Gharbi 15 per cent, Benghazi 4 per cent, Darna 11 per cent, Jabal Al-Akḥḍar 12 per

(1) This point has been discussed in Chapter II.

(1)
cent, Sabha 16 per cent and Ubāri 9 per cent. A similar result
(2)
was observed in the data of the survey of Benghazi migrants, (see map 5) It
therefore appears inadequate, in the case of Libya, to attempt to
explain migration by describing the economic condition of the place
of emigration only, as the crucial factor of migration. In fact,
the relative importance of migrants from each Muqāṭa'a appears to
be related to the importance of the socio-economic structure of
the society and the migrants socio-economic position with their
communities as well.

The corresponding results are as shown in the accompanying
figures (see Table 38) about 66 per cent of the total business
entrepreneurs category came from Tripolitania province, while
about 37 per cent came from Cyrenaica, and none from Fazzān province.

The professionals category were generally from Cyrenaica,
which yielded 69 per cent, while Tripolitania and Fazzān had
respectively about 23 per cent and 8 per cent.

The students category came from the two provinces of Tripolitania
and Cyrenaica, with respectively about 49 per^{cent} and over 26 per cent
while about 3 per cent (one student only) came from Fazzān.

Skilled labourers in Benghazi mostly came from Cyrenaica Province,
and represented about 62 per cent of the total sample of skilled labourers;
Tripolitania had about 39 per cent, while Fazzān had none.

(1) This figure is for the percentage of out migrants to each muqāṭa'a
to its population according to the 1964 Census.

(2) i.e. the survey was based on my sample of 500 in 1975 (see map 5)
which shows the proportional distribution of migrants by place of
origin.

Table 3B

The Distribution of Migrants by Place of Last Residence

- 238 -

	Tripolitania				Cyrenaican				Fazzān			Total	
	Tripoli		Jabal Al -Gharbi		Benghazi		Derna -Akhdar		Sabha	Ubāri	Total		
	Zāwia	Khums	Miṣūrāta	Miṣūrāta -Gharbi	Total	Derna	Akhdar	Total	Ubāri	Total			
Business Entrepreneurs	16	6	-	12	2	36	9	4	9	22	-	-	60
%	26.6	10.0	-	20.0	3.3	66.6	15.0	6.6	15.0	36.6	-	-	100.0
Professionals	9	-	3	5	7	24	20	28	24	72	7	1	105
%	8.5	-	2.8	4.7	6.6	22.8	19.0	26.6	22.8	68.5	6.6	0.9	100.0
Students	12	1	2	4	-	19	13	3	2	18	1	-	39
%	43.5	5.5	5.1	10.2	-	48.7	33.3	7.6	5.1	46.1	2.8	-	100.0
Skilled Labourers	3	-	-	11	-	14	11	3	8	22	-	-	36
%	8.3	-	-	30.0	-	38.8	30.0	8.3	22.2	61.1	-	-	100.0
Wage, Un-, Semi-Skilled Labourers	6	11	39	71	1	128	50	2	37	89	30	10	326
%	2.3	4.2	15.0	27.3	0.3	49.2	19.2	0.7	14.2	34.2	11.5	3.8	100.0
Total	46	18	44	103	10	221	103	40	80	223	38	11	750
%	9.2	3.6	8.8	20.6	2.0	44.2	20.6	8.0	16.0	44.6	7.8	2.2	100.0

+ : migrants with unknown place of last residence

The contrary was true for wage labourers who came from the three provinces, the highest proportion of them, over 49 per cent, came from Tripolitania, followed by Cyrenaica with over 34 per cent, and last were those who came from Fazzān with 15 per cent. This gives a total of 221 persons (over 44 per cent) who came from Tripolitania and 223 (about 45 per cent) who came from Cyrenaica. The migrants who came from Fazzān were the lowest, having 49 persons (about 10 per cent).

These figures show that although the number of Tripolitania's population is greater than that of Cyrenaica's, the number of migrants who came from it was lower than those who came from Cyrenaica.

It shows also that migrants who came from all three provinces were proportionally different from one socio-economic category to another within each province and in relation to the other provinces.

It will be interesting to see to what extent, the above result can be observed, taking into consideration the Muqāṭa'āt instead (1) of the Provinces.

From a careful study of the distribution of the migrants by the place of last residence in Table 38, it appears that several Muqāṭa'at have more than one socio-economic category. These variations can be observed among the Muqāṭa'āt of the two provinces, Tripolitania and Fazzān, while each of the Muqāṭa'āt of Cyrenaica Province have many kinds of migrant categories.

That is to say, Benghazi's migrants came from the Muqāṭa'āt of the country, while this observation is not true in respect of the migrants of

(1) Each province is divided into Muqāṭa'āt and each Muqāṭa'a or district includes urban and rural areas.

each category. In other words, the contribution of the ten Muqā'ta'at varied not only with regard to the number and the proportion of migrants, but it varied also with respect to the type of migrant socio-economic activity. The percentages were 21 per cent for Benghazi, 21 per cent from Miṣurāta, 16 per cent from Jabal Al-Akhdar over 4 per cent for Tripoli, about 9 per cent for Al-Khums, Darna 8 per cent, Sabha 8 per cent, about 8 per cent for Zāwia, Ubāri 2 per cent and Jabal Gharbi (1) 2 per cent.

The contribution of each Muqā'ta'a reckoned from the socio-economic activity of the migrants it was found that the proportion and the number varied from one group to another. For example, while the total migrants for Misurata were 103 or about 21 per cent of the total sample, the majority were wage labourers, followed by business people, then a small number of professionals, students and non-skilled labourers.

For Jabal Al-Gharbi, which is in the same province as Miṣurāta, the number of migrants was 10 (2 per cent) of the total sample. The majority were professionals, a few from business people and wage labourers, but none from students or skilled labourers (see Table 38).

It should be added that migration from each socio-economic group fluctuated considerably from one Muqā'ta'a to another in respect of migrants at place of last residence and migrants at place of origin. Even though it is true, as stated above, that the majority of migrants came from the rural sector, there are some differences worth noting.

(1) There is no relation between the rate of migration and the population of the Muqā'ta'a concerned.

The proportion of rural migrants from some Muqāṭa'at was less than its urban migrants, vis a vis the migrants who came from Tripoli Muqāṭa'a; over 65 per cent of its total migrants came from the urban sector, about 35 per cent came from the rural sector.

This result seems to suggest that the proportion of the urban/rural migrants from each Muqāṭa'a resembles the degree and the size of the Muqāṭa'a urban/rural sector. (1) It would be more accurate to suggest that the variation between the number of urban/rural migrants of each Muqāṭa'a may be the result of the Muqāṭa'a's socio-economic structure. For example, the number of migrants who came from Tripoli was lower in wage labourers (two out of every one hundred labourers), but higher in business entrepreneurs (about 27 out of every 100 persons).

(2)
Thus, Tripoli Muqāṭa'a supplies only a few wage labourers but more business people. This might be explained by the fact that the emigrants from an area are seen as a surplus above the needs of those areas. It means that Tripoli 's socio-economic structure could not absorb more of the business entrepreneurs group but it did have a greater proclivity for the absorption of labourers. In contrast to Benghazi City, which showed a great demand for both business entrepreneurs and labourers, as well as the rest of the categories,

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- (1) i.e., the size of its economic activities and the socio-economic relation between the members of its society, i.e., whether they are agricultural, semi-agricultural, pastoralists, semi-pastoralists or urban society.
- (2) It must be remembered that Tripoli had the smallest number of all socio-economic groups with respect to its population in comparison to the rest of the Muqāṭa'at.

it has been seen in earlier chapters that the socio-economic structure of both cities varied to some extent. This was a result of the historical and contemporary processes which each of the Muqa'ta'at underwent (see chapters II and III).

Although the above analysis appears to be logical, it fails to answer the question, as to why these people of Tripoli Muqa'ta'a emigrated while the other people in Tripoli did not? More specifically, why did some people from each socio-economic activity emigrate, while other people of the same socio-economic activity did not?

In addition, it was seen that some of the migrants moved from their place of origin to other Muqa'ta'a before coming to Benghazi City. The question here is, why do these migrants not stay in their place of last residence and why, did they move from one place to another and then to Benghazi?

Hence, the distribution of migrants by place of origin (in Table 39) underwent a considerable change, judging from the figures in Table 38 which give the distribution of migrants by place of last residence. A comparison of the two Tables 38 and 39 shows that, in the first place, there is a great migrant movement from Tripolitania and Fazzān provinces towards Cyrenaica Province. Strictly speaking, the character of these movements among the three provinces was changing from one period to another; from the 1950s to the early 1960s the migrants' movements were mostly from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica, while before and after this period, the pattern of migration was towards the urban sectors of both provinces.

The following examples illustrate the nature of these movements as

Table 39 The Distribution of Migrants by Place of Origin

Migrant Categories	Tripolitania						Cyrenaican				Fazzān			Total		
	Tripoli			Jabal Al -Gharbi			Total	Benghazi		Darna -Akhdar		Total	Sabha		Total	
	Zawia	Khums	Misurata	Ubari	Ubari	Ubari		Ubari	Ubari	Ubari	Ubari		Ubari			Ubari
Business Entrepreneurs	3	-	-	28	6	37	2	8	8	18	5	-	5	60		
%	5.0	-	-	46.6	10.0	61.6	3.3	13.3	13.3	10.0	8.3	-	8.3	100.0		
Professionals	8	-	7	5	9	29	18	20	23	61	10	3	13	105		
%	7.6	-	6.6	4.7	8.5	27.6	17.0	19.0	21.9	58.0	9.5	2.8	12.3	100.0		
Students	10	1	2	4	2	19	10	6	3	19	1	-	1	39		
%	25.0	5.2	3.5	10.4	5.1	48.7	25.6	2.3	1.1	7.3	2.7	-	2.3	100.0		
Skilled Labourers	-	-	5	6	5	16	8	-	3	11	6	-	6	36		
%	-	-	13.8	16.6	13.8	44.4	22.2	-	8.3	30.5	16.6	-	16.6	100.0		
Wage, Un-, Semi-skilled Labourers	20	18	43	83	3	167	47	4	4	55	14	20	34	260		
%	7.6	6.9	16.5	31.9	1.1	64.2	18.0	1.5	1.5	21.1	5.3	7.6	13.0	100.0		
Total	41	19	57	126	25	268	85	38	41	164	36	23	59	500		
%	8.2	3.8	11.4	25.2	5.0	53.8	17.0	7.6	8.2	32.8	7.2	4.6	11.8	100.0		

+ migrants with unknown place of origin

it was explained by some of the informants:

Migrant (A) was a landowner and lived in a village called Qaṣṣabat in Al-khums district Muqāṣṣa'a and migrated from his village in 1938.

He described his situation:

My family and I had a farm in my village. My mother and my two brothers and myself were able to maintain ourselves. In 1937 and after the Italians confiscated our land, we were forced to live on poorer land. It was difficult for us to stay on this land. My eldest brother left for Miṣurāta town, to find employment in the construction sector there. I found employment with an Italian settler. I was working as a labourer in agriculture where I was paid a little cash which was used to supplement our income derived from our land. This land was poor and only used for barley crops. After I was discharged from my job I left for Al-khums town, hoping to find some kind of employment. I failed to do so. Then I, with other people from my village, went to Miṣurāta town, where we were able to find employment in road work. After our work finished and after six months, I left for Benghazi City.

The above case is not unique in relation to examples at different periods, but it appeared typical of the situation many migrants found themselves in. It indicates that this migrant (A), like many other cases, represented surplus labour as a result of the implementation of a new economic structure in his village which could not absorb the surplus of landless and poor farmers, particularly after the Italians discharged them and after they had completed the first stage of planting olive trees.

It shows also that the conditions, which obliged many to move away from their place of origin was aggravated by the Italian policy to transform the subsistence farm in Al-Khums countryside to a commercial farm for olive oil production and other vegetables and fruits). This policy led to the settlement of new Italian farmers and the replacement of Libyan farmers. Although the Italian colonialists attempted to create urban employment in construction, roads and buildings, it failed

to absorb the tremendous number of new landless and poor farmers.

The following case (b) demonstrates the socio-economic structure and the situation in the same area, i.e., Al-Khums Muqāṭṭa'a after the Italians left their state farms, post World War II to 1975.

Case (B) was a landowner and lived in one of the villages in Al-Khums Muqāṭṭa'a. He left his home village in 1948 at the age of 18 to go to Al-Jabal Akhdar Muqāṭṭa'a. He explained his movements saying,

'Because the land was not fertile and my holding was small, especially after the Italian government confiscated most of my family's land, we lived very poorly. I left my village to go to the town of Al-Khums, 18 kilometres from my village Al-Gusbat. I stayed with one of my married sisters for a period of three months, trying to find a job. For a while I worked in the olive oil refinery, but this job did not last long. I decided to try my luck in some other places. I went to a village near Al-Bayda City in Jabal Al-Akhdar Muqāṭṭa'a (in Cyrenaica) where one of my uncles had lived for the last three years before I left my village. I worked on my father's brother's land while he shares with another person for a while, and then I found a farm in a village three kilometres from the previous one where my uncle lived. I worked on the basis of sharecropping system(1) on that farm and other farms until I came this year [1975] to Benghazi.

The example shows the case of a migrant who left his village where he was unable to maintain his family. The activities in the urban sector in the town of Al-Khums in his district were very limited and could not absorb the influx of migrants. These migrants had lost their source of employment in the area after the Italians left. (B) left for a village in Cyrenaica province where he was able to work on the basis of sharecropping on the farm of a government official, who had access to an "ex-Italian farm". He left Al-Biyar area after a settlement of nearly 25 years for Benghazi

(1) See chapter II for an elaboration of this system.

City. His movement was a result of fear, on the part of his partner,
(1)
of the implementation of the new land law, which stated that land
should be given to the cultivators. Because of this law, the owner
of the land refused to renew the contract between himself and the
migrants who were the cultivators. The migrant and his family then
joined his son and his family to live with them in Benghazi.

The informant (C) migrated in 1953 at the age of seventeen.
From Miṣurāta, he worked for a landowner. He left to a village
called Salūq in Benghazi Muqāṭa'a (in Cyrenaica) where he was a
sharecropper. After three years he left Salūq to go to a village
called Sīdi-Sulṭān in Al-Jabal Akhdar Muqāṭa'a, where he also worked
as a sharecropper. After two years, he left to go to Jalū oasis
to work as a labourer with one of the oil companies. After six
months he came back to Sīdi-Sulṭān village, where he stayed until
1962. He then moved to Al-Bayḍa City where he took up a driving
occupation and employment with the government. In 1972 he transferred
to Benghazi City.

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- (1) "The redistribution of the land according to the government law,
November 23rd, 1975: The condition of the redistribution of the land.
- I) The people who have the right to the land, they must fulfill the
following requirements (A) They must be Libyan citizens. (B) They
must be cultivators and able to carry out agricultural activities.
(C) They must not be involved in other activities which may bring
them an additional income or they have no other income sufficient
for a decent life.
- II) Who have priority over the redistributed land. (A) the tenants
prior to the law of land distribution. (B) The occupants of the
lands wanted for the redistribution (i.e., tribal land) (C)
Labourer who work on the land proposed for redistribution.
(D) Local farmers who live on poorer land, where the land proposed
for redistribution is located. (E) Among all these categories
priority must be given to the farmers of larger households and
lower income".

Translated by the author from LAR, The Ministry of Agriculture and of
Land Reform, Dalīl Al-Khadamāt Al-Zarā'īya, Guidelines to agricultural
services, Tripoli 1976, p.10.

The above three examples show the movements of the migrants within the two provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and their muqā'ta'a, from both urban and rural sectors and during different periods.

It can be seen that during the early periods (1950-1959), the movement was from rural Tripolitania to rural Cyrenaica. In contrast to the period before 1950 and the recent period (1960-1975) where the movement was characterised generally by its urban pattern.

Second, the characteristics of migrants' movements within the Muqā'ta'at, whether to urban or rural sectors, was different from one category to another. The movements of business entrepreneurs, for example, were from Miṣurāta and Jabal Gharbi towards Tripoli Muqā'ta'a and then to Benghazi City. The movement of the wage labourers, however, was especially from Miṣurāta, Zāwia, Al-Khums and Sabha to Derna, Benghazi and Jabal Al-Akhdar Muqā'ta'at and then to Benghazi City. For professionals, the movements were from Al-Khums and Jabal Gharbi to Tripoli. Professionals of Miṣurāta Muqā'ta'a showed a more stable movement and often no first move to other Muqā'ta'a.

The last point is that some of those migrants who experienced a geographical movement before coming to Benghazi City had experienced changes in their occupation, or status. For some of them it was an upwards social mobility, while for others it was downward social mobility. An example of upward social mobility is when some of the students had become teachers or clerks, etc., in their place of last residence. Some of the labourers who migrated from the rural sector of Tripoli's Muqā'ta'a to Tripoli City had become skilled labourers before they moved to Benghazi. For an example of downward social mobility there is the case of a large scale livestock owner who sold his animals in order to establish himself in Al-Bayda city, as a

building contractor. He became bankrupt after two years, and then got a job with the government as a driver.

From these examples it can be seen that the proportion of socio-economic groups varied from one province to another and from one Muqāṭa'a to another. For example, a majority of 40 persons, (about 82 per cent) of the total migrants from the Fazzān province came from the labourer group, whilst the same group from Cyrenaican emigrants were in the minority. It was respectively about 40 per cent for the labourers and 60 per cent for the rest of the groups. This may explain why the majority of Fazzān migrants showed a temporary pattern of migration and consequently less of a family pattern in comparison with Cyrenaican migrants. But it was not because, as was explained by one of my colleagues, that the people of Fazzān province are "primitive" and "backward" people, but mainly because of their labourer status. (1) This survey has been important in helping to see the problem of Fazzān emigration from the viewpoint of why the majority of them were labourers and whether that was because of the socio-economic structure of the province or for other reasons.

The movements of the migrants' between the provinces and Muqāṭa'a, as explained above, shows the importance of these areas as they developed from the degree and kind of migrants who arrived in such areas. In this connection, Cyrenaica was the most important province of all, while Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna, Jabal Al-Akḥaḍar and Sabha were the most important Muqāṭa'āt with respect to the rest of the Muqāṭa'āt in the country.

(1) The position of labourers especially among these new arrivals in Benghazi is characterised by the turnover of jobs and poor opportunities to acquire permanent employment and skills, limited jobs, long working hours, low wages, and maintaining incomes at subsistence level.

That is to say, the Tripoli Muqā'ta'āt was important as a main centre of immigration in Tripolitania and Fazzān provinces, while Derna, Jabal Al-Akhdar were important because they received immigrants from other Muqā'ta'āt in Tripolitania province. Sabha, on the other hand, received immigrants from its province (Fazzān) and from Tripolitania. These were mainly merchants. (2)

The Benghazi Muqā'ta'a seems to be the most significant area, for it received immigrants from the Muqā'ta'āt of the three provinces, Fazzān, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Although the patterns of migration from place of last residence towards Benghazi exhibits a number of simple variations, the two most common are, a direct move from the rural sector and from the urban sector of a given Muqā'ta'a to Benghazi City, but the pattern of migration regarding the movement of migrants between the point of departure and that of arrival in Benghazi exhibits a more complex structure. Whilst it is relatively easy to follow the move from place of last residence to Benghazi, for a given individual, it is impossible to calculate the distance between the place of origin and Benghazi in respect of the previous movements of the migrants. This is difficult because of the movements backwards and forwards of the migrants within Muqā'ta'āt, cities or villages. An example by an informant clarifies this point.

This informant was born in a village in Miṣurāta Muqā'ta'a. He was working as a farmer on his father's farm.

(1) See Chapter IV for further explanation of this aspect.

(2) i.e., the movement of migrants can not be judged by the distance of place of origin from Benghazi.

'At the age of 15 my father decided to send me to Tripoli City to help my eldest brother in his garage. After the age of 25, my father and I felt we could expand our business. I became a skilled person in repairing cars. We decided to open a shop in Al-Bayḍa in Jabal Al-Akḥḍar Muqāṭa'a in 1965, a year after the national government transferred there. I started the business with a small shop for the maintenance of small cars. I was a mechanic, and with two more hired foreign labourers, we were doing very well. By the time the business was expanded, I bought a large piece of land and established a bigger shop for the maintenance of different kinds of cars, from small cars to lorries. After 1970, and as a result of the transferral of the national government from Al-Bayḍa to Tripoli City, my business shrank and became less and less profitable. In 1971, and after the death of my father, I thought to move to Miṣurāta City, near my original village, in order to open a new maintenance shop and to look after my sister and brothers. I stayed there for two years, but the thing did not improve, and it was difficult to look after my family and the business in the city and my father's family and our farm of 100 olive trees.

I decided to rent the farm to somebody else in our village and move with the two families [meaning his own family and his sister, brother and mother]. This year I came by myself and my youngest brother who is 15 years of age. He will be starting his study at the institute of social service in Benghazi City, and I will be carrying on the new business.

The above example demonstrates the movement of a person which started from his village in Miṣurāta Muqāṭa'a to Tripoli City in Tripoli Muqāṭa'a, then to Al-Bayḍa City in Al-Jabal Akḥḍar, to Misurata City in his original Muqāṭa'a, and finally to Benghazi City. It would be wrong to consider the distance of his movement (1) between Misurata and Benghazi City, because it was in stages.

The pattern of the migrants' movement with respect to distance therefore seems to be more complex than one may assume.

It is clear therefore that the proportion of migrants from the above Muqāṭa'a, which varies in its distance from Benghazi, was different from one Muqāṭa'a to another. Furthermore, the data reveals that the movement of people from one area to another occurred regardless of distance.

(1) i.e., the model of the migration movement in stages toward the centre or the host city.

For example, an informant who had migrated from a village in Misurāta's Muqā-ta'a some years ago supplied a genealogy consisting of 120 living consanguine and affinal kin. Forty of them migrated to Benghazi, and 45 moved to five other Muqā ta'āt ten of them migrated to places nearer to their village.

It is interesting to observe that the explanation of the migrants' movements to Benghazi was more adequate from the point of view of their motivational factor rather than the factor of distance. For those whose motive was looking for a job, their answer to the questions, Why did you come to Benghazi? and why did you not go to some other cities, such as Tripoli City, Derna or Al-Bayda City? ⁽¹⁾ was that the majority of them came to Benghazi because of its job opportunities. However, the answer from the majority of business people was that they came to Benghazi for its business opportunities. Students were in a similar situation, and the highest proportion of them said they came for higher education. The majority of the skilled labourers and professionals stated that their motive was the employment opportunities in Benghazi or else that they had a job elsewhere and were transferred to Benghazi.

The secondary declared reasons for the majority were stated in the following order:

- (a) Because they had kin or friends in Benghazi
- (b) Because Benghazi's people were known as generous, and kind people and easy to communicate with.

Added to these answers were those from people whose place of emigration was nearest to Benghazi; the answer from the majority of them was that

(1) The above three cities of Tripoli, Derna and Al-Bayda were chosen on the assumption of their geographical proximity to the migrants' place of last residence (see Map 1).

They came to Benghazi because it was the nearest place to their villages and towns.

The above discussion on the question of distance being an important point in the study of the pattern of migration would seem to indicate that over-reliance on this aspect can lead to misleading consequences. In other words, the reasons declared by migrants for their moves to Benghazi rather than other places appeared to be mainly for its socio-economic importance and not for its distance from place of last residence. The analysis can be carried further by examining the motivational factors declared by migrants for their decision to move.

V The motivation for Emigration and the duration of stay in Benghazi

A - The Motives for Emigration

Two types of motives, primary and secondary were declared by migrants.

1. Primary motive is the motive stated by the migrant to the main object for their coming to Benghazi.
2. Secondary motive is the one which could be attributed to the migrants' own awareness of their social and economic conditions.

The next section on the characteristics of migrants deals with migrants' motives. It is important in order to complete the analysis of the characteristics of the pattern and trend of migration.

The information used for this analysis of motivational factors consists of (1) the motives for emigration to Benghazi declared by the immigrants and (2) the characteristics of the socio-economic activities of the same in their place of last residence.

These two criteria are significant on the assumption that they are

Table 40 The Distribution of Migrants by their Present Socio-economic Position, Place of Last Residence and their Motivating Factor declared for Moving to Benghazi

Migrant Categories	I			II			III			IV			V			Total		
	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T	R	U	T
1. Business entrepreneurs	14	18	32	4	2	6	1	2	3	1	1	2	4	3	7	24	36 ^a	60
%	58.3	50.0	53.3	16.6	5.5	10.0	4.1	2.7	3.3	4.1	2.7	3.3	16.6	8.3	11.6	100.0	100.0	100.0
2. Professionals	9	2	11	5	7	12	10	11	21	16	28	44	7	8	15	49 ^b	56	105
%	18.3	3.5	18.3	10.2	12.5	20.0	20.4	19.6	35.0	32.6	50.0	73.3	15.2	14.0	25.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3. Students	5	3	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	10	25	4	2	6	24	15	39
%	20.8	20.0	20.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	62.5	66.6	64.1	16.6	13.3	10.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
4. Skilled Labourers	13	3	16	3	2	5	1	1	2	8	2	10	2	1	3	27	9	36
%	48.1	33.3	26.6	11.1	22.2	8.3	3.7	11.1	3.3	29.6	23.2	16.6	7.4	11.1	5.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5. Wage Labourers	186	2	188	11	5	16	5	-	5	-	-	-	48	-	48	253 ^c	7	260
%	73.3	28.5	71.1	4.3	71.4	26.6	1.9	-	8.3	-	-	-	18.9	-	18.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	227	28	255	23	16	39	17	14	31	40	41	81	65	14	79	377 ^d	123 ^e	500 ^f
%	50.2	22.7	51.0	6.1	13.0	7.6	5.5	11.3	6.3	10.4	33.3	16.2	17.7	11.3	15.6	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: I - seeking employment II - establishing business III - had a job elsewhere and IV - higher education V - other motives transferred to Benghazi

Includes unknown cases each
 Notes: R = rural U = urban T = total

factors which complement and clarify each other and consequently lead to a wider knowledge of the problem of migration in Libya.

Table 40 shows the distribution of migrants by their present socio-economic activities, place of last residence (whether from the rural or urban sector), and motivational factors as declared by migrants. The five main factors for immigration to Benghazi were

- (i) seeking work or employment
- (ii) establishing business
- (iii) transfer of job to Benghazi
- (iv) higher education
- (v) other factors, such as the person came along with the parents or family, health treatment, death of the parents, and coming to stay with relatives.

These factors will be called in this study "dependents' motives".

The aim of this classification is to make unnecessary a more detailed analysis of those who say that their movement was dependent on other people's motives.

The data appears in Table 40 of the motives declared, with greater frequency related to factors such as "seeking employment" followed by those who came for "higher education". Establishing business comes next and transferral of job to Benghazi was the last. It must be pointed out that these statements always correspond to immigrants who did not depend on other people's motives at the time of arrival in Benghazi and that therefore they constitute the majority with respect to those who had "other factors", they were only 15 per cent of the total sample (see the last row of the above Table 40).

Within the two groups, rural and urban, the pattern differs. More

persons came to Benghazi seeking employment from the rural sector than the urban sector. It was respectively 50.3 per cent for the former and over 22 per cent for the latter. A similar situation occurred with respect to those who came for "other motives", where it was respectively over 17 per cent for rural and 11 per cent for urban migrants.

In contrast, more urban than rural people declared their motives as being to establish business in Benghazi. It was respectively 13 per cent among urban migrants and 6 per cent among rural migrants.

The higher education factor occurred significantly more frequently in the immigrants from relatively urban sectors (33 per cent) as compared with immigrants from rural sectors (10 per cent).

The same result was found with regard to those who had a job elsewhere which was transferred to Benghazi. It was more frequent among urban migrants (11 per cent) than rural migrants (4 per cent).

It is interesting to observe that although the majority of immigrants, 255 persons (51 per cent) declared the motive for their movement from the place of last residence to Benghazi as "seeking employment", the figures of employment in the place of last residence show that about 47 per cent of the people who stated "seeking employment" were in fact not looking for work. Approximately 30 per cent were looking for a job, and over 20 per cent were employed. On the other hand, a proportion of the immigrants whose motives were other than "seeking employment", were, in fact, looking for a job. For example, of those who came for "higher education", 70 per cent were not looking for a job, and about 25 per cent were. These seeming contradictions show the need to cross-examine the motivational factor with the previous

socio-economic activity of migrants and their present socio-economic position in Benghazi and also the need to reconsider secondary motives declared by the immigrants.

Comparing the motives declared, with the previous socio-economic position at the place of last residence, it is necessary to point out at least two aspects. The first has a bearing on the motive of "higher education" and the same occupation of students, where the frequency of the motive of "higher education" in the immigrants was over 16 out of every 100 migrants. However, 24 out of every 100 migrants were students, which means that students came not only for education but for employment and for permanent stay in Benghazi.

The second aspect refers to the differences with regard to "seeking a job" and the people who were supposed to be in this situation, i.e., labourers of all kinds: skilled, semi- and unskilled. Here the proportion of people seeking employment was 51 per cent, although labourers were 46 out of every 100 migrants. This indicates that people from other socio-economic groups were seeking employment like the labourers.

A similar result was observed with the motive regarding the present socio-economic position of migrants, where the differences observed were almost exclusive in all immigrant groups regarding their declared motives. For instance, the people who declared their motive as "seeking employment" were already involved in business, professional work and study as well as in skilled and wage labour activities. That is to say, amongst those who declared their motive as "looking for work", were those who were actually looking for change in their occupation and for social mobility.

Thus immigrants may be classified into two groups: those who came to obtain socio-economic mobility and those who came "seeking work" on the one hand, and those who were able to obtain their aim of social mobility and those who were not able to achieve such mobility on the other. ⁽¹⁾ (For further elaboration of this point, see Table 40 regarding the migrants' present socio-economic position with their declared motives).

Hence, the information seems to suggest that the majority of the migrants did not come to Benghazi just to obtain work but also to better their general situation. This result may explain, for example, the massive emigration to the cities and the rapid growth of urban population in contrast to the declining rural population, despite government efforts to increase work in the agricultural sector. This led to increased demand for the migration of aliens into Libya to replace the internal migrants who left the rural sector.

The secondary motives declared by the immigrants, may be explained as a reaction to what are conceived of as unfavourable existing conditions in their village, town or city, contrasted with ideas regarding potential rewards resulting from geographical mobility.

At this level, the characteristics of the unfavourable socio-economic environment may be summed up as follows:

The rural community is frequently portrayed in terms of a disadvantageous economic situation, and the same dissatisfactions are voiced repeatedly: the poor quality and unproductivity of the land;

(1) This point will be elaborated further in the next chapter V, VI and VII.

idleness outside of peak agricultural seasons; lack of employment opportunities in areas other than agriculture; the low monetary reward for produce and fluctuations in and unpredictability of income; (1) tortuous, unimproved roads and the difficulty of access to markets and the Muqāṭa'a urban centres, which lead to the difficulty of marketing of their produce and to the feeling of isolation from socio-economic and political activities on a national scale.

The lack of facilities and services also creates a sense of alienation from the contemporary world. This is especially true of the scattered villages over a wide geographic area, which mostly lack such basic facilities as water, electricity, schools, post offices, clinics, hospitals, mosques, shops or a general store, representation in local government, Mukhtār or Imām in order to (2) carry on the social service activities. The restricted social mobility within the traditional social structure of the countryside the limited diversions, primitive living conditions, the fragmentation of the communal land to smallholdings, the geographic dispersal of cultivable plots, the utilization of the available resources by small groups in the community to the exclusion of the other members, the household composition and socio-economic control by some of its members over the others, and the co-existence of traditional

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- (1) To buy the requirements of food, clothes, paraffin, soap, steel tools, etc., called for steady cash income. In addition the social system makes it difficult for the individual to have access to his production or to have it at his disposal (see chapter V).
- (2) Social service for the purpose of marriage, divorce or other necessary governmental papers (certificates).

socio-economic structure with the modern socio-economic structure among the countryside societies have all led to tremendous variation in the socio-economic position of members of both societies.

The awareness of the traditional socio-economic organizations (i.e., of sheikh of tribe, or village, animal owner, ra'ay or animal herder/or landowner, peasant, agricultural labourer, etc.) is usually associated with restricted social mobility, considered as partitive inheritance, and unpredictable income. The modern social structure is concerned with open vertical social mobility and participation in a more varieties and developed socio-economic activities, not only on a small-scale within the city's society, but also on the national level.

The following examples illustrate the way in which informants expressed dissatisfaction of their previous place of residence.

(1)

One of the middle peasants who is now a skilled labourer (and migrated in 1973) says,

'The land couldn't produce enough for all the members of my household but I didn't know what to do. A kinsman who had migrated to Benghazi ten years ago, and who is now a businessman, arrived one day to visit us in the village. He encouraged me to return to the city with him. I did come, hoping to find a better living for my family and myself'.

The interesting point is that the middle peasant was from the same tribe section as his kinsman who persuaded him to migrate to Benghazi. The purpose of the kin businessman's desire for the middle peasant's

(1) For the definition of this term see chapter on the socio-economic background of migrants before coming to Benghazi.

migration was, according to my informant, to use him as a partner in his business in order to escape paying some of the taxes required by the government and also to employ him as cheap labour, since he was considered as his kinsman. This was in addition to the main purpose of the businessman, which was investing his capital in tribal land. Since the land of his kinsman was communal land, which means he has access to the land if none of his kin are using the land, in this way he can use his capital to modernize and increase the production of the land.

Another informant described his situation as the result of the fragmentation of the "tribe's " land. He says,

'I was an animal owner, and had 200 sheep and 30 goats. My family and I lived fairly comfortably in our village in the old days where there was little regard to tribal boundaries. It was recognized by most tribesmen that this flexibility was necessary for the continuation of pastoralism, and consequently maintaining our livelihood. I found it difficult to stay in my village, especially after our tribe's land was divided into small pieces and each of the tribesmen has property in which no one else can claim rights to water and pasture. It was impossible for me to stay in a place where I and my animals were surrounded by four barbed wire fences. I therefore decided to give my share to my brother and sold my animals to establish a business in Benghazi.

Education is seen to be a major factor in migration, not only to satisfy the requirements of the migrants' villages, but to obtain skills which either cannot be learned in the countryside or which can be applied with greater rewards elsewhere. The following example is illustrative of such a factor.

The case concerns a teacher who was employed on an untenured basis or what is called in the local language, musaraf, which means the salary of the person concerned is on an hourly or daily basis, but is received monthly. He had no right to allowances such as

housing and family allowance, unlike tenured employees.

In this connection, the informant states,

'I was appointed as a teacher in a primary school in our village. At that time, I had just completed my grammar school. I was appointed as non-tenure. My salary did not increase and my position was the same as it was since I was first employed [1968]. I came to Benghazi this year where I can continue my study and gain the qualifications required for my employment. In addition, I will be teaching and earning money to maintain my family.

This seems to indicate that the awareness and dissatisfaction of migrants of the negative characteristics of their origins are significant, because they show a greater understanding by the migrants of the situation before moving. The primary motives which were declared by migrants, however, appeared to be platitudes hiding the (1) real motives for migration. The data of duration of stay of migrants seems to confirm this conclusion as will be seen in section B.

B - The duration of stay in Benghazi

This adds an interesting variable to our knowledge of the pattern of migration and for clarification of the motivational factors declared by immigrants.

Duration of stay in Benghazi varied among the migrants, from those who had been there a few months to those who had been there more than twenty years.

The majority of recent migrants, who had been there from a few months to two years, were generally wage labourers and students (see Table 41)

(1) Primary motives are usually taken by sociologists as a tool of analysis in understanding the problem of migration and its motivation appears to be unreliable, see chapter I, section II.

Table 41 The Distribution of Migrants by their Present Socio-economic Position and the Duration of Stay in Benghazi

Present socio-economic Position of Migrants	0 - 5 years	5 - 10 years	10 - 15 years	15 - 20 years	over 20 years	Total
Business entrepreneurs	13	11	12	13	11	60
%	21.6	18.3	20.0	21.6	18.3	100.0
Professionals	42	23	22	6	12	105
%	40.0	21.9	20.9	5.7	11.4	100.0
Students	39	-	-	-	-	39
%	100.0	-	-	-	-	100.0
Skilled Labourers	9	11	3	7	6	36
%	25.0	30.5	8.3	19.4	16.6	100.0
Semi, Un-skilled Labourers	223	12	8	6	11	260
%	85.7	4.6	3.0	2.3	4.2	100.0
Total	326	57	45	32	40	500
%	65.2	11.4	9.0	6.4	8.0	100.0

Students and labourers, therefore, seem to be an important group among the immigrants of Benghazi, not only for their size but also for their frequent supply in order to fulfil the demand of their sector of the city's economy. There are many people who intended to stay all along after their arrival in Benghazi, unlike the pattern of migration in Al-Bayda City, whose migrants stay for a limited period and leave for other places (see chapters V, VI).

The above data indicates two significant points:

- (1) migrants to Benghazi intend to stay from their arrival onwards
 - (2) The duration was related to their socio-economic movement, i.e., the migrants experienced a change in their socio-economic positions.
- Within Benghazi's society this aspect will be clarified in the following chapters V, VI and VII.

The data of this chapter was concerned with the analysis of the characteristics of migration to Benghazi with reference to its trends, patterns and motivations. Several variables are important in understanding the characteristics of migration to Benghazi. These are: the socio-economic position of migrants before migration, spatial mobility, period of initial movement and period of arrival in Benghazi, the age and sex of migrants, the pattern of migration whether temporary or permanent motivation for migration, the duration of stay in Benghazi and finally the study of the variable of socio-economic structure of the country as a whole, of the place of supply and the receiving setting. All these variables are crucial to an understanding of migration. In other words, the nature of migration is better studied as a process related to the wider totality of Libyan socio-economic structures.

It appears, from a discussion of the above variables, that migrants were generally from different age groups. The overwhelming majority came from rural areas with a smaller number from urban settings during the periods mentioned (pre 1950s, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1975).

Although they came from different occupational groups, i.e., farmers, animal owner, business entrepreneurs, professionals, students, skilled and wage labourers, the dominant group were wage labourers' and students'.

Migration could also be categorised by the extent to which the migrants obtained "permanent employment" as well as by family pattern. For instance, the period between 1970-1975 was the most noticeable period for having a permanent employment and consequently permanent migration and family pattern.

Female migration was important in the sense of its relation to the family pattern. It was observed that the increase of female migration, especially in the recent decade was important. Female migration was also correlated with the permanent pattern of migration, where it was found that the type of settlement in Benghazi was to be a permanent one. However, migrants' visits to their homes were considerable and important, for migrants intended to bring and establish their families to Benghazi while they pursued their social and economic activities in their original homes. (1)

It is also indicated from the foregoing discussion that migration towards Benghazi was characterised by stages or what are called "previous movement". These movements were experienced in particular by the

(1) The above results will be explained and analysed further in the following chapter V.

migrants of the western province (Tripolitania). Those migrants moved from their rural settings during the early periods prior to 1950 and between 1950-1959.

Furthermore, it was realised that there is a relationship between one's economic position and one's geographical mobility. For instance, the degree of experience of previous movement in each category was dependent on how many people had greater geographical movement (such as business entrepreneurs, professionals or skilled labourers).

The majority of migrants came from the rural areas and from all the ten Muqā'ita'a (districts) of the country, although some of these Muqā'ita'āt supplied larger numbers of migrants than others, and from one socio-economic group rather than others. For example, whilst the majority (20 per cent) of the business entrepreneurs came from Misurāta Muqā'ita'a (where most of them were merchants), none of them came from Sabha or Ubāri Muqā'ita'āt and whilst the majority of professionals (about 27 per cent) came from Dirna, none of them came from Al-Zāwia Muqā'ita'a. This observation from the empirical material questions the validity of "migration theories" which attempt to relate the volume of migration to the size and distance of the emigration area from the "host" area. In the case of Libya, at least, and on the basis of material collected, the size of the Muqā'ita'a and its proximity to the receiving area (Benghazi) did not seem to be directly related to the volume of migrants. It may, therefore, be that migration is better understood within the complexities of socio-economic structure of both the emigration and immigration areas, and in their relation to the structures of the society as a whole and its relation to the world market.

Migrants' motivational factors were examined, and these gave a classification under five headings: seeking employment, establishing business, transfer of job to Benghazi from their previous residence and higher education. Seeking employment and higher education were the dominant factors with respect to the others, although the proportional frequency in immigrants was changing with regard to their degree of employment or the kind of activities at place of last residence.

Although the motives stated by the migrants seem a reasonable means of understanding the movements of migration, the contradictions which appear between the migrants' motives and the quality and nature of employment in both the emigration and immigration areas seem to be more significant indicators of the complexity of migration in Libyan society. It was necessary, therefore, to discuss analytically other variables of the problem, such as the awareness and discontent of the migrants concerning the negative characteristics of their origins. This is significant because it gives a clearer explanation of the situation of the migrants before emigration. Obviously, the above-stated motivation characteristics reflect the migrants' consciousness of their situation. At this level it will be well to discuss the material above, specifically with respect to "contradictions" which appear from the analysis of the migrants motivations, and their position before and after coming to Benghazi. For example, though migrants tend to separate economic from non-economic motives, it appears that one cannot separate economic and non-economic motivations because the economic reason was there in every case, as was shown by the migrants who stated that their motive for coming to Benghazi was to obtain higher education. Higher education

in the first place was required in order to facilitate their accessibility to the material resources in the country. What is important is that the assessment of migrants own motives would involve opinion surveys and yet these surveys would perhaps indicate only a differential awareness of their habitat. Nevertheless, the point which may be emphasised here is that the study of individual motivation, cannot fully explain the objective structure of the migrants' behaviour. This seems to indicate that if one aims to understand the problem of migration in Libya, it is necessary to seek motivation other than that stated by individuals. It appears therefore that the problem of migration in Libya cannot be explained by the functionalist approach of the social anthropologists and economists (which were mentioned in the introduction of this thesis), and it would be a mistake to attribute the explanation of migration problems to the consciousness or subjective intentions of the migrants. Gera in the New Left Review asserts that we must,

make a secondary distinction between (a) those appearances, or forms of manifestation;

in which social relations present themselves and which are not mystificatory or false as such, inasmuch as they do correspond to an objective reality; they become mystified only when regarded as products of nature or of the subjective intentions of men; and (b) those appearances or forms of manifestation, which are quite simply false, illusions in the full sense, corresponding to no objective reality. (1)

However, Mannheim points out that,

The mechanistic and functional theory is highly valuable as a current in psychological research. It fails, however, when it is placed in the total context of life experience because it says nothing concerning the meaningful goal of conduct, and is therefore unable to interpret the elements of conduct with reference to it. The mechanistic mode of thought is of

(1) N. Gera, "Fetishism in Marx's Capital", New Left Review, No. 65, 1971, pp.74-75.

assistance only as long as the goal or the value is given from another source and the 'means' alone are to be recreated. The most important role of thought in life consists, however, in providing guidance for conduct, when decisions are made. Every real decision (such as one's evaluation of other persons or how society should be organized) implies a judgement concerning good or evil, concerning the meaning of life and mind.(1)

Having said this, it was necessary, therefore, to discuss more closely the situation of each socio-economic group (or category) within the socio-economic structure before and after migration, of the country as a whole. This will be explored and analysed in the following chapters on the socio-economic background of migrants before their arrival to Benghazi, and the socio-economic position and the economic behaviour of migrants in Benghazi.

(1) K. Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, New York, 1936, quoted in J. O'Brien, "The political economy of migrant labour: a critique of conventional wisdom", National Council for Research, Economic and Social Research Council, Vol. 24, No. II, Khartoum, 1974, p.11.

C H A P T E R V

The Socio-Economic Background of Migrants Before
Coming to Benghazi

The previous chapter suggests that Benghazi's migrants are mostly from rural sectors, especially if one takes into consideration the pattern of the first trip of migration from the place of origin to another place. It also shows that the previous movements contributed to an increase in the average age of adult immigrants in Benghazi especially those coming from the rural sector compared with those coming from the urban sector, who were more a mixture of adults and children. Female migration is also important in the index, where its pattern is more conspicuous than the male pattern. It is clear that migration is a factor which determines more migration. The pattern of migration to Benghazi is characterised by family and permanent type, in contrast to the pattern of overall migration, considering the first move of migrants from their original homes. It also indicates that the number of previous moves varies from one category to another, and from one 'occupation' group to another within each category. These moves are at different levels of migratory stages, as follows:

(1) from the western province (Tripolitania) to the eastern province (Cyrenaica).

(2) from the southern province (Fazzān) to the western province (Tripolitania) to Cyrenaica, and from Muqā' ta'a to Muqā' ta'a within and out of each province.

(3) from village to towns or cities and vice versa, within each Muqā' ta'a.

The question is whether the above geographical mobility is accompanied by socio-economic mobility; ⁽¹⁾ i.e., in general terms, what is the socio-economic background of migrants before coming to Benghazi (such as occupation, income, housing, education and social position).

Hence, whilst general economic, social and political conditions (as the previous chapter concerning socio-economic transformation of Libyan society seems to suggest) may explain migration as a mass phenomenon within a specific geographical and historical context, the analysis of individual cases reveals a complex interplay of variables. Several levels of analysis are suggested, and these can be viewed as a continuum ranging from the general socio-economic characteristics of the society as a whole to those of the individual in his own society. The main question is, what are the socio-economic backgrounds of those individuals who respond to the conditions indicated in the above chapter) by emigrating.

Since this is a very wide subject, this chapter will be limited to a discussion. First, of the socio-economic structure of the migrants' community of origin (especially the rural societies); with specific reference to the mode of accumulation of capital and the emergence of a new form of socio-economic structure in rural areas, and; second of the socio-economic background of migrants; with regard to their occupations, income, housing, education and social position. These variables will be discussed briefly, in

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- (1) Socio-economic mobility has been present in this work in the type of migrants' occupation.
 - (2) Occupation: the term 'occupation' in this thesis means the socio-economic activity of a migrant before coming to Benghazi. These activities or occupations are set up according to their position in the market (in terms of the importance of controlling economic resources) and consequently relates to their value or image to Libyan society.

order to see whether migrants came from varying background or from similar background as some sociologists maintain, such as Philip Hauser. He states that "the rural in-migrant to the city is typically from (1) a relatively homogeneous origin".

I - This section attempts to study the socio-economic structure of rural societies with specific reference to the mode of accumulation of capital and the emergence of a new form of socio-economic structure in rural areas.

Data on the socio-economic structure of rural settings shows a complicated pattern. This is the traditional system of production which was based upon differentiation in control and exploitation of agricultural resources, in which small farmers and labourers worked the land of large landowners for a percentage of the crops cultivated. The middle farmers worked their own land with the help of household labour, maintaining the produce of the land at their disposal. The co-existence of private and tribal land, combined with different sharecropping arrangements, had a tremendous impact on the economic position of individuals living in these rural societies. In addition recent developments have created new types of economic activity which have provided some of the individuals in rural settings with the means of earning a higher income or additional resources in order to meet their household expenses. Whilst in the past the economic life of rural dwellers was reinforced by traditional agriculture (the nomadic pastoral economy) in which it was nearly impossible to alter the distribution of wealth, the present conditions have opened channels for possible upward social mobility. There is increasing

(1) Philip Hauser "problems of modern society" in Peter Worsley Problems of Modern Society, London, Penguin Books, 1972, p.142.

economic differentiation taking place in rural areas and these are (1)
in addition to the traditional economic groups of large landowners,
called locally diata, who own the largest share of the economic
resources in their communities, such as land, capital, and tools
and who depend upon the work of middle and small farmers/labourers.

This structure may be explained by an illustration of the
pattern of land tenure and the distribution of its product in a (2)
village called Misulātaḥ in Tripoli Muqāṭṭa'a. The distribution
of land in the area averaged 10 hectares per household in 1964.
However, 10 per cent of the households in the village have the
major part of the best cultivated land. Each of them has more
than 30 hectares of land and over 200 producing olive trees. While
the rest of the households either have nothing or own very little
property (or less than a hectare of land and less than five olive
trees).

The largest part of the arable land is sown with barley or
wheat. The production was used for domestic and animal consumption
and for the market. The olive crop was considered to be the main
cash crop in the village.

The harvest of olives and cereals varies greatly from year to
year. In a good year an average olive tree produces about 40 litres
of oil, yielding a gross income of LD10. In a bad year, this can
decrease to about one Libyan Dinar.

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- (1) Landlord: diata is a person who has large plots of productive land, and owns considerable property like houses, shops, animals and other forms of capital, the term diata implies that, this person possesses great economic power and a high social position within his community. His power also, extended outside his community, where he invested his capital in more than one area and in several enterprises.
- (2) J.M. Hilal, A Sociological Study in Libyan Social Reality, Dirasat fi Al Wāqa' Al-Libiy. Tripoli, Libya, 1968, pp. 111-117. (in Arabic)

Similarly with Barley; A hectare of land can produce from 40 to 50 kilograms of barley in a very dry year, increasing to some 600 kilograms in a wet year. Consumption of olive oil and barley varies, but figures given by informants indicate that 15 to 25 litres of olive oil, and 60 - 80 kilograms of barley, are consumed annually by each member of the household.

Most farmers in the village keep livestock (sheep, goats) which is used mostly for domestic consumption and few of them were used for the markets.

The local industry in the area; includes weaving which is done mostly by women using the traditional hand loom. It also includes the traditional manufacture by men of olive presses and flour mills. The majority of these machines are operated by animals or human labour, (1) only a few of them are electrically powered. For the use of his machinery the press-owner takes 10% of the product. The rest goes to the farmers. Olive oil is usually sold by the farmers and press-owner in the local market, either to the shopkeeper; Baqāl (2) in the village or to the broker, Simsār, (3) who is a middle man between the producer and the trader, Al-Tājir Al-hadri, (4) in Tripoli City.

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- (1) Five to ten men are employed for each of the mechanical presses during the season which starts from October to mid-February.
 - (2) Baqāl, a shopkeeper who purchases his goods from the urban trader and resells them to the local people.
 - (3) Broker, Simsār the middle man who transfers commodities from his village to the city or from his village to another, see p.304 for further details.
 - (4) Al-Tājir Al-hadri, the urban trader usually a large shopowner mainly in the wholesale trade.

The data shows the differentiation of the economic structure in rural areas and the various economic opportunities of farming, livestock raising, trading of all kinds, the manufacture of leather and wool etc., and all other forms of primary production. The existence of the rural economic structure offers a range of opportunities for capital accumulation and income earning.

For example;

1. Landowners: the diata own the greatest share of land and other resources. They employ other people to cultivate their land and look after their animals.

(1)

2. The Middle Farmers: Muzāriq, work their own land in a family group, and have sufficient agricultural property to maintain their families. They work occasionally as sharecroppers or tenants for large landowners in their area. The sharecropping system held between landowners and the middle farmer varies from one case to another. In some cases the middle farmer provides half the seed and pays half the expenses involved in ploughing the land, and supplying the labour. Under this system the middle farmer and the landlord share the product equally. In other cases, the middle farmer provides all the expenses of labour and the seeds, in which case his share would be about 75% of the product.

(2)

3. Small Farmers: the Khamās or the Fallāh, their land is either

(1) Muzāriq indicates that this person owns property and land which enables him to maintain his family. In most cases, the land of the Muzāriq is irrigated, and it could therefore be cultivated all the year round.

(2) Fallāh, Khamās is the poor farmer. He lives by sharecropping and has nothing to offer in cultivating the land apart from his family and his labour. In a village in Binwalid area (in western province), Fallāh is a Khamās or the person who takes one fifth, (a Khums) of the product, He is in the lowest status in his village in relation to Muzāriq or diata.

small or poor. The land and the property of the Fallāh is barely able to maintain subsistence. The Fallāh usually supply their labour to the landlord in exchange for cash. In other cases they work as sharecroppers, in which case, the small farmer provides nothing but his labour for which he obtains less than one quarter of the product in return.

(1)
4. Labourers: own nothing apart from their ability to work in agriculture or in other odd jobs in the area. The worker in agriculture or the Khadīm and Jabād are considered to be in the lowest position with respect to the other groups in rural society.

Almost all the labourers in rural areas had no previous training or education, their labour was hired either on a daily basis or on a temporary contract for the raising of livestock, or farming on the basis of the sharecropping system. In this system the worker has to provide his labour in exchange for a limited share of his production of grain or animals.

These sharecropping labourers/suffer from the mechanisms by which their economic surplus is utilised at the domestic level, for they are seldom able to control the disposal of their produce which is traditionally under the family's control. In addition there is the uncertainty of a return on their labour because of a bad drought, Qibli (a hot wind which can wipe out the whole crop).

(1) Labourers: There are three types of Labouring arrangement in Libya villages Jabād, Khadīm (the agricultural workers) Ra'īy (the herdsman) and 'amīl (the person who works in the modern sector of the economy such as construction labourers and labourers working in Modern government owned farms. All the labourers were considered to be in the lowest status in relation to other group in their villages. However, Jabād and Khadīm were considered to be even lower than Ra'īy, while Ra'īy is seen in a lower social position than 'amīl, especially the 'amīl who worked on a regular basis in the public sector.

Furthermore, when he has a surplus he must take it to the local market himself, or accept what the landowner or the middle man offers, so that either the price he is offered is uncertain or he may get no return at all.

The sharecropping activities in the case of the middle farmers are a secondary or supplementary activity. However, for labourers and small farmers, sharecropping or casual labour is their main activity and their only source of income or means of subsistence.

The co-existence of the large landlord and middle, small farmers, and labourers generated a series of exchanges between them.

Some of the small farmers became temporary wage labourers or sharecroppers for the large landowners. And sometimes they became bound to the large landowners through debt relations (i.e., the small farmers borrowed money or acquired seeds, fertilizers, water for the irrigation of their crops or other agriculture equipment on credit). Hence, socio-economic exchanges of this kind are important factors in determining the way in which capital accumulation has taken place among the agricultural groups.

In such cases, these small farmers and labourers are given only a very small proportion of their production, which they receive either in money or in kind.

Thus, while, some of Muzāriʿin,⁽¹⁾ (Middle Farmers) and almost all of Fallāhin and Khadimīn⁽²⁾ productions are controlled by the large landowners; who likewise have their profits controlled by the

(1) Singular Muzāriʿ, plural Muzāriʿīn

(2) Singular Khadīm, plural Khadimīn

village's Tajir : Mahallī (local merchants,) and by the Simsār (broker) who acts as a Middleman between the villagers and the Al-Tajir Al-hadari (external trader). However, the profit of the village's local merchants and the Simsār was controlled by the al-Tajir Al-hadari, (for further elaboration of the structure see the following case studies in this chapter and figure 2).

A similar type of relation existed between livestock owners, (1) Mawāl, with large herds of livestock, owners with small herds and the propertyless. In both cases, the herdsmen or Ra'ay is required to herd the flock of sheep, goats or camels. In return for which they are allowed to retain a small proportion of the new-born animals at the end of each grazing season. (see case studies in this chapter).

In most cases, the number of the new born which they receive is insufficient to satisfy their families and their own subsistence needs. The task of herding animals (for the Mawāl or large animal owner) is essential for the owner of small herds and the labourers for whom it is their only source of income.

This activity, however, represents a secondary income for the middle scale livestock owner, Sahib Al-Sa'ay in the pastoralists society. The herdsmen ra'ay in general considered to be in the lowest position with respect to other groups in a pastoralist society. They are not however, in such a low status as are agricultural labourers or the Khadīm and Jabād in rural society. The contract between herdsmen

(1) Mawāl who is a large scale livestock owner producing for the market.

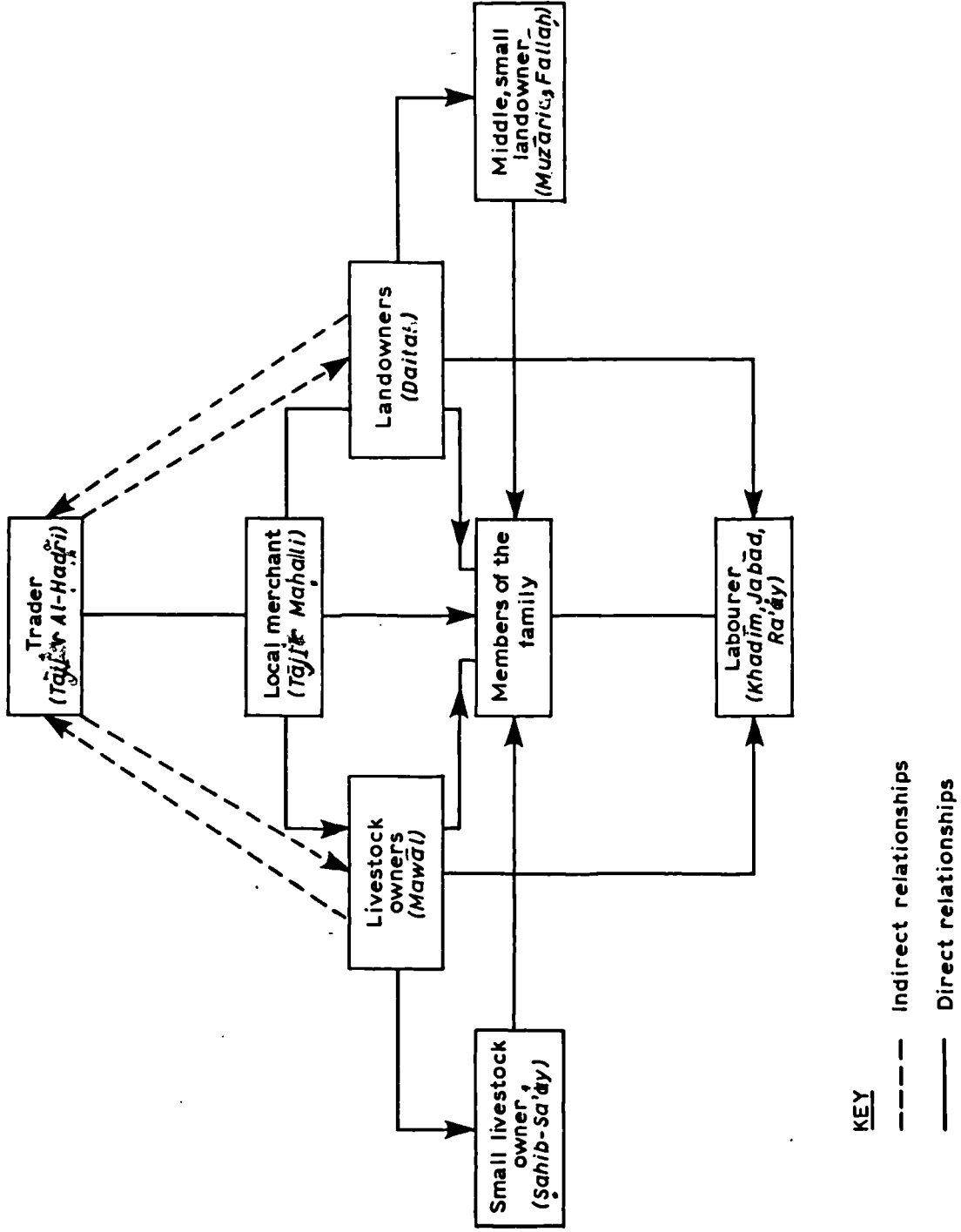


FIG. 2. Income relations within traditional rural economic structures.

and large scale livestock owners is dependent very much upon the conditions within which the contract was arranged. For example, the size of income of the animal herder varies. From one case to another. The share of the herdsman derived from his work is far less if the contract was between him and a kinsman, than if the contract was held with someone outside of his tribal organization. Furthermore, the size of the herdsman's share is also dependent on the sort of contract drawn up is whether it is arranged between several owners or an individual. The size of the share in the first case is much greater than in latter case. In these cases the former contract is much more favourable than the latter with regard to the income of Ra'iy.

However, even amongst the middle, small farmer or the middle small livestock owners and propertyless whose productions are appropriated by the large livestock owner and landlord, there was further differentiation arising. From their inability to find secondary employment. Thus, while a minority of the villagers found temporary wage employment in government construction projects and public works, which allowed them to improve their living conditions, the majority were not able to do so.

The development of government employment and bureaucracy was examined in the Jalu oasis or Wahīk-Jālū, (which is located 320 kms to the south-east of Benghazi). During the fieldwork in 1970 it was found that the expansion of bureaucracy in rural Jalu had increased the economic variation between the members of its society (for further clarification see figure 3). Bureaucracy was characterized by an increase in wage paying jobs and posts for a limited number of the people, most of whom were appointed for political

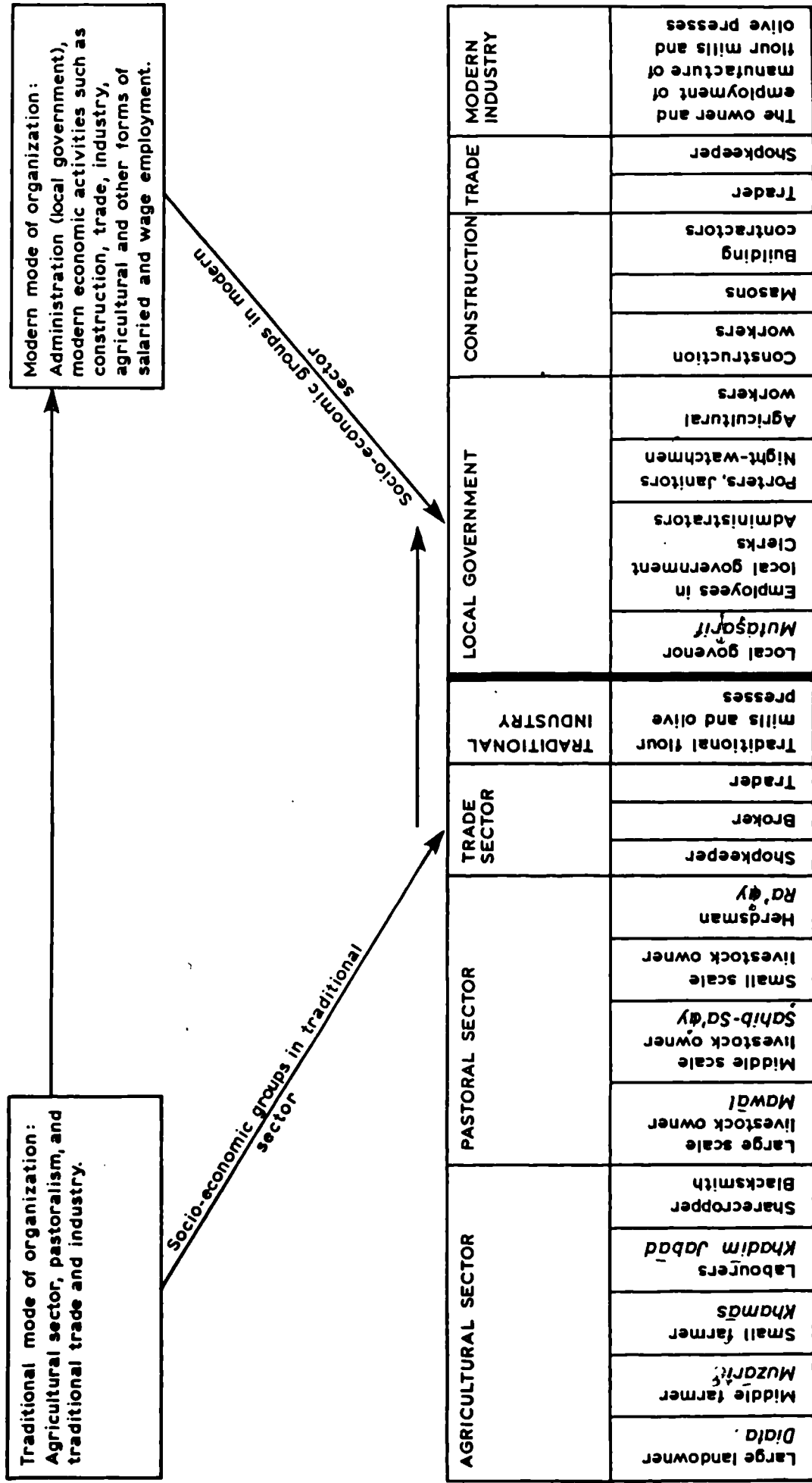


FIG. 3. The increase of socio-economic differentiation in the rural sector.

reasons. Some large landowners or large scale livestock owners amongst the pastoralists who came to settle in the area, were able to perpetuate their dominant positions in the area by occupying the most influential positions in the bureaucracy. For example, a landowner, (in Jālū) who became an important figure in the bureaucracy or Mutasarīf - local governor for the area controlled most of the organizational, economic and natural resources in the area. The Mutasarīf plays a major role in the employment of labourers for the oil companies nearby the area and in government schemes in the area. The labourers who were chosen by the Mutasarīf (1) were mostly among those who gave him unpaid labour to herd his livestock and to cultivate his land. (2) In addition, large landowners were able to have access to their tribal land, as well as to their private land. So, the co-existence of communal tribal lands and privately owned land tend to be mostly beneficial to those who own farm machines or other forms of capital. Because this enables them (diata:) to cultivate large plots of land more efficiently. It is not possible for others to do the same because of their lack of capital and very low incomes.

Furthermore, the settlement of the overwhelming majority of pastoralists has necessitated a redistribution of the land within (3) the rural sector, where some of the pastoralists settled. They

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- (1) Mutasarīf: is the local governor of the Muqā'ita'a.
 - (2) It must be kept in mind that wages derived from the government or oil companies work are higher than the employment in agriculture or other odd jobs in the village.
 - (3) For more detail of the process of this transformation of land-tūneur see W.G. Dalton The Social Structure in an oasis community in Libya. unpublished thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Manchester University, 1971 and also pp. 298 ff in the thesis.

became either large landowners, middle farmers, small landowners, labourers or propertyless. Others became shopkeeper and Simsār or local merchants.

Thus, the result of recent changes in rural areas, has been that, land and other resources (like Water, animal, tools etc.), were gradually becoming more unequally distributed as a relatively small group of better off farmers acquired access to larger areas of land and control of the water supplies necessary for irrigation.

Recent developments in rural Cyrenaica for instance; have affected the co-operative mode of organization within pastoral communities. Previously, the bulk of pastoral land was firmly in the hands of the community. Recently, however, it has passed (1) from communal ownership to private individuals. This transformation has affected the position of the pastoralist who was very much dependent on the tribal land and on the pastoral mode of organization for his animals survival. Now the majority of tribal land has been divided into small plots and given to the members of the tribe.

The pastoral mode of organization is therefore affected by the national ideology, which is in favour of private property, in order to increase production. This became evident in recent years where in some areas modern farms were established and distributed amongst individuals by the government. In Mashruḥ Sahil al-Marj an agricultural scheme was set up in the countryside of al-Marj town (in Jabal al-Akhdar Muqā'ta'a), the land was divided

(1) For elaboration of this point see chapter II and the following case studies in this chapter.

into plots to make commercial farms and these were then given to a few pastoralists. The rest of the tribal members were either given employment in the public sector or compensated for loss of their land.

It was seen that individuals who were previously considered to be in the same economic position, are now in the process of a growing economic differentiation between the large and small landowners, and local trader.

Some, for instance, are granted more land than others. Others may be required to do more labour service. There are also small peasants who have insufficient land of their own to satisfy subsistence needs and who therefore seek additional work. Others may be recruited temporarily for a fixed payment in money or kind, still others are able to acquire plots on the basis of a sharecropping system, whilst some become herdsmen.

The introduction of some government employment established by the administrative centre and government construction projects were significant in the pastoralists and agriculturalists new economic position. These were, for example, government agricultural schemes in Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar Mugā ta'a, and the project for building a new town in the area (i.e. Al-Marj Town).

Both projects required large numbers of pastoralists to work on them. The majority of these people were discharged after the building of the town was completed; only a few were able to obtain government employment in the area as nightwatchmen, porters or janitors for the government offices and others in administrative jobs.

The rest were either working in the private sector in agriculture, in pastoralism, or in other odd jobs.

There were government employment opportunities for unskilled labourers, involving only half-a-day's work. From 8.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m., which paid higher wages than the private sector in the area. (1) For instance in 1971 the government salary for an unskilled employee was 30 dinars (1) per month. But an unskilled labourer employed in the private sector, in agriculture, or in other odd jobs received less than half that amount.

This economic structure was based on the fact of "inequalities" in the distribution of available material resources in the area, between the ^{above} groups, and was effected by socio-economic transformation in the society as a whole (as has been seen in the previous chapter on socio-economic transformation of Libyan society). This transformation introduced a new element of inequality which affected not only the individuals of separate socio-economic positions, mentioned above, but also opened up a gulf between generations and the members of a single family. For example, one of the families visited in Sid̄-Khalifa village, had a father who was a middle farmer, worked on his farm, earned an average of LD 50 a month, whose eldest son was an agricultural labourer earning about LD 40 a month. The second son was a school teacher in the village working in the public sector, with the Ministry of Education, who earned LD 105 a month. The third and youngest son was a student in the Institute of Social Work in Benghazi, who earned LD 15 a month in addition to free board and lodging.

(1) It must be kept in mind that both government jobs and jobs in the private sector are very limited in rural areas.

The most important factor which has affected the socio-economic position of people in the rural sector is the redistribution of the material resources available in the country. For example, the spread of secular education and its increasing availability at higher levels is an important new factor that has already become a significant determinant in the life-chances of individuals. The redistribution of administrative employment, particularly in the bureaucracy (salaried) and day wage employment have been established in rural areas; but the opportunities for obtaining these jobs have not been available to the people there. Because they lack the education necessary for the work. (1) Until recently, the only education available was the traditional one where children were taught to memorize the Quran and learn Arabic grammar. This education was however available only to the children of well-off families because the children of low income families had to work at an early age. In addition the poor families would not be able to pay the school expenses.

At present; modern education has become very important in rural sectors, it is important for the diata families as well as the fallāh. For the former education is seen as means of maintaining their economic and social positions, while for the Fallāh, it is important as their only means of escaping from their miserable conditions.

These aspirations were encouraged by the recent development of modern education in villages where modern schools were established. In these schools the sons of a few relatively poor farmers and small

(1) See chapter II and IV, for further elaboration on this point.

livestock owner were able to obtain education and consequently find employment in a government post. (This point will be explained further in the case studies in section on the education of migrants).

The complex pattern of the present socio-economic structure of rural areas has also appeared in the discussion of the type of dwellings and the change in property values.

The types of dwellings in rural sector are as follows; old houses, huts (baraka.) (constructed from pieces of scrap metal), Khus (made from pieces of wood and straw) and tents. Alongside modern houses.

There has been a considerable movement in almost all of the rural areas where some people living in villages or rural towns moved from old houses to new or modern houses, others to government houses, whilst others tried to repair their old houses. Some of the low-income people moved to huts or baraka; others into Khus, but, some stayed in those houses which were not in a very bad condition, while some nomadic families, living in the countryside, decided to abandon their tents and replace them with barakāt (sing. baraka.) or huts.

These changes in the types of dwellings in rural settings indicate not only the need for changes, but also the socio-economic transformation which is experienced by rural societies.

For example, the inhabitants of large old houses were mostly large landowners. In the past their old houses were symbolic of wealth and high status. Now, however, this symbolic meaning has been transferred to modern houses, built from cement and other rather

more expensive building materials. Some of these large landowners were able to build this type of modern house, whilst others due to the decline of their economic position were not able to do so.

The inhabitants of tents or hut dwellings experienced the same changes as the inhabitants of old houses. The position of the large landowners is further complicated by the fact that as villages are not planned, residents do not qualify for government loans to build new residences. This fact makes it extremely difficult for the villager to build a new house, given the current prices of construction materials. Also, due to the generally limited economic means of most village residents, the profitability of renting apartments and houses in the rural areas is much less than in the urban areas. Both of these factors act to discourage villagers from building in their home areas.

Another reason why tent or hut dwellers experience the same conditions as inhabitants of old houses is that they are also under pressure to change to other types of dwelling. Some residents replaced their tents with huts or barakāt or hō sh (house). These changes were a result of the process of the settlement of nomadic pastoralist families in the villages, where a considerable number of nomadic families living in the countryside had abandoned tents and replaced them with a baraka!. As stated by Johnson, D.L.,

The baraka is symbolic of the transition taking place in the nomadic value system ... The construction of the tin shed is symbolic of the partial abandonment of one set of values and the adoption of another. (1)

The metal house baraka represents an intermediate stage in the settlement process.

(1) Johnson, D.L., Jabal al-Akhdar Cyrenaica, The department of geography, the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1973, pp.201-2.

It is transitional between the tent and the stone hōsh (house). It is not a poor man's structure and for this reason is built by families who have a fair amount of capital. Because it is constructed entirely of imported materials, the cost is high. The investment in a fixed capital resource, a sharp break from the movable wealth in animals and carpets characteristic of the nomadic lifestyle, is of fundamental significance. (1)

He goes on to say,

Neither the corrugated tin sheets nor the 2" x 4" and 3" x 6" wooden frames are cheap. The cost of a large two-room barakah can run as high as fL80 while even a relatively modest one is difficult to assemble for less than fL50 ... By comparison, the tent costs the nomadic family very little, since the potentially most expensive item, the hair and wool woven to form the tent roof strips, is produced by the nomad's own flocks, with female labour available within the family. (2)

He explains that the pattern of the movement from tent to stone house, saying, "the transition from tent to stone house takes place gradually and mixed settlement clusters of tents and barakāt are frequently seen". (3)

Another type of housing found in rural areas, although on a very limited scale, are ex-Italian farmhouses and government houses. (4)
Access to these houses was determined by political connections.

It is safe to suggest here that the people who were able to change their dwelling were mostly from upper and middle income groups, such as government employees, merchants and landlords.

In general, the economic differences were very noticeable amongst the income groups in rural areas, for instance in their expenditure, their style of life, and their food.

(1) Ibid., p.202.

(2) Ibid., pp. 202-203.

(3) Ibid., p. 203.

(4) The government housing scheme or Idris housing scheme, was set up in 1967. The object was to concentrate the rural population so that services could be provided conveniently and efficiently. Houses were of a standardized one-storey, three-room design and were linked in five-unit rows. No fence walls were provided and although internal plumbing was complete, many of the sites selected lacked local water supplies.

The result of the survey in 1970 of a village (Mishrif in Jālū oasis) indicated that the majority of high income groups used to eat meat daily. The majority of the middle income groups ate meat once every two weeks or less, while the majority of the low income group had meat only once every month. When asked why this was the case one of the wives said it was because they were poor or rāqid rih and could not afford to have such expensive food. (1)

In more recent fieldwork (1974-75) further economic differences were seen amongst the residents of a village called Sidi Khalifa, which is located about 30 km from Benghazi.

A few people employed in the government and the diata had modern houses fully carpeted throughout - which although traditional, were new and expensive. The rāqid-rih people still live in old hō sh with old carpets and very poor domestic equipment. (2)

Having given a general account of the socio-economic structure of the rural sector, it is intended now to examine the socio-economic background of the individual migrants, in order to see who among the rural people is likely to move, and to see whether the migrants came from similar or different backgrounds. The following section therefore endeavours to find out whether migrants came from rāqid rih (i.e. the low income group of small farmers and propertyless), or from diata groups (the large landowners, large scale livestock owner, Tājir Mahalli or Simsār) or whether they came from middle income groups like government employees and middle farmers.

(1) Conducted by the author in 1970-1971.

(2) Conducted by the author in 1974-1975.

II - The Socio-economic background of individual migrants:

This section will be examined, from two main viewpoints:

- i. The migrants background with respect to occupation. This aspect will be discussed from three further points of view:
 - (A) The occupation of the migrants' fathers at place of origin.
 - (B) The occupation of migrants' at place of origin and
 - (C) The migrants' occupation at place of last residence
- ii. The migrants background with respect to their income, social position, education and housing before coming to Benghazi.

(i) Occupation:

It transpired that the migrants and their fathers had been in more than one occupation, that is from a careful study of the table 42, it appears that firstly, seven occupations were involved with respect to the migrants' activities at place of origin (Group B), and comprised farmers, livestock owners, business entrepreneurs, professional, students, skilled labourers and wage labourers. The same situation was experienced by migrants at their place of last residence (Group C) but the situation different with respect to migrants' fathers (Group A) where none of them were students. Secondly, the position of each occupation within each group is different in relation to its position in the other groups. For instance, where it was about 60 per cent of the fathers who were farmers at place of origin it was 47 per cent of the sons (the migrants) were farmers. This number of migrants involved in farming had decreased to almost 16 per cent at place of last residence. In contrast, the number of people involved in the labourers occupation had increased from fathers to sons (i.e., from group (A) having 10 per

Table 42 The distribution of migrant's pre-coming occupation at place of origin, at place of last residence, and migrant's father's occupation at place of origin.

		The Pre-Coming Occupation							
		Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourers (7)	Total
Group A - Father's occupation at place of origin		299	70	32	39	-	10	50	500
%		59.8	14	6.4	7.8	-	2	10	100.0
Group B - Migrant's occupation at place of origin		233	11	11	20	117	3	105	500
%		46.8	2.2	2.2	4	23.4	0.6	21	100.0
Group C - Migrant's occupation at place of last residence		74	31	12	28	120	20	210	500
%		15.9	6.2	2.4	5.6	24	4	42	100.0

cent to group (B) having 21 per cent, and to group (C) having 42 per cent). Migrants did not come from similar backgrounds; and migrants' fathers came from different economic positions, they came from groups of farmers and landowners, of livestock owners, of professionals, of business entrepreneurs, of skilled labourers, and of wage labourers. Migrants had also experienced different economic activities in that they were from the above occupational groups in addition to the heterogeneity within each occupational groups. That is, while some of the migrants had experienced a different economic position in their backgrounds, for example a change from being farmers working in a family circle to wage labourers, either in traditional sectors as agricultural labourers or animal herders, or in modern sectors, as casual labourers in villages to skilled or semi-skilled labourers either in their original home or other areas than their original geographical areas, or from students to professionals. In some cases the migrants who were animal herders had become animal owners; some had moved from being livestock owners to farmers; others to business entrepreneurs. However, it must be noted that it was not so with all migrants, even where they had similar backgrounds. They followed the same occupations as their fathers, from the same community and the same mode of organization all through their lives until they came to Benghazi.

The most important question with which this thesis deals is how do the above occupational groups fall into the present socio-economic categories, i.e., what is the background of the migrants of each category?

This will be explained in the following order:

- (i) Business entrepreneurs
- (ii) Professionals
- (iii) Students

(iv) Skilled labourers

(v) Wage labourers

This is vital in order to understand in the nature of the migration movement in Libya.

Business entrepreneurs category

This deals with the socio-economic background of business entrepreneurs before coming to Benghazi. Table 43 shows that: (1) the first important economic activity of the migrants at place of origin was farming and they comprised 39 persons (65 per cent) of the total sample of 60 persons.

More than two-thirds of them were small farmers, mostly cultivators of tribal land, and few had private property. The majority of these stated that they had between five and fifteen head of livestock, mostly goats and sheep, the rest, were twelve middle and six large scale farmers. Unlike the small and middle farmers, the large scale farmers generally owned the major share of the villages agricultural land but rarely worked the land themselves. Besides land, they also owned implements and agricultural equipment. As for the middle farmers, they owned smaller plots of land, and worked the land with family labour. Most of them had sufficient agricultural land to absorb all the family labour and was sufficient to maintain them. Small farmers, on the other hand, owned very small plots of land with poor soil. In addition to their own land, they also sought work elsewhere, either with the large landowners or with absentee middle farmers who had migrated. Most small farmers in this category had little agricultural property (land, tools, animals, etc.) and earned their living primarily as

Table 43 The Business Entrepreneurs Category and their Father's occupation at place of Origin/before coming to Benghazi

Migrants, their fathers' occupations before coming to Benghazi		Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourer (7)	Total
Group A	Father's occupation	35	10	8	-	-	3	4	60
	%	58.3	16.6	13.3	-	-	5	6.6	100.0
Group B	Migrant's occupation at place of origin	39	1	4	2	2	-	12	60
	%	65	1.6	6.6	3.3	3.3	-	20	100.0
Group C	Migrant's occupation at place of last residence	16	2	12	2	2	12	14	60
	%	26.6	3.3	20	3.3	3.3	20	23.3	100.0

(1)
share-croppers with the large and small farmers in their village. They also worked as casual labourers in the village on construction, roadworks, etc.

The figures in Table 43 show no significant change between the activities of migrants at place of origin (Group B) and their father's activities at the same place (Group A).

It is important, however, to bear in mind that the migrants' economic position was different from that of their fathers, who were in a situation where individual property rights were not highly developed. The product of family labour and land, whether used for subsistence consumption or for investment was largely at the disposal of older men in their households.

The activities of migrants as farmers at the place of last residence had changed drastically, for the number of people involved in farming was reduced from thirty-nine to sixteen persons. This showed that migrants had taken other occupations, such as wage labourers, which was the second most important activity for migrants in this category at place of origin.

Twenty per cent of the total businessmen were wage labourers, three of whom were herdsmen, six were agricultural labourers, and three were labourers in the modern sector, one being employed by an oil exploration company which operated in the district in which his village was located. Of the four respondents in this group, all

(1) Share-cropping system experienced by the migrants in this group varied from one case to another. It depended very much on the kind of agreement between the large landowners and the farmers who generally have nothing to contribute in cultivating the large landowners' land, apart from the labour of himself and the members of his family. The farm worker's share of the produce in most cases ranged from one-quarter to one-third.

had fathers who were also labourers. One of them (who is now a petty trader in Benghazi) worked as Jabād, like his father before him, who worked on a village farm in Fazzān as a drawer of water from the well. He illustrates his position at his place of origin by saying that, "Jabād or the drawers of water, are not paid money wages but have long-established rights to a certain share of the crops produced, e.g., the share of a Jabād watering the date-palms was one-fourth further supplemented by various customary additions. Similarly, with regard to barley, the Jabād was entitled to one-fourth of the harvest plus certain additions. My income was so low that I was constantly in debt to the landowners who advanced dates and barley to me, with the result that I, like others Jabād, lost my liberty of action and movement". He goes on to describe his position in his village in comparison with the rest of the socio-economic group in the village by saying that

Two main groups may be distinguished in our village, landowners and labourers. Wealthy landholders live on the produce of their land worked by hired labourers who worked under a contract of indebtedness. Unlike ordinary labourers who usually own their tools and are paid a share of the crop in exchange for their labour, the Jabād does not even own his tools and is paid a lesser share of the crop.

The above case indicates the way in which the internal differences and relations that existed between the different groups and individuals in the migrants' original society were based on the different abilities to control the available economic resources in their societies.

The group of labourers in this category seems to be increasing over time from father to son, not only by emigration (see Group C in Table 43) but also by taking on these activities at place of origin (see Group B). In fact most of these migrant labourers at the place of origin had

fathers who were either small landowners or small scale livestock owners. Most of them came from high income families and only few from middle income families. The following case illustrates such an example.

Migrant (A), who is now a large wholesale merchant in Benghazi, was a farmer in his village working in his father's farm with the other members of his family. He then worked as a labourer with an oil exploration company which came to his district and hired a number of the village's youths. After seven months, he left his job and moved from his village to another and worked as an animal herder. After a year, he left and migrated to another village, where he worked as a labourer with a construction company which was engaged in building the police headquarters in the village. After six months he moved to the main city in that area and worked as a policeman, after seven years he left that job and came to Benghazi.

Four persons or 6 per cent of the total category were business entrepreneurs at place of origin, three of them were shopkeepers and one a merchant. Nevertheless, with respect to father's occupation at place of origin, these were eight or 13 per cent. That is to say, that the sons as entrepreneurs had declined in number. This may be due to the nature of enterprise in rural sectors; which are small and unable to absorb more individuals. It is for this reason that many migrants had to leave their place of origin in order to continue in this occupation. The number of migrants in this activity had increased to twelve persons (20 per cent) of the total, and they have taken on other activities, which were not available in the village, such as building contractors, dealers, merchants, garage and transport operators, etc.

One of the migrants who was a shopkeeper in his village, described his situation and the gradual decline of his position in the village by saying that,

'In the old days the entrepreneur relationship was mostly between the village shopkeeper and merchant. The pastoralist usually came every summer to the village to buy his consumer goods, such as clothes, sugar, tea, grain, etc .

'Usually the pastoralist or cultivator (Fallāh) would buy from one shopkeeper, and would also sell their products (of butter, grain, wool, animals, etc.) to him. The shopkeeper, in turn goes to visit his customers amongst the pastoralists in spring and gives them his animals to be herded for free, and in exchange the shopkeeper is expected to sell to them at a cheaper price and put aside what they need of his goods'.

He goes on to say that,

Nowadays most of the pastoralists or cultivators, i.e., the Fallāh, have someone [a merchant] who comes every month or so in his Landrover from urban areas, to sell to them his urban manufactured products and to buy from them their agricultural produce .

'Given this situation, my enterprise in the village was declining, month after month. I was forced therefore to move to a town in my district, but the situation there was more or less the same, and then I moved to Benghazi .

The above example illustrates how and in what way this particular migrant, who was enjoying a good socio-economic position in his community had been affected by the socio-economic transformation experienced by the rural sector and its people. (For elaboration of this point see Chapter II.)

Two persons (3 per cent) of the total were professionals in this category, one was a primary school teacher and another was a clerk in his town's administration. A further two were students in a primary school in their village. They kept their position at place of last residence. Table 43 shows that none of the fathers of migrants in this category were professionals or students. This may be due to the restricted opportunities for these activities in the rural sector

and small towns.

Only one migrant was an animal owner at his place of origin, whilst ten (over 16 per cent) of the fathers were in this activity at place of origin and two of the migrants were in this occupation at place of last residence. This indicates that although the people involved in this activity had relatively declined from fathers to sons, the individuals involved in the same activity had increased for migrants at place of origin to place of emigration. In this category there were only one person who had experienced this change, and through personal interviews the information showed that this occasionally happens in the system of pastoralist mode of production, where animal herders could become animal owners. In this case, it was an agricultural labourer who migrated from a village in Muṣurāta Muqāṭa'a to a village in Jabal Al-Akhdar Muqāṭa'a, where he worked as ra'iyy (animal herder) with a livestock owner in the hinterland of that village, and who had experienced his first move before the 1950s. However, one has to bear in mind, that more than one factor was involved in this person's transformation. He had five sons. Three of the sons were working as labourers in the agricultural sector and two were looking after their father's animals. In addition, he had access to the best grazing land in his district as a result of his relationship with the sheikh of the tribe (and through intermarriage between the two families). Five years before he came to Benghazi he took up farming, in addition to his pastoralist activity. He sold half of his livestock and bought a tractor for ploughing. He then rented land from people in his village for the planting of such seasonal crops as wheat and barley. Then he gave up his pastoralist activity and came to establish a building company

with his son, who had left the village two years before him.

This case shows that, although the socio-economic position of this migrant was relatively good in comparison with the rest of the people in his village, he came to Benghazi because he could do better there than at home.

The other livestock owner who had 300 sheep and goats and 40 camels at his place of origin, may be considered to be a large scale livestock owner, compared with the standard of his community. He also planted grain in the winter. He described his situation in the rural area thus:

(1)

My main concern, is that of any livestock owner or pastoralist, was for the welfare of my herd, from which I gain a livelihood. The herds, however, depend for their survival on available pastures and water. Some years it may rain heavily, only to be followed by a succession of almost rainless years. In one area over the years, and from place to place in a particular year, fluctuation is considerable. This factor, in addition to other factors such as the fragmentation of our tribal land to small plots of land recently, made life difficult for us and our animals, where water and pastures are rarely available.

The above case illustrates the situation of the animal owners or pastoralists whose economic position has been affected by the decline of the pastoralist system of production, where individual property and government agriculture schemes have developed in some rural areas in Libya.

As far as skilled labourers are concerned, none of the migrants were in this occupation at place of origin. However, three of the fathers were in this occupation, two of them being blacksmiths and one

(1) It is important to bear in mind that there is no single case of migrants being pure pastoralists. Almost all the migrants who had at some time or other experienced pastoralism had at the same time taken up seasonal farming. Similarly, all farmers kept at least some animals.

a driver. The number of migrants in this occupation, however, had increased to twelve persons (20 per cent) at place of last residence.

The majority had taken to modern skills, such as lorry driver, mechanic, mason, etc., and the majority of this group gained their occupation as a result of migration to urban sectors.

The foregoing discussion indicates the background from which came the entrepreneurs category. It raises one important point, that the migrants in this category were not from a homogeneous background. In fact the background of these migrants, with respect to their fathers' activities in their place of origin, was primarily from three occupations: farmers, livestock owners and business entrepreneurs. Few of them were to be found in the skilled and unskilled labour occupation and none of them were professionals or students. In addition, it appears that some of the migrants had taken up their fathers' activities at place of origin. Finally, the majority were farmers and wage labourers at place of origin.

II - Professionals Category

Table 44 shows that the socio-economic background of this category, with respect to their activities at the place of last residence, and their fathers' activities at the place of origin, was more heterogeneous and complex than the previous category. In fact with respect to their fathers or families they came overwhelmingly from the upper and middle segments of large and middle farmers and livestock owners, shopkeepers, (1) merchants, professionals, high ranking administrators, teachers, Imām

(1) Imām: each mosque has a religious leader called an Imām who leads the congregation of worshippers in prayers five times per day. On Fridays he is responsible for giving a sermon in addition to performing his duty as prayer leader. Since 1967, the Imāms have become government employees, thus receiving monthly salaries.

Table 44 The distribution of Professionals and their fathers' occupations before coming to Benghazi

Migrant's background	Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourers (7)	Total
Group A								
Father's occupation	50	8	10	30	-	2	5	105
%	47.6	7.6	9.5	28.5	-	1.9	4.7	100.0
Group B								
Migrant's occupation at the place of origin	9	1	6	18	71	-	-	105
%	8.5	0.9	5.7	17.1	67.6	-	-	100.0
Group C								
Migrant's occupation at place of last residence	-	3	-	26	65	-	11	105
%	-	2.8	-	24.7	61.9	-	10.4	100.0

or religious sheikhs, etc.

The most important occupations at place of origin for this category were: students who numbered (over 67 per cent) of the total category. However, none of the fathers were students, at the time of the migrants' first movement, and the number of students had been reduced to 65 persons (almost 61 per cent) after the first movement.

The majority of the students at the place of origin were at the elementary and intermediate levels, a few were at secondary level, and none were at university level.

The students came predominantly from settled rural or urban communities, and were able to free themselves from domestic activities such as farming, herding animals, and any other activities which would be needed to maintain themselves and their families.

It is interesting to note here that, obtaining education in the rural sector is considered to be the way out of a traditional way of life and the uncertainty of the economic situation. Indeed, it means a better prospect for high administrative positions, regular income, and generally a better and more secure life for them and their families. (1) The second most important occupation of migrants in this category at place of origin were the professionals who numbered 18 persons (17 per cent) and in the place of last residence, it was 26 persons (over 24 per cent).

Unlike the business entrepreneurs, this category had professional fathers who came from urban areas, and they were among those who came to Benghazi to acquire further education.

(1) For more information on the education see chapter IV and section ii in this chapter.

The introduction of some government employment, such as elementary school teachers and small administrators in some of the rural areas, provided opportunities to people who had a religious education, to obtain new activities besides their previous activities of farming, raising of livestock, brokerage, etc.

Professionals among the rural migrants, were among those who had benefited from such developments in the public sector in rural areas. However, these activities were restricted and limited in comparison with the urban areas of Tripoli and Benghazi.

The third most important occupation with respect to migrants' activities at place of origin was farming which 9 persons (over 8 per cent) of the total. Six of them were large landowners, while the other three were middle farmers. Both groups were in the same position as their fathers. In other words, their position had been acquired by birth, but they gave up these occupations at the place of last residence, and now comprised two primary school teachers, one policeman, three labourers and one pastoralist.

It is worth noting here, that the movement of the sons of middle and small farmers to small scale livestock owners happens occasionally in the countryside. This is due to the fact that large animal owners require herdsmen to tend the flocks of sheep and graze the camels, in return for which they are allowed to retain a proportion of the new-born animals each year.

One of the migrants who experienced such an occupational move was the son of a middle farmer who owned a number of olive trees and a small plot of land which was used for wheat cultivation.

He left his village in western province (Tripolitania) in 1952, for

a village in Eastern province (Cyrenaica), where he worked as a farmer before joining a pastoralist. In this case the contract stipulated ⁽¹⁾ that the animal owner had to give him milk for his own consumption, some butter, barley, two shirts, one jard (cloak), two pairs of Bedouin shoes and tobacco at the end of the grazing season.

In addition to gifts, which are usually presented on occasions such a al-ʿĪd Al-Kabīr ⁽²⁾ and at the end of each year, he also got one out of each ten lambs which amounted to eight or ten sheep a year. In this way he accumulated, over a period of five years, 100 sheep which he sold before coming to Benghazi in order to become a Moslem teacher in the Al-Madrasa. Al-Qurʿāniya. ⁽³⁾

While none of the migrants in the professionals category were business entrepreneurs at place of last residence, six of them were businessmen at place of origin.

Three of them were small shopkeepers, one middle broker (what is called in local language simsār sa'īy) and two small traders, while ten of the fathers in this category were businessmen.

Almost all the migrants in this group described their position at place of origin as declining due to the impact of economic changes inside and outside their villages.

(A) migrant, for example, whose occupation was a broker described

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- (1) Usually contracts like these were not written but were based on verbal agreements.
 - (2) Al-ʿĪd Al-Kabīr: an islamic festival during which it is customary to buy a lamb and slaughter it at home on a particular day, also people visit each other and exchange gifts, etc.
 - (3) Al-Madrasa. Al-Qurʿāniya: the school which specialises in teaching the Quran for children of six to twelve years.

his situation by saying that,

The definition of the work of a broker simsār is that he operates in both his village's market and the markets outside his village. This means that he must have links with local production (i.e. in his village) and distribution systems and with external markets in urban centres. My activity was, therefore, mostly between my village al-Qubba: (a village in Cyrenaica) and Shahhāt (a small town in Cyrenaica) and two other small villages near my village. I used to buy the animals and grain from the pastoralists and farmers and resell it to the merchants who used to come to Dirna (a city in Cyrenaica) every periodic market, which used to meet in Shahhāt once a month. My enterprise was going rather well as I had the animals and grains and money which most of the people in my village did not have. My enterprise, however, had declined as a result of the decline of the periodic market in my area. That is the recent development in transportation improvements after the 1960s which reduced the viability of most of the periodic markets. A comparison of driving times between Dirna and Shahhāt illustrates the change. Before the 1960s, the trip used to take half a day, in one direction. After the improvement of the roads and the use of motor transport, it is possible to cover the same distance in less than one hour. Most of the people in my village have access to motor transport, bus, taxi, or any passing vehicle for the main towns. The result has been a rapid decline in the importance of the area's periodic market. Neither the local market in my village or the main external market in the area (Shahhāt) meet any longer. The periodic sūq (or markets) in Shahhāt, my village and other villages, have been reduced to purely local significance. Many of the shops in our rural area, whose numbers reflect enterprises that were usually open only on market days, have closed their doors permanently. Merchants from Dirna no longer visit the periodic markets to buy animals and livestock and grain sales have declined drastically. Most animal sales now occur in Dirna or other coastal cities, to which the animals are brought by the producers by truck, while at the same time they [producers] will buy their consumer goods which usually cost half the village price .

He then goes on to say that

'As a result of these changes, I gave what was left of my animals to my father and went to Shahhāt(1) town in order to obtain employment in the public sector as an administrator in the municipality, from which I then transferred to Benghazi.

(1) For clarification of this point see Chapters II, III and VII and the Economic Behaviour of the Migrants in Benghazi City". Shahhāt town is in Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar Muqāta'a in the Cyrenaica.

The above case shows the transformation of one of the migrants with respect to his economic activities, (and consequently to his socio-economic position, before coming to Benghazi), which was a consequence of the changing conditions in the country as a whole, which amounted to a decline of the economic activities of the rural sector in contrast to the developing economic activities of the urban sectors.

The number of individuals in this category of livestock owner at place of origin was not all that significant. Only one migrant was in this activity, and his position had been obtained by birth; his father was the sheikh of his tribe and the largest livestock owner in his community.

The most interesting aspect of this occupation is that while the number of fathers who were large scale animal owners comprised eight persons or almost 8 per cent of the total, only one migrant was in this activity, the rest had taken on other activities, such as teaching, students, administrators, and one of them was an Imām. All of them had given up the nomadic pastoralist activities of their fathers and settled with village communities.

However, of the people who took up this activity at the place of last residence (see Group B in Table 44) one was a shopkeeper and another a small farmer. (The third kept his previous activity).

None of the migrants in this category were skilled/or wage labourers at the place of origin, but eleven (over 10 per cent) were wage labourers at the place of last residence; two of the

fathers were skilled labourers (one blacksmith and the other a lorry driver), and five were wage labourers.

The above shows that, like the previous category this also had a heterogeneous background. However, it appears that middle and upper socio-economic positions were the dominant background for members of this category, with students and professionals being particularly important.

III - Students Category

Table 45 indicates that the majority of migrants in the student category were also students at place of origin, but none of their fathers were students. The majority of the fathers of the students who came from rural sectors, were in upper income positions, a smaller number were in middle socio-economic positions, of whom some were involved in wage employment beside their traditional activities such as Mu'adhdhin.⁽¹⁾

It is significant that the individuals who experienced activities such as business entrepreneurs or skilled labourers were at the same time carrying on their study. Furthermore, they were students at both the place of origin and place of last residence.

IV - Skilled Labourers Category

Table 46 shows that the majority of the fathers of the migrants in this category were farmers, followed by wage labourers and then by business entrepreneurs. Most of them were from low income groups.

(1) Mu'adhdhin: the Mu'adhdhin is the person who is responsible for chanting the call to prayer five times per day, at a particular mosque. The Mu'adhdhin are government employees and receive monthly salaries.

Table 45 The Distribution of students and their fathers' occupations before coming to Benghazi

	Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourers (7)	Total
Group A								
Father's occupation	10	2	10	9	-	5	3	39
%	25.6	5.1	25.6	23	-	12.8	7.7	100.0
Group B								
Migrant's occupation at place of origin	-	-	1	-	35	3	-	39
%	-	-	2.5	-	89.7	7.6	-	100.0
Group C								
Migrant's occupation at place of last residence	-	-	-	-	39	-	-	39
%	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	100.0

Table 46 The Distribution of Skilled Labourers and their fathers' occupations before coming to Benghazi

	Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourers (7)	Total
Group A								
Father's occupation	24	-	4	-	-	-	8	36
%	66.6	-	11.1	-	-	-	22.2	100.0
Group B								
Migrant's occupation at place of origin	19	1	-	-	7	-	9	36
%	52.7	2.7	-	-	19.4	-	25	100.0
Group C								
Migrant's occupation at place of last residence	3	-	-	-	14	8	11	36
%	8.3	-	-	-	38.8	22.2	30.5	100.0

The position of migrants at place of origin, like the previous categories, comprised different occupation groups. However, it was restricted generally to three groups which were farmers who were represented by nineteen migrants (over 52 per cent) of the total sample of thirty-six persons at places of origin, half of them were working on communal land and one-quarter on their private land, the rest in the sharecropping system (involved in cultivating dates, barley and wheat every season). Besides their own small farms, almost all had a small number of livestock. Like their farmers, the majority of the migrants were in a low socio-economic position with respect to the standard of their community.

For the migrants who were farming on communal or tribal land, their access to their tribal land was restricted by their lack of control over other means of production, such as capital, labour, animals, tractors, harvestors, and drills.

This severely limited the possibility of effective farming at their place of origin, because land was generally becoming more unequally distributed as a relatively small group of better-off farmers acquired access to larger extensions and control over the water supplies necessary for irrigation.

One of the migrants described the situation at his place of origin by saying that,

The traditional system of irrigation and cultivation followed in my farm was unable to support my family and myself. That is, the system of irrigation is to discharge the water on a bed made of palm branches and clay, leading the water into usually a quadrangular pool, or what is called in the local language jabia, which has an area of about five square metres and is roughly one and a half metres deep. The water is drawn by human and animal power by means of a leather bucket attached to a rope called rsha or habil. This system of cultivation required the labour of my whole family, my father and my two brothers and myself who worked

full-time on the farm. However, the size of cultivated land was small, and we were unable to expand it further. In addition to the high price of transportation which made it difficult for us to sell the surplus of our produce like the olive seeds in the external market. That is, unlike my unclé (father's brother) who recently came to settle in the village, who sold his animals and took a loan from the government and bought a tractor and harvester with the help of his two sons, who are employed in Tripoli. He was able also to drill a modern well in order to irrigate his farm and other rented farms, in addition to his cultivation of a large plot of land in the area
... .

He goes on to say that,

My uncle's new activities made him far richer than my father, who had been enjoying a better position ... we therefore decided to give up our declining activity and migrated to Benghazi in order to improve our position'.

The poor production resulting from the traditional way of cultivation seems to be significant in reducing the number of migrants involved in farming activity at place of origin, where they were only three persons or 8 per cent of the total.

The second most important occupation of the members of this category was the wage labourer and nine persons (25 per cent) were involved in this activity. Two of them were animal herders, three agricultural labourers and the rest were employed in the modern sector on road building, construction and oil fields. Four of their fathers were labourers and the other five had fathers who were small scale farmers. The number of people involved in this activity had also increased in place of last residence to eleven persons or over 30 (1) per cent, the majority of them being involved in the modern sector.

The third most important group in this category was students. It consisted of seven persons (over 19 per cent) of the total who were

(1) Modern sector here means any activity other than agricultural, such as building, services, etc.

students at the place of origin, and all were at the elementary level. None of their fathers were students at the place of last residence. One person only in this category was a small scale livestock owner at the place of origin and he was in charge of them.

However, none of the migrants in this category was a skilled labourer at place of origin. Though eight persons (over 22 per cent) of them were skilled labourers at place of last residence, none of their fathers were in this occupation. This again is due to the limited size of such activity in the rural sector in contrast with the urban sector, and almost all migrants entered this occupation after their move to the urban sector. This is illustrated by the following example of (D), a migrant who came to Benghazi in the middle 1960s. His father was a middle farmer, and had some olive trees. His occupation in the village was to help his father in cultivating the land. In order to maintain the household, he left his village (in the western province) to go to another one in the same area at the age of sixteen, where he worked as a wage labourer on a farm. He then moved to another village where he worked as a shepherd or ra'ay sa'ay. He stayed there a year, then he moved to a town called Al-Marj (in the eastern province), where he obtained a labouring job in a cafe. After six months he left this job to work as a building labourer in a British Army camp in the same town. After five months of working here he moved to another town called Tubruq (the second most important port in the eastern province) where he worked as a daily wage labourer in the harbour. After a year he left to go to Dirna City, and became a labourer in a bakery. After six months he went back to a village near Al-Marj town, where he worked in a bakery belonging to the

British Army camp. It is here that he obtained his skill in day-to-day work and after ten months he left this job and came to Benghazi. None of the migrants had experienced in business entrepreneur activity, either in place of origin or place of last residence. While only four of the fathers were entrepreneurs at place of origin, of whom three were shopkeepers and one a small building contractor.

V - Wage Labourers Category

Table 47 shows that, the members of this category and their fathers were mainly concentrated in three activities as follows: The first important occupation with respect to migrants' activities at place of origin was farming. It comprised about 64 per cent of the total sample of 260 migrants. This decreased to 23 per cent at place of last residence. However, over 69 per cent of the fathers were in this activity at place of origin. The majority of the farmers, in this category at place of origin, were landowners and a small number were sharecroppers. These provided seeds, tools and capital, whilst the other partner provided the land, they usually shared the produce between themselves. The verbal agreement between partners, with respect to sharing out the produce, varies from one case to another.

Generally speaking all the members of this group were of a low status in their villages. They produced for their own subsistence, and belonged to those communities who experienced a growing economic differentiation, between larger and smaller landowners and a small commercial sector consisting of shopkeepers and traders, and the new politico-economic groups of administrators and police.

The farmers are the ones who have to use primitive tools and methods to scratch a miserable living from the land, with little or

Table 47 The Distribution of Wage Labourers and their fathers' occupations before coming to Benghazi

	Farmers (1)	Livestock Owners (2)	Business Entrepreneurs (3)	Professionals (4)	Students (5)	Skilled Labourers (6)	Wage Labourers (7)	Total
Group A								
Father's occupation	180	50	-	-	-	-	30	260
%	69.2	19.2	-	-	-	-	11.5	100.0
Group B								
Migrant's occupation at place of origin	166	8	-	-	2	-	84	260
%	63.8	3.1	-	-	0.8	-	32.3	100.0
Group C								
Migrant's occupation at place of last residence	60	26	-	-	-	-	174	260
%	23	10	-	-	-	-	66.9	100.0

capital at their disposal. The surplus produce is in the hands of the landowner and merchants on the one hand, and at the mercy of the weather on the other.

One of the migrants who came to Benghazi in 1968 describes his position at place of origin thus:

'In my village, the most important criterion of social position is one's economic standing. It is this which tends to correlate with the degree to which farmers are in regular contact with other socio-economic groups of both within and outside the village. My socio-economic life, like other small farmers, is likewise affected by the fact that land is gradually becoming more unequally distributed as a relatively small group of better off farmers acquire access to larger extensions and control the water supplies necessary to irrigation. They are dependent on government and other agencies for the provision of the capital (which could be obtained through loans and aids from the Agriculture Bank) and mechanical and technical expertise (from the Ministry of Agriculture) necessary for the development of their agriculture .

He goes on to say that,

'Though my farm was small, I was unable to free myself from working on it and had to obtain some other employment (in order) to earn some cash to buy the needed consumer goods for my family. Agriculture in my village is on the irrigation system, which meant the impossibility of the extension of the cultivated land. My family and I were all the year round busy with planting one crop after another. One to feed the family, the other for the animals. Thus, after the planting of the grain in winter, land has to be prepared through summer and spring for the vegetable plants and alfalfa. I therefore was unable to maintain the farm, especially after my only son left the village to join the army .

Another small farmer who besides his own farm was working as a share-cropper, described his position in his village by saying,

My land was very unproductive; barley was the only crop that could be cultivated. I therefore worked for part of the year as a sharecropper on a system called Muzara'at al-Rubi'a, when I worked the land of one of the large landowners for a quarter of the product. Under the conditions of the contract I was required to work from the time of the ploughing to the end of the harvest and also to supply the animals for the ploughing, while the landowner provided the seeds and the food for me and my animals .

Other small farmers worked as groups based on a system called al-Muzara'a

or sowing. In this system, the cultivation of land involves the poor, small farmers and the financiers the latter renting the land from other landowners or from individuals who have the right to their tribal land. The financier provides a group of farmers with the seeds (mostly cereals) for sowing and also the food required during the sowing period. During harvesting the farmers take what food they need from the harvested produce. The rest of the output is divided between the financier and the group of farmers. The share of the group of farmers ranges from between one-quarter to one-third of the produce.

Generally speaking, the financier in a village usually acts as a political broker, in addition he can give out jobs both in urban and rural sectors.

The other important occupation in this category at place of origin was wage labourers. They comprised over 32 per cent of the total sample, but with only over 11 per cent of the fathers being wage labourers.

The majority of labourers from the rural sector were working in agricultural and pastoral-nomadic sectors, i.e., between Samal and ra'iy - animal herder or labourers in the traditional agricultural and industry. A few of them had been employed in the modern sector, as apprentices to lorry drivers, (what is called in the local language Utanti) or with the British army camps (for these came before 1970), or with oil companies, road repairers, building workers or as labourers in grocery shops, hotel servants, mechanics apprentices, carpenters' assistants, and electricians apprentices.

Almost all the members of the above group had no previous training

or education. They were hired on a daily basis or on a temporary contract for the raising of livestock or farming on the basis of the sharecropping system, in which the worker has to provide his labour in exchange for a limited share in his production of grain or animals.

These sharecropping labourers are seldom able to control the disposal of their produce which is traditionally under the head of their household control.

The sharecropping or the casual labouring activity of the small farmer (among migrants in this group) is a secondary or supplementary activity to their main activity. However, for wage labourers in this occupational group, the activity of sharecropping or casual labour is their main activity and their only means of subsistence.

The contract of herding among the herdsmen in this group is dependent very much on the conditions of their contract and for whom they work (e.g., one of their agnates or someone from outside their tribal circle), for this determines their economic position. Almost 68 per cent of the herdsmen were working with their agnatic kin, where their families or fathers were small livestock owners or propertyless. They herded the animals for the owner of large herds of livestock, in order to retain a proportion of the new-born stock each year, which they might then sell to the livestock owner or the merchant or keep within the family to maintain himself and enlarge his livestock.

The following illustrates such a case, (A), worked as a herdsman in his village under a system called Ra'āyēt al-Ghiryān. Under this system, he had to take care of sowing and at harvest-time he obtained several bushels of barley each month for his diet from the livestock owner. At the end of the contract, he got one out of each 20 of the

lambs which in his case amounted to four. It was necessary for him to keep them for the next season, in order to get more money for them, otherwise he would have had to sell them for a very low price. He therefore took them to his family to look after them, on the understanding that they would be sold on the next Al-Āid Akabir. His father, however, decided to keep them in order to enlarge his herd.

Only 3 per cent of the total of labourers were involved in livestock occupation at place of origin, while 10 per cent of them were involved in this occupation at place of last residence. However over 19 per cent of the fathers of the total were involved in this activity, the majority of them being in a low position, a few only were in a middle socio-economic position with respect to their community. The socio-economic position of the migrants at place of origin as well as their fathers, had been affected by the recent changes in the rural sector. These developments had affected their system of co-operative mode of organization. Previously where the bulk of their pastoral lands was firmly under the control of the community and all the members of the tribe had the right to graze their animals anywhere on the tribal land, the land had recently been passed from the tribe to a section called a Bayat. Each Bayat had its plot of grazing land, and was then passed to the individuals of each household in that section. These changes affected very much the position of the pastoralists who were completely dependent on the pastoral mode of organization, and whose movements became restricted and limited to a small plot of land. One of the middle scale livestock owners described his

declining position as follows:

"Wealthy livestock owners in my tribal area (in Sirt) were able to maintain their position under the recent changes, because they were able to keep and invest their capital in camels rather than sheep or goats. Camels give them access to the far away pasture as they use them for transport in their movement. In addition, camels can be converted into more profitable investment. I, as anybody else from the middle farmers, was unable to keep this kind of animal, because they need more labour, while they are less reproductive compared with other animals. They give birth every other year, while goats produce two offspring per year, which are very important in supporting us with milk and butter and other dairy produce needed to meet the expenses of daily life'.

He concludes by saying that;

'It was impossible for me to maintain the livelihood of my family and myself in this situation. I and my animals found ourselves imprisoned and surrounded by barbed wire in a small plot of land. I sold half of my animals and obtained a labouring job as a porter in the school nearby my area, in order to supplement my income from the animals'.

The contribution of business entrepreneurs, professionals, skilled labourers and students occupational groups were not significant in the activity of the members of this category at place of origin. Only two of them were students who left their school at the age of twelve in order to work as animal herders following the death of their fathers.

The information on this section shows that the economic activities of the members in this category were generally concentrated in the pastoral and agricultural modes of organization.

The majority of them were in a low socio-economic position and contained few from middle positions in relation to other groups in their communities.

The analysis of this section shows that:

Generally speaking, migrants originated from different socio-

economic backgrounds (with respect to occupation) and the previous history of migrants in each category showed that how the migrants in each category were drawn into occupations and activities other than their fathers' activities, at place of origin. Others changed their occupations at the place of last residence.

They were transferred, therefore, in general, from being land-owners or sharecroppers to labourers (either as agricultural labourers or as herdsmen or labourers in the modern sector). Others were transferred to business, professions, students, or skilled labouring jobs.

Livestock owners were directed towards farming, becoming sharecroppers or landowners, or towards labouring jobs in the agricultural and modern sectors. Some were able to enter business, student and professional activities because they had given up their previous pastoral nomadic activities and settled permanently in the villages or towns.

Business entrepreneurs of those in rural sectors, who had fathers in the same activity, had taken professional jobs or became students and skilled labourers in either their place of origin or place of last residence.

Most of the professionals kept their occupations and settled permanently in the villages or towns, where some of them carried on further education.

Students either kept their occupations or went to professional and skilled labouring occupations. A similar situation was experienced by skilled labourers (of whom there were very few), and they mostly stayed in their previous activities.

By contrast, wage labourers, who comprised agricultural labourers, animal herders, and modern sector labourers, were directed in the following ways:

(a) agricultural labourers: a few moved towards nomadic pastoralist activities as herdsmen, others went to the modern sectors; the majority kept their previous jobs.

(b) Herdsmen were in part directed towards the agricultural sector. A few became livestock owners, and others became labourers in the modern sectors.

(c) A few of the labourers in the modern sector were either unemployed or underemployed in both the rural and urban sectors. Few of them were transferred to skilled jobs.

Some of the migrants who experienced changes in their occupations had also experienced geographical mobility, whilst others had changed their occupations in their original areas. For some migrants, these changes had affected their socio-economic position which they had gained by birth. This situation had been experienced by the majority of the members of business entrepreneurs, and labourers of both skilled and unskilled categories, previously the majority of them had come from low income groups. By contrast, the professionals and student categories were derived from upper and middle income groups.

With the exception of a few people in the professional category, the majority of the migrants amongst the rest of the categories were engaged in the private sector and in one single activity.

It is important to point out that, not only is occupation crucial in determining the socio-economic position of migrants, but also, other variables such as income, social position, education and housing are

equally relevant as will be seen in the following section.

Income, social position, education and housing: in order to ascertain what were the migrants' economic positions before coming to Benghazi it is necessary to understand the economic position of the migrants in their previous occupations, and in the light of their incomes, social positions, education and housing at place of origin and of last residence. It is also important to understand the changes which occurred as a result of occupational mobility with respect to each occupational group within the different categories of migrants.

An attempt will be made to summarize briefly in such a way as to give a general understanding of the variables of income, social position, education and housing of migrants at their place of last residence.

(1) Income

The following section on migrants' income before coming to Benghazi takes into account the following factors: first, the migrant's income (1) (the average monthly income) for the last year at the place of last residence with respect to each income group for each period, - (1) before 1950; (2) from 1950-1959; (3) from 1960-1969; and (4) from 1970-1975.

Second, the three income groups, - upper, middle and lower. The classification of the migrants is determined by their distribution amongst the income units shown in Tables, 48, 49, 50 and 51. The groups within each category, classified by the period of arrival in Benghazi, will be compared to similar income groups in the various

(1) The average of the last year at the place of last residence means the income stated by the individual migrant of the last year before coming to Benghazi, divided by twelve months. The average of 360 dinārs, for example, would be divided by 12 = 30 dinārs per month.

Table 48 The Classification of Migrants by Period at Arrival and their Income in Libyan Dinars for the Period Before 1950.

Categories of Migrants	Lower	Middle	Upper Income group											Total				
			10 - 15	15 - 20	20 - 25	25 - 30	30 - 35	35 - 40	40 - 45	45 - 50	50 - 55	55 - 60	60 - 65		65 - 70	70+		
Business entrepreneurs			1	2													3	100.0
Professionals Professional	3	1	33	67													4	100.0
Students	-	-															-	
Skilled labourers		3															3	100.0
Wage labourers	9																9	100.0
Total	12	4	1	2													21*	100.0
Total of the income of each group	12	4	3	15													21*	100.0

* includes cases whose income was unknown

Table 50 The Classification of Migrants by Period at Arrival and their Income in Libyan Dinars for the Period 1960-1969

Categories of Migrants	Lower				Middle				Upper Income groups						Total
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60-65	65-70	
Business entrepreneurs	3	3	4	4	1	2	4	9	6	26	2	9	4	4	23
	19	13	17	17											100.0
Professionals	27	1	2	2	5	4			5	4	2	2	4	5	48
	65	2	4	4	10	8			10	4	4	4	4	10	100.0
Students	5														
Skilled Labourers	36			3	1	4									14 ^a
				21	7	29									100.0
Wage Labourers	3	1	11	5	5				5						20
	15	5	55	25	25				25						100.0
Total	38	4	16	5	10	5	5	2	6	4	4	3	1	5	105 ^b
	39	5	15	5	10	5	5	2	8	4	4	3	1	5	100.0
Total of the income groups	62				22				19						105
%	60				21				18						100.0

^a- includes ^{one} case, whose income was unknown
^b- " " " " " "

Table 51 The Classification of Migrants by Period at Arrival and their Income in Libyan Dinars for the Period 1970-1975

Categories of Migrants	Lower Income Group							Middle Income Group					Upper Income Group		Total	
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60-65	65-70		70+
Business entrepreneurs	1				1				3	3				4	12	
%	5				5				14	14				19	100.0	
Professionals	21	3	8		3	2	2			3				4	38	
%	55	8	20		8	5	5		8	8				10	100.0	
Students	29			3			2					3		2	39	
%	74			8			5					3		5	100.0	
Skilled Labouring	1						2							1	9	
%	11						22							11	100.0	
Wage Labourers	80	21	22	14	48			30			8				223	
%	36	9	10	6	22			13		4					100.0	
Total	132	24	25	20	50	6	30		5	3	3	8	3	1	321	
%	41	7	8	6	16	2	9		2	1	1	2	1	0.3	100.0	
Total of the income groups	287															321
%	89															100.0

categories during the four historical periods. This will be discussed as follows: (1) the income of internal migrants at the place of last residence. In the interviews, the annual income of each migrant was obtained from which the average monthly income for all migrants was calculated. Using the average of each group for the four historical periods, it appears that for the period before 1950 the average monthly income of a migrant was ten dinārs, for the period 1950-1959 it was twenty-one dinārs, from 1960-1969 it rose to thirty-five dinārs, and in the final period 1970-1975 it was forty dinārs. The figures of monthly incomes over the four successive periods revealed a steady increase over the preceding period. Between the first and second period the average monthly income doubled, (200%) the increase between the second and third periods was fourteen dinārs (66%) there was an increase of only five dinārs (15%) between the third and fourth periods.

Although the above analysis shows that there was a considerable increase in the average monthly income from one period to the next, there were seventeen migrants about four per cent of the total sample of 500 cases who stated that they had an average monthly income of only five dinārs. Of these seventeen migrants, five came before 1950, ten came during the period 1950-1959, and two came during the period 1960-1969. A similar pattern existed for those migrants who had an average monthly income from five to less than ten dinars. In addition this analysis also indicated two other points: (a) migrants came from different and widely varying income groups; and (b) economic differentiation amongst migrants increased from 1950 to 1975. For a further explanation of the migrants' background with respect to their income, it is interesting to examine the distribution

of migrants in the three income groups suggested below.

The data collected from people in semi-urban and rural areas, (1) and from government reports, with respect to the income groups amongst the four time periods, shows that the income of the middle group ranged from five to ten dinārs for the period before 1950; 10-20 dinārs for the period 1950-1959; 20-40 dinārs for the period 1960-1969; and 40-60 dinars for the period 1970-1975. It was decided, therefore, that the average monthly income would be the income of the middle group of migrants, thereby making any income above that, the high income group and any below, the low income group. The migrants have now therefore been classified according to the five categories, their income and period of arrival, in Tables, 48, 49, 50 and 51.

The tables show that there was a relatively small number of migrants from the middle income groups and almost an equal number of the upper income group in the first period (before 1950); in the second period (1950-1959) it was smaller still. From 1960-1969 the number increased compared with that of 1950-1959, though not so large as for the period 1970-1975, which was the largest of all.

The question poses itself why do the middle income groups have a small number of emigrants?

The answer to this question is based on what it has been said in the previous chapter concerning the socio-economic transformation of

(1) LAR, Ministry of Commerce, Mulakhṣ Lil-dirāsāt wal-Muqtarahāt Alaty Auḥdat Bishān Masālit Kawzi. Al-dakhil: a review of the issues and summary of the studies concerning the distribution of the income, The general administration of the economic issues, department of research, May 1972.

Libyan society; that although the middle income group was increasing rapidly in the country as a whole, it occurred mainly in urban areas, and although this answer would appear sufficient, it does not answer some of the most important questions in this study: why do migrants come from mixed income groups and not from one group? In order to answer these questions, it is important to know in addition:

(1) what is the distribution of these income groups amongst the five categories of migrants?

(2) what is the relation between the migrants' incomes and the other socio-economic variables of social position, education, and housing?

Furthermore, it is important to understand:

(1) the objectives of migrants underlying their migration, and

(2) their socio-economic positions in Benghazi.

The first two questions will be examined in this chapter, while the last two will be examined separately in later chapters.

Regarding the distribution of the various income groups amongst the five categories of migrants, the data collected show the following:

(i) Business entrepreneurs Category: Tables 48, 49, 50 and 51 indicate that (a) migrants came from different income groups within all four periods; (b) migrants from the income group were to be found throughout the period 1950-1969; and (c) social differentiation amongst migrants increased from 1950 to 1975.

In addition, the data collected shows that upper income groups amongst business entrepreneurs came before 1950 and during the period 1970-1975, the middle income groups came during the periods 1950-1959,

and 1970-1975, the low income groups (the majority) came during the periods 1950-1959 and 1960-1969.

(ii) Professionals Category: Data on income background of this category indicate the following:

- (a) migrants came from different income groups;
- (b) income differentiation amongst migrants increased from 1950 to 1975;
- (c) lower income migrants continued to be the majority from before 1950 until 1975. (see Tables 48, 49, 50 and 51).

Moreover, within the four periods, it was the majority of professional migrants who came mainly from the low income group particularly amongst those who had no independent income as individuals within their original society. This is due to the fact that the majority in this category were students at their place of emigration, and no independent income. This group was followed by the upper income group with only a few in the middle income group during the four periods.

(iii) Students: a similar situation was shown by students as in the professionals category. They came from different income groups, although no independent income.

(iv) Skilled Labourers Category: the migrants of this category came mostly from low income groups, and from those who had no independent income. Few of them came from middle income groups during the period before 1950, 1960-1969 and 1970-1975, and only few from the upper income group came in 1950-1959.

(v) Wage Labourers Category: migrants in this category came from low income groups, mainly individuals who had no independent income.

Within the four periods few came from middle income groups specifically during the period 1970-1975. Those migrants were amongst those who were employed in the public sector, and earned secondary incomes besides their main employment income in such occupations as farming and other odd jobs in the villages and towns.

Regarding the similarities and differences amongst the five migrant categories, a comparison of the above data shows that for the period before 1950, the low income group occurred amongst professionals and labourers, while the middle income group covered skilled labourers and professionals. The upper income group was amongst the business entrepreneurs. This may be due to the movement of large scale livestock owners and the low income group from the eastern part of Libya to Benghazi, where they became involved in the early stages of development of the provincial government in Benghazi. Some of the middle income group amongst skilled labourers were employed by the British army.

For the period 1950-1959, the low income group appeared amongst all categories (excluding students), the upper income group appeared in professionals and skilled labourer categories, and the middle income group was found amongst business entrepreneurs and professionals.

For the period 1960-1969 the data shows an increase in social differentiation amongst the five categories in contrast to the preceding two periods. The low income group was found amongst all categories; the middle income group was found in professionals, skilled and wage labourers; while the upper income group was among professionals only. This may be due to the fact that most of the professionals that came in this period were amongst those who had jobs in the rural sector and transferred to Benghazi. In particular, most

of them had come in order to fill the vacuum which occurred during the period 1960-1969. This came as a result of the movement of government employees and others working in the private sector, from Benghazi to the newly established capital, Al-Bayda'.

For the period 1970-1975 the data on the background of migrants shows that the income differentiation in the income groups amongst the five categories was much more pronounced than in the previous period. The low income group appeared in all categories. The middle income group also appeared in all categories. The upper income group was found in all categories except for that of the labourers. The increase in the number of middle and upper income groups which arrived in Benghazi during this period may be explained by the fact that the central administrative capital was transferred from Al-Bayda' to Tripoli, whilst Benghazi continued to develop economically and politically in importance.

The above data indicates firstly, that the migrants' income position at their place of last residence was not the same as their occupation position, for instance some of the migrants who stated in the previous chapter that they were middle farmers or middle scale livestock owners, classed themselves as coming from the low income group. Secondly, it shows also that migrants came from different income groups. The questions to be answered now are, why do migrants come from different income groups? In other words, why do migrants with different backgrounds come from different income groups? Do they have a similar position of being in a high income group in Benghazi? Why do the low income groups in each category and their counterparts amongst the other migrant categories have different positions in Benghazi, whilst others amongst them did not? Finally,

are migrants of similar income groups in similar socio-economic positions within their society from the point of view of control over their income or production? This will be clarified in the following discussion of the variable of "social position" of migrants in their households.

(1)

(2) Social Position

Social position is an important factor in understanding the exact economic position of migrants. The results of the previous section indicate that migrants are seen as coming from two main groups with respect to incomes: 1) the first group was made up of those who had no independent income, viz, those who did not earn money from a direct exchange of their labour; they worked within the household as agricultural labourers, herdsmen, or in some other activity; and 2) the second group consisted of those who earned their incomes as individuals, they worked outside their households for money, on the basis of a contract between them and their employers. Although those in the second group were earning money as individuals, this does not mean that they had total control over their earnings.

This difference is based on the fact that the societies from which the migrants originated distinguish between a person who is the head of his household and other members of the household. These societies also differentiate between the seniors and juniors of the household with respect to the wielding of power amongst the members of the household and over the household's socio-economic affairs.

(1) Foster, P., has indicated the importance of education in the motivation of young educated people to seek work away from home. It could be argued, however, that in such cases the age and genealogical factors may be of more substance than education. See Foster, P., Education and Social Change in Ghana, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

This is a consequence of the system of production which is traditionally regulated by the household organization and on sibling co-operation and submission to paternal authority. Thus from informal (1) interviews with the migrants, especially those who came from rural areas, it was found that, generally speaking, the methods of production tended to be collective, being supervised by the head of household, who owed his position to genealogical seniority. Consequently, individuals' (especially juniors') property rights were not highly developed. The product of the household labour and land, whether used for investment or for subsistence was mainly at the disposal of the older man in the household. This was also the case with the individual migrants of unknown income, and also with a considerable number of other income groups. This aspect will be clarified by the following examples:

(A) A migrant who came in 1968, was working in his village of Tarhuna (in Tripolitania) as a herdsman, taking care of 150 sheep. He was working with a livestock owner (mawāl) under the system Ra'āyat al-Ghiryān, where the herdsman had to take care of the sheep from the time of grain sowing to its harvesting. He was given several bushels of barley each month for his consumption by the owner, whilst he was in the camp. At the end of the contract, the herdsman took one out of every ten lambs, which numbered eleven in this case. He was planning to sell the lambs and buy western-type clothes, a cassette recorder and wrist-watch. However, the herdsman's father did not agree with him, believing that the household should keep the lambs to enlarge their animal stock for possible future investment. The herdsman was unable to persuade his father to change his mind; neither was he able to disobey him and

(1) See chapter I for the definition of this term.

instead decided to go with a friend in the following release season to look for a job.

This example shows that the herdsman was unable to spend his earnings as he himself saw fit, although his earnings were surplus to the subsistence of the household. The herdsman was in a position of genealogical subservience which was independent of his earning status. His rights over the disposal of his income were transferred to the head of the household, because of genealogical seniority.

In addition, the example shows that within the community, modern and traditional values co-existed together but in conflict. However within this broadly gerontocratic structure, it was always possible for a few non-heads of household to gain rights over the disposal of their income. In another example a migrant who was working on his father's farm in a village called 'afyun in Al-kufra oasis in 1972, earned supplementary income by working as a nightwatchman for a construction firm. In this case, the income from the latter work which amounted to 30 piastres per night, was at his own disposal.

Bearing this in mind, an attempt will be made to quantify briefly the migrants' social positions before coming to Benghazi. Table 52 indicates that the majority of migrants were members and not heads of a household. Almost 73 per cent of the total migrants were either sons, brothers, nephews, sisters, wives, daughters, neices and mothers in relation to the head of the household.

The marital status of the migrants showed that 166 persons (33.2 per cent) were married and seven of them divorced and widowed; the majority of them had children. The remaining 334 persons (66.8 per cent) were unmarried. The information is useful in showing the extent of the

Table 52 The Social Position of Migrants Before Coming to Benghazi City

Marital Status	Independent or head of household		Dependent or not head of household		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married (1)	70	42.1	96	57.8	166	33.3
Unmarried (2)	63	18.8	271	81.1	334	66.8
Total	133	26.6	367	73.4	500	100.0

(1) including divorce, widower with children
(2) including divorce, widower without children

migrants' socio-economic obligations. However, it is important to note that the fact of being married does not necessarily indicate that the migrant (whether male or female) had authority over his or her household or that he or she was the head of a household. The majority of the married migrants, about 58 per cent of 96 persons of the total married migrants, were not heads of their households at the place of origin. Some of the unmarried migrants were household heads at their original home, but they only amounted to 19 per cent of the unmarried migrants.

Having given this brief examination of the variation in social position and its impact on the individual's income, it is now time to turn to another important variable regarding the socio-economic position of migrants before coming to Benghazi, namely education.

(3) Education

The level of education of migrants is of importance to our knowledge of the exact socio-economic position of migrants before coming to Benghazi. It helps to show more clearly the similarities and differences amongst the migrants' socio-economic backgrounds. Table 53 showing the classification of migrant categories by level of education at the place of last residence, indicates that,

- (a) migrants had different levels of education,
- (b) a low level of education was characteristic of all migrant categories, excluding students, some professionals and a few business entrepreneurs,
- (c) the highest proportion of migrants had no formal schooling at all whilst the next largest number had a sub-grade education.

Table 53 The Classification of Migrants Categories by Level of Education at Place of Last Residence

Categories of Migrants	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Business entrepreneurs %	16 26.6	24 40.0	12 20.0	8 13.3				60 100.0
Professionals %	4 3.8	14 13.3	35 22.2	30 28.5	12 11.4	6 5.7	4 3.8	105 100.0
Students %			14 35.8	16 41.0	9 23.0		- -	39 100.0
Skilled Labourers %	16 44.4	13 36.1	7 19.4				- -	36 100.0
Wage, un-, under- employed labourers %	195 75.0	52 20.0	9 3.4				4 1.5	260 100.0
Total %	231 46.2	103 20.6	77 15.4	54 10.8	21 4.2	6 1.2	8 1.6	500 100.0

Levels of Education

Level 0 - illiterate
Level 1 - functionally literate
Level 2 - Elementary
Level 3 - Intermediate
Level 4 - Secondary
Level 5 - University and above

(*) cases whose level of education is unknown

(+) functional literacy is the ability to read and write.

For a further elaboration of the above points Table 53 shows that the category of professionals had more educational groups than the other categories. The largest number had an elementary level of education, followed by those with an intermediate level of education, the number of people with no formal schooling were in the minority. It also shows that this category was the only one which contained people with a university level of education. Likewise, the figures shows that the categories of labourers, both skilled and unskilled, had similar levels of education, as did business entrepreneurs. In the students' category, most had an intermediate level of education, some had an elementary education and only a few with a secondary education.

This indicates that there were certain similarities in the levels of education amongst the categories of migrants. Whilst almost all of the migrants who had secondary and university level educations came from urban areas, the majority with a low level of education came from rural areas, as might be expected, because education at a higher level than elementary school was new in rural areas. Only the younger generation of the rural population therefore had been able to obtain such education. On the other hand, the majority of the older generation in the rural areas were functionally literate, having obtained some education in traditional Quranic schools, where they memorized the Quran and learned Arabic grammar.

In the rural areas, and in some urban areas this pattern of education still persists, where Imāms of mosques teach children the principles of the Quran. Until recently, this education was restricted to the children from upper income families, because the children of low income families had to work at an early age, in addition to the fact that their families could not afford school expenses. However, people

in Cyrenaica were more fortunate in this matter than those in Tripolitania, due to the spread of the Şanusi lodges or Zāwiya in the area. Hence, the above data indicates a relationship between the education and socio-economic position of migrants, where the majority of educated migrants with a similar background had a similar level of education. It is thus important to find out how and in what ways these groups with a similar level of education, obtained different socio-economic positions in Benghazi.

Before answering this important question, it is necessary to look at the socio-economic position of migrants before coming to Benghazi with regard to the last variable suggested, that of dwelling or housing. By doing this it is hoped to convey a clearer understanding of the exact socio-economic background of migrants.

(4) Housing or Dwelling

Since a detailed examination of this variable is beyond the scope of this thesis, this section will deal only briefly with the type of migrant dwellings at the place of last residence. The section will examine two points: (a) the type of migrants' dwellings within each category; and (b) the number and the proportion of each type of dwelling group within each category compared with other categories. The type of dwelling for each category in Table 54 shows that:

(i) Business entrepreneurs Category: This category had the largest number living in old houses, followed in number by those living in modern houses, then by those living in huts and tents. That is to say, most migrants in the category were settled people, living in

Table 54 The Classification of Migrants by Dwellings at Place of last residence

Categories of Migrants	Tents	Huts	Old Houses	Government Houses	Modern Houses	Villas	Total
Business entrepreneurs %	2 3.3	4 6.6	50 83.3	- -	4 6.6	- -	60 100.0
Professionals %	6 5.7	26 24.7	50 47.6	14 13.3	3 2.5	5 4.7	105 100.0
Students %	4 10.2	1 2.5	18 46.1	1 2.5	12 30.7	3 7.6	39 100.0
Skilled Labourers %	8 22.2	12 33.3	15 41.6	1 2.7	- -	- -	36 100.0
Wage, un-, under-employed labourers %	79 30.3	82 31.5	91 35.0	3 1.1	2 0.3	- -	260 100.0
Total %	99 19.8	125 25	224 45	19 3.8	21 4.2	8 1.6	500 100.0

* cases whose type of dwelling is unknown

the middle and lower class type of dwellings, followed by the upper class type of dwellings, with few in the lower class types of dwellings.

(ii) Professionals Category: The largest number in the professional category lived in old houses or middle-class type of houses, followed by those who lived in huts. Following these in number were government house groups, and those who lived in a poor type of dwelling. These were followed by those who lived in villas or the upper class type of building, with only a few people having modern houses.

(iii) Students Category: The largest number of students lived in old houses of both the middle and poor class type of dwelling, followed by those in modern types of houses and then by those who lived in villas, tents, huts and government houses - in that order.

(iv) Skilled Labourers Category: The largest number in this category lived in old houses, followed by those living in huts, then tents, with a few living in government houses.

(v) Wage Labourers Category: The largest number in this category lived in old houses, followed by those living in tents, then huts, with a few living in government houses and modern houses.

Thus, the largest proportion of Benghazi internal migrants lived in old houses, followed in number by those living in tents, with a few people living in modern houses, government houses, and villas.

It is interesting to elaborate this point further by comparing each category with the other categories. Table 54 showing the classification of migrants by type of dwellings at the place of last residence, indicates that the proportion of migrants living

in old houses was the largest and characteristic of all categories. The next largest proportion of government houses was amongst professionals, whilst the highest proportion of modern houses was amongst students. The highest proportion of people having villas was amongst professionals (they came mostly from cities) in contrast to other categories, which had few people in this type of dwelling.

The data provided above indicates that although migrants' dwellings at the place of last residence were different amongst the members of each category, and between categories, the proportion of migrants having old houses was high with respect to all categories.

Old houses in the case of migrants primarily found in areas of permanent settlement, such as villages, towns, and the old parts of the cities. Generally speaking, these dwellings were built from available cheap building material, such as wood, dried palm trunks, mud and stone. Most of them were in poor condition. It means that the inhabitants of this type of building, especially in recent decades, have been under tremendous pressure to look for other types of dwellings in which to live.

A few migrants were able to change their old dwelling at their place of origin and their place of last residence. Some migrants living in villages or small towns, moved from old houses to new, modern houses, to villas, to government houses, whilst others tried to repair their old houses. Some of the low income migrants moved to huts or baraka. (constructed from pieces of scrap metal) and were mostly those who lived in villages, but some stayed in those houses which were not in very bad condition, whilst other nomadic families, living in the countryside, decided to abandon their tents and replace them with barakāt (sing. baraka.) or huts.

These changes in the types of migrant dwellings at the place of last residence indicate not only the necessity for change, but also the socio-economic transformation which was experienced by the migrants' in their original societies.

Large landowners were among migrants who owned, in the past, large houses. Such houses were symbolic of wealth and high status. Now, however, the values and symbolism of their houses exist no more and the majority were not able to replace their old houses by modern ones due to the decline in their economic activities and because of the fact that, as villages are not planned, residents do not qualify for government loans to build new residences. This makes it extremely difficult for these migrants to build a new house, given current prices of construction materials.

Migrants who were living in tents, or huts fell under the same conditions as inhabitants of old houses, because they too exert pressure to change to other types of dwelling. For example, some migrants replaced their tents with huts or barakāt or hō sh (house). These changes were a result of the process of settlement by nomadic pastoralist families in the villages, where a considerable number of nomadic families living in the countryside had abandoned the tents and replaced them with a barakai.

The majority of the migrants' families in rural areas were not able to have access to the ex-Italian farm houses and government houses, because access to these was to the people who had political connections with the ruling elites. It is important to note that, the migrants who did change their dwellings were mostly from upper and middle income groups, such as government employees, merchants and landlords (diata).⁽¹⁾

(1) However, they came to Benghazi for reasons other than housing.

The above analysis of the socio-economic background of migrants, occupations with respect to their/income, social position, education and housing, indicates the following: (1) migrants came from different socio-economic backgrounds and from various income groups; (2) social differentiation amongst migrants increased from one period to another; (3) some migrants experienced changes in their socio-economic position before coming to Benghazi; (4) in order to determine the socio-economic position of migrants, it is necessary to consider the complex totality of factors discussed in this chapter.

Finally, one must ask why some migrants of different income groups at place of origin, are in different income groups in Benghazi, whilst others retain relatively in the same income positions.

The answer to the above question is of importance in order to understand the problem of migration in Libyan society. This will be explained in the following chapters dealing with the socio-economic position of migrants in Benghazi City.

C H A P T E R VI

The Socio-Economic Position of Migrants in Benghazi

The correlation between the characteristics of migrants such as age, sex, trend, pattern, type of economic activity, etc., and the opportunities available at the point of origin have been shown. The question now arises: what is the correlation between the migrants' characteristics and the opportunities available in the receiving area of Benghazi? An understanding of this aspect is crucial to a better grasp of the forces causing migration in Libya. It is for this reason that chapter VI and VII attempt to examine the relationship between the migrants' background and his situation in Benghazi. The aim of this chapter is to analyse and illustrate the role of migrants in the city and their socio-economic mobility following their arrival in Benghazi, both from a subjective and an objective point of view. Further, the aim of this chapter is to isolate and examine the background of Benghazi migrants and their transformation from one community to another, and their movement from one income group to another. The chapter will also examine why migrants have social mobility in particular directions and not in others, and will try to explain why some migrants are mobile in certain directions while others are incapable of mobility in the same direction.

The discussion will focus primarily on two main points:

I-The occupational mobility of Migrants since their arrival in Benghazi.

II-The socio-economic position of Migrants in Benghazi.

(1) Income group is defined in this thesis as a group of people who have the same socio-economic standards based upon their access to the available resources in the country.

I The Occupational Mobility of Migrants since their arrival in Benghazi:

The full range of employment in Benghazi in both the public and private sectors has been discussed in chapter III. It was shown there that since the 1950s Benghazi experienced rapid development and growth in its economic activities which included primarily: construction, transportation and communication, commerce, manufacturing, etc., and the various parts which constitute the service sector. It was also shown that the public sector was the leading sector providing employment for the largest portion of the city's active population.

The question, is, does this fact mean that newcomers (migrants) to Benghazi were drawn into the private sector in order to meet the great demand generated by this sector. Such an assumption appears quite reasonable although material from the questionnaires contradicts this statement, because the majority of migrants (excluding business entrepreneurs), stated that they intended to work in the public sector. Almost 60% of the migrants interviewed were already, in or in the process of, being employed in the public sector.

The next questions which arise are: 1, what occupations, are the migrants likely to be forced into; 2, why do they accept such employment and not seek alternatives; 3, and which migrants are capable of taking advantage of the best opportunities? Before answering these questions, the term employment sector needs to be defined. This term is used here to cover all economic activities (1) and which can be defined briefly as follows:

(1) This differentiation is based on the Libyan case which is being examined by the present writer.

1. The Public Sector: includes employees and labourers working for the government or other public co-operative organisations owned by the government. This sector is organised and operates according to the guidelines of the Civil Service Code.

2. The Private Sector: includes employees and labourers working for organisations or co-operative enterprises owned by private enterprises. This sector is organised and operates according to the guidelines of the Labour Law. For further classification of the differences between these two sectors one might explain, for example, the structure of the construction industry.

The construction industry comprises government offices or co-operatives and is called the Ministry of Housing. Its personnel ranges from clerks, directors, and construction engineers to janitors, messengers, cleaners, etc. This Ministry is responsible for property held by the government such as schools, hospitals, buildings, which are rented or given to low-income groups. The ministry is also responsible for the construction company owned by the government, which employs its own clerks, directors, engineers, skilled labourers, masons, carpenters, plumbers, as well as unskilled labourers. The department also incorporates the Department of Road Repairs within the Municipality of Benghazi and has its own directors, foremen, and skilled labourers. Finally, this ministry is responsible for housing co-operatives which also have their own administrators, directors, architects, janitors, messengers, drivers, etc. The housing co-operative is responsible for planning and constructing houses which are then allocated to low-income groups, although it does not actually undertake the construction of these government houses. It is responsible instead for allocating contracts to other enterprises

and then supervises the construction. It should be added that many of these enterprises which receive the contracts are in the private sector.

Private companies are not only responsible for constructing government houses, schools, hospitals, road repairs, etc. but are also engaged in the field of private construction and they therefore have to hire privately their own architects, accountants, drivers, masons, carpenters, plumbers, brick-layers, messengers and other types of skilled and unskilled workers.

The same situation exists with respect to other sectors of the economy where the responsibilities of private and public enterprises (1) are similar.

So far the concern has been to illustrate the structure of the employment sector, with its public and private components, both of which have been growing fast with respect to employment in the last two decades.

The above formulation of the employment sector is determined by the economic structure and from the stand point of its employment pattern in Benghazi. It is, however, the definition itself which poses an important question, namely, what is the position of individuals working in both parts of this sector in relation to their access to the material resources available in the city? It has been seen from the previous account of the socio-economic background of migrants before coming to Benghazi (see Chapter V) that generally speaking migrants experienced changes in their past economic position with respect to their present activities.

(1) For further information see chapter III.

Almost 95% of the migrants interviewed in the sample had experienced some changes in their socio-economic position in Benghazi, as compared with their position in their original places of residence. In terms of employment or occupation it was clear that none of the 74 individuals interviewed who were farmers before coming to Benghazi continued in the same occupation after they migrated. The majority of them had been either owners of land or had usufruct rights to some piece of land. Some land was irrigated and used for the cultivation of vegetables and fruit trees while the rest was under a seasonal agricultural system. It appears from these interviews that the majority of the land was devoted to the cultivation of barley, wheat, olive trees, plum trees, and dates, in addition to vegetables and fruits, and almost all of these migrants owned some livestock.

Some of the items they produced were for subsistence while the rest were for commercial purposes. Among the migrant farmers who left their homes only a few were able to act as absentee landlords alongside their new economic activities in Benghazi. This was done by employing wage labour from their villages or by importing labourers from abroad to cultivate their land. Others arranged for their land to be sharecropped by a member of their kin or by another villager. Whilst others, especially those whose land was of poor quality and thereby necessitated a large capital outlay in order to cultivate it, just abandoned the land, but retained legal ownership. A few sold their land to the government or to private individuals. The number no longer owning property in their village represented about 13% of the total 74 persons.

A similar situation was true for the livestock owners, the mawāl. The majority of them were dependent upon their livestock for their

livelihood and for providing their means of subsistence, in addition to their seasonal cultivation of tribal land. Only four of the respondents considered themselves to have been mawāl on any significant scale. Few of the above two groups continued their previous activity alongside their new employment in Benghazi, i.e., through the employment of other people to look after their animals in the countryside. The majority gave up their activities completely after they had settled in Benghazi.

All the farmers experienced changes in terms of their new activities in Benghazi. Sixteen of them became business entrepreneurs according to their interview statements. It appears that four of them became building and road repair contractors, two were garage operators, (1) six became owners of small stores, two were wholesale merchants, two became owners of karwāsa, (2) while three were skilled labourers, namely, a lorry driver employed in an oil company and two ordinary drivers employed by the government. Sixty of them became semi-skilled labourers, with over half of them working for the public sector and the rest with the private sector in various activities such as trade, building, transportation, etc.

It was impossible to discover the occupation of the people stated above because these occupations for some migrants are only a part of a number of activities carried out by some migrants, while for others it was the only activity and source of income.

Since the stated occupation was not always the only one it follows that it was not either the migrants' only source of income.

(1) Or other owners of car maintenance shops.

(2) A horse-drawn cart.

The declared occupation, therefore, will be referred to throughout this chapter as the main activity; occupation. The stated main occupation is dependent to a large extent on how the migrant himself sees it. That is, the occupation declared by the migrant as his main activity may be not because of its importance with respect to any other activities but it is generally evaluated as such according to the migrants' situation with regard to the law. For example, an owner of a garage stated in his interview that his occupation in Benghazi consisted of only the ownership of a garage of which he was also the director. The observation data shows that in addition to this activity, he was also a building contractor, or mugawá1 bina, owned two shops and two houses, and most important of all was a partner in a firm manufacturing building material. Some of his enterprises were licenced under his name, while others were licenced under the names of his sons and other kin. This situation can be attributed to several reasons among which the most important was an attempt to escape from paying taxes. This point will be explained in greater detail in the section focusing on the activities of entrepreneurs.

Amongst the 31 persons who were livestock owners before coming to Benghazi, two of them became entrepreneurs with one a wholesale merchant and the other a hotel owner; three became professionals, two of them becoming administrators in the civil service, and one as a teacher of religion in a primary school. The remaining 26 became labourers, some working in the port, others in building, and in transport and governmental offices as messengers, doorkeepers, cleaners, etc.

In both groups the few people who had owned large properties or capital that could be used for commercial purposes had managed to establish large enterprises in Benghazi. Some of the middle-sized and small farmers or livestock owners (with respect to the standards of their respective villages) were in a similar position. It appears therefore that the large enterprises and entrepreneurs in both groups coincided almost exactly with the people who were large farmers or animal owners, with the addition of a few of the middle and small farmers and livestock owners.

The business entrepreneurs (of twelve persons) also had different types of businesses in Benghazi though the scale of these enterprises varied. Of the migrants who came from villages, five were small store-owners while the seven who came from urban areas were divided as follows: five were engaged in trade and the other two became lorry drivers and transport operators. Regarding their present activities in Benghazi; of the seven who went into commerce, six of them became large wholesalers while the other operated a commercial store. Later, two became food suppliers and three of them became road and building contractors.

The majority of these groups described their business activities in the village, prior to coming to Benghazi, as less profitable and unable to expand. Thus, the migrants' assessment of their position prior to migration differed from one person to another, even so, the migrants' assessment may be classified under two major categories. While some of them described their businesses in the old days as being successful but with a drastic decline in profitability in the period immediately preceding their migration to Benghazi, others stated that although their businesses were successful or at least adequate

they were unable to further expand their operations. In other words, the opportunities available at the place of last residence were limited and declining in contrast with those in Benghazi.

It is of interest to quote from one of the migrant businessmen who described his situation by stating that,

I was a shopkeeper as well as being the owner of three shops in my village which sold consumer goods such as tea, sugar, rice, macaroni, salt, spices, tomato-puree, cooking oil, sweets, pens and pencils, notebooks, etc. Furthermore, I also acted as a middleman between the merchants and the villagers. I would buy agricultural products from my fellow villagers such as dates, butter, wool, barley, wheat in order to sell it to the merchants who would come to the village once a month, or some times once a fortnight. The merchants would bring consumer goods from the urban centres which would then be sold in my shop.

He then went to say that, during the year before his migration to Benghazi, a large number of people went to work in Benghazi which is only seventy kilometers away and also to a town called ~~Qimn~~ ^{Qimn} which is thirty kilometers away. Those who had left members of their family behind in the village, ... used to visit the village often and brought with them consumer goods such as foods and other things (1) for their families and friends. This of course led to a decrease in the amount of commodities sold from his shop. His business, therefore, was declining day after day. It is then that he thought he should diversify his invested capital in housing. So he built a house which he then rented to a school teacher in his village. This rent which was in the region of about twenty dinars per month was not of course enough to cover his family's monthly expenses of food and other goods. He enquired and found out that rents in

(1) In addition to what has been mentioned above, with regard to the factors that affected the position of rural enterprises, there was also the problem of the higher costs and prices of goods in the urban areas. This situation forced the entrepreneurs to sell their goods at a price lower than what they had bought them for. As urban merchants and rural dwellers exchanged directly so the small shopkeepers lost their business.

Benghazi were much higher though the cost of construction was actually cheaper than in his village. Furthermore, he was also told by one of his cousins that it was better to invest his capital in the field of trade in Benghazi. He assessed the whole situation and came to the decision that the future of his business-life would be much better in Benghazi. He went on to say that,

I gave my shop to a friend whose shop was next to mine. We agreed to run a joint business, on the basis of a partnership in which I would supply him with goods from Benghazi and he would take care of my shop and house in the village. Furthermore, he would also send me the agricultural goods from the village to be sold in my shop in Benghazi".... " I have been living in Benghazi for three years. I have this large store which is ten times the size of the one in my village. My income has increased since I came here. I was lucky in that my cousin and my brother-in-law helped me greatly during my settlement. They helped by introducing me to the right people, both administrators as well as entrepreneurs and in also renting this shop which has a very important economic position'.

The foregoing is a typical example of a businessman moving from being a small shopkeeper to a fairly large merchant. Not only did his activities expand in Benghazi in comparison with those in the village, but his working capital and involvement have grown considerably year after year. In addition to what has been stated by the above migrant businessman regarding his activities, it was observed that he also owned a house and a big garage.

In this particular case mobility was characterised by the movement from what was described as an unsatisfactory situation for the accumulation of capital and or expanding business activity to a situation of greater activity and opportunity. Indeed it might be noted that the position of this shopkeeper as a middleman between the villagers and the urban based merchants had been weakened due to

certain changes in the village structure, namely the migration of several villagers to other urban areas in the vicinity. His attempt to arrest the decline in profits by reinvesting his capital into other areas in the village was also shown to be inadequate. He was, therefore, compelled to diversify his investment in another area such as Benghazi in order to realise higher profits. This of course implied much more than a transformation from a village shopkeeper to an urban based merchant. It also meant that his business activities were drastically changed. For this particular migrant, the situation changed from his specialisation in one single enterprise - that of being a middleman between rural and urban areas - to having several business interests such as trade, property, garage, etc.

The previous section dealt with farmers, animal owners and business entrepreneurs and the sort of changes experienced by them after migration to Benghazi. It has been shown that nearly all the respondents in these categories experienced some changes in their position compared with their position prior to their arrival in Benghazi. It would be of interest, therefore, in the following section to examine the patterns of changes experienced by other important groups in the society. Unlike the above groups, the categories of professionals, students, skilled and unskilled labourers gain their living by means other than the ownership of land, animals and enterprises.

Of the twenty-eight migrants who were professionals at the place of last residence (see chapter V) two of them became entrepreneurs; one acting as a mercantile agent as well as an insurance dealer, the others became owners of a private elementary school. The rest remained within the categories of professionals although their position

generally changed from one of less importance to one of greater importance. Fourteen of them were teachers, two being lecturers at the university, two at secondary schools and the remaining ten teaching at elementary schools. After migration, two became lawyers, two became accountants, one became a medical director, two became engineers and the rest worked as administrators at the level of head director, while the remaining four were junior administrators employed in the public sector.

It is important to point out that while some of the professionals had moved up in the occupation ladder, others did not and kept their previous occupational positions. These occurred mainly amongst those in the lower occupational positions such as junior administrators and elementary school teachers. The people concerned were either recent migrants or did not possess the required qualifications for promotion. There were other reasons which applied to some of the migrants to which we will return later.

Those who were students at the place of emigration numbered 120 persons of the total 500 in the sample. Their position after settling in Benghazi is the next topic for discussion.

Two of them became entrepreneurs, one as a merchant dealer and the other as a building contractor. Sixty-five persons or 54% of the students interviewed became professionals, the majority of them being employed in the public sector. Their occupations ranged from senior government's officials, of which there were eight, teachers, which numbered twenty-one, two taught at the university, four at the institute of social work and the rest in elementary schools; junior administrators numbered thirty-six, there were fourteen skilled labourers of whom two

were welders, four drivers (one lorry-driver and the other three motor car drivers) three electricians, two mechanics, and three masons. The remaining thirty-nine respondents continued their status as students, with eight at the university, eight at the industrial training school, fifteen at the institute of social services, and eight at the institute of long-term recreational training.

The above section shows the type of occupational changes which the interviewed students experienced after their migration to Benghazi. It also indicates the change which occurred in their educational level, and consequently their employment position. For this group, as with the preceding categories discussed, migration was motivated by their unsatisfactory position at the place of last residence.

There were twenty persons in the sample who worked as skilled labourers at their place of emigration. (see chapter V for more information on the background of this group).

The present position of these twenty persons or 4% of the total sample is as follows: 12 became business entrepreneurs, five being building contractors, three garage operators, and four vehicle operators (two lorry and two taxidriers). The remaining eight kept their positions as skilled labourers, one as a mason, one as a tailor, two as mechanics, one as a carpenter and three as drivers (one a lorry driver and two motor car drivers).

The data indicates that the majority of this group changed their occupational status from that of employee to employer or self-employed person. Consequently there has been a change in the magnitude of their activities from smaller to larger. The pattern of these changes might be illustrated in the following examples.

The first case to be discussed will help illustrate the pattern of transformation and change experienced by skilled labourers. Attention was focussed upon a migrant who came from an urban area, namely ~~Al-Bayda~~, where he was employed as a skilled mason. He explained his situation by saying that "I came to Benghazi in the summer of 1969. Before that I had been working as a skilled mason with one of the foreign construction firms in ~~Al-Bayda~~. My income was thirty-five dinārs per ~~month~~. It was just enough to maintain my family (wife, son and myself). Three months before I came to Benghazi, my cousin, who is a businessman in that city, came for a visit. He asked me to come and work with him in his company where he would help me to get a government house and would give me a higher wage than what I had been getting. I came and worked in his company for six months. During this period I met one of the foreign masons working with me and we agreed to open a company by ourselves with both of us paying the price of the licence which was put under my name. We also agreed to invest part of the profits back into the company and to divide the remainder between the two of us as our salaries. We have been working together for a period of five years. He is responsible for the labourers. He also goes abroad to select and transport the necessary labourers for the company which are mainly from one country. He determines their wages and supervises them at work. As for myself I am responsible for soliciting business or new contracts, as well as taking charge of such matters as taxes, insurance, etc."

This example traces the mobility of a skilled labourer to the position of an entrepreneur. In his case the main factor for advancement was an agreement between him and another skilled labourer

to establish an enterprise on a partnership basis where both agreed to invest their labour and capital in the establishment of a construction company.

The second example is that of a driver who began co-operating with a merchant. The merchant agreed to buy a lorry with his own capital to be driven by the driver concerned. One of the conditions of this agreement was that the driver would become an equal partner, when he paid for half of the original price of the lorry. The driver, therefore, had to forgo any profits made by the lorry until the price had been paid. During this period, however, he did receive an income in order to maintain himself. After five years, he succeeded in becoming an equal partner and thus received half the profits in addition to payment for his services as a driver of the lorry. A year later he was able to purchase another second-hand lorry and also established a garage whose profits were shared between himself and another mechanic who was his partner in this venture.

The above data illustrates the direction of the movement of skilled labourers in Benghazi and it shows that almost exclusively the movement of skilled labourers was towards entrepreneurship. The semi-skilled and unskilled labourers on the other hand were directed towards replacing the skilled labourers who moved to other activities in addition to their participation in entrepreneurship, professional and wage labour in the city.

Wage labourers were people who came to Benghazi with little or no knowledge of the economic and employment structures of the city, and who were mostly agricultural wage labourers although a few did come from other urban areas. The position of this group which had 210 persons or 42% of the total sample was as follows: Fourteen of

them were in the following areas of business entrepreneurship, two as lorry operators, two as taxi operators, three as building contractors, two as garage operators or the owners of car maintenance shops which they also directed, two as second-hand car salesman, one was the owner of three horse-drawn carriages and two were petty traders.

Eleven of these migrants were in professional occupations; two as religious teachers, two as instructors in the vocational training school, four junior administrators, one was the director of an oil company and the head of an urban quarter. The skilled labourers numbered eleven of whom four were driver, one a mason, two electricians, three mechanics and one an oxy-acetelene operator. As for the remaining 174 persons they remained in the category of semi and unskilled labourers. Nevertheless, the majority of these 174 had different occupation experiences from those at the places from which they migrated. Those who used to work in agriculture for example were now employed in the docks, building sites, transport, street sweeping, doorkeepers, etc. Some of them had gained additional experiences in terms of their present occupations.

It is interesting to note that some of the labourers were capable of moving up the occupational ladder. Those who moved into the position of entrepreneurship will be discussed later. In this section we shall discuss those who moved into the categories of professionals and skilled labourers.

Those who became teachers of religion in Benghazi were amongst those who arrived in the late sixties and came from rural areas where they had received some form of religious education from the village

(1)
sheikh. Most of them were also working as agricultural labourers before moving to Benghazi. Two of them were appointed as teachers in the government run school which teaches the Sharia and Quran to children of six years and above. They are now in tenured positions with about 200 dinars monthly salary. As for the migrant who became head of an urban quarter he was in a similar position in that he had also received some education from his father who was at that time a religious leader of his tribe, Murābit. Before coming to Benghazi he worked as a labourer in road construction. He migrated to Benghazi in 1952 and worked as a director in the Ministry of Labour in that city. Later on in 1970 he was appointed as Mukhtār in the quarter where he lived.

As for the migrants who became instructors they were among those who had received their vocational training in the same school or abroad. One was an instructor in the use of the welding torch while the other was a mechanics instructor.

The rest of the labourers who became administrators and the one director in an oil company, were all labourers on arrival in Benghazi. They all received their education in the adult education evening classes which have been established in Benghazi since the sixties. Whereas the administrators were appointed by the government directly in their new positions the (2) director of the oil company was elected by his fellow workers to occupy this position because of his long experience in the job. He was appointed to be director of this company after it was nationalised in 1972.

(1) For more information on this subject see chapter II.

(2) This director stated that his first job in Benghazi was as an unskilled labourer in the oil field outside the city. After a year he worked a foreman responsible for the Libyan workers and after the law of 1970, which stated that the oil companies are responsible to employ and train 10% of their employees he received his education abroad.

The migrants who became skilled labourers in Benghazi gained their present occupation in two ways. First, by having received training in the various vocational schools in Benghazi. The welding operator for example received his training in the long-training school whilst the two mechanics and the one electrician received their training from the short-term training school. Secondly, they gained skills through on-the-job training in various positions.

So far the above data has been concerned with the new occupations of the migrants in order to illustrate their movement or mobility in terms of employment. It has been shown that the majority of the migrants have experienced some degree of change in their occupations. Furthermore, it has been indicated that they can also be differentiated in terms of the means by which they have obtained their new positions.

It will be of some interest to further examine the changes experienced by the migrants in their occupational patterns and to also isolate the forces that operate behind these changes. This will be done in terms of their socio-economic categories in order to permit a better grasp of the economic behaviour of the migrants in the city of Benghazi.

Since a detailed analysis of the five categories of migrants (business entrepreneurs, professionals, students, skilled labourers, and wage labourers) is beyond the scope of this thesis, the following section, therefore, will be concerned mainly with the study of the three categories of business entrepreneurs, professionals and wage labourers.

II - The Socio-economic position of Migrants in Benghazi

1. Business entrepreneurs: This group ranged from the small to the large operator; those who were engaged in the sphere of investment,

i.e., full-time entrepreneurs who considered this activity as their main occupation in Benghazi. This main activity has developed and expanded tremendously in the city of Benghazi over the last few years. This expansion, however, has been predominantly in the sector rather than the other economic sectors of the city. In construction for example there has been the rise of a multitude of buildings, infrastructure, business premises, industrial sites and other facilities that encourage the expansion of social services and the industrialisation of the economy.

Migrants generally benefitted considerably from loans that were given by the Mortgage Banks and Commercial Banks for the purposes of constructing their own dwellings. Many of these dwellings have been used for the migrants' own accommodation as well as for purposes of renting. The great demand for rented accommodation allowed many migrants to reinvest their profits from rent into further construction. A similar situation also occurred in other areas where the government had given loans in order to encourage people to start their own enterprises. (For further details see the chapter on Benghazi). The policy of "Libyanisation" has been another factor which has encouraged the migrants to participate in the expansion of entrepreneurial activities alongside the residents of the city. Thus, the migrants have been able to integrate themselves into activities which the residents themselves were involved. These activities ranged from large scale enterprises to small activities such as pedlars, or petty-traders who barely earn their subsistence. The migrants, therefore, entered into such diverse activities as building contractors (middle and small range), merchants, shopkeepers, garage operators, transport operators like taxi, lorry or animal drawn carts,

in addition to owning property like hotels, shops, houses, as well as trading in food stuffs.

It should be pointed out, however, that entrepreneurial activities in Benghazi are not just limited to those above nor are they dependent on the people mentioned for their operation. For in addition to the above group which runs and administers these entrepreneurial activities there are others who are part-time entrepreneurs. These are people who, because of a shortage of entrepreneurs with capital to initiate enterprises, have invested their savings in some form of enterprise (1) which they manage themselves. Unlike the ones mentioned above who are "main entrepreneurs" they are usually employed in some other activity.

(2)

The secondary activity of these entrepreneurs also varies from large companies such as building contractors and mercantile agents, to small activities such as petty-traders or landlords who rent part of their dwelling for additional income. In both groups, main and secondary, there is a noticeable diversification of activities rather than a specialisation in one form of economic activity. It is perhaps the complexity of this aspect which tends to make an analysis of any one particular sector of the economy very difficult.

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- (1) The amount of savings which are required to set up a business entrepreneurs varies from one case to another, for example to be a building contractors and to qualify for a contract of 100,000 LD one needs over 31,000 LD to buy a licence and pay the required taxes and to open an account in a bank to guarantee his new position while a garage operator handling small cars need only from 500 LD to 1,000. A petty trader needed very few dinār (see chapter VII for elaboration)
- (2) The entrepreneurial activities of some people who are engaged as professionals in the public sector, or as labourers and students, etc. are to be referred to in this thesis as "secondary activities" in contrast to their main activity.

It is, therefore, more fruitful to approach the study of such aspects in terms of an analysis of individuals and the totality of their economic activities.

This point is illustrated in the following cases; one of the informants, for example, though he had stated that his activity was that of a wholesale food merchant, was also engaged in trade dealings and retail trade; he operated a chicken breeding farm and owned two lorries. Hence his business of food selling represented only part of his overall economic activities. If we were therefore, to concentrate on just his food business the rest of his economic activities would remain unnoticed. Furthermore, in the absence of reliable figures regarding the size of the total invested capital of individual entrepreneurs as well as the total profits made by them from all their activities, it is difficult to evaluate their overall significance in the city's economic activities. In particular it is the data on small scale activities such as owning a small store, or being a petty-trader or renting out a flat, that is absent.

Furthermore, the available figures do not distinguish between large and small scale enterprises. Building contractors ⁽¹⁾ for example are classified according to the amount paid for the licences and not in terms of the actual activities of the enterprise. This is further complicated since the holder of the licence is not necessarily the entrepreneur of the business and in some cases the licence holder has nothing to do with the enterprises at all. The licence may well be in his name but the activity and the capital may belong to someone else and he appears only as an unskilled labourer earning 60 dinars per month.

(1) See chapter III for further information.

Bearing this in mind as well as the absence of reliable figures it becomes clear why it is difficult to examine in detail any one particular sector of the economy. It is for this reason that this study is relying primarily on fieldwork observations with regard to the business entrepreneurs.

The part-time entrepreneurs or rather those whose entrepreneurial activities are considered as secondary activities will therefore be discussed in the following section, and this section will concentrate on those who stated that their activity was that of an entrepreneur. With respect to this group detailed information was gathered for sixty cases that ranged from petty-traders to large construction firms as well as merchants, i.e., from those whose working capital ranged from a few dinars to those employing several thousands of dinars. An examination will be made from those migrants who invested their capital in one single activity to those who invested it in a multitude of economic enterprises. The emphasis of the study will be on an examination of the economic networks of these various individuals who are drawn from different groups and to isolate the points at which they interact with the institutional framework of the economic system.

Having examined the socio-economic background of this group the following question may be posed; what is the factor that determines the various movements of these different individuals? and is this movement due to their managerial ability and their need for more capital?

It is worth noting that a considerable number of this group, such

as those who are involved in a large enterprise such as building contractors and who also have other economic enterprises, such as a building materials' industry, and also trading activities, their access to the entrepreneur type of activities is not due solely to their managerial abilities. It may instead be attributed to a more significant factor access to reliable information and their relationship with the administrative bureaucracy. They are those who were in a position to benefit from the governments' attempts to embark upon comprehensive and integrated programmes to assist the entrepreneurs by providing them with educational facilities as well as financial assistance.

Since this policy stems from the governments' belief in the significance of the individual entrepreneur in the economic development of the country (1) it tends to lead to a greater flexibility with respect to these individuals and their economic activities. For example, business licences can be obtained by any person as long as he is not a government employee and has the necessary money to purchase it. Thus the success of the migrants in their businesses is mostly dependent on two factors: 1. purchasing the licence and having some capital in order to establish the beginnings of an enterprise; 2. of greater significance, is access to information and opportunities offered by the government, for example having direct contact with the administrative bureaucracy.

Furthermore, this aspect of reliable information and the relation of the entrepreneurs to the administrative bureaucracy (2) has played

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- (1) Ruth First op. cit., pp.80-180, provides useful information with regard to the role of the public sector in developing the private sector in Libya.
- (2) See chapter VII for further information of this aspect.

a crucial role in the success or failure of some of these entrepreneurs in the city. The data gathered during and after the fieldwork illustrates the significance of such contacts.

The best known example of this is the role of real-estate speculators, who accumulate wealth as a result of their access to government information on future use of land in the city of Benghazi, or those who have the power and influence to change the Municipality's plans with respect to land use in the city so that they may serve their own interests. Many who had been able to sell their land, which had been bought cheaply, at much higher prices because it had been developed into a modern residential area. One of the retail merchants who was also a real-estate speculator had bought a plot of land which cost him 20 piasters per square metre (there are 100 piasters per dinar) and six years later he was able to sell it between ten and fifteen dinars per square metre. This illustrates the case of a real-estate speculator who had access to information from the Municipality as to the use of land in the city whilst the land at that time was outside the city zone.

In contrast there is the case of another migrant who in his main activity was a building contractor. He purchased a plot of land at the price of six dinars per square metre for the purpose of future investment. Three months later the municipality informed him that his land was scheduled for public use. This meant that the land had to be sold to the municipality in exchange for a small compensation. The amount of money that he received as compensation was far less than that of the land at the time.

The two examples illustrate the fortunes of two entrepreneurs where one was able to accumulate a larger profit from his invested

capital than the other. In fact the second entrepreneur had only lost his profit but a good portion of his invested capital as well. The reason for this difference was not just the skill of one entrepreneur with respect to the other but much more so the access that one of them had to the Municipality's plans regarding future land use in the city of Benghazi.

The most recent example of this type of situation was the case of the rise in cigarette prices. One of the small shopkeepers, who was included in the sample, had access to information about the increase in prices before it was officially announced. The price was increased by two piasters for a packet of twenty cigarettes. He had purchased a large number of cartons at the low price which he subsequently sold at the newly increased price. From this one single operation he was able to make a ^{high} profit. With this profit he then purchased a lorry for the transportation of building materials and was also able to change from being a small shopkeeper to being a wholesale merchant.

These examples might suggest why several of the migrants followed their friends or kin in their move to Benghazi, for their access to material resources in establishing their businesses, was expected to be better than those in their home area.

The following example will illustrate the case of one migrant who was a building contractor in Al-Bayda prior to his move to Benghazi. He moved to Benghazi at the start of 1974, due primarily to his diverse interests and the greater opportunities that were available in that city. He stated that,

I went to Al-Bayda in the summer of 1966, in order to get a better job especially since I had heard that such opportunities

for work were much greater in that city. This I had heard from one of my fellow villagers who came back to the village to visit his parents. A few days after my arrival in ~~Al-Bayda~~ I was able to get a job with one of the building firms and I received good wages, which were in fact higher than what most other firms were paying at the time. I worked for this firm for a period of three years during which I was mostly involved in the construction of housing. I then decided to establish my own enterprise with another friend but things did not go so well. We decided to invest some of our capital in a safe enterprise in order to guarantee our income and then try to reinvest all the profits from the construction firm into the new enterprise. We, therefore, decided to buy a taxi of which I would be the driver. My brother-in-law, however, suggested that we purchase instead a Landrover which we could then rent out to the oil company for which he was working. We did purchase the Landrover and rented it to the oil company at the rate of fifteen dinars per day including the driver. A year later I was able to purchase another Landrover which was also hired out to the same oil company. It was for this reason that I had to move to Benghazi in order to supervise my two cars which were being used in that area. They were being used to transport the company's employees and labourers from Benghazi to the company's offices which were outside the city itself. After a few months there I also moved my construction firm to Benghazi because there was greater opportunities in that city. This year I have also established a firm for the manufacture of building materials. This was done because of assistance which I received from the government in the form of three thousand dinars as part of their efforts to encourage the production of building materials and also the hiring of labourers.

This shows the case of a migrant who moved from his village in the search for a better job and then moved again to Benghazi in order to further improve his economic condition. His final move to Benghazi was because of the reduced activity of his building firm in ~~Al-Bayda~~ as well as to take advantage of the opportunities available in Benghazi due to the placement of his friends and kin in various positions.

The examples are not intended to deny that experience and good management are also crucial to a particular migrants' development. What is being suggested is that although such factors are important in the actual running of an enterprise they are not quite so significant as access to opportunities, for most of the successful entrepreneurs

can actually purchase technical expertise once they have their contacts. Indeed it has been indicated that most of the migrants who are business entrepreneurs are not single career businessmen, instead they are involved in many activities.

This does not mean that there are no career businessmen amongst the migrants. From the fieldwork material it appears that such people are indeed to be found in the trade sector rather than other sectors of the economy. In general these career businessmen came from the district of Miṣurāta and originated from families who controlled trading activities in that district when it was at its height. They left that area when trade declined. (1) They were, in fact, forced to move to Benghazi in order to maintain their commercial activities and to maintain their position as a merchant class.

It is also worth pointing out the way in which some migrants have made use of their previous occupation, such as being a skilled labourer, in order to establish their new enterprises. Masons, for example, established building firms which they then directed and drivers established transportation firms which they then managed and mechanics became garage owners. This was also true for the category of professionals, for example, the case of a migrant who was working for an insurance firm and who, after having resigned, opened a small insurance firm for himself in addition to other activities

(1) Miṣurāta was historically a very important commercial centre and a centre for goods coming from Africa and other parts of Libya for export abroad. For further information see, Gerald H. Blake, "Miṣurāt's periodic markets tradition and change" a paper presented in the first international geographical conference in Libya, University of Benghazi, March, 1975.

such as representing export firms. This was similar to the case of a school teacher who resigned and then opened a private school which he directed. Finally, there was the case of a migrant who was an employee of the Seaport and Lighthouses Organisation in Benghazi and who became the owner and director of the largest import and navigation company in the same city.

All these examples indicate that entrepreneurs usually fell into roles and activities which could be done by anyone and which did not require special status that was restricted just to businessmen. As a result the business entrepreneurs in Benghazi, unlike the situation in Tripoli, ⁽¹⁾ were not usually career businessmen. It is also true that the business entrepreneurs amongst the migrants did not restrict their activities in one field. The diversification of interests was seen both before and after the move of the migrant to Benghazi. This aspect is significant for it gives a better understanding of the pattern of migration movements in the Libyan case and particularly in Benghazi.

Information on the socio-economic position of business enterprises both at the place of origin and also at the place of last residence, indicates the significance of this aspect of the migrants' life. It shows how their economic activities were transformed from pastoralism to agriculture and from the modern sector to urbanism. The change of occupation was also accompanied by a new approach, from that of production for use, to that of producing in order to accumulate wealth.

Thus migrants have been diversifying their activities and interests in areas which provided greater returns. ⁽²⁾ This implies moving from

(1) Data on the socio-economic position of entrepreneurs in Tripoli was gathered during my discussions with migrants, my colleagues at the University and others.

(2) This point will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

one sector to another within one geographical area or moving outside a certain area and investing capital in the original geographical area. It was found that almost two-thirds of the sixty cases of entrepreneurs experienced this situation within Benghazi and at least one-third of them had capital invested outside Benghazi. The case that will be presented below, which illustrates this point has been studied in detail. It is that of a building contractor in the city. His activities included the following combinations alongside his building firm; producer of building materials, drill operator, chicken breeder and vegetable farmer. He was amongst those whose transformation occurred within the field of construction and, as a mason he went into partnership with his brother who was a large building contractor. He entered the business in 1965, and worked for his brother until 1967, when he left and went to al-Bayda to establish his own building firm. A year later he was able to establish a branch of his company in Benghazi and a few months later transferred his entire company to that city. It was as a result of the success of his building firm that he was able to establish the manufacturing of building materials, which was licenced in the name of his 13 year old son. In 1972, he directed his interests towards agriculture. He went to a farm in a village near Benghazi and rented it. Part of the farm was devoted to breeding chickens and the rest to the production of vegetables. In 1973, he was able to purchase 14 square hectares of land about 40 kilometers away from Benghazi. This land was also registered under his young sons' name and was devoted to chicken breeding and vegetable production starting in 1975. He subsequently purchased a drill which was being rented to a small farmer and also invested

capital in farming.

Though this particular migrant was involved in many activities he indicated that his main interest was in farming. As he stated,

Because of the decline of my building firm and in the manufacture of building materials, due to the fact that the government gave a large contract to a foreign firm and because also the loans for building purposes both for private and public sources had stopped added to the fact that the building firm jointly owned. I decided to establish this farm which would be entirely my own as a secure investment for the future.

Although further research on this decline is significant, I wish to limit this discussion to the way in which the pattern of economic activities affected the position of entrepreneurs, and how migrant entrepreneurs diversified their investment from areas of low to those of higher profitability.

The study of the migrant entrepreneurs with respect to the socio-economic development of the city of Benghazi is also interesting. In 1950, the majority of entrepreneurs were involved in trade, as shopkeepers, and as landlords renting flats to other Libyans and foreigners, who came to work in the oil companies and government offices. By the 1960s, the migrants were involved in the two activities as well as in the transportation and entertainment sectors. The migrants also diversified their interests in small shops and became wholesale merchants of manufactured goods, and food stuffs which were mostly consumed by the oil companies and their staff. Others went into the building trade and the production of building materials, operating passenger vehicles, horse-drawn carriages, and lorries, petrol station and garage owners and also landlords of flats for accommodation.

Since the period of the 1970s their interests have developed, and especially since 1975, they became absentee landowners due to the governments' assistance with respect to the development of the agricultural sector. They diversified their interests from building firms and manufacturers of building materials, to merchants, operators of drills, harvesters, truck operators, chicken breeders, vegetable farmers, garage operators, wholesale merchants and agents responsible for loading and unloading goods in the port, commercial agents, entertainment operators, restaurant owners and hoteliers, lorry and small car operators as well as buying and selling land for building purposes.

From this it is clear that the migrants' entrepreneurial activities were diversified rather than specialised and they were certainly reluctant to invest all their capital in one area. This has meant that both the migrants and their capital have been moving in and out of the city, and has had the effect of preventing any one sector of the economy from expanding too much and allowing one sector to dominate the economy of the whole city by a few people. The majority of the entrepreneurs in Benghazi are part of small or medium (1) enterprises. It is possible that the systems of production and the structure of distribution throughout the whole of its institutional framework is responsible for the growth of large numbers of individuals participating in the entrepreneurial activities of the city. This is not only significant with respect to the residents of the city but also to the available opportunities for migrants. The following

(1) Benghazi may be characterised by its rapid economic development and by its small and middle enterprises in contrast to Tripoli which is characterised by a dominant entrepreneurial group or class (see chapter III).

section will therefore examine and analyse the economic relationships and will focus on the study of the entrepreneurial opportunities available to the migrants.

It has been previously stated that the question of diversification of interests of migrants meant that they were usually small to medium entrepreneurs and that they were reluctant to invest their capital in one enterprise. When they were asked to state the reasons for such behaviour they emphasised that it was due to the taxation system in the city. Tax was levied on a graduated system, so the more they earned from a particular enterprise the more tax they paid and for this reason they allocated their different enterprises to other names in order to avoid paying higher taxes. The significance of this is that in many cases the individual under whose name the enterprise was registered often started to operate the business and so became an entrepreneur.

The fact that some enterprises in the private sector benefited from generous tax exemptions and tariff barriers, as well as exemption from import duties for machinery and raw materials especially in the initial stages, opened up opportunities for the migrants in particular for those who had good relations with the administration. Furthermore, some entrepreneurs left their previous enterprises for new ones which meant that opportunities were opened for migrants to replace these who have moved their capital into more profitable areas. The Libyanization process which meant that enterprises ⁽¹⁾ in Libya were to be owned by Libyans, also helped. This law benefitted some of

(1) This policy excludes the large companies who have specific contracts with the government such as oil companies and large construction firms.

the migrants especially those who were capable of obtaining foreign capital which was for investment in Libya. In this case the role of the migrant was to act as a partner in what was regarded by the government as a Libyan enterprise, though in fact the migrant owned only a limited part of the enterprise and a specific share of the profits. This was particularly prevalent amongst the building contractors, shipping companies, commercial agents, dealer and industrial firms such as those manufacturing building materials. Another factor was the suspicion of older entrepreneurs regarding the government's nationalisation policies and the government's ideology concerning control of the economy. This factor was also compounded by the economic uncertainty that was created as a result of the political situation which meant that labour and raw materials became scarce, especially since private enterprise was dependent upon foreign labour (as will be explained later) as well as raw materials and was sensitive to the political situation inside and outside the country.

In May, 1975, for example, enterprises were threatened by the absence of Egyptian labourers whose role was vital to this sector. At that period the Egyptian government threatened to withdraw all her expertise and labour from Libya with the aim of placing Libya under pressure in order that she might yield to the demands made by the Egyptian government. During the same year, building rods and other building materials had virtually disappeared from the market as a result of decreases in the external markets. In addition there was the problem of price fluctuations of industrial goods such as (cement, stones, steel, wood, etc.) required by the private sector.

The capital and profit of an entrepreneur had declined as a

result of this unexpected situation. A building contractor explained the reasons behind the loss of his capital and the failure of his enterprises by saying that,

'I took a contract worth 80,000 LD in order to build a school. Within three months of starting, the price of cement went up from 50 piastre per bag to 80 piastre, then to one hundred piastre, wages also increased. The school took me fourteen months to build and 80,000 LD were not enough to finish the building. In the meantime I was asked by the government to hand it over to them at the end of the period we had agreed to. I was unable to complete the contract within the period agreed upon. I therefore had to pay penalty fees, because of the delay. This operation caused the loss of my savings and I was in debt to the government'.

In a free enterprise economy resources move to areas which will yield the highest returns in the shortest time. This leads to an imbalance in the industrial and commercial structure. The result is that supply exceeds demand and selling often has to be done at a level below production costs. In this regard, an entrepreneur who had a chicken breeding farm stated that,

Production was greater than demand, during the last few months. In that situation, I was forced to sell the chicken below its cost of production which led to the loss of my invested capital and to the failure of the enterprise'.

It is therefore reasonable to expect that entrepreneurs would seek to diversify their capital in order to minimise risks and also to arrange partnerships, (1) which meant that the entrepreneur had to pay no wages for the other partner. They were however allowed to

(1) Partnership or mushāraka has been wide spread in the last decade and it has taken various forms. The most common of all is that between an entrepreneur and the foreman or the expert in the enterprise who usually directs and supervises the enterprise. In most such case they agree that the profits have to be reinvested in the firm. In this case the foreman or technical expert has no salary but just takes some of the profits.

take what they needed from the profits, and the rest to be reinvested in the firm. In this situation the entrepreneur had no responsibility for the other partners in the case of failure of the enterprise, he could also enlarge his own businesses quickly.

This system has been very useful to some migrants who were able to spread their capital over several enterprises and handed them over to people who were willing to invest their time and labour in making the enterprise successful. This system was also a great help to certain entrepreneurs who were illiterate and consequently unable to manage complicated organisations; they relied on their partnership with people who had some expertise.

It also benefitted entrepreneurs from the viewpoint of their partnership with individuals who, for one reason or another were unable to establish businesses on their own, not because of an absence of capital but rather because they were government employees. Many businesses were set up under such arrangements. (This point will be examined in the next section II).

The section has shown that business entrepreneurs in Benghazi came from different socio-economic groups, from different occupational groups and different geographical areas. It also indicated that the socio-economic opportunities available to these groups was similar. To those from Benghazi originally it was, however, important to point out that, access to opportunities is better understood from the study of particular individuals, both the migrants and the indigenous people, rather than to evaluate them in terms of each group as a self-contained entity. The opportunities were available to those who were able to use the situation the forces operating to their own advantage. Though some entrepreneurs achieved success in their enterprises others were

unable to do so, and the fact that some only obtained small profits is possibly due to the open situation for entry into entrepreneurial activity and the resultant competition based on the existence of free enterprise in the city.

(ii) Professionals:

Data on this group shows that they came from various backgrounds and included, livestock owners, labourers, students, and professionals. It also shows that migrants in this category were of both rural and urban origins and had different level of education, from sub-grade to university and above, and some who had no formal education (see Table 54).

The employment position of the individuals in this category in Benghazi may be classified as follows:

- (1) Individuals who held high positions in the professional ladder, namely lawyers, accountants, medical doctors, university teachers, engineers, and high positioned administrators in Ministerial Departments in Benghazi. Some of those who are included in the sample were the directors of some of the most important ministerial departments in the city; Presidents of the organization of the A.S.U. (Arab Socialist Union), directors of some oil companies, etc.;
- (2) The second group is made up of those with middle positions among the professionals. Included in this group are intermediate and secondary school teachers, directors of sub-departments in the various ministries and companies, etc.;
- (3) The third group in this category includes those considered to be in lower employment positions, principally the small administrator, elementary school teachers, clerks in private companies, nurses, etc.

Thus, the data gathered on the employment position of those in this category in both Benghazi and the place of origin indicates that the majority in all three groups experienced changes in their employment. Some were mobile and transferred from being students to teachers, administrators, directors, or other professionals such as lawyers, accountants, etc. Others were able to gain access to better opportunities, so that they transferred from the third group to the second or first.

The opportunities available in Benghazi were not affected by the individual's age, sex or place of origin, and this is in contrast to the stereotype theory which suggests that the migrants from urban areas have greater access to urban employment. It was also found that the previous employment of the individual did not seem to contribute very much to the individual's access to employment in Benghazi. The question is, then, how and in what ways did the individuals gain their present employment? Migrants in each of the above groups varied in age, sex and date of arrival in Benghazi, but above all they differed in their employment experience and education. Since this is the case, it is important to specify and underline the conditions under which the different groups were able to join the various employment activities.

As most of the migrants in the professional category (nearly 90% being in the public sector), the following section will study professionals working in the public sector. Migrants employed in this sector were made up of two groups:

- (A) Those employed in governmental offices (civil servants).
- (B) Those employed in co-operative organizations and companies owned by the government but which have a different employment system than that of the civil service.

Educational experience and qualifications were very important for both groups of public sector employees. The working hours for group (A) were $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day while for group (B) they were 8 hours per day. Regarding their wages, individuals in group (A) received far less than their counterparts in group (B). In addition, individuals in group (B) had the right to share in the profits of the co-operative or company. Both groups were prevented from taking part in any sort of entrepreneurial activity for which their main employment could be of some advantage. Regarding promotion or occupational mobility, the pattern is similar generally for both groups, with the exception of a few individuals who moved from the third group to the first through (1) appointment by the popular committee of their department. Other individuals who experienced occupational mobility did so as a result of their schooling and educational success or as a result of a longer period of employment.

Individuals were able to change occupations through their access to higher education in Benghazi, and some migrants obtained their education from adult education schools at both elementary and secondary levels. Those who received their education at adult education schools can be divided into two groups. The first group was made up of those who attended school from 2 pm to 6 pm after their work finished. The other group went to school from 6 pm to 10 pm. In addition to the wide opportunities available to migrants

(1) The system of popular committees was introduced for public sector employees in 1973. This system is based on the election of popular committee members by members and employees of the companies and ministerial departments. These committees elect directors of their companies or departments, etc.

such as the external student system, and other educational institutions from elementary to university level, special courses for professional further education were introduced. The purpose of this system being to increase the professional experience for those teachers, administrators, etc. who were appointed at a time when there was a scarcity of qualified people and who had a low level of education.

About two thirds of the professionals have benefitted from this system. The majority of those in the third group had studied either as internal or external students, whilst working at the same time. Amongst these professionals some had been transferred from their occupation as primary school teachers to university lecturers, lawyers, accountants, engineers, or officials in high positions, etc. Their initial appointments as primary school teachers was on the basis of their primary school education.

The lawyer's case illustrates such a situation. He described his occupational movement in Benghazi as follows,

"I came to Benghazi after I finished elementary school at the age of fifteen, in 1961. I was appointed as a school teacher in a school which had two groups of children. The first group came in the morning from eight thirty till one thirty. The second group came for the afternoon session which was from two till five thirty in the afternoon. I used to teach in the afternoon session while during the mornings I used to go to the intermediary school for further education. I carried on this way until I completed my University education, in 1972.

Another case is that of an accountant who came from his home town in 1970, and after passing his secondary school certificate was appointed as a clerk in a sub-department of the Ministry of Agriculture. In the same year he registered at the University after he had received permission from his superior at the Ministry. He completed his university course in 1974, and was then appointed as an accountant in the department of oil co-operation. He is now hoping to go abroad in about two years

in order to pursue his education for a Ph.D. His appointment in the department of oil-co-operation was on a tenured basis and at the fourth level of the administrative scale unlike his previous appointment which was non-tenured.

The above examples show the situation of two professionals who had moved from the third group to the first without gradual promotion. (1) If they had moved through the process of gradual promotion it might have taken them about twenty years to reach the same position. Instead they were appointed to their new positions as a result of having obtained the necessary qualifications and this took them less than half the required period for mobility through promotions.

The above is an indication of those who were able to move upwards as a result of obtaining the necessary qualifications. The other group consists of people who were able to move from the third group to the first group as a result of the popular revolution that occurred in Libya. (2) These were people who had been able to secure the trust and support of the people who worked with them. They received the support of colleagues from various strata of the administrative and labouring hierarchy.

The following example is of migrants who moved from low position to higher position as a result of having been elected by the employees

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- (1) According to the civil service structure promotions are organised as follows: a. The promotion of non-tenured employees; these are people without any formal qualifications may be contrasted with those who have received a secular education. There are eight ranks in this category and they can only move to a tenured position after they have spent ten years in a non-tenured rank. They receive their wages as wage labourers and get no allowances.
 - (2) For further details about the dynamics of this popular revolution see Appendix (iii) on the political system

in the administrative structure to be directors or chiefs of sections. The case of one migrant who is now at the top of the occupational scale is worth examining. He was an agricultural labourer in his village and had a minimal education which he had received from the village sheikh at the Sanusi zawiya. This education amounted to not more than the basic ability to read and write. After his arrival in Benghazi, he attended a vocational school and in twelve months he graduated as a mechanic. He was then appointed to the Municipality's garage, during which period he was able to complete his primary and intermediary education in an adult education school. He was elected by the Municipality's mechanics to be their representative in the mechanics' trade union in the city. He was then elected to the top position of the mechanics trade union for the district of Benghazi. Finally, he was elected by the various trade-unions in Benghazi to represent all the trade-unions of that city and as such was appointed deputy director general of all Trade unions in Libya. At the same time as he had been elected leader of all trade unions in Benghazi, the popular committee (1) of the department of the Ministry of Labour had elected him as their leader as well. As a result of this mobility through being elected by his fellow workers he is receiving the privileges of the director of a ministry, according to the civil

(1) The popular committee of the Ministry of Labour is composed of three groups: labourers, administrators and entrepreneurs. The total number of the members of this committee is eleven. Two of them are entrepreneurs and they are elected by their respective unions such as the chamber of commerce and the society of building contractors. Three are employees or administrators and are elected by the civil servants of the ministry. Six are labourers and they are elected by the trade unions. The labourers are the majority in the committee and so labourers have a better chance of achieving the top positions.

service code which equates his position to that of "special third
(1)
rank". He was first elected to this top position for the period 1973
to 1976, and was subsequently re-elected for the period 1976 to 1979.

Another example is that of a director of one of the oil
companies who came to Benghazi in the late fifties. He was
initially employed by the oil company as a wage labourer during
which time he also had the opportunity to attend vocational schools (2)
both in Libya and abroad. As a result of this vocational training
he gained a certain skill and experience with respect to the oil
industry. On the basis of this experience he was elected as a
director of the same company when it was nationalised in 1970.

This indicates that schooling was very important with respect
to occupational mobility even for those who had been promoted as a
result of election by popular committees. Some migrants benefitted
from the results of the popular revolution and were in a position to
move up the occupational ladder as a result of support from the
popular committees in their respective quarters or mahalla. This
support was usually gained as a result of securing the confidence
and votes of the other members in their quarters. These migrants
were appointed as either directors of the sub-Municipality or as
(3)
presidents of the local Arab Socialist Union branch.

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- (1) This new position gives him access to more income and other fringe benefits, (see Appendix ii, Table 63).
- (2) It is important to note that vocational training on the job is widespread amongst oil companies in Libya. This is particularly so after the law that made it compulsory to train unskilled and skilled labourers, and to provide higher education for professionals. With respect to the employees of the oil companies, this law states that there should be an increase from 10% to 50% of the employees should be Libyans and that the oil company is responsible for providing the necessary training for them.
- (3) See Appendix (iii) for information on the political system in Benghazi.

The professionals amongst the migrants and especially those in the low and middle positions were very active in this sphere of occupational mobility. They usually put themselves forward as candidates and then guaranteed their election by bringing relatives and friends from either rural or urban sectors in order to vote for them and their friends. They also received the support of those who, as representatives of their respective villages, came to the city in order to participate in the procedures of the provincial committees and the city's popular committees.

Amongst those who were able to benefit from such a situation is the case of Migrant (B). B was able to move up the occupational ladder from being a school teacher in one of the elementary schools in his town to being a deputy of the Arab Socialist Union in Benghazi. By gaining such a high position, B has increased his salary, received free transportation from his house to his place of work as well as other fringe benefits.

The above discussion was concerned with the ways in which occupational mobility of migrants was taking place in Benghazi. In general then it can be said that this mobility was taking place as a result of schooling, for the higher the education of the particular migrant the better were his chances of advancement. The educational factor was quite important in its relative rather than absolute terms. For the higher the education of a particular person with respect to the others in his quarter the more respect and support he received. The reason was that the better educated migrants were considered by the less fortunate citizens of the same quarter to be better equipped to understand the law and therefore capable of ensuring that the system worked in favour of the community as a whole.

Employment mobility could therefore be achieved in the following ways:

1. The length of period spent in a particular employment
2. Higher education
3. Promotion by the popular committees in either the place of work or the place of residence.

Nevertheless, within the broad occupational groups the positions corresponding to power and responsibility were differentially rewarded. In national politics, for example, which has new resources and means for occupational mobility, patronage (Thiga or Musa'ada.) as it is called in Benghazi was an important factor in the allocation of the various new posts that have been made available for high ranking officials to allocate to their supporters. A migrant who was a director of a ministerial department in Benghazi, illustrated the ways in which this system operates by stating:

'We the directors, or people in high positions, try to appoint and employ individuals from amongst our friends or relatives whom we feel will understand us better. In this way we ensure the security of our own position for by serving their interests they will also serve our interests. And as such we both work together in harmony.'

On the basis of the above it appears to be an important factor in determining the movement of migrants from one place to another or from one sector of the economy to another, for it would seem that such movement would be determined by the conditions in which a migrant would receive the greatest support from people in positions of power. Indeed some of the professionals in this group, have moved from one sub-department to another even outside the city and then sometimes back to the city again if the people in power tended to move or change, and such movement is sustained by bonds of friendship.

Through friendship, therefore, it was possible to obtain political and economic advantages, new employment and promotion, as well as facilitating the expedition of bureaucratic procedures. It may therefore, be concluded that a specific group among the migrants had access to new opportunities as a result of friendship. This has a major impact on the structure of the bureaucracy itself and effectively regulates the options open to particular individuals. It follows that it is conceivable that migrants tend to monopolise such opportunities.

It has been mentioned above that the majority of the professionals are employed in the public sector and particularly in the civil service. There are several reasons for this phenomenon:

1. Migrants who graduated in professional institutes, such as the institute of social work, industrial training, nursing, and university are all people who had a government grant during their period of study. As a result, after completing their studies they had to work for the government and were appointed in the civil service. In other words, the civil service had priority in selecting the newly graduated professionals who were then appointed to the various ministerial departments by a special committee set up by the ministry of civil service. Naturally, not all the migrants who graduated were willing to be appointed to the civil service. The reason usually being that their appointment was not related to their field of study. Many who graduated as lawyers or accountants, for example, were appointed as teachers. (1) Many of these had intended to pursue a career in either accountancy or law with either the public or private

(1) As a result of the great need for teachers in the country many graduates from different fields are appointed in the teaching profession irrespective of their qualifications.

sector.

2. The second reason because of the law that regulates resignations in the civil service. According to this law the public sector has the right to refuse the resignation of one of its employees. Thus, many of the migrants who accepted an appointment in a particular branch of the civil service, because at the time it was the only secure opportunity available, were unable to move to many of the new jobs that became available with various private companies or in their own enterprise. Amongst those who experienced these difficulties are migrants, (C) and (G). (C) was a migrant who came to Benghazi in 1970, for the purpose of completing his studies at the university. He was able to transfer within the civil service for that purpose. He was an elementary school teacher in the village and came as tenured elementary school teacher to Benghazi. After four years of residence in Benghazi he completed his university education and graduated as an accountant. He then applied to the ministry of education in order to be released from his tenured position. This was so that he might take a job with an insurance company which would have meant a higher salary, in addition to the opportunity to further his education in the field of accountancy. His resignation, however, was refused and so was his application to be transferred to another Ministry where he could employ his new qualifications. The reason given was that he was indispensable as a teacher.

The other migrant G, who was an administrator in a ministerial department is similar to the cases of other professionals who also have additional activities outside their primary occupation. G's secondary activities were in private enterprise. He worked with

his brother who had the licence under his name. His brother, worked full-time in this enterprise while G only worked there after he completed his job in the ministry. The business consisted of a building construction firm, a building materials manufacturing firm and a tractor which was rented out to farmers in their original village.

G felt that he had to concentrate all his activities in the enterprise especially after the death of his brother, and therefore tried to resign but this was refused. As a result of his brother's death it also meant that his private business was illegal and he might be prosecuted.

3. A third reason was the difficulty of finding employment in the private sector. This despite the fact that according to the labour law in Libya the Libyans are to be given preferential treatment in various companies and other private enterprises. Nevertheless, many of these firms found means by which they employed non-Libyans in their firms. Amongst the reasons for doing this were: the availability of cheaper non-Libyan labour; having to face increases in wages for Libyans, prescribed by law, annual allowances, long-term service awards, sickness benefits, all of which could be ignored if they employed non-Libyans.

4. A fourth reason was the appointment of a large number of migrants in the civil service in order that they support their friends in various committee elections. This practice reached its height in the late sixties when economic and political power was transferred from the rural areas to the urban areas and primarily to the two cities of Benghazi and Tripoli. At that time a new employment law was passed which permitted the appointment of individuals without the necessary

qualifications but on a non-tenured basis. This situation led to the overstaffing and growing inefficiency of the bureaucracy.

George Lenczowski, summarises this problem in his discussion about the factors which have contributed to the growth of some Middle Eastern cities. In particular he emphasised the political factors and states, "Government planning generates expenditure and stimulates the growth of the bureaucracy, thereby increasing primate city populations". He then goes on to say that,

I made a study of the growth of the bureaucracy in Libya, which in the last four or five years has quadrupled in size and now numbers (in a small country) ten thousand officials, not to speak of all the servants in the ministries who are part of the patronage of quickly-changing ministers". (1)

Thus, as I have mentioned above, many of the professionals such as clerks, elementary school teachers, etc. had been appointed without any of the necessary qualifications and as such they were on a non-tenured basis. The people who did not receive any allowances could not be tenured unless they had "accumulated the necessary qualifications or the experience needed during the ten year service". (2) Furthermore, the migrants amongst this group, who were able to move to tenured positions after their ten years service, also faced difficulties with respect to further promotions or better appointments because of a lack of qualifications.

Whereas,

Appointment to a higher level position is carried out by special decree from the ministerial council. Such appointments are made on the basis of selecting candidates from positions immediately below the vacant post. If

(1) Ira Lapidus, Middle Eastern Cities, Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism: A Symposium, University of California Press, Berkley, 1969, p.120.

(2) The Ministry of Civil Service, Qanūn Al-Khidma, Al-Madanīya, (The Civil Service law) No. 19, Band 17, 1964, pp. 80-81 (in Arabic)

there are no qualified candidates then they will select from employees who have worked for not less than ten years in secondary positions and on the conditions that their present post is in keeping with the vacancy post. If the selection is made from amongst these latter officials then they must have accumulated the necessary qualifications and experience needed during their ten year service. In addition to the above methods of appointment the minister has the right to appoint a candidate proposed by the committee on examinations'. (1)

The above extract shows the importance of the required qualifications for both new appointments and for promotions from one position to another. It has been mentioned that some of the professionals from amongst the three groups were able to obtain a higher education which allowed them to qualify for new employment and promotions. Some others, however, were unable to achieve such educational qualifications, and this factor is related to the professionals' situation. In other words, while some migrants spent their surplus time in studying, others may have used it in earning more money. A considerable number of the professionals who were working with civil service used their free time in either working in another private business or in studying.

5. A fifth reason was due to the facilities which the civil service offered as compared with the private sector and other branches of the public sector. What is being referred to here is the regularity of earnings, job security, economic and social allowances, fringe benefits, and possible political power. All these were in addition to the working hours which were standardised and on the whole less than in the private sector which varied from between eight and twelve

(1) The Ministry of Civil Service, *ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

hours per day. The same might be said of other parts of the public sector as for instance, the oil companies, the co-operatives and insurance companies.

Almost 66% of the migrants from amongst those working with the civil service stated that surplus time is a very important factor for them. Of these, 33% stated that they used this time for studying while the rest said they did various things in their free time. Of the latter they mostly used their time to earn more money. Three teachers are used as examples;

These three teachers were teaching in the morning, which meant that their working hours were from nine till two-thirty. After their working hours, one of them taught in adult evening classes, the other worked as an agent in the second-hand car market which opened from four in the afternoon to six in the evening, and the last worked as a clerk in his brother-in-law's building company.

Amongst the administrators who were involved in other activities than their official one we may examine twelve particular cases. Of these one of them worked as a commercial agent at a private insurance company in which he was a partner. Others worked as shopkeepers helping his father, as a cashier in a cinema, a building contractor, as a taxi driver employing his own private car to transport passengers from Benghazi to nearby villages, supervising a garage, as a foreman in his brother's building company, architect, lawyer working in his friends law office, as an instructor teaching typing in a private school, supervising a chicken breeding farm which he owned as well as a small vegetable farm, merchant-broker in livestock in the market

(1)
which opened every day in the afternoon. These secondary activities which were mostly ignored by the migrants in the formal interviews are an indication of the unreliability of government statistics in respect of the recorded activities of the city residents and consequently of those related to active populations income and standard of living.⁽²⁾

These secondary activities were an important factor in causing some people to move because such activities were not available in the original place of residence.

6. The last reason is due to the government's policy of "Libyanisation" with respect to the civil service. The main condition for tenured appointments in the civil service is that the candidate be a Libyan citizen.⁽³⁾ This means that the position were open only to Libyans who had the required qualifications and attained their eighteenth birthday. The lower positions were open to both Libyans and non-Libyans, and employment was based on a foreign or local contract.

It can be seen therefore that the professionals amongst the migrants were composed of different groups, according to qualification,

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- (1) It is important to state here that due to the fact that the public sector employees are prevented from earning an income from any other private enterprise unless they have received a special permission which is usually only given to doctors, lawyers, accountants and university teachers, they usually ignored their secondary activities in the questionnaire. So I had to rely on my observations.
- (2) For more details of the restricted employment activities see band 47, the Civil Service Law op.cit., band 47, pp. 109-111.
- (3) Ibid., band 7, pp. 72-73.

occupation, age, their access to the material opportunities in the city, and their occupational mobility. These professionals also experienced the problem of diversification of interests or, as it has been stated by them, the result of unsatisfactory conditions which forced them to look for better positions. These were obtained either through higher education or by investing their surplus time in other things. They, may well consider themselves to be in a more favourable position than the labourers whose main problem were job turnover and unemployment as will be discussed in the next section.

(iii) Wage Labourers

Wage labourers and those who had no previous training or education came mainly from the rural sector. This category comprised the majority or three quarters of those who registered as unemployed in the city, were characterised by their low standard of living, high job turnover (1) and the lack of specialisation because they had moved from one sector of the economy to another.

Generally speaking, the majority of the labourers were employed on a temporary basis and only those who had worked for about ten years for the civil service were permanent with the possibility of becoming tenured. (2)

The following will be an attempt to analyse the problem of labour employment which is dependent on two particular factors: First, on job opportunities; Second, the quality of the job in terms of wages, working hours, and security.

(1) Job turnover means in this context the changing of employment. For example, changing from the building industry to the docks and to the oil fields.

(2) The tenured labourers are those who have been working with the public sector at the time when law of tenuring all non-tenured positions in 1964 was passed.

Generally speaking migrant labourers participated in all the economic activities of the city. They were involved, for example, in construction, transportation, commercial undertakings, utilities, private and public sectors. The number of migrants participating in each sector depended on the actual size of the particular sector, and the most important sectors which absorbed the majority of migrants were; the commercial sector especially in the docks, construction, building of roads, the utilities sector which employed a considerable number of migrants in such activities as the city's rubbish disposal service, street sweepers, water supply and distribution, sewage and drainage, street lighting; and those who worked in public services such as night-watchmen, janitors, porters, maintenance labourers, (1) etc. The transportation sector also absorbed a large number of unskilled labourers especially from amongst recent migrants.

It was to be expected that the manufacturing sector and particularly the oil industry would also employ a large number of unskilled migrant labourers, but since they were actually working in the oil fields, outside the city of Benghazi, few of them were actually settled in the city itself. Some of them did however, come and stay and may have worked in the city whilst on their way

(1) According to recent government reports these groups of janitors, nightwatchmen, porters, cleaners and other labourers are assumed to be the largest number among the total number of employees in the public sector. They are about 70% of the total employees. Of these 50% are in the ministerial departments, they are 72% of the municipality employees, and 53% of the co-operatives and public companies and they are 34% of the rest of the public sector. This is from the Tripoli issued daily newspaper, Al-Fajr al-Jadid, on the 23rd October, 1977 No. 1605, p.8.

to some oil field. This group, which I refer to as disguised labourers because their activities are ignored by the statistics of the city, are an important contribution in some areas such as the docks and the construction industry.

Amongst the migrants working in the above sectors 260 were included in the sample. Apart from those who stated they were unemployed (100 persons) the remaining 160 were divided between sectors as follows: fifty in the commercial sector, forty in construction, and the rest in utilities and services with a small number in transportation. Thus the majority of the labourers who worked in the public sector were to be found in the public utilities and service sectors; the majority of them employed by the Municipality of Benghazi. These migrants fell under the following groups: refuse collectors and street sweepers, sewage and drainage, and street lighting labourers.

In addition to the above group were those employed in public services who were the second most important group. These were subdivided into: janitors, cleaners, night-watchmen, porters, road workers, dock-workers, construction, transportation, and kārva drivers (horsedrawn carriages) for transporting goods from the port to the market and often as a means of public transport. These labourers formed the majority working in the private sector.

The smallest group amongst the migrant labourers who worked in the private sector were the apprentices working in garages and with lorry-drivers and are called autanti in Benghazi. There were also some shopkeepers and messengers. This group, along with those mentioned above in transportation, comprised the youngest amongst the migrants. They were aged eighteen and under.

The majority of the labourers who were of recent arrival from the rural areas were usually to be found in the lower positions. That is, in places which were noted for longer working hours, less wages and bad conditions, they were obliged to take these jobs because of the necessity of seeking immediate income upon arrival in the city. This was particularly so with the drivers of the kāryū because that job needed only one person who was able to collect the money from customers and be capable of loading and unloading the goods, for which they did not need a working licence. Furthermore, this was a sector, always in need of new recruits, to replace those who left (1) because of unreliable wages and long working hours, which were usually not less than twelve hours per day. The wages also varied due to the particular agreement on each job and the fact that the takings had to be divided between the owner of the horse-drawn carriage and its driver.

The migrants working in this sector were therefore always moving from one job to another; for instance to docks or the construction industry. They often moved because the employer found another driver who was more reliable. The newly arrived unskilled labourers, were thus always able to find employment in this sector.

The second most important group amongst the wage-labourers were to be found in the docks. These labourers, who usually worked on loading and unloading goods were subdivided into two groups:

(1) The wages of the labourer working in this sector are arranged in a way that the owner and the labourer agree on a percentage of the daily income of the vehicle and it varied from case to case.

1. The first were employed by the loading and unloading department of the harbour co-operative. They were mostly semi-skilled labourers, employed as wage-labourers and paid on a weekly basis.
2. The second group were employed by the agents or wakil. They were employed by an agent who was an ex-dock worker or skilled labourer. These labourers usually worked as a group on a particular job which their employers had secured from the larger agents in the docks.

Both groups of labourers were given special permit cards to enter the docks. The first group had a red card which was renewed every week, the second group had a yellow card which was renewed every day; both groups had to work on either the morning or evening shift. This was because the docks worked all day long and the work was divided into two shifts. The loading and unloading of goods is a continuous job which is determined by the size of the port, and the density of the shipping that arrives. The number of migrant labourers required, therefore, is dependent upon the particular shift which varied from day to day and week to week and month to month according to the movement of shipping. (1) The second (yellow card) group of workers were at the mercy of fluctuating situation. The first group was better off because they got priority on all the shifts. This was because they were considered to be the experienced labourers, compared with those employed by the agents. According to the dock-working structure the labourers are divided into groups of eight men with one foreman who is usually a skilled labourer, and was employed on a permanent basis by the dock department

(1) For more details on working conditions in the seaport see chapter III.

or the government. Each group consisted of eight men, composed of three labourers from the first group and five from the second group. The job done by the five men from the second group was usually a more dangerous job than that done by the other three from the first group. The wages of these five men were also determined according to the job. A certain amount was fixed between the five and the agent of a particular job rather than a rate per man.

Employment in the docks is generally speaking better rewarded than employment in other sectors of the economy. It was, however, much harder and more risky ⁽¹⁾ with longer hours and a high job turnover. The problem of job turnover is usually ascribed to the psychology of the labourers by the various dock administrators.

This was confirmed when one of administrators stated that,

"the problem of leaving the job by the dock workers is mainly due to the high wages that they receive".

He went to elaborate that,

'some of the labourers are able to accumulate wages up to ten pounds a day which means that within a few days they will be able to obtain the fixed sum of money which they want to take back to their families in their village or to spend it on themselves in the city. When they have finished this money they will then come again to seek employment'.

Another administrator stated that,

"labourers leave their job because they are lazy and do not like to work continuously and they do not have to because they are satisfied with their daily or weekly high wages which are sufficient to maintain them for at least double the time they are working".

(1) This aspect has been examined in the following chapter VII.

The above statements indicate the reasons for the high employment turnover, according to the administrators in the dock. The reason given are related to the psychological motivations of the labourers. These are quite different from the responses given by the dock-workers themselves, especially those who left their jobs at times when there was a high demand for labour. In answer to the question, "Why did you leave your previous job or employment"? the majority of the 25 persons who answered, (17 of them), stated that it was due to the fact that the job was very difficult and risky and that it made them ill and tired. As for the rest, (7 of them), they said it was due to the fact that they went to visit their families in the village and found a better job, and for other family reasons.

Though the above versions of job turnover may be only partially true it does suggest that it is primarily due to the structure and conditions of the work itself, and the requirements of the system. This conclusion is the result of observations and a survey of the particular problem. To clarify further, the reality is that the wages of the individual dock-worker, especially those employed by the agents, was far less than the minimum wage of two (1) dinars per six hours of work per day. This is in contradiction to the assertion that these workers got high wages and that this was the attraction to this type of work. If, in fact, the dock-workers did receive more money than workers in other sectors it was due to the fact that they worked longer hours and not because of a higher hourly rate. It is possible that because of longer hours the dock workers were unable to carry on working for long periods and had to

(1) I will elaborate this point further in the next chapter VII.

rest in order to build up their strength so as to work again. This situation led the workers to feel insecure because the majority of the dockworkers did not qualify for unemployment benefits or for sickness allowances. The only allowances they were entitled to was that paid for "accident during the working hours". It is for this general insecurity that many sought a more secure and stable employment.

One of the dock-workers described the situation when he stated that,

"I have been working on and off in this place for a period of twelve months since I came to Benghazi. Five months ago I broke two of my fingers during working hours. I was therefore, unable to work for a period of four months. I was not qualified for accident insurance which is given by the insurance companies, but the dock department gave me 50% of my wages during this four month period. It was not enough to maintain myself without additional financial assistance from my colleagues'.

He went on to say that

"in order to avoid such a problem in the future I have decided to seek an employment in government circles".

The above case indicates that the situation in which the dock-workers live was very difficult. And this is what generated the feelings of insecurity and the possibility of unemployment, sometimes termed Raha or rest by the workers. It was the dock-workers answer to the following question, "Why did you not have employment or work?" That he usually said "I did not have work because I needed a rest. I am tired and have to rest for a period". By contrast the answer of the employer was that the worker was lazy and did not want to work.

One of the questions that does emerge from the above is Why do the migrants go in such large numbers to this type of occupation in the docks? Or in other words what are the forces which cause this massive move towards employment in the docks? And why do they not go to other sectors, such as construction, since this sector could also absorb a large number of labourers?

The construction sector is run by private enterprise, national industry or large foreign firms and some of the sectors such as the oil industry, dock-work, and government offices are given priority by the government for internal national security purposes and also to ensure that labour will always be available for these sectors.

As far as the government is concerned, employment in these sectors is controlled under the 'Libyanisation programme' in order to avoid any future problems of labour shortage in these areas. So far as the foreign and Libyan entrepreneurs are concerned, foreign labourers employed in the main in their firms. These private sector companies rarely follow the regulations of the labour law which defines the official working hours and the wages and the insurance benefits, income tax, etc. Consequently they prefer to employ workers coming from abroad and from neighbouring countries; knowing full well these labourers will accept the conditions which are imposed on them by the national entrepreneurs. Those from adjacent countries are usually illegal immigrants ⁽¹⁾ who come on their own, without their families, are usually unskilled or semi-skilled and who sell their labour very cheaply. The entrepreneurs have no

(1) Illegal immigrants are those who enter the country without official permission and avoid the police and usually reside in the place of work as they are afraid of being deported.

responsibility towards them, since there are no legal documents or contracts signed, and they are not concerned about allowances, (1) benefits, schooling, etc. It is for this reason therefore that the possibilities of national migrants finding employment in these sectors is generally dependent upon how desperate they are in seeking employment. So it transpires that the migrants who generally work in these sectors, are recent arrivals who usually are employed by their kin or a person who came from the same village or town. (2)

Usually the small contractors obtain jobs, on the basis of a particular contract which to the labourers who work together on that one particular job. Often the contractor may just hire them individually at a very low rate. (3) The basis of this as in many

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- (1) These are the required conditions which entrepreneurs are supposed to give and employees which are outlined in the labour law of 1974 by the Ministry of Labour. Below are some references which give an interesting account of the situation of foreign labourers and their employers and their impact on the national labour force in the host countries in the Middle East: A.M. Farrag, "Migration between Arab Countries" in Manpower and Employment in Arab Countries Some Critical Remarks, ILO, Geneva, 1976. Ruth First, Libya; The Elusive Revolution, Chapter 9, London, 1974. The Economist, August 28th, 1976. Suzanne Payne, Exporting Workers, The Turkish Case, London, 1974. Madeleine Trebous, Migration and Development, The Case of Algeria, Paris, 1970. David Turnham, The Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries, OECD, Paris, 1970. Feroz Ahmad, The Manchester Guardian, September 1976. Middle East Research and Information Project, "Labour Migration in the Middle East", by Fred Halliday, No. 59, August 1977, pp. 3-17.
- (2) This point has been elaborated in Chapter III.
- (3) Here again I would like to emphasize one important point which is that wages have been calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary per hour in exchange for a certain amount of money or wages and not on what a particular individual gets per day.

other fields of the private sector is that the building industry is characterised by entrepreneurs who try to maximise their profits by using the cheapest labour possible. They usually release any excess labour when it suits them, or wherever it seems likely these labourers will be asking for more wages.

This practice is derived from the structure of the industry and the method of employment, it has therefore been studied in greater detail. Particularly with respect to the situation of labourers in Benghazi and within the context of examining the empirical data in the framework of the 'structural dependency' approach. This approach indicates the necessity to specify the structure of the organisation on which the migrants generally depend for their employment. The organisation which provides employment for these migrant labourers may be subdivided into two groups:

1. the formal organisation or labour exchange office
2. the informal organisation or the method in which one has to depend on friends and kin in order to secure employment.

Unlike the labourers who are actually immigrants into the country the majority of the internal migrants depend on the informal organisation in order to secure a job. This is particularly so with respect to the first job.

Generally speaking the migrants depend on the information and contacts which their relatives and friends have because in this area the formal organisation is quite weak and inefficient. Indeed the recruitment of labour is quite similar to the traditional social structure and is not very different from the situation in Beirut,

Lebanon. In the latter situation,

To have an office boy one does not put an ad in the paper but informs the head clerk of the opportunity. When all the relatives have refused the job the second relatives of the clerk are asked and so on until status, blood-ties or even village ties have been exhausted . (1)

The question of migrant recruitment into the labour force has been a point that several sociologists, especially those concerned with developing societies, have been focusing their attention on. S. Fawzi, for example, who had examined the Sudanese found that, "some features of the traditional way of life are carried over into the urban employment. Even though tribalism is disintegrating very fast in the towns, tribal connections often dominate the labour market". He then goes on to say that,

'An inquiry into the tribal basis of 73 stevedores gangs at the Port of Sudan showed that 57 of them contained more than 8 men of the same tribe as the headman. Some occupations have grown to be the monopoly of certain tribes. Most of the domestic servants, for instance, are drawn from the Dongola Merowe reach of the Nile and from the Nubians of the Halfa District of the Northern Province . (2)

This point has also been emphasised by Radcliffe Brown when he stated that,

'The different social positions of men and women, of chiefs of commoners, of employers, of employees are just as much determinants of social relations as belonging to different clans". (3)

Let us look in more detail at the labour employment situation

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- (1) Thomas Stauffer, "The Industrial Worker" in Social Forces in the Middle East, Fisher S.N. ed., 1955, p.89.
 - (2) S.E. Fawzi, The Labour Movement in the Sudan (1946-1955), Oxford University Press, London, pp. 11-13.
 - (3) Radcliffe Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, 1968, pp. 191-192.

in the city of Benghazi. Migrants, especially those of recent arrival, tend to work in groups. These groups usually comprise unskilled labourers, and two or more amongst them are either relatives or friends who have come from the same village. These groups also live together in the same house. (1) Most of those questioned stated that when they arrived in Benghazi they searched for someone that they were related to in order to get assistance in locating a job. Usually they looked for the residence of a relative who came from their village, or if none was available they would try to find some other person from their village. In this context the labour exchange office, the docks, or the main wholesale and retail sale markets were important places because that is where the majority of the migrant labourers gathered.

The following example illustrates the above. The migrants said,

I arrived in Benghazi knowing nobody. I asked the driver with whom I came where I should go in order to find a job. I was also concerned in finding someone to stay with. He suggested that I go to the Funduq or the main market in Benghazi. I went there and I sold my thirty kilos of olive seeds which I had brought with me from my farm in order to use the money to maintain myself, while I was looking for a job. There I joined a group of labourers who were sitting in front of the Funduq. Amongst them there were three who were also newcomers. Two of them had come two months ago and the third was a Libyan who had come from abroad and so was in a better position than the rest of us. He had been given money from the department of social affairs and had been also given a letter to the labour exchange office in order to get employment as quickly as possible. He was also given a letter to the Ministry of Housing to enable him to get accommodation quickly. This was in addition to the fact that his relative in Benghazi had helped him out with accommodation and money".

(1) See chapter VII for further information on this point.

He then went on to say that,

I got no help and so had to take a job with the Municipality as a road worker and I am still looking for a regular job. I have applied to the unemployment office but nothing has happened. I applied for a government house in order to bring my family to join me but I am still waiting for a response. I now live with my friends, some of them are from my village. I met these at my place of work in the docks and they helped me to get my present job in the docks, without much difficulty, through on the dock agents".

This example indicates an important point with respect to the employment opportunities of the migrants in the city of Benghazi.

It shows that opportunities were dependent on the socio-economic structure, and in particular the employment system in the city and (1) not on the questions of kinship, tribe and clan only.

It indicates also that though some migrants were from the same social groups and in similar occupations, they were drawn there as a result of the opportunities available to them. These opportunities obliged them to work together as a group working in the service of an entrepreneur who may be from the same tribe or village and who then used the ties of kinship or tribe in order to exploit them and pay (2) low wages.

Furthermore, from the above discussion it can be seen that the conventional theory for the study of this aspect is too simplistic to provide a satisfactory framework for understanding the complexities and variations in Benghazi, because of the kinship model in studying the situation of migrants in urban areas contain a number of assumptions (3) which are unreliable. That is not to deny, however, the importance

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- (1) Farnham Rehfi^sch "A study of some Southern Migrants in Omd^uman in Sudan Notes and Records, 43, 1962, p.78 gives a useful account of the work situation of Migrants in Omd^uman, he found that Kakwa's Migrants had taken domestic service work because they had no other alternative and not because of their social origin or their wishes.
 - (2) This point will be explained further in Chapter III.
 - (3) This point will be elaborated further in the following chapter.

of kinship with respect to employment prospects of the migrant labourers, for they sometimes do contribute to their access to work opportunities. A more complete analysis of the complexities involved, with labour migrants in the city of Benghazi, would be achieved in the context of a study of exploitation relationships, and the pattern of access to available opportunities that have been provided.

Available information indicates that the problem is one of high employment turnover amongst labourers employed in the private sector. The building contractors and the dock agents, for example, clearly employ labour which produces more but is paid less than others.

From a general study of the socio-economic transformation within the city it appears that this labour (which produces more at lower wages) could only be maintained because of the high job turnover by illegal immigrants and new migrants coming from the traditional economy. The latter can obviously be incorporated more easily in to the system of exploitation by using social relations such as kinship or friendship, and the data on the situation of this category seems to suggest that they are an impoverished category in the city's labour market, occupying the lowest paid and worst positions. However, the migrants' situation varies from one group to another, and the groups do not operate in the same way for all labourers.

This aspect may be elaborated by studying the situation and employment position of labourers working in the public sector. Those in this sector were working in the Ministerial departments and places such as schools, universities, as janitors, night-watchmen, porters, cleaners, messengers, dustmen and labourers in maintenance departments of the Municipality of Benghazi.

These were stable, regular employments and enjoyed the facilities of insurance policies and unemployment benefits, long term service awards, annual vacations, paid week-ends (in this case it was only one day, Friday) and other holidays. These monthly paid employees worked for between six and seven hours per day which was actually less than the eight hours specified in the labour law. In addition to the above they also had the ability to use their surplus time in other kinds of employment. These covered such activities as being self-employed, entrepreneurs, those who worked as small building contractors, shop-keepers, the owners of shops, car dealers, or agents, middlemen buying and selling goods and livestock and petty traders. Others from this group used their spare time as employees in the private sector in such occupations as shopkeepers, vendors, messengers, building workers, garage workers, night-watchmen, cleaners, porters, etc. Others became apprentice drivers, garage mechanics, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, oxy-acetelene welders and part-time teachers.

Amongst those who were examined in detail were 59 people out of a total of 98 people. It was observed that 21 persons had secondary employment as entrepreneurs or were self-employed, 17 of them were in some form of additional employment, 9 of them were apprentices, but the rest refused to state their secondary activities. Most of these were people who helped a relative in his business, worked as gardeners, or went back to their villages to help parents with farming.

It is interesting to note that the labourers who used their surplus time in studying were usually apprentices or in some form of on-the-job training. They were the ones who were able to

maintain themselves without having to earn more income from their informal activities. This could well be the result of the great demand for skilled labour in the urban economy. The Ministry of Labour introduced a policy by which it was hoped that the skilled labour force would increase through the training of the existing unskilled. It is for this reason that many vocational schools were established and adult elementary schools opened for this particular group.

Though these facilities had been introduced for the labourers it was interesting to see that only a very small number of them actually made use of them. In this connection one of the directors of the labour department stated that,

"Labourers do not seem interested in obtaining further education or training which would qualify them for more important jobs in the area".

He went on to say,

We opened the schools in addition to the training centres and we have been giving grants of 30 dinars a month for full-time students. But unfortunately it does not seem to work. The majority of the students who have joined the centres are in fact those who have recently left school and not those who work as labourers'. (1)

The above statement highlights a very important problem for those who join these centres because out of the allowance of 30 dinar per month the student has to maintain himself and so these centres are out of the reach of those who cannot live on the 30 dinars.

Ruth First's analysis of this problem in her book (1974) tends to ascribe the problem to the narrowing gap between the wages of

(1) These centres were established in order to train the unskilled labourers in skilled professions and to improve the situation of the unskilled labourers.

unskilled and skilled labourers. In this connection she stated,

"There was a chronic shortage of trained workers, yet unskilled wages were often not far below those paid to the semi-skilled and the skilled. This was an attractive policy of egalitarianism but it meant that there were few incentives to train. In the schools and in vocation courses there was a high rate of wastage, due to the ease and security of government employment". (1)

This seems to indicate that the unskilled labourers, especially those working with the government, were satisfied and had no incentive to change their position as a result of the wages policy which was not all that different between various skills. However, my field work data has shown that this was not the case. It shows that R. First has ignored the most fundamental issue in this problem which is the contradiction between what is at the surface and what is below the surface. It is true that schools and training centres have opened in the main two cities (Tripoli and Benghazi) for the purposes of training the surplus labourers especially in the government sectors. But it is equally true that existing circumstances prevented those labourers taking advantage of such facilities.

The majority of the labourers are employed in the government sector under the contract of minimum wages, which is two dinars per working day. These people were generally not recent migrants. (2) The majority were employed in order to fulfil a particular policy at the time. Furthermore, the majority of these labourers were aged between 35 and sixty, married with a family responsibility.

(1) Ruth First, op.cit., p.177.

(2) The majority were employed during the pre-1969 period as a result of political factors. They were brought in in order to sustain the power of the various political figures at the time. Which has produced a large population of unproductive employment.

For them the income that they got from their secondary activities was indispensable. This indicates that unless the secondary income is replaced by an equal income from the training centre these labourers will not be able to join such activities.

The argument which I wish to make is that amongst the conditions which are required of the candidates before joining the training centres is a certain level of education ranging from elementary to intermediate. This meant that even the labourers who were able and willing to join these centres, would be excluded because they lacked these educational prerequisites.

The following example illustrates such a situation. S was a semi-skilled labourer employed in the public sector for a period of seven years. He was employed on the basis of the system of local contracts and was not tenured. He was willing to go to the evening courses for further training in his occupation and to become qualified on obtaining this qualification he was intending to change his position from a semi-skilled labourer to that of a skilled labourer and so transfer his employment from non-tenured to tenured. His application form was refused for the reason that he did not have the necessary schooling.

Since the "issue" (the problem of training and the employment mobility of the migrant labourers) is too vast a subject to discuss in any detail I would like to mention only one very important aspect of it which is related to the skilled labourers. These had opportunities that the unskilled labourers did not have and they were generally better ranked and better paid in both the public and the private sectors; as such they had better access to the material resources.

This aspect can be confirmed by the study of the trade union structure in respect of those who had access to its leadership, and consequently who had experienced a considerable change in their socio-economic position due to access to fringe benefits. They were almost exclusively from the group of skilled and better educated labourers who were able to continue their studies at the same time as they were working and earning money. These leaders of the trade unions were also seen by the semi-skilled and unskilled labourers as people with the necessary experience and ability to understand the labour laws and so work for the interest of the whole labour force.

The above indicates the structure of labour employment in the city of Benghazi. It shows the pattern of changes and employment transformation which labourers had experienced from the time before they came to Benghazi, when the majority were in the traditional sectors, to the time they entered the urban sectors. They were usually employed in the docks, oil fields, commerce, transportation and the government sectors. It shows also that some were regular and stable employees whilst others were temporary employees, and that some were tenured and others non-tenured. Some were able to settle permanently in Benghazi whilst others had to leave their families in the place of origin. This latter group was still working for the necessary security to be able to bring their families to the city.

Apart from the labour involved in new types of employment (which covered about 90% of the labourers) they were also involved in some sort of political or economic activity and so participated in the elections of members for the popular committees in their quarters of residence as well as at their place of work. They also experienced various problems

and conditions of urban socio-economic structures. For instance the problem of job-turnover which severely affected the unskilled labourers, especially those employed in the private sector.

The problem of long working hours, difficult jobs, low wages and the insecurity of living conditions are seen as the main problems facing the labourers. Some labourers however, were able to have access to a better opportunity than others and this aspect illustrates one significant fact in the case of wage labourers in the city of Benghazi, which is, that wage labourers in Benghazi are comprised of different groups in terms of their pattern of employment, wages, working hours, and their informal activities. In respect of secondary activities some were employed as entrepreneurs, others were apprentices and others studied in order to achieve better qualifications; others had no surplus time because the whole day was taken up by their main employment. This latter group particularly were those employed in the docks, construction and the oil fields. The above data, therefore, shows that this category were differentiated in their socio-economic background before and after their arrival and settlement in Benghazi.

The preceding chapter on the economic position of migrants in the city of Benghazi was mainly concerned with the aspect of opportunity which was available to the migrants. It has been shown that the majority of the migrants had experienced some kind of change in their economic activity and employment compared with their place of original residence and their present state.

Changes in the migrants occupation were noticeable because they were directed towards the labouring jobs, professional occupations,

students and entrepreneurs. The wide range of employment mobility experienced by the migrants seems to be due to the economic development experienced by the city as a whole which has accelerated very rapidly in the last two decades. Access to economic opportunities in urban Benghazi, with respect to newcomers, were various and varied from one group to another and from one individual to another.

In this context education, was of crucial importance; the educated migrants were generally speaking far better off than those who were unskilled and uneducated. Capital was also a significant factor in the case of the entrepreneurs, but above all the other factors was the network of patronage and reciprocity between the migrants and the residents of the city. The relationship between the migrants and the bureaucracy, which was dominated by friendship and kinship is one of these examples. (1)

The problem of the greatest importance for the migrants upon arrival in the city was these patterns of reciprocity and exchange. From the time of his arrival in the city the migrant was obliged to enter into new networks of exchange within the urban environment which was both a consequence and the inevitable by-product of his participation within the economic activities of the city.

In general this participation seemed to offer a better opportunity for the migrants in Benghazi than they previously had at home. Nevertheless, the distribution of these opportunities was unequal. These problems, which were the consequence of the socio-economic structure of the city of Benghazi, of which the migrants formed a part, may be summed up as follows:

(1) This aspect will be elaborated further in the next chapter.

1. The problem of uncertainty in the economic position and the diversification of their interests as far as business entrepreneurs are concerned.

2. The problem of permanent employment, tenured and untenured employment and the lack of qualifications for the mobility towards a better employment and a professional career.

3. The problem of a high job-turnover and the movement from one employment to another and from one economic sector to another.

In other words, the temporary employment position which the labourers experienced in Benghazi. This was compounded by a low standard of living and long working hours which meant that the majority had no access to secondary working opportunities. This was particularly so for the labourers.

4. The most important problem was the unequal distribution of employment opportunities which was in terms not only of the main employment but also in terms of the secondary employment, which was extremely significant for the economic position of the migrants.

This aspect of secondary activities, or the productive and distributive activities outside the wage economy and agricultural production, was an important factor in explaining the migrants' flow to Benghazi and the next chapter will seek to discuss it.

C H A P T E R VII

THE ECONOMIC BEHAVIOUR OF MIGRANTS: INCOME, HOUSING, EDUCATION,
AND SOCIAL POSITION WITHIN THE CITY OF BENGHAZI

We have seen in the previous chapter that immigrants' employment and activities in Benghazi were more complex than appeared on the surface. These activities, which included both main and secondary ones, were experienced by some migrants more than others. Regarding wage labourers, especially those working in the private sector, this was the only category where the majority did not participate in secondary activities or in activities other than their wage employment. The distinction between main and secondary employment leads obviously to the distinction between main and secondary opportunities, which in turn leads to access to the material resources available such as wages, income, housing, education, etc. in the city.

Generally speaking, the income of migrants was derived from different sources, for example, income was derived from wages, enterprises, rent, interests and dividends, farming, credit facilities, social benefits, and others. Reliable income figures were difficult to obtain. Generally, income was stated to be lower or higher than what it was in reality in order to serve the interests of the informants. In the questionnaire, monthly and annual income or what has been called in this work the secondary income, such as income from enterprises, rent, additional employment, etc. Out of 500 cases in the sample, 88% stated that they had no secondary or additional income. This result seems highly unlikely at first

sight in view of the fact that the study of the migrants' economic activities in the city revealed that the majority of the migrants had more than one employment, which meant they had more than one source of income.

The most significant point with regard to the above topic was the migrants' attitudes towards main and secondary income. Secondary income was seen by the migrants, as being sometimes high, but often involving a high risk factor in addition to being unevenly distributed over time. Therefore, by considering the main income as their formal source of income, migrants were not reflecting the actual value of their main income but the fact that it was relatively secure and stable. For this reason migrants generally tended to declare their main income rather than their secondary income.

Since the information in the previous chapter V, regarding migrants' income before coming to Benghazi, was derived mainly from information gathered from the migrants and material collected through the participant observation. This section will also be based on the findings obtained from the questionnaires which will be classified in the table below. In addition, other factors which affected the position of migrants regarding income in Benghazi will be investigated. This section will, in the main be, concerned with a discussion of the two following points:

- 1) The first part will summarize briefly, migrant income in Benghazi in relation to each of the categories of migrants. This account will help towards a general understanding of the problem of migrant income by discussing the specific economic activities and employment of migrants in the city;

2) In order to understand more clearly the last point, the second part will be primarily concerned to explain some of the factors which played an important role in deciding the economic position of migrants' income in Benghazi.

These points will be dealt with as follows: first, the migrants' income or the average monthly income during their last year of residence in Benghazi, and each income group amongst the various categories of migrants will be considered.

The range of the migrants' average monthly income in Benghazi was from 15.00 dinars to more than 3,000 dinars.

Each migrant was asked on the questionnaire to indicate his annual income, or the income gained since his arrival in Benghazi, for those who had been in the city for less than one year. The total monthly income for all migrants was calculated using the average income for each migrant for each category. From these calculations it appears that:

1) The average monthly income of migrants was 125 dinars which included those migrants with incomes of over 500 dinars. This group was found mainly amongst the category of entrepreneurs. If this group is excluded the average income of the migrants was slightly over 95 dinars per month. This shows that while the number of individuals in the group with income of over 500 dinars were only four, or less than one per cent of the total sample, yet their incomes played a significant role in raising the average monthly income of migrants. The above data seems to indicate that income distribution in the city was based on the unequal distribution of available material resources, which in this case was money. Thus,

this small group (of four individuals), seems somehow to manage to obtain the lion's share of the total society's income. This will be further elaborated on in the following account of the migrants' position with respect to income;

2) The average monthly income of business entrepreneurs was above the average monthly income of all migrants. Thus, whilst the average monthly income for this category was 300 dinars, the average monthly income for all migrants was 125 dinars. Professionals, who had an average monthly income of 139 dinars, were also above the average. The remaining three categories, namely skilled, wage labourers, and students, showed monthly incomes below the average. The average monthly income for skilled labourers was 115 dinars, for unskilled labourers 60 dinars, and for students 45 dinars; their income being derived primarily from government grants, from their families, or from part-time work;

3) Those migrants who had a monthly income below the average of all the migrants appeared in all categories. In the category of business entrepreneurs, those with small enterprises such as petty traders and small shopkeepers, and small building contractors whose income fluctuated from one period to the next, also had incomes below the average. Within the professional category, some of those who held non-tenured positions and were new appointees such as elementary school teachers, clerks, and other low-level administrators had average monthly incomes below the average. Almost all of the students had monthly incomes below the average. Likewise, some of the skilled labourers and the majority of the wage labourers had monthly incomes below the average. It is important to note that here the only group, amongst the wage

labourers which had an average monthly income above the average for all migrants, were those who were employed by the government before 1964. These wage labourers had been appointed on the basis of tenured positions and their income included family and housing allowances, etc.

4) Although the majority of migrants in Benghazi had incomes which fell below the average income for all migrants, it seemed that their situation in Benghazi was an improvement over the situation in their last place of residence. From a comparison of the migrants' income position before and after arrival in Benghazi (see Tables 46, 47, 48 and 49) classifying migrants by the period when they arrived and their income at the place of emigration, and Table 55 classifying migrants by their categories and their income in Benghazi, it appears that:

(i) the majority of migrants in the sample had an independent income in Benghazi, only 37.6% of the total sample had no independent income. The migrants who had no independent income were generally amongst those who worked in the traditional agricultural sector, as herdsmen or agricultural workers, with their families, or were those who did not earn money from a direct exchange of their labour. In addition to the above group, students did not have independent income in their home of origin, but in Benghazi they were able to join the university or institutes which gave grants and accommodation to their students. Although these grants did not appear to be enough for students to maintain themselves, especially those from poor families, they were an important factor for some particularly those whose villages or towns had no higher education facilities.

Students came to Benghazi after they passed their intermediate

Table 55 - The Classification of Migrants by their Present Socio-economic Position and Income in Benghazi

The Migrant Categories income groups	Business Entrepreneurs		Professionals		Students		Skilled Labourers		Wage Labourers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Upper income	6	10	8	7.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	2.8
400-500	2	3.3	3	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1
500 and over	5	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1
Middle income	33	55	47	44.7	-	-	17	47.2	6	2.3	103	20.6
200-300	-	-	9	8.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1.8
Lower income	1	1.6	-	-	35	89.7	-	-	90	34.6	126	25.2
0-60	12	20	36	34.2	3	7.6	16	44.4	162	62.3	229	45.8
60-125	1	1.6	2	1.9	1	2.5	3	8.3	2	0.7	9	1.8
Unknown												
Total	60	100.0	105	100.0	39	100.0	36	100.0	260	100.0	500	100.0

school certificate. They tended to join the institutes which provided accommodation, food, and 15 dinars pocket money. Amongst these institutes was the Institute of Social Workers which had nearly 40% rural-originating students. The Institute of Nurses, the Institute of Teachers, and the Institute of Industrial Studies also had a majority of students coming from rural areas where there were no secondary schools. The institute system of education gave good opportunities to these students; they were able to graduate in a short time (two to three years) and were appointed to the public sector with tenured positions. Their salary was almost 82 dinars per month plus 65 dinars housing allowance, in addition to a job allowance which varied from 10 to 20 dinars per month. ⁽¹⁾

In addition to these two groups, there was another group whose members were earning money, but some or all of this income was not under their disposal. They included those who were wage earners, those paid in kind, and some salaried individuals. These individuals had a social position within their families independent of their employment position. In other words, those individuals were not heads of households and who were placed in a position of genealogical inferiority independent of their employment status. These individuals had to cede to the head of household all rights of disposal over that part of their earnings which was surplus to subsistence needs. The majority of the migrants, 431 were heads of households. Those married comprised 43.3% of the total married migrants and those unmarried comprised 71.8% of the total unmarried migrants which numbered 167. Thus, by comparing the two tables

(1) For a more detailed discussion of the salaries given in the public sector, see appendix ii, Table 63.

51 and 56 regarding the social position of migrants before coming to Benghazi and the table regarding the social position of migrants in Benghazi, it appears that a considerable number of migrants were able to change their position from being a member of their household to becoming head of a household. The change experienced by these groups of migrants effectively meant a change, in their access to better opportunities, for personal accumulation, and in the decision as to the way this accumulation was to be spent. Indeed, this step was seen by these individuals as being "self assertion and freedom". It is important to see further that for those individuals who earned an independent income for the first time some had incomes in Benghazi which were at the minimum urban rate, where it was worth less (in money or real income terms) than the total value of their marginal product (at home of origin), but due to the unequal distribution of income derived from that product, their disposable earnings in town would be greater.

(ii) the second important point to be gained from a comparison from the two tables is that the average monthly income of the migrants in Benghazi increased from that in the place of last residence. This is due particularly to the high number of agricultural labourers whose income at home was far less than that which they received in Benghazi. For instance the average monthly income was 40 dinars in the last place of residence, but in Benghazi it was 125 dinars.

However, the average monthly income of migrants in Benghazi was far less than the average national monthly income. While the per

Table 56 - The Classification of Migrants According to their Social Position and the degree of their control over their Earnings

Marital Status of Migrants	Independent		Dependent		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	311	93.3	22	6.6	333	66.6
Unmarried	120	71.8	47	28.1	167	33.4
Total	431	86.2	69	13.8	500	100

(1)

capita income per month for the migrants was 21 dinars, the national average per capita income was over 108 dinars per month in 1975. This difference may be explained by the fact that a large number of migrants were from the lower and middle income groups, with very few individuals belonging to the high income group in Benghazi. This will appear more clearly in the discussion on the classification of migrants with respect to the following three income groups: Table 55 indicates that, (1) the top income group; (2) the middle income group; (3) the low income group.

1) The top income group consisted of individuals whose economic position allowed them to maximize their access to high income. This group mainly comprised individuals who earned an average monthly income of £300 and over. They were large business entrepreneurs and professionals with high positions as directors of ministerial departments or oil companies, some other long-period appointed professionals such as university teachers and lawyers. These migrants made up the smallest group amongst the total migrants, constituting only 4.8% of the total 500 cases.

2) The second was the middle income group which accounted for 28.3% of the total cases. This group consisted of individuals whose position limited attempts to maximize their access to the available material resources. The average monthly income for this group ranged from £125 to £300. Included in this second group were business entrepreneurs such as small and middle-sized building contractors, newly-graduated professionals such as accountants,

(1) The Ministry of Planning, "A Report on the Increase of Per Capita Income in Libya from 1975 to 1977, " published in al-Wahad, No. 1410, 11 December, 1977. This average has been calculated on the basis of the average number of members in the migrants' household being 6 persons, therefore $125 \div 6 =$ approximately 21.

lawyers, teachers of secondary schools, and directors of ministerial sub-departments. Also included in this group were those skilled and semi-skilled labourers who were appointed in the public sector on a tenured basis and who spent long periods working for the government.

3) The third group was the low income group consisting individuals whose position hindered and was even an obstacle in their attempts to maximize access to the available material resources such as income. This group, whose income was characterized by irregular wages, was comprised of wage labourers, petty traders and newly skilled and semi-skilled labourers, low level professionals such as clerks, low positioned administrators, elementary school teachers, and students whose grants were the only source of income in Benghazi. The average monthly income of individuals in this group ranged from £15 to £125. This group represented the majority of the migrants, equalling 72.8% of the total cases. The wage labourers, most of whom worked in services, were the lowest income group in the city. However, I am disinclined to term them as proletariat in the western sense of the word. They may oscillate from being self-employed as a hawkker or petty trader to being employed as labourers in the construction sector, than in service sector in hotels or restaurants etc...., then in the public sector as a porter or road worker etc....

It is indeed, as it has been described by Van Nieuwenhuijza as an "unsettled category" where they may experience horizontal and
(1)
hierarchical social movements within a limited period. In

(1) Horizontal social movement means the movement of the labour from one sector of the economy to another, while his economic position keep unchanged i.e. his income, housing, employment etc., in contrast to that of hierarchical social movement of which individuals usually experiences changes in his income, standard of living and in his income group.

relation to this he maintained that, "the bottom fringe as much is persistent": but none of those who compose it accept their presence in the bottom fringe to be permanent.

On the contrary, their is deemed to be a fully temporary situation, conditioned by emergencies elsewhere. And what counts is the manner to which this supposition is (or is not) borne out by subsequent facts. Some may make it into urban society, others not. Those who succeed may find themselves either in the traditional lowest brackets already mentioned or in the new industrial labour category. Those who fall may hang on in sheer misery, or eventually disappear, back to the countryside. (1)

Hence, for those working in the public sector their working time and wage are totally different from those who worked in the private sector. For example, the petty traders found in Al-Sūq Al-Makāzi or Al-Funduq (market) and in Sūq Al-Jarid. In the former they sold fruits and vegetables according to the season, whilst in the latter, they generally sold modern manufactured small consumer goods such as toys, belts, combs and pens, childrens cheap clothes made in China.

The economic position of this group is changable periodically. One of the hawkers told me that, his income was unpredictable, in the sense that in summer and especially when young children are off school, children participated in petty business which caused the hawker's income to decline.

The above data shows the tremendous development of social

(1) Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Social Stratification in the Middle East, Leiden, 1965, p.48.

differentiation amongst the migrants. It also indicates the large gap between the various migrant income groups. Here, several closely related questions remain to be answered regarding the migrants' income or economic position in Benghazi. In order to discuss them, it is important to explore the sources from which the migrants' income was derived.

As it was seen above, in the discussion of the migrants' economic activities in Benghazi, migrants were mainly involved in two kinds of activity namely main and secondary. The main activities were seen as the source of main income and was for most migrants, a single activity. For example, business entrepreneurs stated that their main income was derived from a single enterprise. Professionals stated that their main income came from employment, while labourers stated their income came from wage employment, students said that their income came from family and government grants.

To understand the key variable of the main income, it is necessary to understand the degree of rationalization of work, that is to say, to what extent were migrants concerned with time inputs or with the relative size of cash returns. Hence, whilst there is a world of difference between the full-time street hawker and the casual dealer, the latter may make a sum of money in say, one afternoon, equivalent to the main earnings of the former over several weeks or months. Another variable, briefly referred to in the previous chapter VII on the Economic Activities of Migrants", is the relationship of the individuals to informal undertakings. Into this category fell many apprentices, and assistants of traders, on small fixed earnings and with additional

employment in the private and public sectors. To take an extreme example, it was discovered that some civil servants refused to be promoted or transferred from one ministerial department to another although this promotion or transfer would be accompanied by an increase in main income. The refusals were due to the facilities which were available in the present jobs of the migrants, facilities which varied considerably amongst the different migrants. For example, there were certain fringe benefits which were present in the existing job and not in the new one offered. One job was less restrictive than the other regarding the amount of time which the employee had available to himself for other engagements. For instance, there may exist a certain reciprocity⁽¹⁾ amongst the employees of a given office, whereby an employee may have had a financial arrangement between himself and the timekeeper so that the latter would turn a blind eye to the former's disappearance after mid-day so that he could be employed on another job. This also occurred between those employees and customers from the public, i.e., the relationship between them or the bureaucracy and entrepreneurs, etc. These variables, regarding the degree and extent of main income had a great impact on the ability of the migrant to earn secondary income which played an important part in the overall income position of the migrants in the city.

The fieldwork data on the migrants' main and secondary income showed that employment preference in the urban sector (i.e. Benghazi) for both main and secondary employment varied greatly from one individual to another. There was no simple single factor which

(1) See ch., III section on social stratification of Benghazi society, for an illustration of this term.

explained income trends for migrants as there are a number of influence simultaneously at work in different directions. As this was the case, only a sophisticated, multiple analysis of this highly differentiated process would lead to an adequate explanation of the size and trends in the migrants' real income in Benghazi. Since such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis, an attempt will be made to summarize briefly some of the aspects of this network of influences.

The foregoing was concerned with the discussion and illustration of main economic activity and earnings. It was seen that main earnings included wage or salary earnings and earnings from enterprises. Secondary employment covered a wider range of activities, from marginal casual activities to handling large enterprises. It was these secondary economic activities that produced differentiation of wealth within any given occupation group (e.g., school teachers, students, skilled and unskilled labourers, etc.) far greater than one would suppose by looking at wage or salary income alone.

Secondary income opportunities in the case of Benghazi migrants were derived from two kinds of activities.

- 1) The first type of secondary income was derived from legal activities such as petty trading, hawking, carrying, commission, dealing, brokeraging, housing (i.e. rent), transportation, part-time employment, gifts, private transfer payments⁽¹⁾ and public transfer payments such as social security benefits, borrowing, etc.
- 2) The second type of secondary income was that derived from illegal

(1) Private transfer payments or zulūf is money transferred from one person to another on social occasions such as marriage, funerals, circumcision, blood money, sickness, the birth of a child, etc.

activities such as petty theft, bribery, and income from other
(1)
dubious activities, etc.

The list of secondary economic activities shows the wide range of income opportunities which were available to migrants on different scales. For example, some of the business entrepreneurs were able to escape paying taxes on profits by producing incorrect evidence which showed that their enterprises had lost money whilst in fact the same entrepreneurs were using their accumulated profits to establish new enterprises. The secondary income of professionals was mainly derived from their relationships with entrepreneurs. Professionals saw entrepreneurs as a source of employment and money which could be borrowed, while the entrepreneurs saw the professionals as an important group for supplying money and essential services such as government loans and aid. The act of creating networks of reciprocity between the two groups is the most important factor in increasing the migrants' secondary income. The question as to whom amongst the business entrepreneurs loans and aid were given is crucial. Regarding this point, the information gathered seems to indicate that individuals who somehow are able to establish a business understanding with professionals are those likely to have access to such opportunities. The following is a typical example:

Migrant (A), who stated that his main economic activity was a large building contracting firm, was able to establish a kind of

(1) This list of secondary activities is by no means exhaustive but it serves the purpose of illustrating the range of income opportunities widely available to urban residents and some migrants.

friendship with one of the architects who were responsible for governmental construction schemes (schools, housing projects, etc.). Amongst his responsibilities was the supervision of the construction of a school, whose contract was given to Migrant (A). Migrant (A) was introduced to the architect by his lawyer. Construction on the school was postponed by the architect for the reason that the plan for the school's position needed to be further studied. The delay was for two months. However, the contractor managed to finish the construction of the school on time. The contractor was given a reward of 3,000 dinars by the municipality, approved by the architect. Not only that, but the architect recommended that the building contractor ought to be given an amount of 10,000 dinars for the time delay in order that he could pay the wages of the labourers for the postponed period. In exchange for this service, the building contractor gave the architect a car which cost him 2,000 dinars, in addition to other services in appreciation of the architect's considerable help.

This indicates that professionals play an important role in the opportunities of secondary income for business entrepreneurs and vice versa. Thus, in the above example, the building contractor was able to pursue the network in order to gain access to secondary opportunities like the rest of the successful entrepreneurs, for instance industrialists, who were able to have access to loans and other aid, provided by the government for the purpose of encouraging entrepreneurs, especially those with middle and low level positions.

An owner of a factory which produced building materials such as bricks, tiles, etc., described his situation giving the reasons

for the decline in his enterprise, in the following way. He was a building contractor at the beginning of his career as a businessman. He heard that the Ministry of Industry intended to give loans and aid for industrial development. He decided to establish what he envisaged then as a factory for building material. He rented a plot of land for which he paid six months rent in advance which amounted to 600 dinars. He purchased a license for 300 dinars and machinery for 3,000 dinars. However, he was unable to purchase the necessary raw materials such as stone, cement, etc. In addition, he did not have the cash to pay for the wages of the labourers whom he hired. He solved the problem of paying the wages of the labourers by coming to an agreement that he would pay them after the goods which they produced were sold. However, he agreed to pay them a subsistence wage during their employment in order that they could pay for the basic necessities for their existence. He also provided them with accommodation at the work site. He applied to the Department of Industry in order to obtain a loan, but his request was refused on the basis that he did not qualify, because the value of his enterprise was not £5,000. After that he went to the Commercial Bank to ask for a loan of a few hundred dinars. Again, his request was refused because he did not own any property which would serve as a guarantee to cover the value of the loan. Next, he tried to borrow some money from friends. One of them agreed to lend him some money on the condition that his friend shared in the profits of the enterprise.

The factory owner then went on to say, that

... to be a successful businessman, you have to learn

with whom to establish business relations especially with those who control the resources upon which your success is dependent. If you need loans or anything else from the bureaucracy or Muwadaf it is necessary to try to develop a friendship with a given bureaucrat, or with friends who have the ability to influence the bureaucrat concerned. These relations are equally as important, and perhaps more, than the actual requirements stated by the government, such as the amount of capital which must be invested in any enterprise before it can qualify for government loans and aid'.

This example indicates the ways in which secondary income opportunities could be achieved by entrepreneurs via the important role of the bureaucrat. The absence of such a relationship between the entrepreneur and the bureaucracy resulted in the transfer of profits from the unfortunate entrepreneur to a person with a better access to such opportunities.

The relationship between the bureaucracy and secondary income opportunities was also present in the other categories of migrants in Benghazi. This type of relationship was most noticeable amongst new recruits where the majority intended and were willing to be employed in the public sector because of its security and relative stability of income, in addition to being able to obtain access to secondary income through such employment. Nevertheless, although most migrants were willing, indeed anxious, to find employment in the public sector, they indicated that they were interested in finding such employment as long as it did not interfere too radically with their other activities.

This phenomenon appeared specifically in 1975 when the system of work hours in the public sector was changed. This change involved the lengthening of the working day from 6½ hours per day

(8 am to 2.30 pm) to 7½ hours per day (8 am to 12 pm and 2 pm to 5.30 pm), which meant that the public sector employee was engaged during the entire day in his main employment activities. This change in the working hours met with great resistance on the part of the employees, which led to the failure of the newly introduced system only 3 months after its implementation.

Given the economic structure of the city of Benghazi with reference to the wide range of secondary activities, a question arises regarding the meaning of unemployment and underemployment. For the residents of the city, the situation is much more complex than is allowed for in a simple economic analysis of Libya. How many residents of the city form the economically active part of the population? How many of the urban residents are truly unemployed? Census statistics cannot help us to answer these questions.

The semi-automatic classification of unorganized workers as being unemployed or forming part of the inactive economic population is misleading. Included in this category are the children and wives of migrants who work as shoeshine boys, sellers of lighters, batteries, small radios, matches, sweets and other cheap goods, petty thieves and pick pockets, ⁽¹⁾ already referred to as illegal activities. In addition, women who worked as domestic servants were not included in the files of the employment office as being

(1) The data gathered from the Reformatory in Benghazi showed that 98% of petty thieves and pick pockets were from the poor residential area and low income families, and 90% of them derived from migrants' families.

part of the total work force of the city. One employee in the employment office told me that there are no Libyan women registered in their files as domestic servants. However, my fieldwork showed that quite a considerable number of women from the low income mahallat or quarters were employed in the private sector as domestic servants or as petty traders, often working around schools. In addition, the field data indicated that a large number of women who were totally unskilled were seeking work in the public sector as cleaners in schools and hospitals, etc. However, given the limited female employment opportunities within the city compared with those for the male population, the percentage of females from migrant families working in the city is very small compared to the total percentage of working population. This is largely attributable to the nature and structure of the city's economic activities rather than to what has been frequently referred to as a factor of culture and custom, i.e., the conservative nature of Libyan women. Indeed female employment opportunities both main and secondary, ⁽¹⁾ in the city are limited in number. While job opportunities for unskilled females in the public sector were limited, my field work data seems to suggest that the chances for women in the private sector were even more limited. This situation was due to the unfavourable regulations regarding the employment of women in the private sector. The Ministry of Labour set forth certain regulations and restrictions covering the conditions

(1) The total job opportunities for women in the main economic activities for the whole country was estimated to be 7% in 1970. R. Mabro, "Labour Supplies and Labour Stability, A Case Study of the Oil Industry in Libya," Bulletin of Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 32, No. 4, November, 1970.

under which women could be employed, including the number of working hours, in order to protect women employees. (1) Given these restrictions, entrepreneurs have found an alternative to the hiring of women in cheap "illegal labour migrants" who were less of a problem (2) for them to employ. Add to this situation, the limited job opportunities for unskilled women and children, and the wide range of male job opportunities for migrants in general, has led to a situation where low income migrants were heavily dependent upon the earnings of the adult male from both sectors of wage and non-wage earnings.

It has been seen that wage employment and the range of incomes for labour and similar occupations which lacked a high level of skill was both low and restricted. This is true even though the minimum wage had been increased since 1964 by almost four times. Between 1964 and 1969 the minimum wage increased from 15 to 30 dinars, and between 1969 and 1973 the minimum wage increased from 30 to 60 dinars. This minimum wage remained stable until 1975.

The chronic imbalance between income and expenditure and needs of urban workers as a result of inflation was offset by running up debts and by sponging off friends and kin. The majority of those in the low income bracket turned to supplementary income,

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- (1) For further information regarding the regulations for females employment in the modern sector see: L.A.R. Qanūn Al-ʿamal Al-Jadīd, The Labour Force Law, The Ministry of Labour, 1964, Band 97, p.48 (in Arabic).
- (2) One entrepreneur told me that he was uninterested in hiring females in his enterprise because of the regulations regarding working conditions which might cost him more than if he hired male workers.

i.e., sources outside their wage employment, to increase their total earnings. The secondary economic opportunities for this group represented the sole source of income. There are two ways of looking at these activities: First, from the point of view of the individual and his potential sources of income; and secondly, from the total income and expenditure flows in the urban economy. The point regarding the size of income and expenditure flows in the urban sectors compared with rural sectors in relation to the government's social and economic development plans, has been sufficiently discussed in chapters II, III, V, and VII.

Thus, it may perhaps be more useful to concentrate on the second point previously mentioned, i.e., secondary income opportunities from the perspective of the individual and his potential source of income, which might then lead to a wider knowledge of the total income and expenditure flows in the rural and urban economies. Such discussion must consider the question whether regular involvement or casual income flows of an occasional nature are predominant. The answer might give a better understanding of the exact economic position of migrants in Benghazi.

It appears, from information gathered during the period of field work, that expenditure patterns and income are more complex than are normally allowed for in a simple economic analysis. It was interesting to see that the majority of migrants tended not to declare their total expenditures in order that some sort of balance should appear between their main income and their expenditure. This feature appears in the figures shown in Table 57. The table includes the migrants' total expenditure and the percentage that

Table 57 - The Distribution of Monthly Expenditure with Respect to its percentage for the total Migrants calssified by their three income groups.

Income Groups	Income	Food	Rent	Clothes	Other	Total %
Upper income	300-400	30	19	14	6	49
	400-500	30	16	11	5	38
	500 and over	27	15	9	4	32
Middle income	125-200	40	23	18	6	60
	200-300	35	25	16	6	57
Low income	0-60	79	44	29	10	110
	60-125	71	31	20	8	100
Average income	125	58	24	30	7	80

this expenditure represented of the migrants' income. Of the three income groups, it was only the low income group which stated that the family expenditure was higher than the income, most of which was spent on food.

Given such a situation, it was necessary to study the problems in more depth than the data collected from the surveys. The following case reveals the importance of this aspect of the problem. Migrant (A) who lived in Al-Mihashi Mahalla'a was employed as a night watchman at a school near to his place of residence. From this employment he gained 60 dinars per month, (720 dinars per year). In addition to this employment, Migrant (A) also owned a karwa (horse-drawn cart) which brought him an income of 250 dinars in the preceding year. Alongside these activities, the migrant and his family cultivated land in a village near Benghazi as sharecroppers. The wheat and barley from last year's cultivation was valued at 270 dinars. This means that the total income of the migrant was 1240 dinars per annum, giving an average monthly income of just over 128 dinars.

Although an average monthly income of 128 dinars is not much considering the constant working activity and in view of the fact that there were 8 members in the migrant's household, by them young (1) and female, this income was twice as much as that stated by the migrant as being his only income. The situation of this particular migrant was quite different from other labourers who were employed in the private sector on an irregular basis, and who had to work for

(1) i.e. have no independent income.

8 hours or more per day, with no other income apart from that received the minimum daily wage. It is perhaps significant that the low income group tended to use the network in their community, within and outside Benghazi, to supplement wage employment, and it did provide them with a temporary solution to their economic problems whilst being sustained by the hope for a better life, being enjoyed by some of their successful acquaintances who began in a similar situation. Fieldwork data suggests that many migrants, especially those in the low income groups, rely heavily upon ties of friendship. They had to create networks of reciprocity, responsive to their new needs and concerns, rather than perpetuating old bonds between tribes or sub-tribes which no longer had any economic or social advantage for them. In the urban areas, (like Benghazi), therefore, bonds of reciprocity are created more often between individuals rather than between entire family groups or tribes which occurring in the rural areas.

Migrants seemed to operate on both channels. In the urban areas, people living in the poor areas tended to maintain their living by exchanging labour in order to help each other. For example, women looked after working women's children in their absence without payment. Sometimes women would distribute some of the food, that they had prepared, to some of their neighbours in the avenue, who would reciprocate later. Borrowing money and commodities is a very common practice amongst the low income group, such things as salt, sugar, bread, spices, rice, flour for bread making, smoked meats, clothes for such occasions as a marriage, etc. are some of the items they borrow. Furthermore, they usually eat at least one meal per day together, the breakfast

meal, after the husbands have gone to work, and then the wives and young children, who are under school age, usually gather together in one of the households to have their morning meal. This is often a large meal and includes smoked meat, rice, or macaroni, tomatoes, chilli peppers and tea. This form of communal eating will also be repeated sometimes in the afternoon when the females and wives will meet each other in a group. On this occasion the meal will consist of tea, with bread or biscuits.

This sort of activity is usually found in the quarters of Al-Miḥashi or Mifawa Binina and in the poor sector in Al-Sabri Mahāla, (1) but not however in the middle and top income groups, such as the modern part of Sabri, (middle income area) or Al-Fuwiḥat Al-Gharbi (top income group). Such groups send their underage children to a private nursery school (2) and the school for the young children, or sometimes they will employ a servant, usually a female, to look after the children and also help with the housework. The females in the middle and upper groups go out to visit each other occasionally taking a box of chocolates or other gifts for their friends.

The middle and upper income group females usually go to visit their friends at the place of work, as in the case of teachers and administrators. In the upper income group, the wives usually socialise with their husband's friends, their wives and relatives, who come from the same income bracket.

(1) See Chapter III for information on the socio-economic structure of quarter.

(2) These nurseries are private enterprises which cost a lot of money; 15 dinars per month per child excluding transportation, food, clothes, etc.

It is a fact that the social and economic behaviour of the migrant has been shaped by his social integration into the city life and is reflected in the degree and the kind of opportunities available to him. According to this the position of migrant is determined by which income group he is able to join or communicate with. This may be the reason why the traditional sheikh, who is himself a migrant, is very active in the poor quarters where he can obtain political and economic advantages.

It is not possible to obtain economic advantages or access to other material resources such as housing, loans, social security benefits (which need the agreement ⁽¹⁾ (wasta) of the sheikh) or the expedition of a legal matter of a bureaucratic procedure without the help of the sheikh. This does not mean that the traditional sheikh in Benghazi had official recognition in his community as a representative of a social group. ⁽²⁾ Some writers, have attempted to evaluate the traditional and modern functions of tribal chiefs, or headmen, in urban areas in Africa. Most of this data seems to be restricted to the activities of chief or headman in relation to the urban administration, ⁽³⁾ i.e. local government. These writers observe two main important points which are:

- 1) The authority of various urban chiefs is based on tribal

(1) wasta means patronage.

(2) See for example, Fallers, L.A., "The predicament of the modern African Chief: An instance from Uganda". American Anthropologist, 1955, vol., 57, No. 2 (pp. 290-305). He pointed to the high casualty rate among chiefs because they were expected to be both civil servants and kinsmen. Also Gutkind P.C.W., gives an interesting account of the literature on African chiefs, who points out that, "Most of this data is in relation to urban administration, i.e. local government and in particular, the administration of justice through specially constituted official and unofficial, urban African courts ... less attention has been paid to their less formalized activities which are nevertheless of considerable importance". See Gutkind P.C.W., "African urban chiefs: Agents of stability or change in African urban life in Anthropologica vol. 8, 1966 pp.249-268) particularly p.249.

(3) see preceding footnote.

representation and leadership. This appears, when the newly arrived migrants, in particular, as well as some other urban people who have lived in the urban sector for a considerable time, turn to the chiefs for help. Banton M.P., for example points out that,

"The tribal immigrant has been conditioned to a way of life largely dependent upon the institution of chiefship".

He adds that,

'It would appear that the indirect contribution they (tribal headmen) make to good order is greater. The existence of recognised tribal headmen and their many officials undoubtedly help the natives immigrant to orientate himself to life in Freetown and prevents his being exploited; It gives him a certain security and preserves that informal control of public opinion which is often drawn in the re-adjustment to unfamiliar surrounding (1)

Gutkind referring to the question of "authority" and its importance with respect to the contemporary position of urban chiefs, wrote:

"the position of urban chiefs as agents of stability or change ..., represents an important feature of African society (or their counterparts in non-chiefly society) whose functions are embedded in the basic rules of obedience and authority, social control and administrative action and vital and ceremonial activities'. (2)

2) The second important point is that many writings, have implied that the activities of chiefs are for the interests of particular groups in urban areas. On this connection Acquah I., states that,

The staff of the (Accra) Council is tribal in composition. In theory, when posts are advertised, the applicant most qualified, irrespective of tribal considerations, is appointed but whenever there is a sufficiently qualified

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- (1) Banton M.P., West African city: A study of tribal life in Freetown; London, Oxford University Press (for international African institutes) 1957, p.160.
- (2) Gutkind, P.C.W., "African Chiefs, Agents of stability or change, in African Urban life in Anthropologica, vol. 8, 1966 (p. 249-268) see p.264.

Ga, the non-Ga does not stand a good chance of being selected. Whenever an important post in the Accra Municipality is given to a qualified non-Ga there is regret expressed on the part of Gas that no member of their tribe had the qualifications required. (1)

This case is not so in the Libyan case where the system of authority, the enforcement of law and order, the resolution of conflict etc., has nothing to do with the traditional sheikh as a representative of his tribe. That is, the fact that some sheikhs migrated to Benghazi where they still maintained their economic political and social (particularly in dealing with disputes) activities, does not mean simply a transformation of their traditional power welded by them in their rural area. That is, my data from recent fieldwork (1976), showed that, some of the traditional sheikhs still maintained their activities in Benghazi, because they were able to manipulate urban conditions to their own interests.

Hence, sheikhs were found to be amongst those individuals in urban Benghazi, whose economic activities allowed them to maximize their access to high income by exploiting the low income group. The low income group, as we have seen earlier consisted of individuals of both migrants and indigenous population whose position hindered and

(1) Acquah I, Accra survey, London, university of London press p.97. This point has also been emphasized by writers in some other part of Africa, such as in Monrovia, seen Fraenkel, M. Tribe and class in Monrovia, London, Oxford University Press (for International Africa Institute) 1964 p.70-109 and in Ghana among the Mossi Migrants see, Skinner E.P., Labour Migration among The Mossi of upper Volta". In Urbanization and Migration in West Africa H. Kuper (ed) Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1965, pp. 60-84, also in Accra among Sekondi - Takoradi by Busia, K.A., Report on a Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi, Accra, Government printer 1950 p.74, this point was emphasized by Acquah I., Accra Survey London University of London press, 1958 p.97. Where he realised that "old tribal loyalties persisted in the new situation of government along western lines" and also "all the members of the Sekondi- Takoradi Council were, then, members of the indigenous Ahanta Tribe D.

even acted as an obstacle in the struggle to obtain available material resources. It is indeed the relation of the traditional sheikhs and other individuals, whether from agnatic or other groups which seems to be unrelated to the question of the authority of the sheikh over other members of his social group as is frequently (1) mentioned by African data.

My own information indicates that: the function of the traditional sheikh lies basically in the question of creating new networks of economic reciprocity between himself and the migrants.

The economic reciprocity is a vital factor of the sheikh's function. e.g. in the Al-Mihashi quarter (one of the poorest in the city) the traditional sheikh plays an active role in economic political and social spheres. The question, arise as to how and in what ways can the sheikh's economic position affect income distribution amongst the migrants. The strength of his activities lies in that, he lives in the same area as the majority of his kinsmen and other member of low income groups. He was able to

(1) See Little K, West African Urbanization a study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change. Cambridge, University Press 1965. Mayer P. Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns, American Anthropologist, 6413, 1962, pp. 576-592. Mayer P. Townsmen or Tribes Men, Cape Town, Oxford University Press (for Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University), 1961. Mair L.P., "The African Chief Today" Africa, 2813, pp. 195-206 1958. Skinner, E.P., "Labour Migration Among the Mossi of the Upper Volta", In Urbanization and Migration in West Africa, H. Kuper (ed) Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, pp. 60-68 1965.

obtain two plots of land from the municipality, instead of one plot as others did in the same quarter. His conspicuously large house in the area distinguished him from the rest of the heads of households in the area. Added to that, his economic activity made him able to receive visitors because he was able to provide food and loans for the people who came to him asking for his help in economic and social problems such as employment, social security and housing etc. In addition to that, his possessions included a hotel in the city centre which allowed him to accommodate newcomers from his village and other places for an appropriate payment. These migrants were dependent on the sheikh to help them to settle in, find employment, and help with other problems.

He owned a building company, his son was also a building contractor. Both of them, employed a large number of the migrants who generally came from his original community and became a cheap source of labour.

His economic activities extended to rural areas in his original village, where he owned a large farm, a large flock of sheep, goats and camels. He therefore, employed a number of rural labourers and small farmers from his original community. He rented his harvester to the farmers in his village.

He established economic reciprocity, (see chapter III for the definition of this term), between himself and other civil servants. They, for example, played an important role in his own interests, such as their election to the membership of the A.S.U. (Arab Socialists Union is the Main political organization in Libya). As a result when a member of a sheikh's area applied for social security the bureaucrat hastened their access to social security benefits.

On each application that goes through the sheikh, the latter gets a certain percentage of the money obtained. This amount of money, which finds its way to the sheikh from the applicant, means a decrease of the main income of those poor people who have no other apart from 30 dinars which was paid to them by the government monthly.

Hence the outcome of sheikh's activities added to the poor organization of formal institutions, with regard to the question of migrants settlement in Benghazi, makes the sheikh indispensable (1) during the process of settlement of low income groups in Benghazi.

The above discussion seems to indicate that the function of the traditional sheikh in Benghazi derives from his economic activities

(1) The study of this aspect has received considerable attention in recent years from Anthropologists such as, Gutkind P.C.W., Townsmen in the making of Kampala and its suburbs. East African Studies No. 9, East African Institute of Social Research, second edition, Kampala, 1957. Gutkind, P.C.W. "The African Urban Milieu: A Force in Rapid Change" in Civilizations, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1962, pp. 167-195. Mayer P., Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town, Oxford University Press 1961. Epstein A.L., "The Network and Urban Social Organization", The Rhodes - Livingstone Journal, No. 29, June 1961, pp. 29-62. Little, K, West African Urbanization, A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change, Cambridge University Press, 1970. Banton M., West African City, A Study of African City, A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown, Oxford University Press, 1960, see chapter 6, pp. 96-120. Most of these writers have provided very interesting descriptions of the life of migrants in urban areas, and their social and economic life. However the major debate centres on the significance of kinship and the tribal connection in the pattern and process of migrants settlement in the urban community. This debate however, does not seem to have penetrated very far, because it appears to ignore the importance of the forces which were imposed on the migrants and shaped the pattern of their settlement in the urban areas. The data on Libya has provided us with an important point which is that, any model explaining the network of migrants relationships, has to be understood in the context of the socio-economic structure of the city. For example, the unsatisfactory state of service institutions in the process of migrants settlement in the city. In other words in order to explain their relationship one has to understand the forces which bring the migrant and his kinmen together, and the forces which produce and reproduce such relationships.

(1)

which are maintained by the socio-economic structure of the city.

The migrants generally obtain their living in different manner from those of rural dwellers and hence they must seek different solutions to the problems they face. They, have to turn to those who are capable and willing to establish reciprocal relationships. This may explain why the poor traditional sheikhs in other quarters in the city, are restricted to positions of low income, because they have no economic activity similar to the above mentioned sheikh.

In addition, to those migrants who rely on economic reciprocity between them and the sheikh many respondents reported a regular pattern of money-lending with specific partners and in such cases the exchange between friends did not need an agreement nor were accounts immediately settled. The low income area, unlike the

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- (1) It happened once that a girl had a love affair and became pregnant. The lover sought her hand from her father who turned down this request on the grounds that the suitor was not of the same social and economic background. In view of the fact that abortion is illegal in Libya and if the father took the matter to the court, the man concerned would be given the right to marry the girl.

The case therefore had to be dealt with by customary Law administered by the traditional sheikh who thought that, the best solution on the question of the legitimacy of the child was to marry the girl to the person concerned, without having her as a true wife. In other words the whole purpose of the exercise was to enable the child to bear the name of his mother's lover as a proper father. In solving the problem that way, the sheikh received money from the girls family and his position has been strengthened further in the eyes of the people living in his Mahala.

Middle and the top income areas, offered newcomers free accommodation food and assistance to kin or ex-friends. This is exemplified in the expression, a friend in need is a friend indeed.

Friendship amongst the migrants is revitalised and sustained through a system of mutual exchanges and services, favour and gifts not only in the urban sectors (i.e. Benghazi) but also in the other channels and the place of origin.

As in the urban sector the exchange of goods and services between the migrants and their home of origin (relatives and friends) is spasmodic rather than routine. This might be seen from the following account of urban-rural networks; A considerable number of migrants especially amongst the labourers and the students maintain a strong link with their home or place of origin. In this relationship there is a two-way transfer of money, goods and services between Benghazi and the place of origin. In some cases this pattern appears to be profitable for both the communities.

For those who do remain behind in the village or the rural sector the kin and friends who are in the urban sector are a source for obtaining urban manufactured goods and it is also a place where the visitor can stay when visiting the city. It is also a source of help for other members of the rural household who are seeking education or employment in the city. In order for this network of exchanges to be profitable for both sides the urban-based person will receive agricultural products.

However, this exchange is in reality quite unbalanced. This is because the urban relatives pay more for the manufactured goods than the cost of the agricultural goods with which they exchange.

In order to clarify this we can look at the following example.

A migrant who was employed in the public sector as an intermediary teacher stated that more than 200 dinārs were spent during the last visit to his village when he bought clothes for his two nephews, headscarfs for his sisters, a dress for his mother, a radio for his father, a watch for his twelve year old brother and other items such as tea, spices, rice, etc. In return from his village he received two kilos of butter, which were worth ~~eight~~ ^{eight} dinārs in the city, 10 kilos of onions, worth about one dinar, sixty kilos of wheat worth about 3 dinārs, making a total of twelve dinārs compared with the 200 he spent.

This highlights the case of one migrant where his relationship with the place of origin meant that he lost money. It is interesting to observe that the transfer of money between the migrants and the place of origin happens very rarely and only in situations where the migrant had to maintain his nuclear
(1)
family. Money could also be transferred in order to buy animals or to pay for labour on the farm that had an absentee landlord.

The data, however, suggests, that this form of transaction
(2)
was caused mainly by the degree of the dependency of the individual migrant on his previous community and vice versa. This

(1) This nuclear family may include the parents, sisters and brothers, wife and children or the people who live in his previous household.

(2) For further illustration of this question of dependency see Norman Long, "Structural dependency, modes of production and economic brokerage in rural Peru" in Oxaal I, and Booth D (ed) Beyond the Sociology of development; Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975.

dependency is not limited to only one milieu but it is to be found in both rural and urban situations usually involving extended kin ties. These relationships are not on a regular basis but may occur at particular times when one is pressurised to make payment for a particular event.

The following cases illustrate the exceptions. The first is that of a labourer who worked with the public sector as a porter in one of the schools. He visits his village every year taking with him his family and gifts of clothes, sweets, food and other urban consumer goods. He usually stays for a month or so during the summer holidays and helps with the picking of olives and other agricultural work on the farm that belongs to his father. When he returns he will bring with him his share of the olives, part of which he sells and part he keeps for himself and his neighbours on the street where he lives. In addition to that he also brings wheat and other agricultural products which play a considerable part in supplementing his income in order to maintain his wife and four children in Benghazi.

The other case is that of a migrant who works as a clerk in the Ministry of Agriculture in the department of agricultural co-operatives. His family sends him every year all that he needs with regard to butter, wheat, barley and meat. He also goes home every two months and takes with him his family and stays there. In exchange he will take with him his own food, (spaza) such as rice, macaroni, tomato puree, salt, sugar, tea, to maintain his family during the period when he stays with his mother and brother. In this case the migrant's family in his original home are a means of supplementing his income by providing him with meat and butter

which are the most expensive things in the city.

By contrast the following case shows a situation in which reciprocity with the informant's place of origin is adversely affected by the poverty of both sides. In this connection he says: "I still have my father and mother as well as a brother and two sisters in our village Abu-Hadi. The village is far from Benghazi, almost seven hours travelling by car, and it costs me a lot of money to get there. They are very poor and I cannot expect any help from them. It is now three years since I visited there. My brother is visiting me now and he will join the intermediate school in Benghazi and will, of course, be staying with me".

Another case is that of an unskilled labourer who is working in the harbour and he explains his situation as follows:

"My parents can come to see us often and they bring with them farm products without which we would starve. My two brothers, who are at the moment studying, one at university, and the other in industrial training, visit my village twice a year. It is a question of the expenses involved in the trip as my village is far away and isolated. We usually spend about one month there. I try to take small presents when I go as an exchange for the visit and since it is a shame to go empty-handed. My parents have no income except what they can get from the land. I bring a few things with me such as smoked meat, wheat and eggs. I could not ask for more.

Another elementary school teacher stated that

"I manage to send my mother a few pounds a month. My mother, sister and brother have no income except what they get from the land and from a small number of goats. I bring almost nothing home from the village because they are so poor. I just cannot ask them for anything. My mother visited us last year. This was a real luxury for her and my brother and sister. I, of course, had to pay for the trip".

There is also the case of a middle income employee who says,

My town is not far from Benghazi, relatives and friends often visit me here. When I go home I take a present for every member of the family and also for the two married sisters and their families. In return I am given wool and two lambs for the feast of Al-ʿid Al-Kibīr. (1) We did not divide the land after the death of my father and we have no plans to do so. My brother cultivates it with the help of some relatives in the town. He gives me some of the produces and keeps the rest for his family or sells it to the agricultural co-operative in the town where he is a member.

It can be seen therefore that not only the low income groups were "dependent" on the countryside to supplement their income but it is used also to increase the secondary income or in order to accumulate more capital for those in high income and middle income groups. The latter can be illustrated by the following cases; the first two cases contain a positive attitude towards the previous community.

A. An immigrant works as an administrator who besides this main job is also working in "brokerage". He left his land and other animals with his uncle (mother's brother) and cousins who work as herdsmen. They are all from the same agnatic group. His secondary activities are characterised by "Joint Family Economy" (collective capital and collective investment). The role of his uncle and cousins was to breed the livestock while his was to sell it on the urban markets. His position is derived from his employment where he represents the government in search of food suppliers in order to provide food for the hospitals. The man who was chosen to be the food supplier for this hospital was the same buyer of the

(1) See chapter V for illustration of this term.

sheep. This meat was considered by the hospital as first class meat and so it received the highest price. The food supplier therefore benefitted as a result of the migrant's position and so the migrant's commission not to count the actual price of the sheep, was probably twice as much as his salary in a year.

Another case was that of a business entrepreneur who gives his land out on the basis of sharecropping. In the city he has a shop in which he sells the products of his own land from wheat, butter, meat etc.

Another example was that of a migrant who was employed in the public sector. He worked in the construction industry as a building contractor and used his land to feed the cheap labour working in his farm. Another imported his kin as labour from the countryside to work in his hotel and building activities and at the same time he had a tractor which was used to cultivate their land under a sharecropping system and he then sold the products in the city.

Although many migrants retain legal title of the property in the countryside some do not. This is so in the cases where it is tribal land and as such it is communal land which means that one has the right to cultivate it but it is not at his disposal. In these situations if the migrant comes to Benghazi he cannot act as an absentee landlord or under a sharecropping system.

An informant who is now a skilled dock worker told me that since he left ten years ago he has not received any agricultural products from his village. This refers to the poor conditions of the land and it is only just sufficient for those who live there.

In contrast the following case shows different relations established between the migrants original community and himself. He (migrant) stated that,

'I used to live in the village before I settled in Benghazi after my brother was elected as a member of parliament. I was able to take a loan from a commercial bank to build a house of three stories. I lived in one flat and rented the rest. I also worked initially as a petty-trader selling vegetables and fruit in the central market (funduq) in Benghazi. After six months of staying in Benghazi I was able to get a shop from the Baladiya (the Municipality) of Benghazi. I turned this shop into a grocery and green-grocery. Two months later my shop had everything as I was able to buy food from a wholesaler on credit and I got the vegetables from my village. This is because my two brothers and other relatives still lived in the village. I also helped them by ensuring that their application for the annual agricultural loan from the agricultural bank was successful. Furthermore, I ensured that they got a tractor and a harvester from the agricultural co-operative in Benghazi. They actually sell their cereals to the agricultural co-operative since they get more than in the market. This is because the food is subsidised by the government. The other agricultural products are sold in my shop at a price that is just below the market price. This is because I would rather sell it a bit cheaper than have them spoil. I go every Friday and bring the products in my car and I take some manufactured goods, sugar, tea, soap, biscuits, sweets, macaroni, tomato puree, clothes to be sold in the village in a shop which is operated by my brother'.

Migrants rarely declare the structure of the network of their economic activities and so a simple interview is not sufficient. Participant observation also shows the difficulty in obtaining such data. However, it was the only possible approach in such matters. The data with regard to the migrant's relation to his home of origin and consequently the rural-urban economic relations, seem to suggest that ties to the countryside are seldom single purposed. Land and animals, however, are the most cohesive elements in the rural-urban socio-economic relations. Thus this relation is usually based on joint interests of one form or another,

whether this relationship manifests itself in the form of kinship or friendship. Nevertheless, the socio-economic structure of rural society indicates that there is a close relationship between kinship and land tenure since when there is kin in the village there is almost always also land.

By contrast, attachment to the rural community itself is relatively weak where the exclusive aim of the migrant is to settle in the city. This is when the prospects of main and secondary activities are greater in the city. To sum up this discussion:

1. Though many of the informants expressed mixed feelings about the city of Benghazi and also complained about the lack of access to material opportunities none of them indicated that they planned to return to their home of origin. The only exception being those who came from other main urban centres for the purpose of study or business.

2. The major contrast in behaviour patterns lies between the three income groups of the lower, middle and top with respect to their home of origin. Generally the behaviour did not separate the migrants from their people of origin but rather it distinguished the low income group from the middle and top income groups. This is because the low income group respondents emphasised the rural-urban exchanges far more than the other two groups.

Amongst the majority of those with a higher education and socio-economic status their relationship with the place of origin was more symbolic rather than substantive. Moreover, a number of other variables also relate to the structure and strength of rural-urban reciprocity. The poverty of the rural community was an

important element in this respect.

3. The most significant factor in this relationship was that the transfer from urban to rural was mostly in terms of consumer goods and usually food and clothes. Very little was for the purposes of investment or development of the rural sector. This probably leads to increasing the poverty of the rural sector for they have to pay high prices for the urban goods whilst their products are much cheaper. In addition for the majority of the rural people income from land was the sole means of livelihood.

This brings us to the question of the comparison of rural and urban real incomes and differentials which was oversimplified by the majority of the writers concerned. An example is that of (1) Todaro. His model is built on a calculation of wages based on the marginal productivity in agriculture is compared with marginal wages in the urban sector (which takes the government minimum wage modified by the probability of obtaining a job). The recent data of income on migrants before and after coming to Benghazi provide a more complex picture of this model which shows that modern sector wage jobs are not the only significant element in the urban opportunity structure. Secondly, it shows that rural opportunities are not all agricultural and even in agriculture an individual's product is not necessarily the same as his disposable income.

Moreover, the individual's decision of what to choose to do with his earnings and how his general levels of aspirations are set may

(1) Todaro, M.P. "A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries", American Economic Review, March, 1969.

involve cultural and social factors which an isolated simple income approach cannot adequately cope with. Hence, the entire conceptual and narrow view of the economic structure of society with which development economists and some sociologists, who consistently ignore the activities outside the wage economy and agricultural production. In other words anything that is not directly and conveniently measurable.

The conclusions based on weak assumptions which state that; migration will occur when the expected real urban income exceeds the real rural wages at the margin, and which ignore the impact of other variables such as secondary income, has led to a certain amount of planning which is either mistaken or right for the wrong reasons. One feature of this policy is that of decreasing the urban minimum wage in order to make it balance with the rural marginal wage.

The rural migrant's decision to migrate and settle were derived from the hope for a better life in the short and the long run. This may be explained by the fact that the migrants first priority in Benghazi was not only wages but also housing and education, if not for them then for their children.

2. Education

The following tables 58 and 59 show the distribution of migrants by their level of education and type of housing. Table 58 which gives the classification of migrants according to the level of education in Benghazi, shows an increase in the standard of education of the migrants in Benghazi compared with the place of origin. (See Table 52).

Table 58 - The Classification of Migrant Categories by Level of Education in Benghazi

Categories	0	i	ii	iii	iv	v	Total
Entrepreneurs	10	24	11	10	4	1	60
Percentage	16.6	40	18.3	16.6	6.6	1.6	100.0
Professionals	-	4	14	31	38	18	105
Percentage	-	3.8	13.3	29.5	36.1	17.1	100.0
Students	-	-	-	11	18	10	39
Percentage	-	-	-	28.2	46.1	25.6	100.0
Skilled	8	13	10	5	-	-	36
Percentage	22.2	36.1	27.8	13.8	-	-	100.0
Wage-Labour	175	70	11	-	-	-	260 ^a
Percentage	67.3	26.9	4.2	-	-	-	100.0
Total	193	111	46	57	60	29	500 ^b
Percentage	38.6	22.2	9.2	11.4	12	5.8	100.0

^a includes cases which are unknown
^b - 4 4 4 4 4

Levels of education:

- 0 = no formal education
- i = sub-grade
- ii = elementary
- iii = intermediate
- iv = secondary
- v = university and above

Table 59 - The Classification of Migrants by dwelling in Benghazi

Migrants Category	Huts	Tents	Old Housing	Government Housing	Modern Housing	Villas *	Total
Businessmen	1	-	12	10	29	8	60
Percentage	1.6	-	20	16.6	48.3	13.3	100.0
Professionals	-	-	27	13	45	18	105
Percentage	-	-	25.7	12.4	42.9	17.1	100
Students	-	-	10	17	8	4	39
Percentage	-	-	25.6	43.5	20.5	10.3	100.0
Skilled	1	-	10	16	8	1	36
Percentage	2.8	-	27.8	44.4	22.2	2.8	100.0
Wage-Labour	20	5	97	122	3	-	260
Percentage	7.6	1.9	37.3	46.9	1.6	-	100.0
Total	22	5	156	178	93	31	500
Percentage	4.4	1.0	31.2	35.6	18.6	6.2	100.0

* those cases whose type of dwelling is unknown

This may be due to the availability of free education on different levels for both the morning and the evening. It is also possible due to the increasing importance of education in terms of access to the economic opportunities: better employment, higher income, improved housing and social position.

Housing: shows a similar situation where the migrants experienced a change in the type of housing compared with the place of last residence. The availability of housing in Benghazi for the newcomers varied from period to period and from one group to another. Originally the lower income migrants were permitted to have huts on the outskirts of the city but they are now no longer permitted to do so. Instead the government intends to build housing for this lower income group. These government houses, which can accommodate the migrants who are already in the city, do not however have room for the newcomers, and there is a housing problem for the new arrivals. Prior to the passing of this law in 1973, these poor migrants used to either build their own huts or rent one for about two to five dinars a month.

Furthermore, the government houses were only given to those who were married and staying with their families in Benghazi. The difficulty encountered by the migrants in Benghazi with respect to housing may be illustrated by the following account. The low income group of migrants reacted to the problem of housing by living with their kin or friends who had been fortunate enough to find accommodation. If they could not they had to live in the place where they worked or else rent a house or flat in one of the old and cheap residential quarters in Benghazi. This benefitted the old migrants who were in a position to rent them a room or from

some other form of arrangement with the newcomers such as participating in the buying of the food for the household in exchange for sharing the house with them. Married migrants usually came first on their own until they found a job and applied for a government house after which they brought their families.

The inability of many new residents to find cheap accommodation of even minimally adequate living quarters for their families was undoubtedly one of the most significant factors in the delay of the wives and children joining their husbands in Benghazi.

It is interesting to note that migrants were not interested in the house only as accommodation but also because of its value. Its commercial importance was quite significant and the house should preferably face the main street so that a store could then be established which would bring in additional income.

Government houses which were established for the purpose of helping the lower income groups were supposed to be rented, or sold on the basis of government regulations. In practice, however, it appeared that for those migrants who depended on the regulations to get a house they had to wait for longer periods on the lists without any success. It is here that the benefits of being well connected, Wasta, cannot be discounted.

The fabric of housing obtained from the government was quite good. Rents were uniformly low, around 12 dinars ⁽¹⁾ for modern ones and five dinars for the old ones. The quality was high compared to the poor quarters in the city and the tenant was also

(1) In early 1978 a law was passed to exempt the low income group from paying rent.

allowed to purchase his apartment after a certain period of time. However, one important problem arose as a result of moving to the new housing areas. For instance those people who moved from their shanties in Al-Sabri area (1967-1968) and were given new dwellings in Al-Mihashi area, had initially spent more than three quarters of their families' income on essentials such as food, clothing and fuel. After the government rehousing scheme, less was able to be spent on food stuffs, and because at least 5 % had to be paid for electricity, for the first time in their lives, over 22% for rent or repayment of loans and over 8% of income was spent on travelling expenses.

In the case of low income migrants there was a direct relationship between the length of time in the city and the quality of housing. On the other hand most migrants showed a pattern of housing mobility within the city and those who demonstrated occupational mobility were also most liable to move to adequate (1) housing as part of the process. In addition to those who had been moved from their huts by the government were those who now live, in Al-Mihashi quarter and Mifawz Binina Mahala, were living (2) before in Sabri's huts and other parts of the hutted residential area.

(1) B. Turner, J. "Barriers and Channels for Housing, Development in Modernising Countries, in W. Mangin ed. Peasants in Cities, Boston 1970, pp. 1-19. Shows an interesting account of the role of housing in urbanising countries as a significant factor in social mobility.

(2) The huts were demolished in cases where people had been moved to government houses.

Amongst those migrants who managed to somehow to obtain a better economic position than their fellow migrants, the possession of a modern private house may be taken as an indication of success in migration. Those who would be joining the middle income or upper income group residential area were among those whose economic activities allowed them to maximise their access to the better housing. Middle income migrants who were married were able to qualify for housing loans which were arranged by the government in order that they might purchase or build their own houses. The majority of them were amongst the salaried employees working for the government. Some of the lower income groups were able to get money in order to build their own private houses from the mortgage bank without paying interest. The loan, which was 6,000 dinars, was just about enough or a little below what was needed for a moderate family house. Unlike the lower income group the upper and middle income groups whose income was above 100 dinars were able to apply for a mortgage from the commercial bank who gave mortgages based on the regular salary. The interest on these mortgages was 4%⁽¹⁾.

Some migrants, however, were reluctant to involve themselves in such arrangements because of the fear that future government decisions might stop their housing allowances. Generally speaking a considerable number amongst the migrants who had access to a better loan were able to benefit from such situations and were able to build two flats or more, one for themselves and the others for rent. From this additional income they then paid off the loan.

(1) In March, 1976, a new law was passed with respect to the loans for the purpose of building houses. It abolished all interest on such loans.

Those whose loan was small and just adequate to build one flat were forced to repay the loan from their wages and it amounted usually to about one third of their salary.

Upper income groups had more opportunities to find a better house and they lived in the top income residential quarter which was characterised by its large villas, gardens and quietness. Amongst those were the merchants, the large building contractors and the administrators who had high positions. Many of these when they moved to such areas, rented their previous houses. They were the ones who owned most of the modern property which brought in very high rents.

The foregoing analysis shows that the upper and middle income groups were the most fortunate people, not only in terms of access to the housing situation, but also in terms of their position which allowed them to maximise their access to secondary income. In contrast to the low income groups whose position hindered such movement and was even an obstacle to their attempts to maximise access to additional income.

It also shows that migrants experienced a considerable change in the type of housing they occupied. In fact the majority, 450 or 90% of them were living in inadequate housing in their last place of residence but now only 183 or 36.6% of them were still living in such housing. (Compare tables 53 and table 59). It means that the opportunities for better housing were much greater in such housing in the city and there is no doubt that this was due to government policy which improved housing conditions in the main central areas.

It has been shown that the settlement of migrants in the city was highly dependent on the economic position of the migrants. It follows that the low income groups joined the low income groups of residents both in old and in new government housing areas. The middle group joined the middle income group of residents and similarly for the upper income group who moved to be with people of similar status.

The above chapter is an attempt to analyse and illustrate the migrants' income situation in Benghazi. It emerged that the income of migrants was derived from main and secondary activities within and outside the city. In the cases where the main income was a wage or salary, the source of secondary income was from a wider field. Access to main and secondary income opportunities varied from one socio-economic group to another, and from one individual to another. The variation of access to these opportunities was related to the social of the migrants, whether his family was with him or not, his relationship to important kin or friends, and his level of education, all of which were important criteria in determining access to housing.

The chapter also reveals a more complex pattern of economic behaviour of the individuals in both rural and the urban sectors, than that suggested by writers.⁽¹⁾ Their assumptions which were used to explain the income differential between rural and urban areas, were based either on figures of National Income or on the narrow view of the socio-economic structure of both sectors.

(1) see chapter I, for more elaboration of this point

It seems reasonable to assert that migrants individually and collectively were concerned with the prospects for improving their living standards both in the short and the long term. It is therefore important to realise that if one is to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of migration flows over time in Libya it is fruitless to rely on simplified models which tend to distort the reality which they seek to interpret.

C H A P T E R VIII

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has ranged over a number of general and particular points relating to the problem of migration in Libya. It is now time to review these, so that we might identify the problems and their causes and answer the questions raised in the introduction.

One important question that had been raised in the introduction was; how is the phenomenon of migration within Libya to be explained and can the explanation be based on conventional Anthropological, Sociological and economic theories, or on the study of the socio-economic transformation within the country.

In the introduction we saw how the phenomenon of migration in developing societies and specifically in West Africa and Libya has been explained by Anthropologists, Sociologists and Economists. They used a theoretical framework based on the hypothesis that the factors of production (labour, capital, land and other natural resources) are geographically distributed unequally. Migration, therefore, is seen as a "natural" response to this unequal distribution, and it is the most efficient compromise to the re-establishment of an 'equilibrium' between these factors.

The unequal geographical distribution of the available 'factors' of production, as conventional marginalist economic theory states, determines the unequal wages of each one of the factors. In certain areas labour is relatively scarce. In others, it is the opposite and labour goes in the direction which apparently provides the highest wages.

The Anthropologists approach was, however, based mainly on the assumption that people are trapped between the needs of what they called 'tribe' and the demands of a money economy. The migratory labour system, was therefore, the most efficient compromise for both situations. Though one may argue that this analysis of the labour migration appears to be a totalitological argument and a platitudde which leads nowhere. However, I would like here to base my argument on the analysis of Libyan case.

The Libyan case shows that, the distribution of the factors of production was far from being "natural", but it was a result of the socio-economic transformation in the country. In other words, the distribution of the factors of production and migration in general, is a consequence of the strategy of development and its impact on the socio-economic structure of both rural and urban societies and the country as a whole.

Chapter II and III, show, how the new economic activities have become established mainly in the main urban areas, and how people were obliged to move to the areas, where these economic activities, such as commerce, education, construction, transportation, and government civil services decided to install themselves (i.e. in urban settings especially Tripoli and Benghazi) and not the other way around (i.e. in rural areas).

Chapter II, shows that, a large portion of the oil revenue which the pre 1969 government received was used not to develop the potential resources or natural assets in the country and particularly in rural areas (for example, an Agro-industrial economy, since oil was found in rural area) but it was used mainly to buy consumer goods, such as transportation (i.e. cars), foods, building material, manufacturers materials, and other forms of services for the oil companies and their employees

which had settled in Tripoli and Benghazi cities. Agriculture in Libya was left to stagnate to a very low level of development. Profits on investment in trade, construction, transport etc., and the other modern sectors of the economy had increased rapidly - urban as well as rural markets became ^avenues for the imported manufactured goods.

In general, the impact of oil and its revenue on Libyan society was great. A number of rural population was forced to move to urban areas. This was because of the employment law which was imposed by the oil companies and approved by the government. Under this law, labourers employed in oil exploration from a particular district were not allowed to move with the exploration teams to other districts. They were appointed on the basis that they should be hired from the area in which exploration was taking place. The discharged labourers were not able to go back to their land which in the meantime had fallen into disuse and they instead had to move to urban sectors looking for alternative employment.

Recent developments have brought the country to the threshold of a great economic transformation - from a traditional sector of the world economy to a modern one. The impact of economic development has brought about large-scale economic opportunities over the last two decades entrepreneurial, wage opportunities and government position have been greatly expanded in the urban as well as the rural sector. In the rural sector, a cash economy has become very important and subsistence farming has become increasingly less important as a source of livelihood. The population working in agriculture has decreased, not only by emigration (as some writers claimed, see Chapter I) but also by the movement of people towards employment in modern sectors within the rural areas.

The number of Pastoralists and Agriculturalists, had decreased while

the number of people involved in modern enterprise (like trade and building contracts) Professional (teachers, administrators, etc) students (on elementary level) and wage labourers had increased (see fig. 3). It has been shown also in Chapter V that, the existence of the new rural economic structure offered a range of opportunities for capital accumulation and income earning. It also increased socio-economic differentiation between members of rural society. Not only between a social group (i.e. kinsmen) but also between generations and the members within one family (i.e. between fathers, sons, brothers). Some of the small farmers became temporary wage labourers or share-croppers for the large landowners through debt relations. This was an important factor in determining the way in which capital accumulation has taken place amongst agricultural groups (see Fig. 2). In such instances, these small farmers (Fallāh) and Labourers (Khadīm, Jabād) were given only a very small proportion of their production, which they received either in money or in kind. Labourers, small farmers and middle farmers have their production controlled by daita (landlord), who likewise have their profits controlled by Local Merchants (Tājirs Mahāli) - who in turn are controlled by urban traders (Al-Tājirs al-hadāthi).

The herdsmen (Ra'fys) are required to herd the flock of sheep, goats, or camels, in return for which they are allowed to retain a small proportion of the new born animals at the end of each grazing season. Some herdsmen are obliged because of the "tradition", to make favourable contracts with kin or friends, which meant a lower return for themselves. This economic burden forced many herdsmen to leave their communities.

In my view, the most important factor which affected the socio-economic position and consequently has forced the movement of groups of people in rural sector, was the redistribution of the material resources available in the country. The existence of communal tribal lands tended to be most beneficial to those (members of the social group or family) who owned tractors, harvesters, and other forms of capital, because this enabled them to cultivate large

plots of land more efficiently.

Until recently, the only education available was the traditional one (religion education, see Chapter V). Access to education was, however, very important for the rural population. For the daitai, education was seen as a means of maintaining their economic and social position, while for the Fallāh, it was important as the only means of escaping from their miserable condition.

Though in rural areas, there has been established several administrative offices, the opportunities for obtaining most of these jobs were not available to the people because they lacked the necessary education. Hence, while for some people involved in the traditional sectors, social mobility had been achieved within their villages. For others, it could only be achieved outside the community. Given the fact that, the Migrant's society of origin exhibited sharp socio-economic differences between individuals. It would be wrong to presume (as some sociologists do) that migrants came from homogeneous origin (see Chapter V). Migrants came from almost all the districts (Muqāṭa'āt). They represented all socio-economic groups ranging from wage labourers, through professionals and entrepreneurs to livestock owners. This meant that, migrants did not come solely from poor areas or from one economic group.

In my opinion, there is no possible explanation of the problem of migration unless it is seen in relation to the whole course of development and the socio-economic structure of the country including its rural and urban areas. For example, the calculation of the income of people in rural areas, which the conventional marginalist economic theory oversimplifies (see Chapter I) by saying that, labourers go in the direction which provides the highest wage. In fact the data in this thesis has shown that, some migrants in Benghazi had wages which were at the minimum urban rate, and actually worth less (in money or real income terms) than the total value of their marginal product at home of origin.

I have suggested that, only a wide-ranging multiple analysis

of the highly differentiated state of the migrants economic activities and their social positions within the place of origin and place of immigration, would lead to an adequate explanation of the size and trends in the migrants' real income.

Migrants rarely declare the whole structure of the network of their activities. So, the individualist approach (see Chapter I) in explaining migration and the migrants' situation (as employed by conventional economic theory) was tautological, from the principle the migrants are individuals who move because they are attracted by better remuneration elsewhere.

It is emphasised in this thesis that, the assumptions which were used, by conventional theorists to explain the income differential between rural and urban areas was over simplified. This was because, they were based either on figures of national income or on the narrow view of the socio-economic structure of both rural and urban sectors. For instance, though the wages of a herdsman in his place of origin was about 25 dinars a month, he was unable, due to the "tradition", to control the disposal of that wage. In fact the wage was totally controlled by his father. His disposable earnings in the village therefore, would be zero. This raises the whole question of the migrants access to personal accumulation and it becomes much more important than a mere consideration of wages, which were not at their disposal.

Another important fact is that, migrants did not come from similar background as far as their income was concerned. They came from different social groups, and for reasons other than higher wages (see Chapters IV and V).

In addition, the average monthly income of some migrants in

Benghazi was far less than the average national monthly income. While the per capita income per month for some migrants was less than 20 dinars, the national average per capita income was over 108 dinars per month in 1975. This shows very clearly that there is a wide difference between the national income and real income of the individuals. It is therefore important to realise that if one is to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of the migrants' total situation, it is fruitless to rely on simplified interpretations, which tend to distort the reality which they seek to explain.

Given these facts, I have suggested in Chapter IV that, the observation of supposedly significant objective facts (such as differences in income from one place to another), defined by standard types of survey, of the experiences and motivation of individual migrants, do not enable one to determine the causes, and consequently an understanding of, the problem of migration in Libya. In my view, the individual motivation does not fully explain the objective structure of the migrants behaviour (see chapter V and VII). And surveys should only be taken as Opinion Surveys (see Chapter I and IV) for elaboration of this term) which would perhaps reflect only a differential awareness by migrants of their habitat.

The debate on migration, then, appears to be over the nature of significant facts concerning individuals' motivations which cannot be discovered without taking into account that such behaviour is produced by the system within which the individual makes his choice. This shows that migration is a clearly patterned and non-random phenomenon.

We have seen, how the migratory phenomenon in Libya (during the period of Italian colonization) was accompanied by the consolidation of a land confiscation policy. It resulted in a considerable flow

from rural to urban areas, but during the period 1950-1959, it was exceptional and relatively slow. However from the 1960s onwards the rate of increase of migration accelerated sharply. The migratory phenomena are therefore, still in their expansionary phase. They tend to cover the whole country, which is divided more and more clearly into areas of immigration and emigration, although the source of the flow is still almost entirely from rural areas.

Thus, where the pattern of migration in Libya before the 1950s was because of colonization - it has since been replaced by a new pattern due to the socio-economic transformation which has taken place.

These findings, lead, to the question of whether migrants have a "choice" at all in their movement, or they are merely obliged to do so within the framework of a system which in reality gives them no alternative? It has been seen in Chapters II, III, IV and V, how migrants were forced to leave their original homes because of the appropriation of their land. And how contemporary migration had to happen in order to fulfill the needs of a modern economy with the demand for new social formation which affected rural and urban societies and the country as a whole.

Generally speaking; immigration to Benghazi tended to be permanent. It was also observed that migration to this area was characterized by the extent to which the migrants obtained permanent employment, and the majority did find permanent employment in the public sector. They have experienced occupational mobility in Benghazi compared with that in their place of origin. The movement was generally towards activities such as entrepreneurs (mostly in trade, transport, construction)

professionals (mostly in the civil service), students, skilled labourers (mostly in construction, transportation) and wage-labourers (working in dock, transport public services). These findings lead us to the question of interpretation of the pattern of migration in developing countries, specifically in West Africa.

It has been suggested by conventional Anthropologists that, migrants in West Africa were "target workers" and migration tended to be "circular" or "cyclical" because kinship ties in Africa were fairly strong. The Libyan case shows that the circulation of Libyan labour between the place of origin and labour centres (such as Benghazi) was strong in the early fifties but has slowed down in the recent years. Only some of those worked in the private sector and for oil companies, and who were employed on a temporary basis were still experiencing the circulation between place of emigration and Benghazi. This is in contrast to those who worked in the public sector, and who were employed on a permanent basis.

It can be argued therefore, that, the factors causing the circulation of labour are not as indicated by writers (like C.J. Mitchell); that kinship ties in African societies are fairly strong (and this factor is bound to create within the migrants feelings of moral obligation towards their relatives at home). Neither is the circular migration a compromise between the migrants economic needs and the demands of their tribal system. It is in fact related to the system which is practised within the country. This fact might be seen more clearly by reference to data on the socio-economic position of migrants and their economic behaviour in Benghazi. Though many of the labourers expressed mixed feelings about the city of Benghazi and also complained about the lack of access to material opportunities, none of them indicated that they

planned to return to their home of origin. The information regarding the migrant's relation to his home could not be explained by one factor alone. Land and animals, however, are the most cohesive elements in rural-urban socio-economic relations. Thus, this relation usually manifests itself when the opportunities available to the migrants in Benghazi are poor in terms of secure income, housing and employment. In such situations the migrant will be tied more closely to his village.

On this point, it has been claimed by some writers (see Chapter I) that migration in West Africa is in the interests of both areas, i.e. the place of emigration as well as that of immigration and in the interests of the migrants themselves.

The Libyan example, seems to contradict such assumptions where migration neither in the interest of emigration, nor immigration areas, nor was it in the interests of all migrants nor the country (see Chapters II, III, VI and VII). We may say instead that, migration was in the interest of a group of people within and outside the country (i.e. the national and international businessmen). For instance it has been shown in Chapters II and III, that migration was accompanied by a decline in agriculture production, the problem of depopulation in rural areas, the problem of over-crowded urban centres, and above all it was accompanied by the problem of increasing dependence on imported food and manufactures from abroad. However this is not the essence of the matter. The decrease in agricultural productivity and the increasing dependence on imported food was not because people moved from rural to urban sector for the reasons Nigim (see Chapter I pp. 22-23) gave, but because of the socio-economic transformation experienced within the country in both urban and rural sectors.

In this work, I have focused on the problems of socio-economic transformation and migration in terms of the experiences of individuals viewed against the background, of a specific historical, contemporary and socio-economic structure. The data has shown that socio-economic transformation creates a series of events in the lives of individuals in the society. Unlike migration in West Africa, migration to Benghazi consisted largely of people covering the whole age range from the under thirty age group to 60 and over, with their families. It also involved the emigration of all socio-economic groups such as, livestock owners, farmers, merchants, professionals, skilled labourers and students alongside wage labourers. This pattern of migration I suggest therefore, was necessary in order to fulfill the demand of modern world economic expansion in a city which had lost almost three quarters of its population during World War II. Immigrants in Benghazi participated in different economic activities, most important were Business entrepreneurs, Professionals, Students, Skilled and Unskilled Labourers.

Business entrepreneurs in Benghazi originated from those who were unable to maintain and expand their businesses in their place of origin. And from other groups of farmers, livestock owners, skilled and unskilled labourers. They took up activities such as the whole sale and retail trading of manufactured goods, and food stuffs, in transport, garages, building contracting and other forms of service activities (see Appendix ii Table 62).

In Benghazi, entrepreneurs were faced with the problems of uncertainty and diversification of enterprise, rather than specialisation in one form of economic activity. Access to entrepreneurial types of activity was not based solely on their managerial abilities. It could be attributed to a more significant factor such as access to reliable

information and their relationship, i.e., the economic reciprocity, with the administrative bureaucracy (see Chapter VII). They are those who were in a position to benefit from the government's attempts to embark upon comprehensive and integrated programmes to assist the entrepreneurs, by providing them with educational facilities as well as financial assistance. Business licences could be obtained by any person as long as he was not a government employee and had the necessary money to purchase it. Loans were given for those who owned industry (such as building material manufacturers). Entrepreneurs did not restrict their activities to one field, they had been diversifying their activities and interests in areas which provided greater and quicker returns. They were reluctant to invest all their capital in one area. The majority of them were part of small or medium enterprises.

The most important factor causing this behaviour was the taxation system where tax was levied on a graduated (see Appendix ii, Table 64). basis so that the more they earned from a particular enterprise the more tax they paid. It was for this reason that they registered their different enterprises under other names, to avoid paying higher taxes. Another factor was the suspicion of older entrepreneurs regarding the government's nationalisation policies and the government's ideology concerning control of the economy. Added to this was the factor of economic uncertainty, created as a result of dependency on the world market which supplied the raw material, manufactured goods, expertise and labourers. It is therefore reasonable to expect that entrepreneurs would seek to diversify their capital in order to minimise the risks. Though some entrepreneurs achieved success in their enterprises, others were unable to do so, and the fact that,

some only obtained small profits is possibly due to the open situation for entry into entrepreneurial activity and the resultant competition.

Like the entrepreneurs, Professionals, were made up from various groups; students, professionals and others. They faced a situation which obliged them to move from their origin to Benghazi to take up various professional activities.

The law covering promotion in government employment was the same whether in rural or urban area. Promotion could be obtained in three ways;

(1) higher education, (2) by spending the required period in a particular employment, (3) by election to the popular committees in either the place of work or the place of residence. Since the possibility of promotion by (3) was very limited if not impossible. Method (2) would take a long time (up to ten years). Therefore, the only way to promotion was by (1) higher education. The majority came to Benghazi in order to be able to complete their studies and gain qualifications for a better position.

Professionals in Benghazi had a larger range of opportunities than that in the rural sector. Their occupations ranged from the highest administrative position to clerical work (see Chapter VI). Professionals experienced a high scale of occupational mobility. The majority were employed in public sector but they also experienced the problem of obtaining higher education in order to get promotion and higher income.

Students were amongst those who came to Benghazi in order to complete their education. The majority of them joined institutions such as the institute of social workers, nurses or the university,

which provided food and lodging free. Some of the students were working in Benghazi in occupations such as clerk, private teachers, shopkeeper, messengers and other forms of employment in the private sector. The majority of working students were among those who received no money from their family to support their stay in Benghazi.

Skilled Labourers: they originated from wage labourers, students and skilled labourers. The demand for skilled labourers such as drivers, mechanics, metal-workers, electricians, masons.... were great in both public and private sectors. The majority of this group were employed, however, in the public sector with security of employment and income.

Wage-Labourers, had a different situation in both place of origin and Benghazi, in both areas they were the people who had no previous training or education. They comprised the majority or three quarters of those who registered as unemployed in the city, and were characterised by their low standard of living, high job turnover and lack of specialisation because they had moved from one sector of the economy to another. The majority of them were employed on a temporary basis. They worked in construction, transportation, commercial undertakings, utilities, private, in public sectors on a rubbish disposal services, street sweepers, water supply, street lighting, night-watchmen, janitors, porters, dockers, road workers and the like. It has been shown that almost all labourers had experienced changes in their occupation which for most of them was in the traditional agricultural sector. In Benghazi, they had become involved in activities of the Modern Sector.

Labourers in Benghazi comprised two groups, one group who had permanent employment in the public sector enjoyed the facilities

of insurance policies, long term service awards, annual vacations, paid weekends, and other holidays. These monthly paid employees worked for between six and seven hours per day which was actually less than the eight hours specified in the labour law. The majority of them used their surplus time in other forms of activity such as entrepreneurs (like hawkers and petty traders), self-employed, shopkeeper and wage labourers and apprentices in driving or in garages, carpentry etc., The other group comprised labourers employed in the private sector on a temporary basis, they had longer working hours and less wages, had no paid holidays or weekends, insecurity of living conditions and the problem of job turnover.

For some migrants, the situation in Benghazi was not necessarily better than that at their place of emigration. Though, the prospects of better life was seen to be greater in Benghazi than in their place of emigration. Nevertheless, the migrants were faced with problems of the unequal distribution of Economic opportunities between the members of the host society. The unequal distribution of economic, political power in general was, for example, extremely significant in determining the migrants income in Benghazi. I suggested (in Chapter VI) that, the range of opportunity in the urban sector for both main and secondary employment varied greatly from one individual to another. There was no simple single factor which explained income trends for migrants. There were a number of influences simultaneously at work in different directions. The majority of migrants, except the wage-labourers working in the private sector were involved in secondary activities and consequently had secondary incomes. Generally speaking, income is derived from such sources as wages, rent, social security and from other sources which may defined as legal and illegal

activities. The majority had independent income, i.e., they had their income at their own disposal.

The main income for migrants came from single activities in the form of wages and enterprise. Secondary income may be derived from legal activities such as a petty trade, brokeraging, rent, gifts, private transfer payments and public transfer payments. Illegal income was obtained from dubious activities such as petty theft, bribery etc. The list of secondary economic activities shows the wide range of income opportunities which were available to migrants.

For the migrants as well as the residents of the city, the situation was much more complex than is allowed for in a simple economic analysis. The new working hours law (to expand the working hours in public sectors) failed because of the under estimation of the significance of secondary activities in the employees real income. Given the fact that, the economy of Benghazi, allows a wide range of secondary activities, the question arises regarding the meaning of unemployment and underemployment.

The classification of unorganised workers as being unemployed or forming part of the inactive economic population is also misleading. We have seen in Chapter VII, that a considerable number of migrants' wives and children worked in the private sector in legal and illegal activities. It has been argued that, the social and economic behaviour of the migrant has been shaped by the pattern of his integration into city life. It is reflected to the degree of which opportunities were available to migrant. According to this, the position of the migrant was determined by the income group with

which he was able to join or communicate. Whether to the upper income group, which consisted of individuals whose economic position allowed them to obtain a high income.

To the middle income group which consisted of individuals whose position limited attempts to maximise their access to the available material resources. To the low income group which consisted of individuals whose position actually hindered and was even an obstacle to their attempts to maximize access to the available material resources such as income, housing, education etc.

It has been suggested in this thesis that, the economic reciprocity (see Chapters III and VII) between the migrants and other members in the society, was very important in determining the migrants' situation in the city. The relation between the entrepreneur and the bureaucracy, for example, resulted in the transfer of profits from the unfortunate entrepreneur to a more fortunate one, who had better access to business opportunities. We saw how the traditional sheikh who was himself a migrant and businessman, was very active in the poor quarters where he could obtain an economic advantage and some sort of fringe benefits. (see Chapter VII).

Migrants rarely disclosed the full range of their economic activities, consequently a simple interview was not sufficient. Participant observation also revealed the difficulty of obtaining such data. However, it was the only possible approach in such situations. Attachment to a rural community itself was relatively weak where the exclusive aim of the migrant was to settle in the city. This was when the prospects of access to the main and secondary incomes were greater in the city.

The relationship with the place of origin was for some migrants more of a symbolic than a substantive nature, while for others it was vice versa.

The most significant factor in this relationship of transfer from urban to rural sectors, was in terms of consumer goods, usually food and clothes, very little was for purposes of investment or development of the rural sector. This led to the increasing poverty of the rural sector and its people, for they had to pay a high price for the urban goods whilst their products sold for much lower prices.

The unequal development of the rural and urban areas (i.e. of traditional and modern sectors) and effect of this development on the unequal distribution of the material resources among the individuals within the two sectors, was at the root of contemporary movements which involved tens of thousands of people.

Economic differentiation between migrants was based on the access to economic opportunities within the whole society, the activities which occurred outside the main employment therefore, was very important in improving the migrant's life. The decision to move was the hope each migrant has for a better life for his family and himself for a short or long period in Benghazi. Secondary income, which was mostly ignored by conventional theorists, (like Todora and Berg) was from a wider field than the main income. Access to main and secondary income opportunities varied from one socio-economic group to another, and from one individual to another.

In general the pattern of access of migrants to the opportunities and economic resources and consequently social mobility varied from one migrant to another. Some were able to be mobile and to have access to

better opportunities than others. Others were not able to do so, not because they were ignorant (as some sociologists claim) but because the system did not allow for every person or group to change their position (see Chapters VI and VII) - the system allows certain people to be mobile as many as it needs to maintain the market economy in Benghazi. (Compare Chapters III, VI and VII).

In sum, the analysis employed by anthropologists, sociologists and economists to explain the problem of migration in African societies appear to be mainly concerned with the study of the 'consequences of migration' rather than study of its 'cause'. They researched the effects of migration on the communities and their cultures, rather than the effect of strategy of development and the system, on the change of socio-economic organisation, and its effect on the movement of its people.

In my view, some of the conventional writers who wrote about migration were not interested in migration at all. They were interested in its consequences. 'Economists, studied migration because they were interested in income and employment, and the influence of the migration of labour on the spatial distribution of income and employment. Anthropologists studied migration because they were interested in culture, and in migrants as "culture brokers" in the process of culture diffusion. Sociologists, as well, study migration because they are interested in all aspects of social relations, and migration affects virtually all aspects from institutions such as the family. Thus from the study of the method and the outcome of the thesis on migration in Libya. It appears that the controversy between one study and another is not so much between the 'empirical' and the 'theoretical' but it is rather a difference in the concepts

one uses, the method one applies especially where they have a direct bearing on one's ideological standpoint. It has been shown that, though the conventional theories attempt to understand 'facts' using the standard type of survey, of experiences and motivations of individual migrants. Unfortunately, in some cases, they fail to reach an understanding of these 'facts'. To summarise briefly it is necessary to investigate fully the particular conditions of socio-economic transformation in Libya and in any other country in order to understand the factors underlying the magnitude and direction of migration.

A P P E N D I X (i)

(i) Scope of the research and questionnaires

The estimation of the growth of the city due to internal migration in the last twenty-five years was about 2½% annually. A first observation of the sample revealed that migrants in Benghazi were in different positions within the socio-economic strata in the city. They lived in various quarters of the city, i.e., in upper, middle and low income groups. Some of them were recent migrants, others had arrived over different periods. Most of them were government employees in the service sector, and specifically in the public sector; this gave rise to the decision to use a random sample of 500, between single and married (i.e., between heads of households and individuals) from different socio-economic categories where possible, in order to compare the characteristics of different categories of migrants.

Before starting to conduct the interviews, some time was devoted to constructing a framework from which the sample was to be drawn. A list of all migrants in Benghazi was not available. The municipality of Benghazi supplied some information, but unfortunately it was not suitable for the study. The administration of the Arab Socialist Union headquarters in Benghazi also supplied some information, but this, also, was not suitable for this work. The major problem was that of finding out where the migrants lived. Being unable to obtain a complete list of migrants and their residences, and since they were living within the quarters alongside native and external migrants, the information was collected using two methods:

(1) A general questionnaire was used in order to obtain information from all members of the migrant population in the same economic strata, by meeting migrants at their place of work.

(2) After general information had been gathered on such groups, selected migrants were studied in depth. These interviews were held in the migrant's residence. They in turn gave further information about and contact with, other households and individuals living in the same Mahalla or quarter.

There was a conscious effort to control the sample of the people interviewed at their place of residence in such a way that it would reflect mainly the four quarters in Benghazi, which represented a wide number of migrants on the one hand and represent a certain social class area or quarter on the other. These quarters ⁽¹⁾ were as follows:

(1) Area of lower income group:

(a) Al-Mehashi Mahalla, which is considered one of the poorest quarters in the city and one of the dominant Mahalla, housing migrants. 45 migrant households were interviewed in this Mahalla.

(b) Mifawa Binina Mahalla, which is also one of the poorest areas in the city. In this Mahalla 35 migrant households were interviewed.

(2) Area of middle income groups:

(a) Sabri Mahalla, assumed to be an area of mostly lower middle income inhabitants. 30 migrant households were interviewed.

(1) Full information on these quarters are in a separate section in the chapter III, called 'The Mahalât'.

(b) 20 migrants were interviewed in Sidi Ynus Mahalla, mostly a middle income area.

(3) Area of upper income groups:

Most of the interviews of this class lived in Al-Fu^uhāt Al-Gharbi, Mahalla. The number of people interviewed in this quarter was 36. Generally speaking, the migrants were interviewed in their place of residence and these totalled almost one-third of the sample. The rest of the sample were interviewed in their place of work, either personally or by two assistants in the field.

Using this technique, the total sample of 500 migrants (covering households and individuals) was interviewed in Benghazi City during 1974-1975. The size of the sample was determined by the need to interview a sufficient number of migrants from each socio-economic group; they were selected from the top to bottom of the income groups in Benghazi City.

In order to achieve this, the migrants were selected and listed according to their socio-economic strata, the starting point of which was the occupation or economic position of the migrants. It was necessary that two aspects of this problem had to be dealt with: first the number and second the selectivity of the categories.

As far as the former aspect was concerned, it was assumed that loss to the original sample would be substantial and that allowance was to be made accordingly. The critical factor in both cases was considered to be the number in each category. Sufficient numbers from each category were needed in order to make percentaging possible and to allow a valid comparison on both levels with other categories, in (the sample) and (theoretically) with the migrants in Benghazi,

judged from the same position. It is important to bear in mind that, as might be expected, this is not the case when the sample is compared with the survey area. (i.e. place of residence).

Because of the method followed in the research, the amount of non-response was not likely to have influenced the results or accuracy of the survey unless it was selective. As long as non-response was random, only the absolute number of cases in each category of response was critical. If, however, non-response was disproportionately selective according to a particular characteristic of migrants (i.e., within each socio-economic strata), then it would have interfered with the significance of the results.

The question may well be asked as to whether a sample of 500 cases, forming six categories of socio-economic strata of Benghazi's migrants, was an adequate one from which to draw general conclusions in respect of the total migrants, numbering close to 45,000⁽¹⁾ (at the time of the survey). The sample is about 2.7% of the total⁽²⁾ estimated number of Benghazi's internal migrants.

It should however, be pointed out that most of the findings were discussed with similar groups on a much wider scale, and the purpose of the questionnaires was mainly to quantify the information gathered through this wider study.

Given that the information was collected according to the circumstances available, the information was gathered using two methods: first, a direct questionnaire in the form of a 'formal interview', which was concerned with the individual migrant (whether

(1) This figure is based on my own estimation.

(2) Internal migration means, in this study, that national people come to Benghazi, either from rural or urban areas, within the country.

he was a head of a household or not). The questionnaire was also used to obtain information on all members of the households, and included the place of birth, age, sex, education, economic position (it included also the income and occupation of all members of the household), the social position of the member of the household in relation to the head of households, or the informant. The second was a questionnaire used to obtain specific details and information about the migrant's history before and after coming to Benghazi: the age of starting his migratory history; age on arrival in Benghazi; the reasons declared for moving to Benghazi; the socio-economic position before coming to Benghazi; the social and economic links between migrants and their original 'homes'; the frequency of home visits; the frequency and value of remittances home and the use to which they were put; the role of the migrant within the city; his socio-economic mobility since his arrival in the city (both 'subjectively' and 'objectively' examined) compared with his situation before coming to Benghazi. In short the object of this questionnaire was to discover and examine the background of the migrant and his transformation from one community to another, and consequently, from one socio-economic group to another, and to discover if any why the migrant's social mobility was in a specific direction.

Interviewing was preceded by a personal explanation of the purpose of the study to each member of the sample. The questionnaire was developed with a view to including all aspects that might have a bearing on the main types of data to be collected and was tested in a small sample. The adoption of new techniques was considered in the light of responses gained.

The major difficulty stemmed from the attitudes of the people, most of whom were unfamiliar with such procedures. When possible, therefore, the formal interviews, which required a minimum of four hours, were mostly carried out in the house of the migrant. Allowing the conversation to develop in a natural way and at the pleasure of the respondents proved to be the most workable technique. An assistant in the fieldwork, being an expert etc. was concerned with recording the answers, whilst the writer made only preliminary comments to introduce specific subjects.

It was also important, however, to use the indirect questionnaire, which will be called in this study the 'informal interview'. This method was used only when it was necessary. It was used particularly to interview people who had more in common, e.g., in order to discuss the question of why there was a very high employment turnover amongst people working in the private sector compared with those working in the public sector and for the government. When comparing the people working in private sector with people working in the public sector, particularly the labourers, it was found that the people in the first category tended to spend more than their income. In addition, it appeared that migrants coming from Misurata were more numerous in both categories of business, especially trade, and of labourers, especially those working in the seaport. Other questions began to present themselves as the migrants were interviewed, amongst the most important of which were; why did the majority of migrants spend the initial period of their arrival with relatives, and why did the rest not do so? Why were the migrants of the 'working class' more dependent on the community, whether it be relatives, friends or neighbours, than the other migrants from the middle or upper social

classes? Why was the traditional 'sheikh', who was mostly migrant, very active in Benghazi, especially with the working class migrant community? And finally, why were most migrants able to find jobs within a few weeks of their arrival, yet within the first three to six months of arrival they experienced a high unemployment rate?

These questions were better answered by the people concerned, where each of them (migrants from the same strata) related their experiences and where they could exchange opinions between themselves; this gave a better understanding of particular aspects which were developed as a result of formal interviews.

Although these interviews, like the formal interviews, were essentially dominated by the respondents, interventions had to be made from time to time in order to introduce specific subject matter. This informal interview was very fruitful in terms of a scientific method of comparison. It enabled comparisons to be made between the positions of individuals and groups within the migrant population, it also revealed aspects lying outside these differences and similarities. These subsequently could be examined and understood in the wider context and meaning of the whole society. Indeed, the method was of great help in following the transformation from one community to another and from one social class to another.

This explanation is developed from an understanding of 'social mobility' in its broadest context and not in its simplest form of geographical mobility. (This will be explained and examined in Chapters V, VI, VII).

The introduction of this concept makes it possible to review and investigate the conditions of migrants within the structure of the

society, by introducing the questions why and in what ways were individual groups of migrants mobile in particular directions; why migrants joined one particular socio-economic group and not another; and what were the conditions in Libyan society within which the migrants of Benghazi made their choice? The answers to these questions are very important and should be established before looking at the survey of the individual migrants.

The following is to be considered in the next two parts of the thesis:

(1) Socio-economic transformation in Libyan society as it became integrated into the world-wide market.

(2) Benghazi: a case study, seen as the core of the development of social and economic processes, and the transformation of its society from small-scale to large-scale socio-economic differentiations. Before doing this, it is important to clarify and determine the two main terms used in this study; rural and urban. The recent development in Libyan society has given rise to dual societies in which a capitalist modern sector co-exists with a backward sector of subsistence production. The adoption of the two terms, rural and urban, have been indispensable in this study. The term rural, or rural sector will indicate traditional structures (the pre-capitalist or pre-industrial systems). It indicates too that the people came from a less specialised society, such as an agricultural or pastoral bedouin community, compared with the more specialised urban social structure.

One final point in this chapter is necessary in order to indicate the characteristics of the sample used in this study. The study comprises the cases of 500 migrants living in Benghazi City, in which

3,300 individuals were living in households, 1,239 of them born in Benghazi and 1,206 born outside Benghazi (or migrants). Within the 500 cases, 166 migrants were married before coming to Benghazi and 168 were married after coming to Benghazi, making a total of 334 married migrants; the remainder were unmarried migrants also living in Benghazi.

The proportion of people coming from the rural sector (377 cases) is 75.4% of the total 500 sample, while the proportion of the people coming from the urban sector (123 cases) is 24.6%.

The 500 cases constitute six categories which (are shown in Table 60) and comprise the following socio-economic strata:

(1) Business people: containing 60 cases, or 12% of the total sample of 500. This category has the following groups: merchants, merchant agencies, contractors, grocers. All of them were men, with 25 persons aged between 20 and 39 years of age, 20 between 40 and 49, and 15 over 50 years of age.

(2) Professional category; this was made up mostly of government employees, engineers, doctors, teachers, lawyers and clerks. Five of the 105 cases were female, and the rest male. 87 (21% of the total cases) aged between 15 and 39 years, and 6 persons between 40 and 49 years of age.

(3) Skilled labourers: there were 36 cases, or 7.2% of the total sample. These were mechanics, masons, drivers, electricians and self-employed. They were all men. 28 of them were aged between 15 and 39, and 8 between 40 and 49.

(4) Students: there were 10 female and 29 male students, making a total of 39, or 7.8% of the total sample. All of them were aged between 15 and 39.

(5) Wage labourers: constituting 260 cases, which is 52% of the total sample. Most of them worked in the public sector as guards, office boys, dustmen, dockers, building labourers, labourers working with the oil companies, and workers in the textile industry. There were 238 male and 22 female labourers. ~~184~~ of them aged between 15 and ~~54~~, 38 between 40 and 49, and 21 over the age of 50.

The Characteristics of the Sample:

Table 6a -

Age at the time of the research	Business		Professional		Labourers, Skilled		Student		Labourers, Wage		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	15 - 19	-	-	2	-	3	-	10	7	19	
20 - 24	2	-	25	2	7	-	13	3	55	-	107
25 - 29	5	-	30	3	4	-	6	-	48	-	96
30 - 34	8	-	18	-	9	-	-	-	31	6	72
35 - 39	10	-	17	-	5	-	-	-	20	3	55
40 - 44	12	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	19	3	40
45 - 49	8	-	6	-	4	-	-	-	27	5	50
50 - 59	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	4	34
60 and over	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Unknown</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Total	60	-	100	5	36	-	29	10	238	22	500

M = Male F = Female

(ii) Questionnaires

I The Demographic Characteristics of Households

1.

Relation to the head of household	Age Sex	Place of Birth	Occupation	Monthly Income	Place of Work	Education	Social Status

II The Pattern and Trend of Migration

2. Were you born in Benghazi?

Yes

No

If place of birth was not Benghazi

3. How long have you lived in Benghazi?

Number of years months days

4. When did you come to Benghazi?

Date

5. How old were you, when you came to Benghazi?

6. Why did you take up residence in Benghazi?

(i) seeking employment?

(ii) establishing business?

(iii) had a job elsewhere and transferred to Benghazi?

(iv) for higher education?

(v) for other reasons?

7. Did you have any plan prior to your arrival in Benghazi?

Yes

No

Do Not Know

8. If yes; how long did you consider this plan?

(i) How many days?

(ii) How many weeks?

(iii) How many months?

(iv) Number of years?

9. How many times have you changed your place of residence before coming to Benghazi?

10.

place of residence	Period	Place of Work	Occupation	Income	Type of Housing
(i)					
(ii)					
(iii)					
(iv)					
(v)					

11. Did you know any person in Benghazi before going there?

Yes

No

12. If the answer is yes, who were those persons?

Relatives

Friends

Other Persons

20. What kind of job did you do when you first worked in Benghazi?
21. When you first came to Benghazi did you come alone?
or with the family?
22. If you came alone, when did your family join you?
23. What are the things you were hoping to obtain when you came?
24. Do you like living in Benghazi at the present?
Yes No No difference I do not know
25. How long are you intending to stay?
(state the period)
26. Did you find things which made you regret coming?
27. What did you achieve by coming to Benghazi?
28. Do you intend to stay?
29. What problems did you face when you arrived?
- (i) knowing people
 - (ii) accommodation
 - (iii) lack of friends
 - (iv) the high cost of living
 - (v) the inadequacy of income with the cost of living
 - (vi) lack of employment
 - (vii) other things
30. Do you advise your friends and relations to come to Benghazi?
Yes No

31. In either case state the reason -
32. If they come, do you think they will face the same problems that you faced?
Yes No
33. In either case state the reasons in detail -
34. Do you think that your life now is better than it was previously?
Yes No No difference I do not know
35. If the reason is yes, state the reason -
36. If the reason is no, state the reason -
37. Why did you come to Benghazi in particular, and not to other cities like Tripoli or Dirna?
38. What means of transport did you use when you came to Benghazi?
Taxi Bus Private Car Other means

III Housing

39. Where did you live when you came to Benghazi?
- (i) in the place of work
 - (ii) with a relative
 - (iii) with friends
 - (iv) in rented accommodation
 - (v) other means

40. Type of accommodation in your place of origin?

Tent	Hut	Old House	Government House	
Modern House		Flat	Other	Villa

41. What type of accommodation did you use when you arrived in Benghazi for the first time?

Tent	Hut	Old House	Government House	
Modern House		Flat	Other	Villa

42. How did you get it?

- (i) with help of a relative
- (ii) with help of friends
- (iii) by chance
- (iv) not applicable

43. What was the period spent in the first accommodation?

44. Do you live now in a government house?

Yes No

45. If the answer is no, please state what type of housing you have now.

Tent	Hut	Old House	Modern House	Villa
------	-----	-----------	--------------	-------

46. Is it an owned house and occupied entirely for domestic purposes?

or

47. A privately owned house and part of it let as accommodation?

or

48. A privately owned house and part of it is used for commercial purposes by the owner?

or

49. Rented?

IV Occupation, income and expenditure

59. What is the occupation of your father now?
60. What was the occupation of your father at your place of origin?
61. If your father was a farmer, was he the owner of the farm
tenant sharecropper Labourer
..... other things
62. What was your occupation at your place of origin?
63. If your occupation was a farmer, were you the owner of the farm
..... tenant sharecropper
Labourer other things
64. What was your occupation at place of last residence (emigration)?
65. What is your occupation now?
66. What was your occupation when you first came to Benghazi?
67. What kind of jobs have you had since you came to Benghazi?

Age	Kind of Job	Income	Employer	Place
(i)				
(ii)				
(iii)				
(iv)				
(v)				
(vi)				

68. Why did you leave the job before your present one?

69. Where do you work now?

70. What is the basis of your employment now?

Permanent Temporary Casual

71. How many hours do you work in your present job each day?

72. Are you happy in your present job?

Yes No I do not know

73. If yes, state if because of any of the following:

(i) wages

(ii) working with friends

(iii) working with relatives

(iv) facilities of transport

(v) working hours

(vi) because the place of work is close to house

(vii) other things

74. Did you obtain your present job through -

Friends Relatives Employment Office

By Chance Other Things

75. If you are unemployed now, why did you leave your previous job?

76. How long have you been unemployed?

77. Are you looking for a job now?

Yes No

78. If yes, what kind of job would you prefer to do?

79. Why?

80. Did you have any job training?

Yes No

81. If yes, what kind?

82. What were the problems that faced you in taking up any occupation?

83. Do you think that your present occupation will change in the future?

Yes No not applicable

84. If the answer is yes, state the way in which the change will take place?

Through study Training Quitting this job

Other things to be stated

85. If the answer is no, why -

86. What kind of job do you wish to have?

87. Do you think that you will achieve it one day?
Yes No
88. In either case specify the reasons -
89. What is your income now?
90. What was your income before coming to Benghazi?
91. What is your income from the following sources?
Farm Rent Enterprise
Social Security Insurance
Help from Friends or Relatives
Others
92. What is your monthly expenditure?

 (i) food

 (ii) rent

 (iii) clothes

 (iv) what is the spending on other expenses, such as
 loans, bills etc.
93. Did you receive any loan?
Yes No
94. If the answer is yes state the following -

 (i) source of the loan

 (ii) date of obtaining it

 (iii) the amount

 (iv) the purpose

 (v) how much a month do you pay in repayment

 (vi) how much of the total have you repaid from the total amount
 up to now?

95. Do you have in your house the following?
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| (i) gas cooker | (v) fridge |
| (ii) washing machine | (vi) radio |
| (iii) television | (vii) telephone |
| (iv) first aid tax | (viii) other things |
96. Do you think that the above mentioned items are necessary?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
97. In either case state reasons -
98. Do you think the above mentioned items could be found in your place of origin?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
99. Do you wish to have the latest technology such as a car, television and other things?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | NO |
|-----|----|
100. What do you think is your standard of living?
- | | | | |
|-----------|------|---------|-----|
| Very good | Good | Average | Low |
|-----------|------|---------|-----|
101. Do you think there are people with the same standard of living as you?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
102. Do you think there are people who live better than you?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
103. Do you think there are people who live worse than you?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

V Education

104. What is the standard of your father's education?
- (i) illiterate (iv) intermediate
(ii) functionally literate (v) secondary
(iii) elementary (vi) university and above
105. If you have been educated answer the following:
- (i) How old were you when you went to school?
(ii) What was your standard of education before your arrival in Benghazi?
(iii) At what kind of school did you obtain your education?
(iv) Are you still continuing your study?
- Yes No
106. If the answer is yes, what is the stage you are at now?
107. What level of education have you achieved since your coming to Benghazi?
108. What level of education do you hope to achieve?
109. What is the purpose of continuing your study?
110. If you have any children, answer the following:
- type of school at which your children study
- (i) public schools (ii) private schools
111. What is the standard of education of your children?

112. What is the standard of education that you hope your children will achieve and why?

VI Social Position and Socio-Economic Relations

113. State the number of your father's family?

114. Where do they live?

(i) father with me in outside Benghazi died

(ii) mother with me in outside Benghazi died

115. If they live outside Benghazi, state the area in which they are living?

If they are not with you in Benghazi answer the following.

116. When did you separate from them?

117. What was the reason for separation?

(i) marriage

(ii) moving to the area of work

(iii) moving to the area of study

(iv) other reasons

118. How many times do you visit them?

(i) daily (iv) once or twice a year

(ii) once a week (v) I do not visit them at all

(iii) once a month

128. What is the length of time you usually spend there?

- (i) less than a week
- (ii) from a week to less than a month
- (iii) more than a month
- (iv) not applicable

129. What is the reason for these visits?

- (i) visits to relatives
- (ii) visits to friends
- (iii) look after my farm business
- (iv) other things

130. Do you help any of your relatives in your place of origin?

Yes No Not applicable

131. If the answer is yes, specify the kind of assistance -

- (i) money
- (ii) food
- (iii) clothes
- (iv) other things

132. When you visit home what kind of things do you take with you

- (i) food
- (ii) clothes
- (iii) money
- (iv) other things

133. What kind of things do you usually bring back from home?

134. Do any of your relatives live near you?

Yes No Not applicable

135. Are there any problems in getting on with any of these relatives?

Yes No Not applicable

136. If the answer is yes in what matters.

137. What type of relationship have you with your neighbours?

(i) kinship ties (iv) do not know them
(ii) friendship (v) not applicable
(iii) limited relationship

138. With whom do you exchange visits?

(i) friends
(ii) relatives
(iii) others

139. Do you still have friends at your place of origin?

Yes No

140. If answer is yes, specify the following

(i) type of their work
(ii) their social activities
(iii) their income
(iv) their standard of education
(v) place of residence
(vi) type of housing
(vii) other things

141. Do you think that your friendship has the same depth as it had before?

Yes No Not applicable

142. If the answer is no state the reasons -

143. Who was the first person you got to know in Benghazi?

- (i) type of relationship with this friend
- (ii) his place of origin
- (iii) age
- (iv) his occupation
- (v) place of residence (quarter)

144. Do you have friends from the indigenous people of Benghazi?

Yes No

145. If the answer is yes, answer the following:

- (i) their type of occupation
- (ii) the place of residence
- (iii) their type of housing
- (iv) their type of social ability
- (v) their standard of education
- (vi) their income

146. Are your relationships with these friends mostly social
economic other things?

Table 60.- Comparison of 1954, 1964 and 1973 Age and Sex Population Structure in Benghazi

Age Groups	1954 (1)						1964 (2)						1973 (3)						
	Males		Females		Total		Males		Females		Total		Males		Females		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
0 - 4	5005	12.7	4795	15.2	9800	14	13.4	47	18.5	13271	22.2	26768	19.4	30890	21.4	30275	22.7	61165	22
5 - 9	4060	10.3	4229	13.4	8289	11.8	9385	12.9	9385	9385	15.7	18770	13.7	24924	17.2	24836	18.6	49760	17.9
10 - 14	3316	8.4	2858	9	6174	8.8	6754	9.3	6064	10	12818	9.3	17463	12.1	16523	12.4	33986	12.2	
15 - 19	3133	7.9	2971	9.4	6104	8.7	5783	7.9	5963	9.9	11746	8.6	11416	7.9	10868	8.1	22284	8.0	
20 - 24	4792	12.2	3080	9.8	7872	11.1	7018	9.6	5931	9.9	12949	9.4	10819	7.5	9715	7.3	20534	7.4	
25 - 29	4530	11.5	2857	9	7387	10.4	6764	9.3	5468	9	12232	8.9	10577	7.3	8871	6.6	19448	7.0	
30 - 34	2809	7	2032	6.4	4841	6.8	5363	7.4	3937	6.6	9300	6.7	7872	5.4	6183	4.6	14055	5.1	
35 - 39	1850	4.7	1498	4.7	3348	4.7	4442	6.1	3267	5.5	7709	5.6	6752	4.7	5964	4.5	12716	4.6	
40 - 44	1880	4.8	1744	5.5	3624	5.1	3256	4.5	2578	4.3	5834	4.2	5790	4.0	4530	3.3	10320	3.7	
45 - 49	1675	4.2	1166	3.7	2841	4	4486	6.1	3796	6.4	8282	6.0	4994	3.5	4074	3.1	9068	3.3	
50 - 59	2672	6.8	1796	5.7	4468	6.3	3281	4.5	2464	4.1	5745	4.1	5821	4.0	5218	3.9	11039	3.9	
60 and over	2480	6.3	2419	7.8	4899	6.9	2457	3.4	2465	4.1	4922	3.6	7272	5.1	6494	3.8	13766	4.9	
Unknown	38	0.1	23	0.1	61	0.1	141	0.2	79	0.1	220	0.2	5	-	4	-	9	-	
Total	38240	100	31478	100	69718	100	72627	100	64668	100	137295	100	144595	100	133555	100	278150	100	100

Source compiled from (1) General Population Census, 1954 Tripoli p. 100
(2) General Population Census, 1964 Tripoli p. 3 (in Arabic)
(3) General Population Census, 1973 Tripoli p.11 (in Arabic)

Table 61 - The Distribution of Migrants by Age at Period of Arrival

Age Structure	From 1950's			From 1950-1959			From 1960-1969			From 1970-1975			Total		
	Rur	Urb	Tot	Rur	Urb	Tot	Rur	Urb	Tot	Rur	Urb	Tot	Rur	Urb	Tot
5 - 9	3	3	6	6	3	9	2	-	2	-	-	11	6	17	
10 - 14	8	-	8	8	3	11	6	-	6	-	-	22	3	25	
15 - 19	-	-	-	7	5	12	18	15	33	38	14	52	63	34	97
20 - 24	-	2	2	1	3	4	11	10	21	79	19	98	91	34	125
25 - 29	-	1	1	1	3	4	8	-	8	44	15	59	53	19	72
30 - 34	-	-	-	2	5	7	6	5	11	34	4	38	42	14	56
35 - 39	4	-	4	1	-	1	6	2	8	21	2	23	32	4	36
40 - 44	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	24	3	27	25	3	28
45 - 49	-	-	-	2	-	2	11	4	15	14	1	15	27	5	32
50 - 59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	7	7	-	7
60 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	1	3
unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	2
Total	15	6	21	29	22	51	69	36	105	264	59	323	377	123	500
Percentage total	71.4	28.5	4.2	56.8	43.1	10.2	65.7	34.2	21	81.7	18.2	64.6	75.4	24.6	100

Table 62

The Number of Commercial, Industrial, and craft licences which were issued during 1974 (from the general licence office Benghazi Municipality) (translated from the original Arabic)

Commercial Licences	Number Issued
<u>Imports</u>	
General imports	607
Horses	-
Cloth and Clothes	150
Food Stuff	256
Building Materials	40
Medicines	-
Household Equipment	57
Shoes	21
Stationery	2
Pesticides	0
Mineral Water	3
Tar	7
Typewriters	4
Gold	3
Coffee	-
Fishing Tackle	1
Wood Planks	1
Electrical Appliances	51
Watches	1
Automobile Spare parts	6
Household Furniture	5
Glass	2
Vegetables	21
Bicycles	-
Poultry	-

Trading and Other Industrial craft

Automobile Spare parts	138
Haberdashery, cloth and spice merchants	1,070
Jewellers	57
Leather Merchants	-
Food Stuff Merchants	2,431
Vegetable and Fruit Merchants	1,211
Grain Merchants	48
Fish Mongers	18
Poultry Dealers	54
Fuel (coal, wood & Paraffin) merchants	242
Animal Fodder Merchants	8
Itinerant Sweets and cold drinks vendor	-
Furniture Dealers	70
Book and Stationery dealer	67
Household Equipment	151
Sanitary equipment dealers	40
Electrical appliance dealers	38
Building materials dealers	103
Childrens toys dealers	16
Antique dealers	36
Itinerant kerosene vendor	-
Typewriter dealer	-
Grain dealers	41
Livestock merchant	-
Petrol Station dealers	72
Movie theatre owners	14
Commercial agents	282
Property brokers	-
Insurance brokers	7
Advertising agencies	4
Pharmacies	34
Oil exploration and drilling companies	36
Oil Pipe company	-
Fluid gas importing company	1
Telecommunications company	-
Water-well drilling companies	3

Fishing company	-
Banks	15
Building Contractors	1,014
Private clinics	3
Architecture companies	26
Lawyers	14
Notaries	16
Chartered Accountants	24
Money Changers	-
Car Hire firms	73
Overland transportation firms (offices)	21
Typing schools	16
Driving schools	10
Auto repair shops	479
Auto tyre repair shops	81
Carpentry shops	215
Painters and Decorators	18
Public Garages	14
Glass fillers	30
Bicycle rental and repairers	83
Upholsterers	22
Photographers	88
Watch repairers	24
Gold Smiths	28
Carpenters (traditional)	2
Grain Mills	20
Coffee Mills	16
Salt Mills	18
Coffee Shops	128
Public letter writers	26
Printing shops	17
Merchandise Brokers	21
Overland Transport companies	40
Air transport company	-
Sea transport companies	3
Textile factories	8
Sausage factory	1

Tile factories	86
Clay water jug factories	45
Lime Factory	-
Macaroni Factory	2
Ice Factory	-
Milk Factory	-
Shoe Manufacturing	-
Ice-cream Factories	3
Soft-drink Factories	4
Sweet Factories	12
Biscuit Factories	5
Stone works	12
Swimming club	-
Restaurants	307
Hotels	38
Bakeries	32
Bread sellers	104
Butchers	504
Tailors	169
Hairdressers	178
Shoe repair shops	19
Blacksmiths shops	48
Metal Workers shops	40
Electrical repair shops	6
Carriage repair shops	4
Estate Agencies	60
Laundries	67
Public Baths	3
Welders	17
Horse-drawn carriages (transport)	-
Horse-drawn carts (goods carrying)	300
Donkey-drawn carts (goods carrying)	100
Shoe-shining shops	4
	<hr/>
Total	12,313
	=====

Source: Compiled by the author with the assistance of Nuri Bu-Sin Jamal Makhluaf and Bu-Jazia, from the department of general population census, section of general licence office in Benghazi Municipality.

Table 63A - The Salary for tenured government employees

Grades	Monthly Salary	Housing Allowances	Annual Increase
Special (a)	203,125	100,000	8,437
Special (b)	219,375	98,718	6,750
Special (c)	202,500	91,125	6,075
First	168,750	84,375	5,400
Second	135,000	74,250	4,725
Third	114,750	68,850	4,050
Fourth	103,125	61,875	3,437
Fifth	81,937	65,550	2,875
Sixth	99,000	55,200	2,156
Seventh	57,500 ⁿ	46,000	1,798
Eighth	50,125 ⁿ	40,250	1,437

Source: translated by the author from the original arabic

Table 63B - The Salary for non-tenured government employees

Grades	Monthly Salary	Housing Allowances	Annual Increase
Fifth	79,062	63,250	2,875
Fourth	64,687	51,750	2,156
Third	58,500	46,000	1,796
Second	50,312	40,250	1,437
First	43,150	40,250	1,437
Wage Labourers	60,000	-	-

Source: translated by the author from the original arabic

Table 64 - Deductions (income taxes)

(1) Superannuation deduction: is 5 per cent of the basic salary

(2) Income tax:

is divided into income brackets:

(i) 8 per cent deduction on the first 150 dinars

(ii) 10 per cent on the next 100 dinars

(iii) 15 per cent on the following 150 dinars

(iv) 20 per cent on the following 150 dinars (or on the rest)

Income tax is not levied until superannuation has been deducted, and after the allowances of 75 dinars for a married person, and 40 dinars for a single person have also been deducted.

(3) Jihad Tax:

is deducted after superannuation. It is levied as follows:

(i) one per cent on 50 dinars

(ii) two per cent on 50 to 100 dinars

(iii) three per cent on 100 dinars and above

(4) Fiscal stamp:

is calculated on the basis of two in a thousand dinar, after superannuation, income taxes and a special 'Holy War' (jihad tax) have been deducted.

Source: translated by the author from the original arabic

Table 65A - Fluctuation in prices of basic food stuffs; clothes, transport etc. between October, 1974 and July 1975
1974 = 100

Basic Needs of Subsistence		1975	Notes
III	Food	106	increase in meat, fresh fish, fruits, vegetables, milk
II	Rent and Household Services	94	decrease in the cost of electricity
III	Clothes and Shoes	106	increase in childrens clothes and shoes
IV	Transportation cost	103	
V	Other Goods	106	
Total increases		103	

Source: Compiled by the author

Table 65B - price on basic commodity during July 1975

Goods	price in L dinars
I Food Stuffs	
(i) Flour and flour products	
Local breads (round loaves) 250 gm	0,030
French bread (one kg)	,100
Local flour (one kg)	,050
Biscuits imported Swan Down (425 gm)	,300
Biscuits local (425 gm)	,100
Macaroni Banina (one kg)	,105
(ii) Rice	
Short grain rice (Egyptian) (one kg)	,060
Long grain rice (American) (90 gm)	,235
(iii) Meat	
Lamb with bones local (one kg)	1,300
Lamb with bones imported (one kg)	,750
Beef with bones local (one kg)	1,000
Beef with bones imported (one kg)	,800
(iv) Fish (fresh)	
Red Mullet local (one kg)	,850
Salmon local	,850
Striped local	,850
Sardines local	,550
Fish (canned)	
Tuna imported (3½ ozs)	,100
Tuna local (500 gm)	,950
Sardines imported (120 gm)	,150
(v) Fowl	
Chicken fresh (one kg)	,600

(vi) Butter and oil	
Butter (one kg)	1,300
Corn oil (800 gm)	,340
Olive oil (800 gm)	,030

Food Stuffs	price in L dinars
-------------	-------------------

(vii) Milk and Eggs	
Dried Milk (250 gm)	1,850
Canned Milk (carnation) (6 oz)	,050
Yoghurt (one glass)	,080
Fresh eggs (standard for one)	,050

(viii) Cheese	
Danish white cheese (16 oz)	,350
Box of cheese (8 pieces)	,150
Canned cheese (one can)	,240

(ix) Tea and Coffee	
Green tea (Chinese) (one kg)	,620
Red tea (Ceylon) (one kg)	,620
Coffee (ground) (one kg)	1,000
Instant Coffee (50 gm)	,230

(x) Sugar and Jam	
Sugar (one kg)	,050
Local Jam (950 gm)	,300
Imported Jam (450 gm)	,350
Chocolate (3½ ozs)	,250

(xi) Fresh Fruit	
Apples (one kg)	,300
Pears (one kg)	,340
Oranges (one kg)	,200
Navel Oranges (one kg)	,300
Lemons (one kg)	,300
Bananas (one kg)	,190

(xii) Canned Fruit	
Pears (imported 425 gm)	,220
Peaches (imported 425 gm)	,240
Mixed fruit (imported 850 gm)	,390
Mango juice (imported 170 gm)	,060
Orange juice (imported 18 oz)	,180
(xiii) Dried Fruit	
Dates (one kg)	,160
Figs (one kg)	,400
Almonds in shell (one kg)	,600
(ixx) Fresh Vegetables	
Tomatoes (one kg)	,330
Cauliflower (one kg)	,350
Lettuce (one kg)	,350
Yellow Squash (one kg)	,100
Cumlin (Fresh) (250 kg)	,200
Spring Onions (250 kg)	,070
Courgettes (one kg)	,500
Parsley and Mint (Fresh) (250 kg)	,030
(xx) Canned Vegetables	
Peas (14 oz)	,150
Tomato Puree (14 oz)	,200
(xxi) Dried Vegetables	
Onions (one kg)	,210
Garlic (one kg)	,275
Potatoes (one kg)	,250
Lentils (500 kg)	,280
White Beans (Haricot) (one kg)	,400
(xxii) Children's Food	
Milk (a can of Cerelac)	,290
Prepared Food (Heinz, 4½ oz)	,070

(xxiii) Various Food Products

Salt	,050
Black Pepper (50 gm)	,120
Vinegar Heize $\frac{1}{2}$ L.	,250
Pickled Olives (green) (250 gm)	,450
Pickled Olives (black) (250 gm)	,160

II Housing and Household Services

(i) Rents

Annual House Rental for 2 bedrooms

Sidi Hussa ⁿ (quarter)	360,000
Al-birka (quarter)	518,000
Al-fuwihāt Al-shariki	660,000
Al-fuwihāt Al-gharbi	756,000

(ii) Services

Electricity: kw	,025
Bottled gas for cooking (20 kg) (last approx one month)	,840
Kerosene (L)	,015
Coal (30 kg)	3,000
Matches (Box of 12 matches)	,150
Water Rate (Monthly)	1,000

(iii) Household Appliances

Refrigerator (westinghouse, 250 L)	78,500
Washing Machine (westinghouse, 5 kg)	162,000
Gas Stove (4 Burner, with oven)	90,980
Wool Carpets (one sqm.,)	5,500

L = Litre

kg = kilo gram

gm = gram

III Clothes and Shoes

(i) Clothes

Ready-made man's suit	From	30,000
	To	43,000
Ready-made trousers	From	5,000
	To	10,000
Lined Raincoat		24,500
Long Sleeved Sweater (wool)		5,950
Shirt (American Van Heusen)		3,950
Pyjamas (American Van Heusen)		2,850
Cloak		12,000

Women's Clothes

Coat (Made in England)	From	14,000
	To	18,000
Wool Sweater set	From	3,000
	To	4,500
Wool Skirt		4,800
Cloak (wool)		18,000

Children's Clothes

Trousers		2,700
Shirts		1,250
Dress		4,500

(ii) Shoes

Men's shoes	From	5,000
	To	7,000
Women's shoes	From	5,000
	To	8,000
Children's shoes	From	2,000
	To	3,000

IV Transportation Costs

Bus Fare (for one km)		,020
Taxi Fare (for one km)		,,100

IV	Cleanders and Soap	
	Toilet soap lux (one) small	,060
	Persil (Detergents)	,100
	Large siz Dixon	1,800
	Disinfectant 8 oz	,240
	Sink Cleanser (Vim) 524 gm	,150
	Shoe Polish (Kiwi) 3 oz	,750
	Insect Repellent	,350
	Bleach (gallon)	,600
V	Cosmetics and Toiletries	
	Toothpaste (signal) small size	,150
	Toothbrush (Gibbs)	,150
	Shaving Cream (Palmolive) small size	,150
	Shaving Blades (3 Gillette GII)	,320
	Shampoo (Sunsilk) small size	,650
	Sanitary Napkins (paper)	,180
VI	Health Services	
	(i) Examinations and Prescriptions	
	Examination in clinic	2,000
	(ii) Dental Treatment	
	Examination	,750
	Filling	1,000
	Extraction	1,000
	(iii) Eye treatment	From 5,000
	Cost of glasses	To 12,000

A P P E N D I X (iii)

The Political Structure in Benghazi

The present political structure in Libya, is still in the process of formation. However, since the main object of this section is to observe the impact of such activity on the people of Benghazi, it is important to understand the previous political activity which took place in the city under the former regime.

The political system in Libya during the early 1950s to late 1960s was that the representative organization of the people was the Parliament, which was composed of an Upper House, known as the Senate, and a Lower House, known as the House of Representatives. The Senate consisted of twenty-four members; eight members were appointed by the King, while the others were elected by the Legislative Councils of the provinces.

A Senator had to be at least forty years old. Members of the Royal family could not be elected to the Senate, but could be appointed by the King. The term of a Senator was eight years. Half the Senators were to be elected or appointed every four years. There was no limitation on how many times they could hold a Senate seat.

The House of Representatives, unlike the Senate, was to represent Libya at large. One deputy was to be elected for every 20,000 inhabitants. Under this Tripolitania received 35 seats in the house, Cyrenaica 15 seats, and Fazzān 5 seats, which meant that Benghazi was to receive about 7 seats.

According to the law, all Libyans, women and men over the age

of 18 have the right to vote.

Since independence, to late sixties tribalism was developed enormously. The practice of exercising political rights in a country where illiteracy dominates and where no political parties were well organized, obliged the electors to turn to the original tribe as their chief supporter. This was a phenomenon which had appeared in Benghazi, in contrast to Tripoli, which had its own parties, headed by a well-developed political elite, e.g. landlord and merchant.

Thus, Benghazi was represented by the tribal representatives who were able to obtain the required votes, either from their own people or by buying other peoples' votes.

The competition for the Representative seats was between the rich members of the tribes. This situation led to a great movement of tribal people from the rural areas to Benghazi in order to vote and to support their tribal leaders.

Since 1970 onward the situation has changed where the political system has institutionalized on the basis of the contribution of all members of the society in an organization, which is called the A.S.U. (Arab Socialist Union). In this regard, Henri states that,

"The charter of the Libyan A.S.U. defines the working people as farmers, workers, soldiers, intellectuals and owners of non-exploitive national capital. The Charter prescribes that all levels of organization must give the farmers and workers at least 50% representation from the total membership. This does not apply to universities and other organizations that cannot meet this requirement. The R.C.C. makes a decision with regard to representation

(1)
in those bodies".

Thus, the basic units of the A.S.U. are the foundations of the organization. They are found in each Mahalla (living quarters) and place of work. (This is the lowest level of organization, usually termed its grass-roots). It is at that level that applications for membership are made. Applications are made either where the applicant lives, i.e. in his Mahalla, or at an institute where he works or where he lives.

There are four levels of organization as far as Benghazi city is concerned:

- 1) The conference and committee level of the basic unit of Mahalla.
- 2) The conference and committee level of the basic unit of the sub-municipality or Baladya.
- 3) The conference and committee level of the Municipality or Baladya of Benghazi
- 4) The conference and committee level of the Benghazi district

(1) According to the A.S.U. Rules, a farmer is defined as a person working essentially in agriculture or in animal husbandry and he or his family do not own more than thirty hectares. The worker is defined as a person who receives a daily wage, or a person like a carpenter who does not employ anyone outside his family. A non-exploitive capitalist is a person who is taxed on his earnings (This means that if the person pays anywhere from 5% to 15% on income over 4000 dinars) or uses his capital and does not exploit others, or earns a living honestly. Intellectuals are those persons engaged in writing, teaching or engaged in anything that can intellectually help solve the problems of the nation. The soldiers are those who defend the people and the nation against its enemies.

See. Henri Habib, op.cit, p P 47-8.

The Political Organization of the A.S.U. of Benghazi

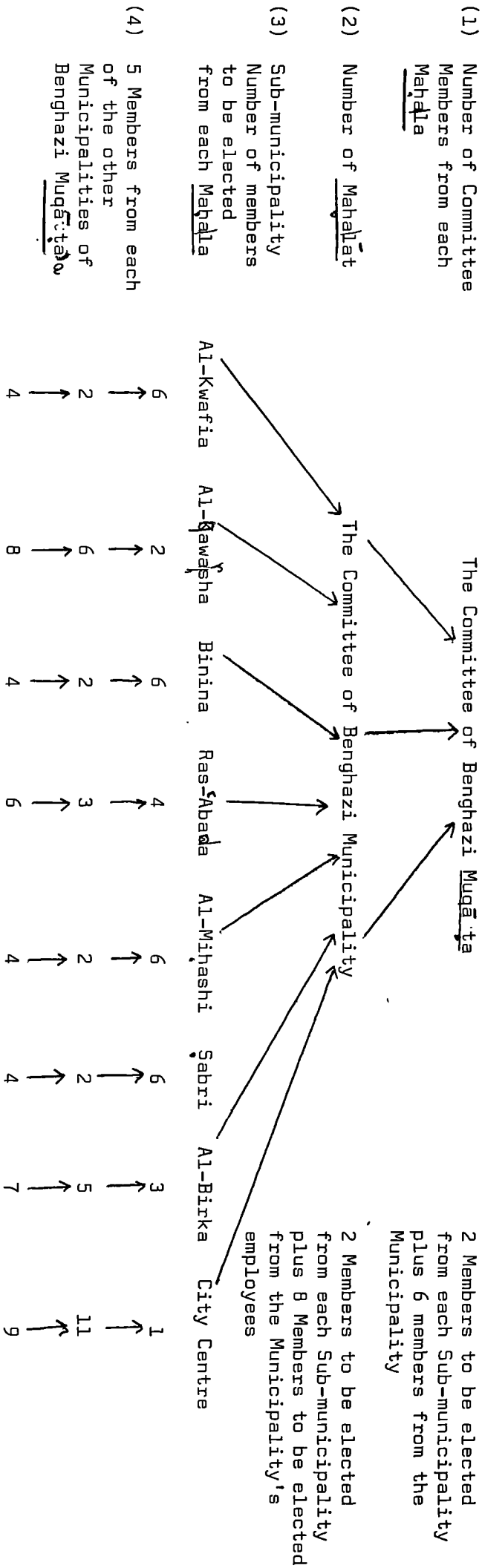


FIGURE 4

or Muqāṭaa⁽⁺⁾, the function of which is to elect the members of the representative body of Benghazi's Muqāṭaa in the National General Conference, which organization (i.e. the National General Conference) meets once every two years.⁽¹⁾ (The structure and divisions of the A.S.U. organisation will be shown in a following diagram).

Here, these Organizations are to be described as follows:

1) Organizations at the Basic Unit level: conference and committee

- (a) The Conference is the highest authority of the A.S.U. at that level. It is made up of all the local members of the A.S.U. (i.e. on Mahalla level). It meets once every four months, unless an extraordinary session is called by the Committee of the Basic Unit (of the Mahalla) or by one-third of the members of the conference. So, the job of the conference is to elect a Committee of the Mahalla.
- (b) The committee of the basic unit, or what is called the Popular Revolution represents the leadership of the local basic unit and is composed of four members (as is shown in the diagram of A.S.U. organization). The number of its members depends on the number of the Mahalla's population. These members are elected by the conference of the Basic Unit (Mahalla). A Secretary and two Assistants are also elected. The Committee and its Executive are elected for

(±) Before April 1975, the system of local government was a little different, where A.S.U. organization was on Muhafada level, which geographically speaking is larger than Muqāṭaa. The Muhafada was responsible for the branches of the Ministry in Benghazi, where as, e.g., the directors of the health service, education, was an appointee by the local government. But now they are elected by popular committee in the health sector, as its affairs are the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. In conclusion, the Muhafada system was abolished altogether.

(1) Henri Habib, op.cit., pp 242-3.

a period of two years. They meet at least once a month. They can establish sub-committees to work on particular matters, direct all activities at the level of the basic unit, and implement all decisions coming from committees above (such as the A.S.U. committee of Benghazi, Muqāṭṭā'a, the municipality's committee of Benghazi city, or the sub-municipality committee of the Mahalla district). They are expected to send monthly reports to the Committee of the Sub-municipality. The committee of the basic unit elects from one to six members, depending on the total size of membership, to the Conference of the Sub-municipality.

2) The conference and committee level of the unit of sub-municipality or Baladiya. The same can be said of this as has already been described in relation to the Popular Revolution, but with the addition that the committee of the Sub-municipality is composed of elected members from each Mahalla's committee, and its conference is on the Sub-municipality level, where it elects members from its committee to represent the Sub-municipality in the Municipality administration and some other members to represent it in the A.S.U. of Benghazi Muqāṭṭā'a.

3) The conference and committee level of the Municipality of Benghazi: its conference is on the Baladiya level, i.e., composed of all members elected from all sub-municipalities and the people of Benghazi Municipality's employees in order to elect six members to represent the Municipality of Benghazi in the A.S.U. of Benghazi muqāṭṭā'a.

4) Organization at the Muqāṭṭā'a level: Conference at Muqāṭṭā'a level. The conference is the highest authority at that level. It is composed

of two representatives from each Basic Unit of Sub-municipality in Muqāṭa'a, in addition to the representatives of other organizations in the city, such as youth and women's organizations, professional and trade unions, chamber of commerce, contractors' unions, etc. (depending on the size of the individual basic unit), and also the six representatives of the Municipality or Baladya of Benghazi. The term of the conference is four years. It meets every six months or in extraordinary sessions, if called by the Committee of the Muqāṭa'a or by one-third of its membership or by one-third of the membership of the Committees of the Basic Units within the Muqāṭa'a.

The Committee of the Muqāṭa'a: The conference of the Muqāṭa'a elects a twenty-member committee from amongst its own membership. The term of the committee is four years. It meets at least once a month. It elects a Secretary and two Assistants for the daily business of the committee. It also establishes specialized sub-committees from among its membership. It directs all political activities of the A.S.U. at the Muqāṭa'a level. It implements and carries all the decisions of the Conference of the Muqāṭa'a, directs and supervises the work of conference and committees at lower levels, and implements and applies all decisions and recommendations of the National General Conference and the R.C.C. (Revolutionary Command Council). It also sends monthly reports to the R.C.C.

Universities and colleges are considered the equivalent of a Muqāṭa'a, and are treated accordingly. Basic units exist among staff and faculty.

It is important to note that each committee of the Basic Unit of this organization is represented and called the Popular

Revolution or the Popular Committee. The responsibilities of its members, according to the A.S.U. regulations are:

- 1) The Popular Committees express their views on the limits of power of the local governors and the services they are offering.
- 2) Popular Centres express their viewpoints and have their say in the conditions of the cities. They expose the isolationist group which wants to assume power and which acts in a mercenary-like manner, conscious of its own interests only and not those of the masses.
- 3) Popular Committees will expose those who are placing obstacles in the way of the revolution and who are not meeting the demands of the people.
- 4) Popular Committees will bring about the downfall of all elements that are opposed to the masses, and all other subversive elements, and they will deprive these groups of all powers.

These terms would be achieved (according to the R.R.C. viewpoint) by the people who would act in conformity with their interests, whether it be in economics or education. It is natural that one becomes more responsible when given responsibilities.

Consequently, these conditions are to be obtained by educating people in a given direction. Therefore, the Popular Revolution believes it necessary to have a cultural revolution with new values which are human, deep and capable of sparking off a new spirit in the human being and kindling the latent potentials found in him. This new spirit is bound, in its turn, to reflect on man's own exercise of democracy, and his disclosure of its pure essence.

Thus the new political system has demanded that more people than ever participate in political activity in the city. Consequently they have experienced a change in their socio-economic position.

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