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The Labour Force in Libya: Problems and Prospects

by

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences in candidacy for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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13 SEP 1987

To my late father for his support,
to my mother for her life long
sacrifice and to my wife and
children for their continuous love.

ABSTRACT

The population of Libya has experienced a fast growth during the last three decades or so, and has actually more than trebled. However, it is still small in relation to the considerable resources and the vast territory of the country. The broadly based population pyramid, the unbalanced population and labour force distribution, the still ineffective educational and training system, the rapid pace of development, the under-employment of Libyans, the lack of dedication, workaholic attitudes and sense of responsibility among many Libyans and the prevailing cultural pattern of female exclusion from working careers, have together resulted in a wide gap between the supply and the demand for labour. To close such a wide gap, an importation of hundreds of thousands of non-nationals was necessary. For many reasons the number of the latter grew and grew to the degree that they started to constitute about one fifth of the total population and almost half of the total employment, and the dependence on them was too heavy to the extent that locals became parasitic.

Although the nationalization of the labour force started more than ten years ago, it has achieved little. The growth of the national economy, the broad cradle-to-grave social security, the abundant wealth, the immature foreign importation and the lack of good management of the local labour force were factors behind the failure of the Libyanization process and the continuous need for foreign brains and brawn in key sectors for a long time to come.

In a country like Libya, with an insufficient mix of skills and marginal and uncertain oil revenues, the key to her development is the investment in her people through better education, more equitable income and infrastructure distribution, more efficient medical services, hygienic nutrition, decent housing, better use of people and more efforts in the improvement of female status. The recent sharp decline in oil prices is a hidden blessing to Libyans as it is expected to compel them to take a U-turn in their aspirations and expectations and look more seriously to the problems of the labour force.

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This page could be complete only with the recognition of the constant and continuing debt of the author's wife Ayesha, his sons Aiman and Owen and his daughters Mouna, Imar, Amal and Amira. Their continuous support, constant love and extreme devotion is beyond words and proved to be never ending.

With the help of all these individuals and organizations the thesis on hand has been brought into light; and to all of them the author owes a debt of gratitude.

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CHAPTER ONEINTRODUCTION1.1 The Nature of the Problem

Once there was a mission to an underdeveloped country which faced a lack of resources and a great deal of poverty. The people of that country said, "What do you recommend we do for development?". The answer "find oil" (Bryce, 1968). Libya has followed the advice closely and discovered oil. With such a discovery one of the determinants of production was secured, i.e. capital, yet the country is still underdeveloped due to many factors, economic and social, most important of which is the lack of qualified and experienced people to carry on the development process.

Libya has a very small population in relation to its vast territory and considerable resources. A population of less than four million occupies an area of 1,750,000 km², which is fourth in size among the countries of Africa, about one third of the total area of the United States of America and more than seven times the total area of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, endowed with one very abundant and valuable mineral resource which gives her a very high per capita GNP rising from about £40 in 1951 to about £6,000 by 1985 (IBRD, 1960; EIU, 1986-87).

Owing to the high crude birth rate, low death rate, the reduction in infant mortality, the influx of immigration, and the repatriation of many overseas Libyans, the characteristic feature of demographic development taking place in the country is a very fast growth of



population, around 4 per cent per annum. No doubt the populations of few countries have grown more rapidly during the last three decades than that of Libya; it has actually more than trebled from 1,182,000 in 1954 to 3,637,000 by 1984 and is expected to be around 6,000,000 by the year 2000. The natural increase as of 1986 according to The World Population Data Sheet was the highest of the Middle Eastern countries with the exception of Syria and Jordan and only matched by Oman and Iraq.

The fact remains that the population is still small. More than half of the population is of school age. The proportion of population 14 years of age and less had increased from 38.5 per cent in 1954 to 44.1 per cent in 1964 and to 51.4 per cent in 1973, and then declined to 51.0 per cent in 1984. The dependency ratio of those people under 15 and over 65 in relation to those aged 15-65 is increasing year by year and this represents a heavy burden on the economically productive segment of the population. Census returns show a drastic fall in the crude economic activity rate among the citizen population from about 30 per cent in 1954 to 25 per cent in 1964 to 21 per cent in 1973 to about 19 per cent by 1984.

Most of the small population is concentrated within two areas, around Tripoli in the west and around Benghazi in the east. The two coastal areas contain more than 90 per cent of the total population on less than 10 per cent of the total land area, while the other 10 per cent of the population reside in 90 per cent of the land area throughout the desert. No wonder, therefore, that the urban population increased from 24.8 per cent in 1954 to 59.8 per cent by 1973 to 78.1 per cent in 1984 and to reach an estimated 82.4 per cent by the year 2000.

The forementioned two areas contain the two major cities of the country, Tripoli the largest city and Benghazi the second largest city. Between the two official censuses (1964-73) 44 per cent of the total in-migration (256,000) was the share of Tripoli; on the other hand, 23 per cent was the share of Benghazi. These two cities acted as magnetic attractions for the outlying population. For various reasons Tripoli increased from about 100,000 inhabitants after the Second World War to 130,000 in 1954 to 213,000 in 1964, further to 551,000 by 1973 to 991,000 in 1984 and in the year 2000 it is expected to reach 1,470,000-1,550,000 depending on which variant - high or low - is applied. Benghazi was following the same path as Tripoli. Though it is still overwhelmed by the significance of Tripoli, it has grown from 60,000 after the Second World War to 125,000 by 1964 to 232,000 in 1973 to about 485,000 in 1984 and to account for probably about 900,000 by the year 2000 (Lawless and Kezeiri, 1983; Attir, 1983; Secretariat of Utilities, 1978; Secretariat of Utilities, 1979; Secretariat of Utilities, 1985).

The governmental stress on these two cities, the repatriation of the overseas Libyans, together with the concentration of foreign communities, emphasized the growing focalization of the population, and as a result they contain about 40.6 per cent of the total inhabitants as of 1984 with subsequent disequilibrium of population distribution and imbalance of labour force among different areas. Even sincere and dramatic measures taken in the field of population redistribution in the last 10 years or so have proved to be largely ineffective and impossible. Indeed it is like keeping out sea waves by bare hands. The main reasons is that the geographical setting of the country is not very favourable towards balanced regional and sectoral development (Schliephake, 1986).

The situation has been aggravated by high expectations of decision makers to permit the construction of projects very much bigger than the administrative and technical capacity of the society, which besides generating a high demand on the labour force, has led to delays in completion, poor operation and bad maintenance in many projects. Although during the 1970's and in the early 1980's bottlenecks and problems created by over-ambition were concealed by the dazzling riches of the state and the super-affluence of individuals, when oil prices slumped down the hodge-podge type of development began to be felt.

These trends have not been alleviated by the participation of women in different activities. From data available it is observed that the participation rates for Libyan women in the labour force were among the lowest in the world - being 6.2 in 1973 to reach only 11.7 per cent by 1984. It is interesting to mention that the labour force participation rates in 1984 for women in Italy, U.K. and Sweden were 41.1, 59.0 and 77.4 respectively (Ginnekin, 1986).

Female education is improving very rapidly. This, among other factors, may serve as an indicator that women could be expected to play an important role in the workforce market. However, such a role is not expected to be very significant in the near future for many reasons, especially the prevailing high fertility, socio-religious restrictions and the present family structure in which the husband works and women are encouraged to marry, have children and perform domestic work.

These various difficulties have been supplemented by the waste of the scarce available national element of the labour force by misallocation, unorganized military appointments and draftings,

combined with the heavy investment and the construction boom, which altogether have dictated a situation where the problems could only be solved by the recruitment of non-nationals, both skilled and unskilled.

The number of non-nationals increased from only 4 per cent of the total population in 1964 to 8 per cent in 1973 to 19.6 per cent by 1983. At one time (1983) the recruitment of the non-nationals in the labour force reached as high as 47.7 per cent of the total employment (Secretariat of Planning, 1984).

Non-nationals transfer a substantial amount of money, share with citizens the subsidised goods, use technical and social infrastructures and aggravate the housing problems, are not a permanent labour supply source during political tensions, are sometimes not efficient, and contribute to the mechanism of the informal sector, but the most important fact is that they enter into a wide range of occupations which have the effect of allowing the locals to move out from occupations which they consider undesirable. This process, if it is allowed to continue, will result in a general dislike of manual work among nationals and the recruitment of foreign expatriates will continue.

However, one should not belittle the role of foreign expatriates in the country's development; on the contrary, the foreign labour force participated effectively in reducing the gap of technical understanding between Libyans and the industrialized countries and helped the country significantly to go ahead with its development.

To secure enough skilled labourers to replace foreign expatriates, it was necessary to resort to education as the most important provider

of skills, but the educational system has proved and still is proving to be incapable of meeting the rising demand on particular skills, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In general, education in the country experienced a very rapid expansion in numbers and in facilities, e.g. the number of total enrolment increased from 383,000 in the scholastic year 1969-70 to 1,226,000 by the scholastic year 1985-86, more than trebled. Higher education alone increased from as low as 4,000 to reach about 39,000 in the same period. The rapid increase in school population necessitated the fast growth in the numbers of teachers and classrooms from about 16,000 and 13,000 in the school year 1969-70 to 79,000 and 44,000 respectively by 1985-86 (Secretariat of Planning, 1983; The Green March, 1986). Nowadays there are four universities in the country when there were none before 1956. Training centres exceeded 100 while there were not ten before 1960, not to mention students and trainees who are studying abroad.

In spite of all that, some flaws generated historically, politically and culturally exist in the education system; the low quality of education, the concentration on humanities rather than practical sciences, the inflexibility of curricula, the lack of endogenous innovation, the snob hierarchy of subjects, the negative attitude towards short time schooling and blue collar jobs, the unbalanced spatial distribution of some educational facilities, the lack of emphasis on adult education, the lagging of female education compared with that of males, particularly at higher levels, all aggravated the situation and led to an excessive foreign workforce importation and a dreadful dependence on them.

Education and training are expensive undertakings. Seven hundred and fifty million Libyan Dinars* were spent in the period 1976-80 alone followed by an allocation of around one billion Libyan Dinars in the 1981-85 development plan (Secretariat of Planning, 1981; COMET, 1982). In spite of all these amounts harnessed to the educational system it is still incapable of meeting the required labour force. However, the nomadic, semi-nomadic and rural populations of Libya with their traditional psychological attitudes towards occupation and education are not expected to build up a capable and efficient educational hierarchy in a short period of time.

In Libya at the present time or the near future, the provision of full employment is not yet an issue, but the most important issue is the development of an appropriate mix of skills and specialization essential to sustain a mixed economy, as four or five decades from now oil exports will slow down or disappear. The major challenge to planners in the country arises from the fact that while job vacancies are increasing year after year due to the huge investments in all economic and social sectors, there is an overall reduction in economic activity rates in the country due to the widening base of the population pyramid and early retirement of occupations.

In a country like Libya with a relatively small population and an insufficient mix of skills, the key to her real transformation is the investment in her people to make them interact with and respond to the transformation process of the country. The response and interaction comes through the provision of better education, more equitable income and infrastructural distribution, more efficient medical services, hygienic nutrition, decent housing, better use of people and improving the status of women.

* LD.1987 = U.S.\$0.3161
£0.5168

These examples of various policies seem to be very rewarding and could prove very useful, though it should be emphasized that such policies are difficult and complex. The situation calls to harness the relatively marginal oil revenues to motivate the indigenous people to accept working in blue collar jobs and develop and encourage entrepreneurs and creativity in all fields.

The nature of the problem therefore stems from the fact that the country has a small population localized in two areas, polarized in two main cities, a rapidly growing population, weighted at the base with low educational attainment and a minor role of women in the society, wasting its scarce productive population through misallocations and the absence of incentives aggravated by over ambitious development programmes, all combined have led to the growing dependence on foreign expatriates.

1.2 The Significance of the Study

The significance and the import of the subject matter stems from the following:

(1) The literature on the manpower issue, though extensively debated, is still not universally applied. Generally the abundant available literature deals with two groups of countries : the highly developed which suffer neither shortage in capital nor shortage of know-how and skills, and their labour force market functions in a relatively balanced way, and the underdeveloped countries who lack capital in addition to their possession of a labour surplus resulting in their suffering high rates of unemployment or underemployment. Libya, among

other countries in the world, constitutes a member of a third group of nations which can be identified as capital rich and population poor countries, for whom the exploration of the labour force problems is a terra incognita awaiting more delving and digging.

(2) The rising concern and the wider recognition by many countries of the world at present as well as their future advancement depends upon a high consciousness of the role of human resources in such progress. Unfortunately in Libya the importance of the issue still receives obeisance in words usually denied through pragmatic practices. Therefore, the aim of this thesis, besides the reiteration of the importance of the subject matter, it explores issues, pinpoints weaknesses and identifies imperfections in which the labour force market functions and warrants practical guidelines for policy directives.

1.3 The Organization of the Study

Chapter one contains the Introduction to this research. It states the nature of the problem in a broad perspective with an initial purpose to establish a structural context of the thesis.

Chapter two examines the position of the demographic aspects of the Libyan population in relation to the labour force. An attempt is made in this chapter to investigate the size and composition of the population, its fertility and mortality levels, its distribution and concentration. Moreover, an effort is to be made to predict its future trends.

The objective of Chapter three, on the other hand, is to investigate the existing educational facilities and problems seen as important in hampering their effectiveness in producing most of the skills required for the labour market.

Chapter four identifies the economic characteristics of nationals in the labour force. In building up the analysis of this chapter, a brief review of native employment structure before oil exportation is to be considered ~~at~~ its outset. Afterwards the chapter deals with economically active nationals, their sectoral and occupational structure, spatial distribution, educational attainment and their utilization. Future employment trends of nationals moreover, concludes the discussion.

The focus of Chapter five lies in dealing with expatriates in the labour force; their growth and abrupt decline in number, sectoral occupational and spatial distribution and their ethnic composition. The assessment of the Libyanization process then concludes the discussion of the subject matter of the chapter.

The interest of Chapter six is to consider the development planning in Libya in a labour shortage environment. It reviews most of different programmes and social and economic policies before and after oil discoveries.

Chapter seven delves into some issues related to female status, to examine and pinpoint some of the most important causes of female limited participation, to suggest some solutions to the problems and to conclude the discussion by stating some factors which are expected to

stimulate women's tendency to take jobs in the future and make them an important potential labour force resource.

The last chapter of this thesis is devoted to emphasizing and exploring some policy guidelines seen as important to tackle the problem of the labour force in Libya.

1.4 Limitation of the Study

Literature on the demographic aspects of manpower in Libya is very limited and whatever figures are available are only estimates. It is taken into consideration that generally in developing nations, not only are statistical data of dubious quality, but sometimes they do not exist at all. Libya is no exception, though recently collection and collation of data have improved considerably. Statistical data in Libya are characterized by disagreement, political orientation and inconsistency even among government departments themselves. The country's internal boundaries have been changed so many times, particularly in the recent 15 years or so, making it difficult to compare regional data in a very conclusive way.

While it would be unwise to place too much faith on the reliability of data available, it should be emphasized however, that every effort has been made to minimize and rectify errors and deficiencies in order to make the available data serve the purpose of the discussion.

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CHAPTER TWODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LIBYAN WORKFORCE2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the position of the demographic aspects of the Libyan population in relation to the labour force. An attempt is made to investigate the size and composition of the population, its fertility and mortality levels, its distribution and concentration. Moreover, an attempt is to be made to predict its future trends.

As far as the analysis in this chapter is concerned, sources of information have been taken from -

1. General population censuses 1954, 1964 and 1973.
2. The preliminary results of the 1984 General Population Census.
3. Vital statistics prepared by the Secretariat of Planning.
4. Population forecasts 1975-2000 and National Physical Perspective Plan (1981-2000).
5. Other sources consulted in the discussion of the chapter are included in its references.

2.2 Population Size and Growth

In what follows we shall pay particular attention to highlight the demographic aspects of the workforce in Libya. In this respect we will discuss the structure of the Libyan population with reference to factors including its composition by age and sex, its growth, fertility and mortality. The aim of this is to find out whether the Libyan

population is young or old, rationally or irrationally distributed and participating optimally in the labour force or not.

The size and composition of any workforce is a function of three main factors : (i) the size of population (ii) the age structure of the population, and (iii) social, cultural and economic factors determining labour force participation" (Hauser 1979:55).

Libya has never been a densely populated country. Its small population size throughout the past may be partly attributed to the successive invasions by different nations, the last invasion being the Italian occupation. The application of harsh measures of the Italians during their colonization resulted in high death rates and a high rate of emigration to the neighbouring countries. Other important factors which contributed to the smallness of the population include widespread aridity, frequent famines, and the past occurrence of diseases. In addition, the outbreak of the last World War turned the country into a major battlefield and resulted in numerous casualties.

In the year 1843 the population of Libya was estimated at a little more than half a million (El-Mehdawi and Clarke 1982). Before the Italian occupation in 1911 it was between 800,000 and one million (Misrati 1983).

When the Italians ruled the country two censuses took place; the first in the year 1931 and another in 1936. It was revealed that the total population in 1931 reached about 704,000 : natives 655,000, Italians 44,000 and other minorities around 5,000, whereas in the 1936 census, the indigenous population amounted to only 733,000, the Italian

population grew to 113,000 and other minorities declined to 3,000 inhabitants. Thus the total population of the country by that time amounted to 849,000 persons. It was believed, however, that those two censuses were of limited scope and were neither detailed nor accurate.

After the country became effectively independent in 1951, the Third Census of the population of Libya was conducted in the year 1954. The returns of this census revealed that the country had a little over one million inhabitants. Out of the total population of 1,089,000 persons, aliens constituted 4.3 per cent, i.e. 47,000 persons. Again the 1954 Census was believed to be under-reported, and it was no more than intelligent guesswork and was of doubtful reliability.

The Fourth Census of the country took place in the year 1964, when the population reached a little over one million and a half, and aliens totalled 48,000, or 3.1 per cent of the total population. This census is considered to belong to a transitional period, after the beginning of oil extraction and exportation and the change from a federal form of government to a unitary one. The 1964 Census, like its predecessor of 1954 was on a de jure basis; in other words, it was conducted on the basis of usual place of residence. It covered all Libyan nationals and aliens. However, foreign military personnel and members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps were excluded from census enumeration. Nevertheless, the census is characterized also by scarcity of published data particularly in respect of urbanization analysis.

The Fifth Census, the third after Independence, was conducted in 1973, just four years after the First of September Revolution. It was distinguished from the earlier ones in many aspects; for example, the

census was conducted with local technical expertise and personnel, was more comprehensive in its coverage, contains more detailed tables and included in its scope housing and establishment censuses. The 1973 census was also on a de jure basis; however, unlike the earlier censuses, the nomadic and semi-nomadic population was counted on a de facto basis. Unfortunately, although this census was designed to provide basic and thorough demographic and socio-economic data, the possibilities of errors remain high.

The population of Libya in 1973 was 2,249,000 consisting of 1,192,000 males and 1,057,000 females, and an increase of 43.8 per cent on the 1964 General Census. Aliens constituted 8.8 per cent of the total population.

In spite of the fact that by and large all regions of the country experienced an astonishingly fast increase in the population, the rates were variable; Tripoli and Benghazi experienced 9 per cent and 8 per cent per annum growth respectively during the period 1954-1973, Sebha 7 per cent, Derna and Al-Khalij expanded by 6 per cent, Zavia and Gebel Akhdar 5 per cent, Misurata 4 per cent, while Khomes and Gherian experienced only 2 per cent growth. Although the latter experienced a population growth of 58 per cent during 1954-64 it recorded a severe decline in the period 1964-73. This is of course a result of the migration tide to the predominant neighbouring city of Tripoli and other more prosperous municipal centres.

As has been mentioned before, Tripoli and Benghazi regions together gained "the lion's share" when they recorded 46 per cent of the total population in the year 1973, a very significant increase from

36 per cent in 1954 and 40 per cent in 1964. On the other hand, Misurata, Khomes and Gherian recorded a substantial percentage decline of the Libyan population living in their boundaries from 10 per cent in the first and 11 per cent in both the two other areas in 1964, to 7 per cent, 6 per cent and 2 per cent respectively in 1973. Other regions were hardly capable of keeping up their proportion of population (Benkhail 1975).

The preliminary data for 1984 which were released by the Statistical Department in 1985 demonstrated another significant growth pattern. In the survey it was revealed that the total population of the country reached 3,637,000; 1,950,000 males and 1,687,000 females. Out of the total number it was shown that aliens amounted to 401,000 or about 11 per cent of the total population. Thus the eleven year interval period 1973-84 witnessed an increase of 1,388,000, i.e. 61.7 per cent. For Libya as a whole the rate of natural growth was shown to be much higher than what was experienced during the 1964-1973 period. This high rate of natural growth exceeded forecasts of many consultancies and agencies working for the country (The Secretariat of Utilities 1985).

Because the 1984 preliminary results are classified by municipalities, not governorates as the case in preceding counts, an effort is made to adjust the 1973 Census returns according to the already existing new municipal administrative boundaries. Such effort is done to make comparisons more meaningful between the latest two censuses, 1973 and 1984. Table 2.1 shows the growth of population by municipality for both nationals and non-nationals as of 1973 and 1984.

Table 2.1 Growth of Total Population 1973-84 by Municipality in 000s

Municipality	1973 Census adjusted for new boundaries			1984			Annual Compound Growth rate		Percentage of non- Libyans	
	Libyans	Non- Libyans	Total	Libyans	Non- Libyans	Total	Libyans	Non- Libyans	1973	1984
Tobruk	53	5.5	58.5	86	8.0	94.0	4.5	9.4	9.4	8.5
Derna	57	7.6	64.6	92	13.4	105.4	4.4	5.3	11.8	12.7
Gebel-Akhdar	72	7.1	79.1	110	10.6	120.7	3.9	3.7	9.0	8.8
Al-Fateh	62	5.3	67.3	94	8.9	102.9	3.9	4.8	7.9	8.6
Benghazi	265	53.2	318.2	418	67.9	485.9	4.2	2.2	16.7	14.0
Ejdabia	57	4.2	61.2	88	12.5	100.5	4.0	10.4	6.9	12.4
Sirte	45	2.7	47.7	90	21.0	111.0	6.5	20.5	5.7	18.9
Suf-Ajjin	32	0.4	32.4	39	6.1	45.1	1.8	28.1	1.2	13.5
Kufra	12	0.6	12.6	20	4.7	24.7	4.8	20.6	4.8	19.0
Misurata	87	4.1	91.1	150	28.4	178.4	5.1	19.2	4.5	15.9
Zliten	58	1.1	59.1	95	5.9	100.9	4.6	16.5	1.9	5.8
Khoms	86	3.0	89.0	140	10.1	150.1	4.5	11.7	3.4	6.7
Tarhuna	49	1.3	50.3	79	5.9	84.8	4.4	14.7	2.6	7.0
Tripoli	590	75.5	665.5	886	104.4	990.4	3.8	3.0	11.3	10.5
Azizia	42	2.3	44.3	73	11.9	84.9	5.2	16.1	5.2	14.0
Zavia	128	5.9	133.9	202	18.1	220.1	4.2	10.7	4.4	8.2
Niqat-Khams	101	4.9	105.9	166	15.5	181.5	4.6	11.0	4.6	8.5
Gherian	64	2.5	66.5	107	9.8	116.8	4.8	13.2	3.8	8.4
Yefren	59	1.3	60.3	69	4.6	73.6	1.4	12.2	2.2	6.3
Ghadames	29	1.0	30.0	47	4.7	51.7	4.5	15.1	3.3	9.1
Sebha	31	4.7	35.7	62	14.1	76.1	6.5	10.5	13.2	18.5
Shati	26	0.9	26.9	42	4.5	46.5	4.5	15.8	3.3	9.7
Ubari	25	1.4	26.4	43	6.1	49.1	5.1	14.3	5.3	12.4
Murzuk	22	0.3	22.3	39	3.4	42.4	5.3	24.7	1.3	8.0
Total	2052	196.8	2248.8	3237	400.5	3637.5	4.2	6.7	8.8	11.0

Source : Computed from Population Censuses 1973 and 1984.

Table 2.1 illustrates that 16 municipalities out of the 24 experienced an annual growth rate higher than the average national growth rate. Six municipalities were below such an average, and two municipalities were about average. Due to in-migration of the Libyan population stimulated by the state's emphasis in her development programmes and the existing high natural increase, the population growth rates in Sebha, Sirte, Murzuk, Azizia, Ubari and Kufra were above normal national growth being 6.5, 6.5, 5.3, 5.2, 5.1 and 4.8 respectively. Misurata, because it has been selected to be the third agglomeration by the year 2000, also recorded an annual growth rate of 5.1 per cent. The lowest population growth rates were observed in Suf-Ajgin and Yefren, being 1.8 and 1.4 respectively, because these two municipalities are close to rapidly growing urban centres, Tripoli and Gherian in respect of Yefren and Misurata and Sirte in the case of Suf-Ajgin. While the growth of population in Benghazi Municipality matched that of the national growth, Tripoli in contrast recorded a modest growth rate of 3.8 per cent. However, the two municipalities of Tripoli and Benghazi were shown to have more than two-fifths of the total citizen population.

It is observed also from Table 2.1 that non-Libyans increased from about 197,000 in 1973 to reach 401,000 in 1984 i.e. an annual compound growth rate of 6.7 per cent. Their share of the total population as a result has increased from 8.8 to 11.0 per cent in the same period. The annual growth rate of non-Libyans was more than 15 per cent in nine municipalities. The highest annual growth rate is noticed in Suf-Ajgin, Murzuk, Kufra and Sirte, being 28.1, 24.7, 20.6 and 20.5, which is due to the low level of education and training among their populations and the regional migratory movements of their educated and

qualified people to the two main urban centres of Tripoli and Benghazi. Because the latter two obtain relatively better qualified labour forces, the growth rates of non-Libyans experienced by them were only 3.0 and 2.2 per cent respectively and their share of non-nationals declined from 28 per cent in 1973 to 24.5 per cent in 1984.

From the foregoing discussion it has been pointed out that the size of population during about five decades, increased more than five times, from 704,000 in 1931 to 3,637,000 in 1984. Libyans increased from 655,000 to 3,237,000 in the same period. The annual rate of population growth, being more than 4.0, is among the highest in the world.

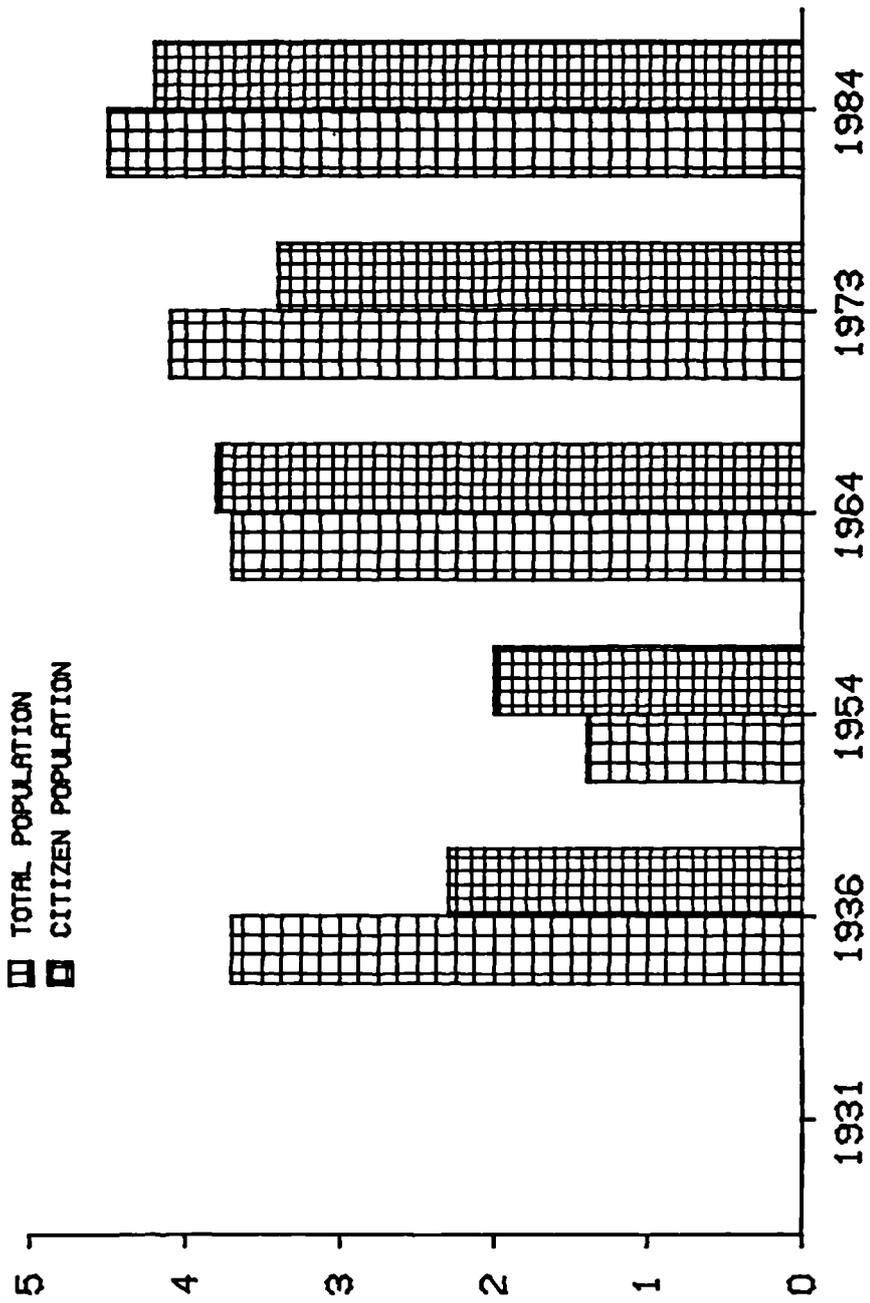
The development in citizens as well as the total population as revealed in different censuses is shown in Table 2.2 and represented graphically in Figure 2.1.

Table 2.2 : Development of Population and the Annual Compound Growth Rates 1931-1984 in 000s

Census Years	Total population		Citizens only	
	Number	Annual compound growth rate	Number	Annual compound growth rate
1931	704	-	655	-
1936	843	3.7	733	2.3
1954	1,089	1.4	1,042	2.0
1964	1,564	3.7	1,516	3.8
1973	2,249	4.1	2,052	3.4
1984	3,637	4.5	3,237	4.2

Source : Different population censuses.

FIG. 2.1 GROWTH OF POPULATION AND THE ANNUAL COMPOUND GROWTH RATE 1931-84



Source: See Table 2.2



It should be emphasized that the astonishing rapidity of population growth shown in Table 2.2 and represented graphically in Figure 2.1, is mainly attributed to the increase of the native population. It is only in the period 1936-1954 when both the total population and citizens recorded an insignificant increase due to outmigration, wars and famine that took place at that time; otherwise, improved health care facilities seem to have led to a significant reduction in infant mortality rates with no significant signs of a fall in the continuing high birth rates; coupled with this, overall life expectancy has been raised. According to the 1986 World Population sheet of the Population Reference Bureau, the natural increase was 3.3 per cent per annum one of the highest in the World. It is worth noting that the natural increase rates in most other Arab countries in the Middle East are lower with the exception of Syria, Gaza and Jordan. In the neighbouring countries the said indices were as follows : Algeria 3.2 per cent, Egypt 2.6, Tunisia 2.7, Sudan 2.3 and Chad 2.0.

Such a case is, however, open to other hypotheses; either the figures provided by the first censuses have been distorted by errors and the total number of population was under-estimated; or alongside the natural growth there exists an important influx of migration coming into the country. In fact, in the case of Libya all hypotheses should be considered. The first three censuses have certainly made multiple omissions which had been accounted for elsewhere, but it is also certain that immigration has played an important role in the growth of the Libyan population, e.g. it is known that following the discovery and exportation of oil, there has been, in addition to the considerable influx of foreign workers into Libya (Arabs in particular) a vast number of Libyans returning to their homeland who until then had been

discouraged from returning because of low economic and political prospects in their own country and had lived abroad in Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries (Younis 1979 : 159-60). Moreover, some Libyans returned from Chad, Turkey and Niger. The Housing Department estimated 54,000 returning migrants during 1954-63 (probably exaggerated) to settle down in the two main cities and other municipal centres as a witness of Libyan repatriation (El Mehdawi and Clarke 1982). Besides, Libya from the political point of view is considered to be the land of all Arabs, and although no data are available of how many Arabs applied for a permanent residency in Libya, a number (though not remarkable) obtained it.

2.3 Urbanization and Population Concentration

This section is not directed to examine and identify in detail the current level of urbanization; instead the aim is more modest, it is to highlight a few points correlated to and associated with population and labour force distribution. The author is fully aware of the fact that the term urbanization is arbitrary and does not have a universally accepted definition. Blake (1979) for example gave no heed to national definition and took to himself a numerical basis. He considered a settlement of 10,000 inhabitants or more as urban; others like Attir (1983) have defined an urban community as a settlement of 5000 inhabitants or more. Estimates of regional plans in 1980 on the other hand based levels of urbanization on a different parameter when they identified urban population as those settlements with 3000 inhabitants. The United Nations in its study of patterns of urban and rural population growth 1980, regarded as urban only the total populations of Tripoli and Benghazi plus the urban parts of Beida and Derna.

Moreover, the 1984 Population Census and the Secretariat of Utilities through the revised National Physical Perspective Plan adopted a definition of urban settlements as those with 2,000 inhabitants or more. Therefore, the classification of urban and rural population has always been difficult as it is based on different parameters and criteria. Some settlements, particularly small ones, which are classified as non-urban often perform important urban functions as they contain so much dispersed non-agricultural activities (Kezeiri 1984, U.N. 1980).

Indeed from olden times, Libya had experienced urbanization. Whoever dominated the country and whatever the purpose of their rule, they constructed urban settlements. Some of these settlements still exist at the present time such as Sabrata, 67 km west of Tripoli, and Leptis Magna, 120 km east of Tripoli. But the most consistent and significant increase of urbanization has emerged since the beginning of the twentieth century. "The growth rate of urbanization during the era that preceded the exploitation of oil resources in the early 1960s was very similar to the total population growth rate. During the first half of the twentieth century it was 4 per cent which was just over the average annual total population growth" (Attir 1983 : 160), and in 1954 the urban population was just under 25 per cent. After 1960, when oil revenues began to flow there was a sudden rise in the rate of urbanization growth. In 1964 the urban population component accounted for 47 per cent. The proportion of the total population which was living in settlements with more than 20,000 persons rose from 18 per cent to 25 per cent between 1954 and 1966 (Costello 1977). As of 1973 the total urban population was almost 60 per cent of the total inhabitants. Between 1974 and 1980 the proportion of urban population

increased further. The limited rural development potentialities and the current urban-oriented state developmental policies (though recently agriculture has been emphasized) accentuated the pressure of urbanization and consequently the proportion of urban dwellers increased to an estimated percentage of 66 in 1980. At the 1984 Census the urban population calculated on the basis of all settlements with 2,000 or more inhabitants was 2,840,000 or 78.1 per cent of the total population (Kezeiri and Lawless 1986).

As Table 2.3 and Figure 2.2 illustrate, while the urban proportion of the total population is continuously on the increase, the rural population grew slowly until the 1973 census, but has since declined significantly. However, it is expected to rise again by the end of the century.

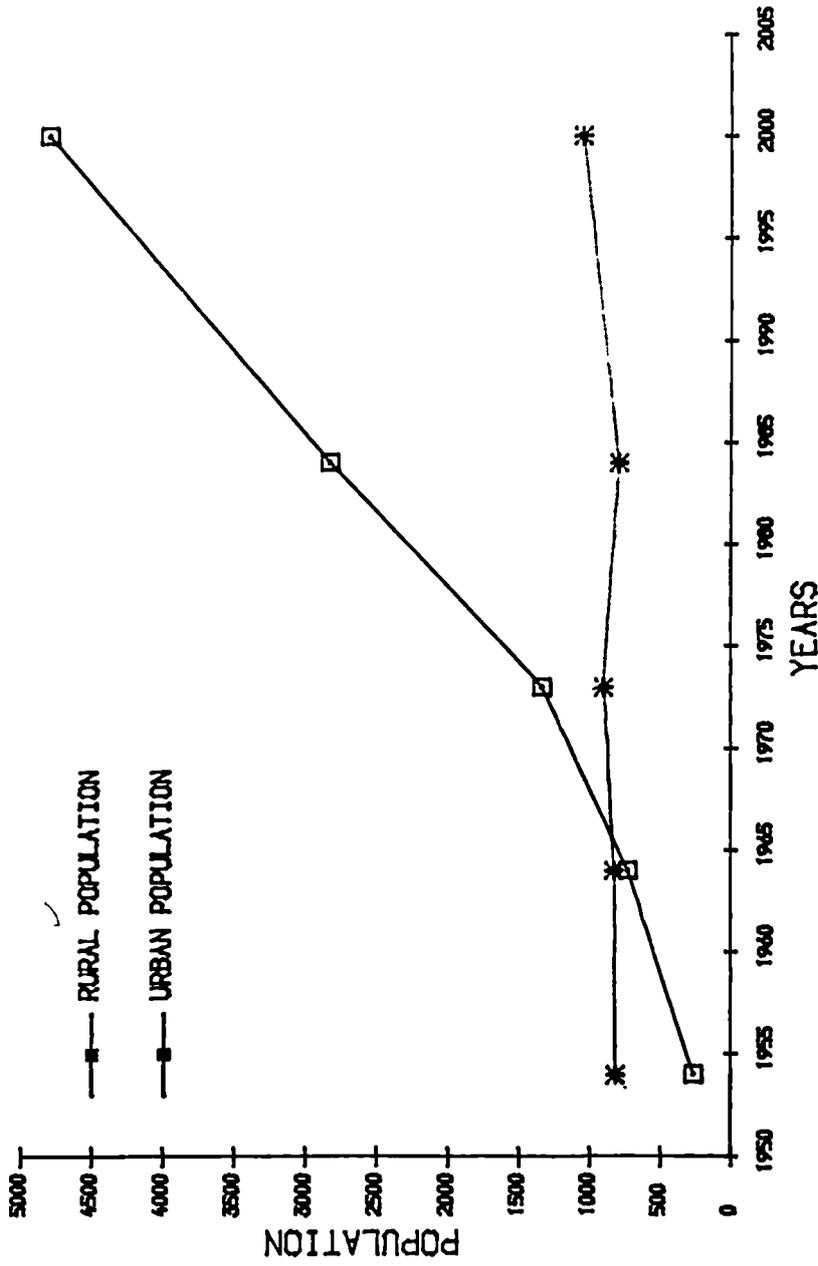
Table 2.3 : Rural and Urban Population Trends 1954-2000 in 000s

Year	Total Population	Rural	Urban	% Urban
1954	1,089	819	270	24.8
1964	1,564	829	735	47.0
1973	2,249	905	1,344	59.8
1984	3,637	797	2,840	78.1
2000	5,950	1,050	4,900*	82.4

Source : Calculated from Population Censuses 1954, 1964, 1973, 1984 and The National Physical Perspective Plan (1981-2000) Revised, Tripoli, Libya.

* estimates of year 2000 are based on low variant.

Fig. 2-2 RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION TRENDS 1954-2000 IN (000) s



SOURCE: Computed from 1954, 1964, 1973, 1984, Population censuses and The National Physical Perspective Plan to year 2000

Based on the population forecasts providing for a total citizen population of 5,950,000, and having regard to the limited capacity of rural areas for employment, it is estimated that the urban citizen population will increase from approximately 2,150,000 in 1980 to approximately 4,900,000 - 5,100,000 by the year 2000 i.e. between 82.4 to 85.7 per cent of the total citizen population (see Table 2.3 and Figure 2.2).

In Libya, as in many oil exporting developing nations in particular, three main factors contributed to the rapid growth of urban population : (i) the high natural increase, (ii) rural-urban migration, and (iii) the immigration of foreign workers (Addo 1972). Moreover, the high growth rate of urbanization in the last thirty years or so is attributed to the limited base of Libyan cities.

The heavy investment witnessed by the country, particularly during the prosperous years 1974-79 when oil prices skyrocketed suddenly, was reflected in an enormous internal urban movement from the traditionally agricultural areas to a few cities which acted as poles for rural migrants and to an international migration from all over the world. Besides, due to limitations in the upgrading of rural areas most of the population increase has to be borne by the urban structure. It should be emphasized, however, that the natural increase factor is more consistent in promoting urbanization than the case of migration. This stems from the fact that while migration fluctuates from time to time, the natural increase persists around 4 per cent per annum. Such a trend is attributed to the fact that while there still exists mortality differentials between rural and urban areas, there is insignificant if not nil differential in rural-urban fertility (Clarke 1978).

2.4 The Dominance of Two Cities

As in many developing nations, and in most Arab and Middle Eastern countries, urbanization in Libya is very much characterized by the existence of particular foci. A few urban centres contain most of the population (Simmons 1981; Abu-Aianah, 1982; Clarke 1982a). Tripoli is the largest, most powerful and developed city of the country. It is more than twice as large as Benghazi, the second largest. The population of Tripoli increased from about 100,000 inhabitants after the Second World War to about 213,000 in 1964, to 551,000 by 1973, to 991,000 by 1984 and in the year 2000 it is expected to reach 1,470,000 - 1,550,000 depending on which variant - high or low - is applied.

Moreover Benghazi is following the same path as Tripoli, though it is still overwhelmed by the significance of the largest city. It has in fact grown from about 60,000 after the Second World War to 125,000 by 1964, to 232,000 in 1973 and reached 485,000 by 1984, and is expected to amount to about 900,000 by the year 2000 (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983, Secretariat of Utilities 1978, Secretariat of Utilities 1979, Secretariat of Utilities 1985).

The two agglomerations have grown very rapidly as they absorb the greater part of the population growth, as we have mentioned earlier, and they also act as pull stimuli of the rural-urban tide of migration. Rural to urban movements have developed as a significant migration pattern because the contrast between urban centres (especially Tripoli and Benghazi) and the rest of the country is so marked that the choice of destination by migrants became obvious. The movement of people to overpopulated urban centres decreased the number of manpower in

agricultural areas and shifted it away into industry and the services sector, which resulted in an agricultural productivity decline (Abdussalam 1983, Nijim 1975, Hartley 1972, Khalfallah 1979). During the period 1954-73 internal migration continued to rise dramatically. In absolute terms, for example, it increased from the total of 53,000 migrants during the period 1954-64 to 256,000 migrants during the period 1964-73. Although the preliminary results of the 1984 census show no figures in regard to internal migration, the trend is believed to have continued. The two main cities, however, were the main recipients of such in-migration when their proportion exceeded 60 per cent of the total net migration as of 1973. Moreover, the influx of foreign personnel was mainly borne by Tripoli and Benghazi. In- and out-migration therefore besides aggravating the urban structure resulted in making Tripoli and Benghazi approach a level in which the migrants were starting to dominate the labour force. "In Benghazi only 52.4 per cent of the labour force was born in the province and in Tripoli only 51.3 per cent. These urban focal points were equally effective in retaining the local population and labour force. Only Tripoli and Benghazi had retained over 90 per cent of the workers who had been born within each of these provinces" (Bean 1983 : 201).

The governmental stress on these two cities at least until recently, because they contained a large proportion of administrative, economic, educational and cultural centres, the restitution of the migrated Libyans who left the homeland during the Italian domination, together with foreign communities, accentuated the growing focalization of the country's small population. As of 1984, the combined cities of Tripoli and Benghazi served as a refuge for more than two fifths of the total population and have dominated the urban system in the country (Kezeiri and Lawless 1986).

Whilst the two major cities suggest a type of joint pre-eminence in some respects, no other town can compete with the city of Tripoli in size and variety of functions. This is due to the fact that it has been experiencing urbanization much longer than Benghazi. Tripoli has always diversified its employment opportunities, served as a pole to modernization and has been strongly linked to the world economy throughout centuries (Clarke 1982a). No other agglomeration surrounding Tripoli could rival its significance. The city of Benghazi, on the other hand, is very much in competition with other growing urban centres such as Derna, Tobruk, Marej and Beida which have remained to a great extent separate and independent entities.

Despite the extreme dominance of the two major cities, other medium-sized towns continue to emerge. On the basis of the 1973 Census of Population, Kezeiri (1984) reported that there exists in Libya a number of intermediate cities : Zavia, Misurata, Ejdabia, Beida, Tobruk and Sebha. The planned growth of medium-sized cities in the last decade has been apparent. Misurata, about 200 km east of Tripoli, was planned to be the third city in the country when it was selected as a site for a massive steel complex, and there are also large ancillary industries planned for the adjacent area making for a considerable industrial development. Because the city has been planned to be a growth pole, it has been forecasted that it will have 250,000-350,000 people by the year 2000. Zavia was projected to have 150,000-200,000 and the next projected agglomeration is Sebha which is expected to increase to 110,000-130,000 in the year 2000 (Secretariat of Utilities 1985).

Small towns have also grown rapidly in size and in number. As of 1984, there were 79 small towns with 2,000-3,000 inhabitants containing some 673,000 persons, or about 23.7 per cent of the total urban population (Kezeiri and Lawless 1986).

The tide of urban migration and its influence upon demographic change and the new trend to urbanizing all major occupations, including some professions in the agricultural activities, contributed, among other factors, to the high degree of urbanization (Hartley 1972; Urzua 1981; U.N. 1980). This, in turn, has led to the existing imbalance of population and labour force distribution. The 1973 Population Census returns revealed that while the coastal areas of the north served as a focus for more than 90 per cent of the total population and 83.5 per cent of the economically active Libyans, they had only about 10 per cent of the total land area. Reflections of the unevenness of population and labour force distributions revealed by the preliminary results of the 1984 General Population Census were still apparent. Those municipalities located on the coast, it was shown, had 82.7 per cent of the population and 82.3 per cent of the total economically active Libyans. While Tripoli and Benghazi had 41.7 per cent of the total citizen population and 41.8 per cent of the total economically active Libyans in 1973, in 1984 these percentages were 40.3 and 41.4 respectively.

Reasons behind the imbalance of population and labour force distributions are obvious. The better environmental conditions on the coastal belt have influenced the prevailing population distribution, which has attracted investment in coastal areas and better technical and social infrastructures, and thus better living conditions are

enjoyed than in other parts of the country attracting a larger and better qualified labour force.

However, since 1976 physical planning methodology has been improved, as regional plans as well as the National Perspective Plan 1981-2000 have been prepared. Some methodological features in socio-economic planning have emerged with a new approach to development in spatial terms; for example, more than half of the new projects of the 1976-80 industrial development plan were located outside the two main cities (El-Mehdawi 1981). The process of limiting the two cities of Tripoli and Benghazi as growth poles has already started. New sources of employment are appearing through accelerating development for interior areas (Secretariat of Planning 1982). The creation has already been planned and execution begun of a network of medium-sized towns throughout the country, which will provide new centres of economic growth with large industrial complexes and a full range of services, and around them, where appropriate, modernized villages having access to these centres. These measures, though for the time being limited and deterred by the prevailing inhospitable environmental conditions, have begun to result in an enormous population increase in some of the new growth poles, small ones in particular; for example Sirte, Kufra and Sebha more than doubled in population during the period 1973-84.

2.5 Fertility and Mortality

Adequate birth and death registrations in Libya are still incomplete and characterized by inconsistency in spite of the fact that they have been improved considerably. Because of their incompleteness

and low level of accuracy one can not be certain about them in any analysis. Therefore, figures presented in this respect will be only approximations to the true ones and only intended to show the general trend.

Data from vital statistics (1980) revealed that the crude birth rate of the total population was ~~38.4~~ 36.8 per thousand, 36.8 for males and 40.3 for females (see Table 2.4 and Fig.2.3). According to municipalities Sebha experienced the highest crude birth rate, followed by Zliten and Suf-Ajgin, being 55.0, 52.4 and 49.7 respectively, while lowest rates were in Azizia (17.3), Gherian (22.1) and Zavia (30.9). This may be either due to errors in enumeration or the preference of women in those municipalities to have their babies born in the General Hospital in Tripoli where better health services are provided. The overall crude death rate was only 5.1 per thousand, 5.4 for males and 4.7 for females. The highest crude death rates were again recorded in Sebha (7.6) followed by Derna and Ejdabia (6.6) and Khomes (6.2) per thousand. This may be understood in view of the fact that such municipalities might provide better medical care and there are perhaps a large number of deaths as they have relatively good hospitals which attract the acutely and terminally ill from other districts. Deaths are certainly not entirely from residents of those municipalities; such reasoning is reinforced when we examine the crude death rates of Ubari, Shati (near Sebha) and Zavia (near Tripoli) which recorded the lowest rates in the same year 1980.

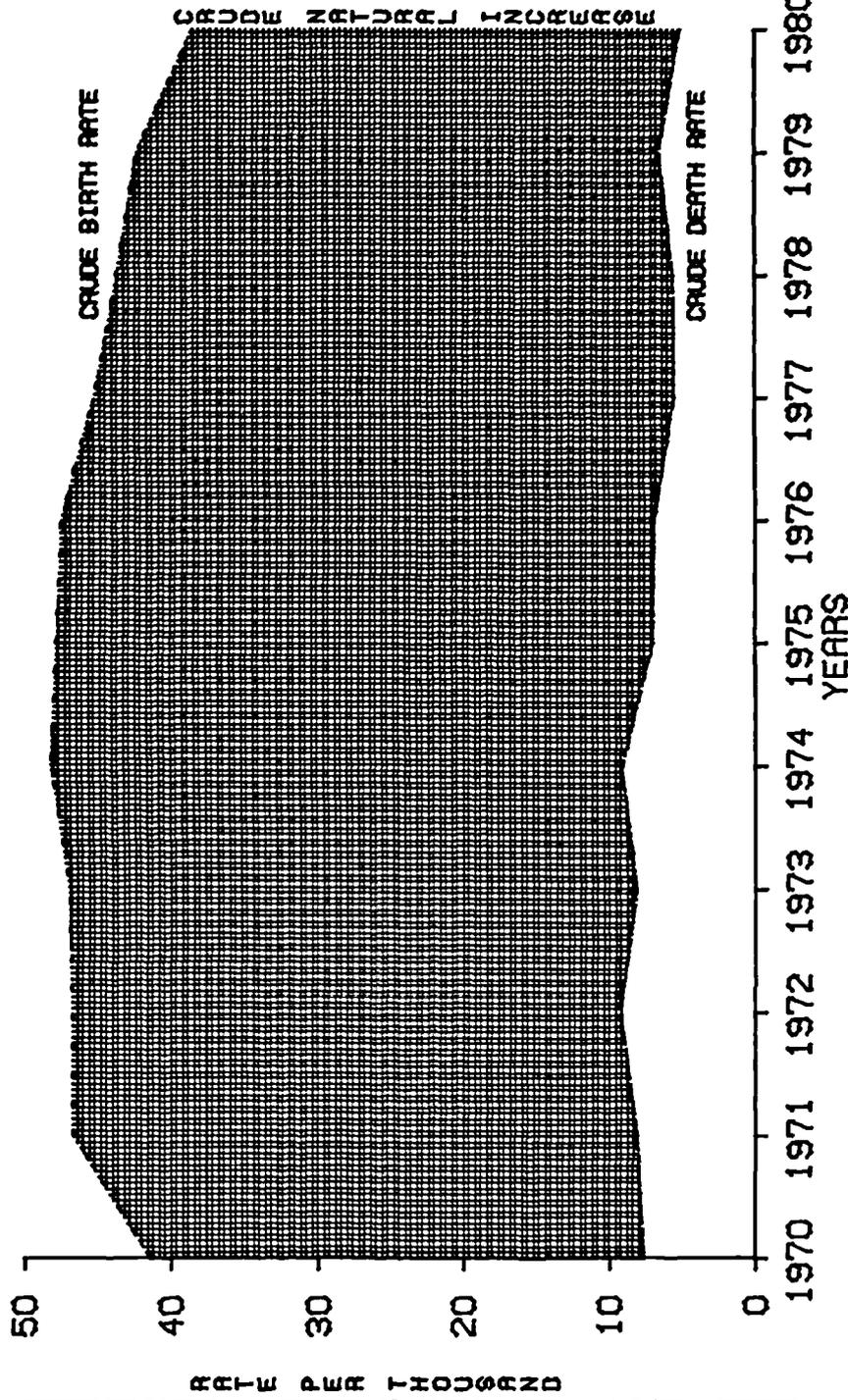
Death rates that had almost equalled the birth rates in the forties and even in the early 1950's were reduced to a very low level in 1980 (5.1) and therefore the crude rate of natural increase was 3.3

Table 2.4 : Crude Birth, Death and Natural Increase Rates per Thousand, by Sex for the Total Population, 1970-80

Year	CBR			CDR			Natural increase		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1970	40.3	42.6	41.4	7.5	7.8	7.6	32.8	34.8	33.8
1971	45.1	48.5	46.7	7.9	8.4	8.1	37.2	40.1	38.6
1972	44.8	48.9	46.7	9.1	9.3	9.2	35.7	39.6	37.5
1973	44.9	49.3	46.9	8.7	8.8	8.1	36.2	40.5	38.8
1974	47.1	49.2	48.1	8.3	8.0	9.1	38.8	41.2	39.0
1975	45.8	49.9	47.7	7.4	6.6	7.0	38.4	43.3	47.7
1976	45.3	49.8	47.4	7.3	6.4	6.9	38.0	43.4	40.5
1977	42.7	47.8	45.1	6.2	5.5	5.9	36.5	42.3	39.2
1978	41.2	46.4	43.6	5.9	5.4	5.6	35.3	41.0	38.0
1979	39.8	45.1	42.2	5.8	5.3	5.6	34.0	39.8	36.6
1980	36.8	40.3	38.4	5.4	4.7	5.1	31.4	35.6	33.3

Source : Secretariat of Planning (1980)
Vital Statistics, Tripoli, Libya.

FIG.2.3 CRUDE RATES OF BIRTH, DEATH AND NATURAL INCREASE IN LIBYA



SOURCE: Secretariat of Planning (1980) Vital Statistics, Tripoli, Libya.



per cent a year. As expected Suf-Ajjin, Sebha, Ubari, Tobruk and Jofra experienced the highest natural increase being 48.0, 47.4, 45.4, 42.0 and 40.8 respectively. Rates of natural increase were very low in Azizia, Gherian and Zavia, being 12.9, 19.0 and 27.0 per thousand. Surprisingly the rate of natural increase in Tripoli was shown to be below the national level, 30.6.

The infant mortality rate in 1978 was 39 per thousand births, a decline from 65 in 1970 (Naur 1981). The same rate between 1954 and 1964 was approximately 300 (Ehtewish 1980). The difference between the 1978 and 1954 figures indicates a considerable improvement, not only in ante-natal and post-natal facilities, but in living conditions as well. The level of the infant mortality rate is now comparable with most developed nations. Moreover, life expectancy increased from around 49.7 years and 51.3 years for males and females respectively to an average of 58 by 1986, still well below developed nations and indeed most countries of East Asia.

Data from vital statistics also reveal that in 1980 the crude birth and death rates for Libyan citizens were 41.2 and 5.6 per thousand respectively, resulting in 35.6 per thousand natural increase, all slightly higher than for the total population.

The improvement in the provision of social services, particularly in medical terms, has resulted in the increase in fecundity causing high crude birth rates, and it has also lowered death rates leading to high overall natural increase. However, it is significant to note that Table 2.4 shows that the crude birth rate fell quite substantially after 1974, from 48.1 to 38.4 in 1980. Although these findings should

be treated with caution, such a decline in CBR may be attributed among other factors to the expansion in education, the relative increase of female participation in the labour force, urbanization and to the greater socio-economic and cultural development that has been taking place during the last 20 years or so.

Ehtewish in his study "Fertility Differentials in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahirya" (1980) reported the following findings

- (1) Differentials occur by occupation, education, duration of marriage, age, type of residence and geographical regions of married Libyan women. In occupational groups, professional, administrative and clerical workers had the lowest levels of fertility in rural as well as urban areas. Accordingly, the professional group of married women in the same areas had the highest proportion of childless women. The analysis has also shown that women with higher educational attainments, especially those with just less than graduate status, graduates and holders of higher degrees, had the lowest levels of fertility in all areas in all regions. Moreover, a large proportion of childless women was also found among them.
- (2) Although it is hardly true as it stands, the study also pointed out that the rural-urban fertility differential observed in Libya was more consistent with that of the West than that of most other developing countries; this was especially so with regard to fertility level in rural areas which was usually higher than that of urban areas and the peak age of fertility was observed in broader age groups.

- (3) The overall pattern of fertility in Libya indicated that more socio-economic and cultural development could stimulate greater differentials in fertility (Ehtewish 1980).

In Libya, as in most Muslim countries, early and universal marriages are still very widespread. As of 1973, the mean age was 18.7. It was shown by the same census that the population of Libyans aged 15 years and over who were married was 72.0 per cent for females and 67.0 per cent for males. A newly married couple is subjected to strong pressure to start a family and pressure does not relent when the first child is born. Indeed a large family size is still of importance to many Libyans. Free hospitalization and education, family allowances, the atmosphere of economic security combined with the tangible help received by new couples from their families in bringing up children and taking some of the domestic chores, together stimulated the tendency to large families preference (Hartley 1972, Benjamin 1968).

Given the prevailing social attitudes, no wonder the total fertility rate of Libyan women reached an average of 7.2 per head, and the family average size was 6.4 as of 1984. The woman's primary role as a result remained the reproduction of "dependents" (Abu-Lughod 1984), and her participation in the labour force remained traditionally very low being one of the lowest in the world (Hartley 1968). Moreover, because cultural habits and values are still playing an important role demographically, the high pace of development and the "smallness of the population proved to be not sufficient to insure rapid transition" (Clarke 1982b : 7).

However, conclusions reached by Ehtewish (1980), the recent decline trend of fertility and because of education expansion, urbanization and development, one should expect a fall in fertility resulting in a decline of crude birth rates, perhaps not as suggested by official data and represented in Table 2.4 but a significant decline will surely occur.

2.6 Sex and Age Distribution

Demographically speaking, sex and age distribution are important factors in any population dynamics. No wonder, therefore, they constitute a major element in any population discussion as they provide some measures to the extent of the dependency burden, social requirements and consumption needs. Moreover, and most important in relation to the discussion, sex and age distribution are useful indicators of the country's manpower potential (Som 1972; Ganji 1982).

Libya has suffered from a deficiency in numbers of females for quite some time in the past (Pan 1949), noted by an excess of 75 males for every 1000 females in the 1936 Census of Libya. The 1954, 1964 and 1973 Census returns again revealed a deficiency in number of females when they reported 922, 915 and 936 females for every 1000 males respectively. Moreover, the population estimates for 1985 revealed a deficiency in the number of females of about 42 for every 1000 males. On average, for every 100 females births there were 105 male births. The pattern of male female mortality is not like that in most developed countries, and instead of reducing with age the sex ratio by age group is rather irregular (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 : Male:Female Sex Ratios of Libyans Only 1954-85

Age group	1954	1964	1973	1985 est.
0-4	99.2	102.9	102.8	102.6
5-9	102.7	104.3	102.5	102.3
10-14	120.3	116.4	109.5	103.1
15-19	112.4	104.0	110.3	103.9
20-24	114.7	109.4	107.7	105.4
25-29	107.9	101.3	100.2	106.6
30-34	103.2	106.3	108.9	107.6
35-39	109.2	116.4	101.2	108.0
40-44	89.7	105.8	115.3	108.7
45-49	118.1	111.2	114.0	108.1
50-54	104.9	113.7	112.6	107.4
55-59	157.8	123.7	119.3	106.0
60-64	104.4	127.6	104.2	103.0
65-69	140.0	119.7	119.5	100.0
70+	99.5	128.5	107.3	92.9
Total	107.8	108.5	106.4	104.2

Note : Because the 1984 figures are not available estimates of 1985 are used instead.

Source : General Population Censuses 1954, 1964, 1973 and Population projections 1975-2000 Tripoli, Libya.

The discrepancy between the number of men and women increasing with age may be attributed to the following factors : (a) male dominance in the process of overseas Libyan repatriation (b) female under-reporting, and (c) high mortality of child bearing women particularly those of 45-55 years of age as they lacked adequate medical facilities when they needed them.

The decreasing mortality rates and the almost constant high birth rates resulted in high population growth which has made the percentage of children under 15 years, that is to say the primary group of dependents, never less than 40 per cent since the last twenty years or so. The proportion of the total population of the first three age groups increased from 44.1 in 1964 to 51.4 in 1973 to almost an estimated 50 per cent in 1985. It is worth mentioning that the same percentage in 1954 was only 38.5. It is of interest to indicate, however, that the United States of America had perhaps "only 45 per cent of the total population below the age of 15 in the late 18th and early 19th centuries" (Taeuber and Taeuber 1971:135).

The increasing youthfulness of the population is reflected in decreasing median age "which fell from 21 years in 1954 to 18 years in 1964 and to 14 years in 1973. It is known that the median age of the United States for example increased from 16.7 in 1820 to 28.6 in 1970" (Ehtewish 1980:92). Therefore, it is obvious that the phenomenon of high fertility and the remarkable decline in mortality discussed in an earlier section resulted not only in rapid population growth but in an age distribution comparing unfavourably to many countries of the world. Based on the 1973 Census Abdu-Alhamid (1981) estimated the percentage of the primary dependent group to about twice as high as the developed

countries. In 1973 and 1984 this group exceeded half the population and was one of the highest percentages in the world. The relevant percentage in 1984 was only 37 in the world as a whole and 38 in less developed countries.

The age structure of the Libyan population is illustrated in Table 2.6 and represented graphically as a pyramid with a broadening base tapering towards its top (Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

The so-called dependent population of those under 15 years of age added to those over 60 increased from 776,000 in 1964 to 1,177,000 in 1973 to an estimated figure of 1,719,000 by 1985 and they were further expected to increase to 3,041,000 by the year 2000. The total share of the population in the so-called non-working age to the total population, therefore is very high, and at any given time such an age structure implies a growth in the labour force under conditions of disequilibrium. Because children under 15 years of age are not allowed to work and those who are old and economically active constitute an insignificant number except in agriculture, from now on and up to the end of this century, more than half of the citizen population will remain in a non-productive age. Such a peculiar situation like this puts a heavy load on a small shoulder of the production age segment of population.

From the economic point of view the analysis of the age distribution illustrated by Table 2.6 suggests the necessity on a wide scale of demographic investment. This situation confronts the state with the need to provide more mouths with more food, with more clothes, plenty of schools and medical care centres and housing units, not to

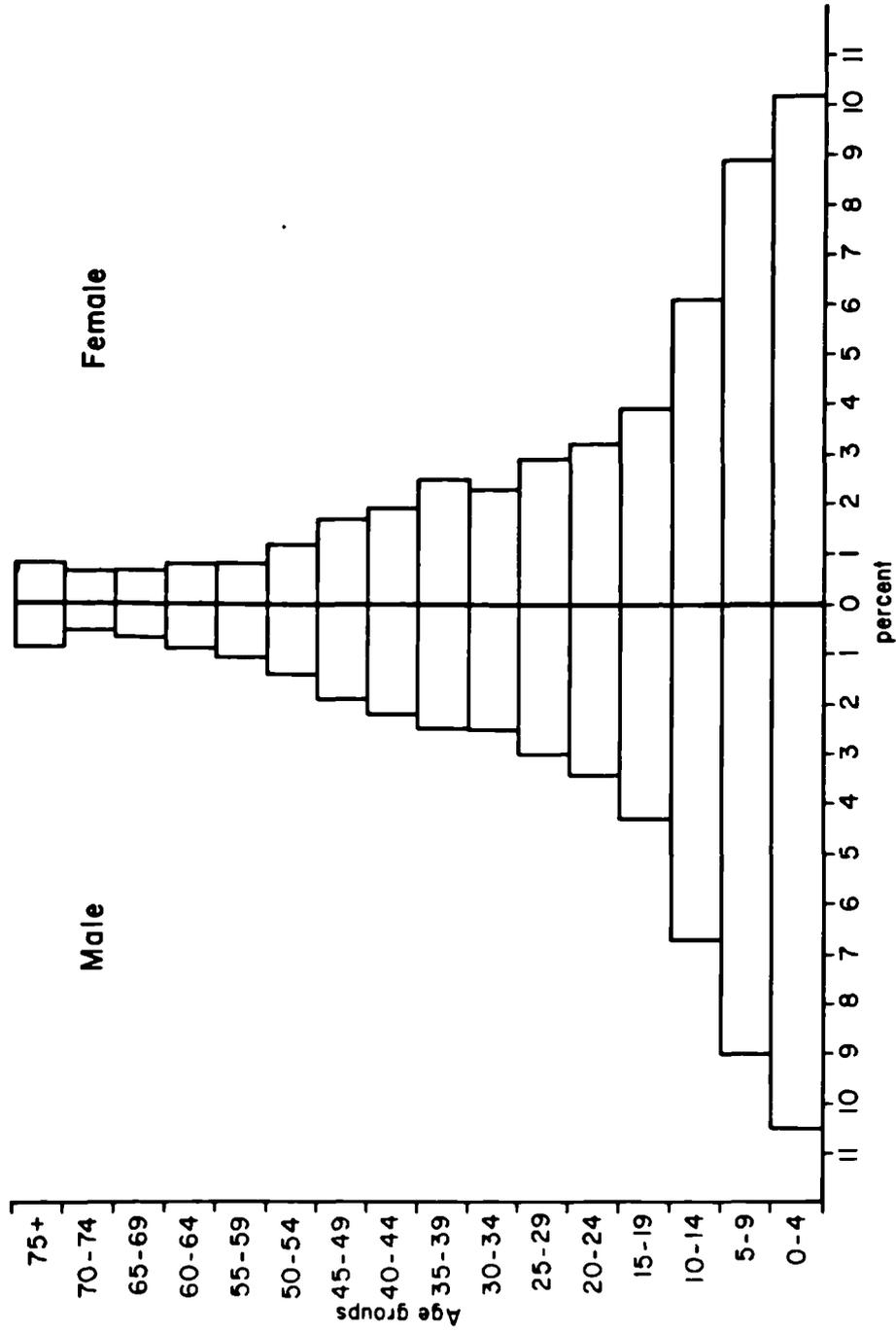
Table 2.6 : Sex and Age Situation of the Libyan Population 1973-85
(in Percentages)

Age group	1973			1985 est.		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	10.5	10.2	20.7	10.3	10.0	20.3
5-9	9.0	8.9	17.9	8.1	7.9	16.0
10-14	6.7	6.1	12.8	6.8	6.6	13.4
15-19	4.3	3.9	8.2	5.6	5.3	10.9
20-24	3.4	3.2	6.6	4.2	4.0	8.2
25-29	3.0	2.5	5.9	3.3	3.1	6.4
30-34	2.5	2.3	4.8	2.8	2.6	5.4
35-39	2.5	2.5	5.0	2.4	2.2	4.6
40-44	2.2	1.9	4.1	1.9	1.8	3.7
45-49	1.9	1.7	3.6	1.6	1.5	3.1
50-54	1.4	1.2	2.6	1.3	1.2	2.5
55-59	1.1	0.8	1.9	1.0	0.9	1.9
60-64	0.9	0.8	1.7	0.7	0.7	1.4
70-74	0.6	0.6	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.6
75+	0.9	0.8	1.7	0.3	0.3	0.6
Total	51.6	48.4	100.0	51.1	48.9	100.0

Note : Because the 1984 figures are not available estimates of 1985 are used instead.

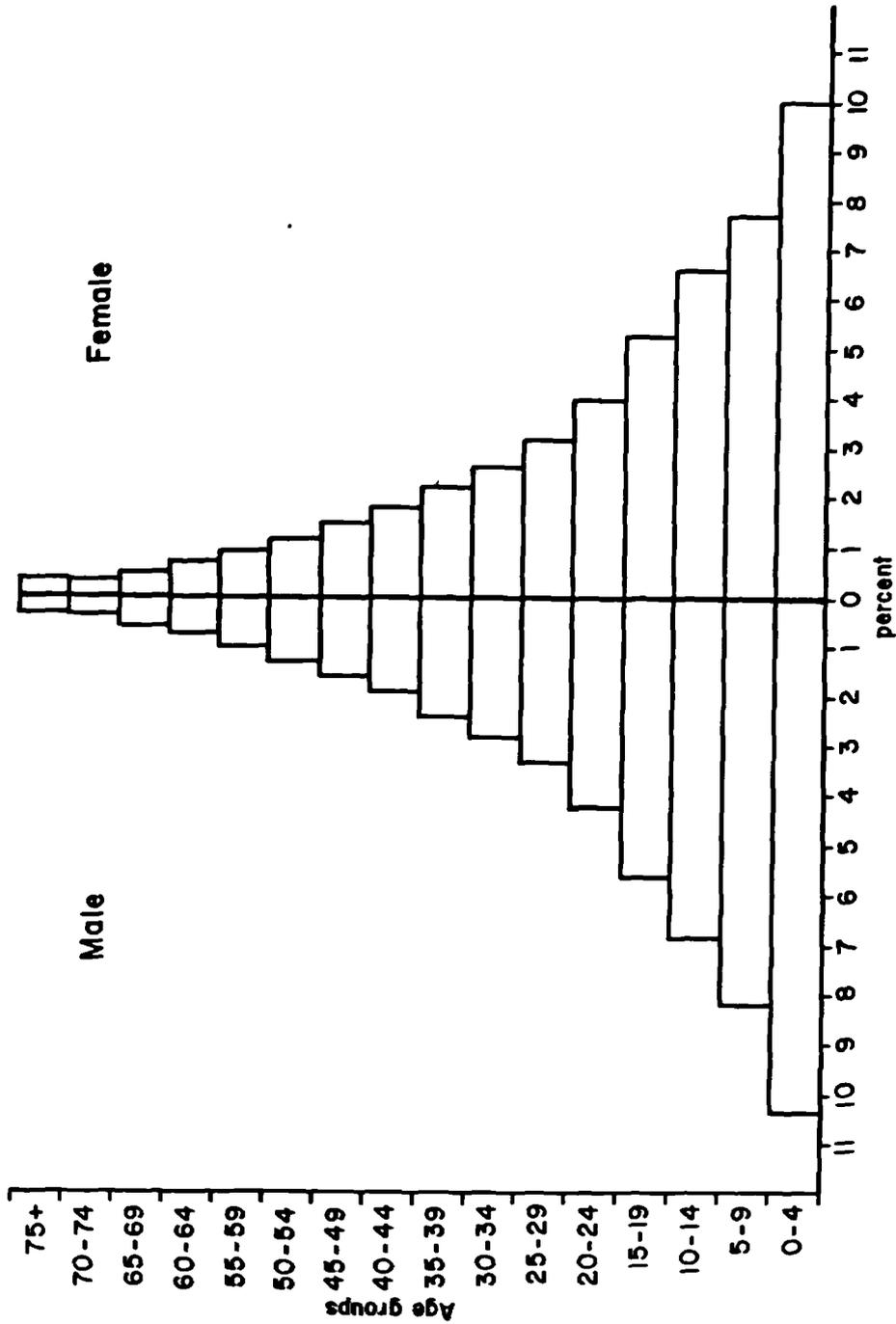
Source : The 1973 General Population Census and Population projections 1975-2000. Tripoli, Libya.

Fig. 2-4 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF THE LIBYAN POPULATION, 1973



Source: 1973 Population Census

Fig.2.5 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF THE LIBYAN POPULATION, 1985



Source: Secretariat of Planning, Population Projections 1975-2000, Tripoli, Libya

mention other various technical and social infrastructures necessitated by modernity. Thus a substantial proportion of the national wealth has to be spent to sustain and support the largely unproductive age groups of the population.

Add to this the unfavourable labour force environment, the deep-rooted traditionally very low female participation rates, the new trend of the lengthening of schooling for the two age groups 15-19 and 20-24, the unorganized military drafting and the long established low productivity of the national labour force. No wonder, therefore, the crude economic activity rate for the citizen population fell from 25 per cent in 1964 to about 17 per cent by 1980. This figure compared unfavourably even with some of those countries experiencing the same social and economic background, e.g. Saudi Arabia 22.3, Bahrain 21.3 and Oman 24.9 per cent as of 1975 (ILO 1979).

2.7 Labour Participation

The small proportion of female employment and the extreme youthfulness of the indigenous population made the total labour force participation rate very low - it is defined as the ratio of the number of persons in the labour force either employed or able and looking for a job to the total number of persons in the working age stated here in terms of 15 years of age and over - as of 1964 it was 43.8 and further declined to 41.2 in 1984. For males the ratio declined from 79.7 per cent in 1964 to 68.8 per cent by 1984, but the ratio for females recorded an increase of about 7.7 per cent rising from 4.0 to 11.7 per cent.

By and large the 1984 Census shows that the total productive labour force increased from 423.6 thousand in 1973 to reach 664.0 thousand in 1984; an increase of 240.4 thousand in just 11 years or by an annual growth rate of 4.2 per cent. While males increased from 394.2 thousand in 1973 to 573.2 thousand in 1984 (3.5 per cent annual growth rate), females responded more positively when they increased from 29.4 thousand to 90.8 thousand in the same period, which is an annual growth rate of 10.8 per cent (Secretariat of Planning 1985).

The overall growth rate of Libyans in the labour force was equal to the overall population growth. It is of interest to note that the expansion in the labour force was much slower than the overall population growth in the period 1964-73. Moreover, a few salient facts should be mentioned here. The significant decline in male participation ratio is attributed to the tendency of young men to delay entering into the labour force because of the increasing attendance in secondary schools, higher education and other forms of training such as military service. Besides, the decline in the male labour force participation occurs because of the growing tendency to seek early retirement for those aged 60 and over.

On the other hand, the upward female labour force participation (though their overall percentage of the labour force is still insignificant) is due to the expansion of employment opportunities for females, the increasing education, urbanization and more important, the rising acceptance by women and the society of the necessity of changing roles for women.

Observations mentioned earlier are sustained when the reader scrutinizes Table 2.7 and Figure 2.6, participation in labour force by various age groups in 1964, 1973 and 1985.

As Table 2.7 suggests the male participation rate declines among age groups 15-19, 20-24 and 60 and over. In the meantime the female participation rate is shown to be rising among all census years and in all age groups except in the age group 15-19 between the census years 1964-73.

Among men between the ages of 25 and 59, the vast majority are participants in the labour force and economic development; women on the other hand, fall into no single pattern as their participation is related to other variables: family structure, the reproductive behaviour, marriage patterns etc. Participation rates by age groups and according to census years are graphically presented in Figure 2.6.

On the whole, the participation rate among males is reasonable and compares with advanced countries, despite its declining tendency. However, as it is expected to stabilize in the future, there is little scope for upgrading it. Insofar as women are concerned, on the positive side, it appears that they will be a potential labour force resource. Their participation rates will progressively increase and be reflected in all age groups due to the limited female participation base and the perceptible social change resulting from expansion in education, mass communication, urbanization, the compelling desire to raise living standards and the intensive mass media coverage to promote females and their role in the labour force.

Table 2.7 : Citizen Population Participation by Age Groups and Sex
1964 - 1985

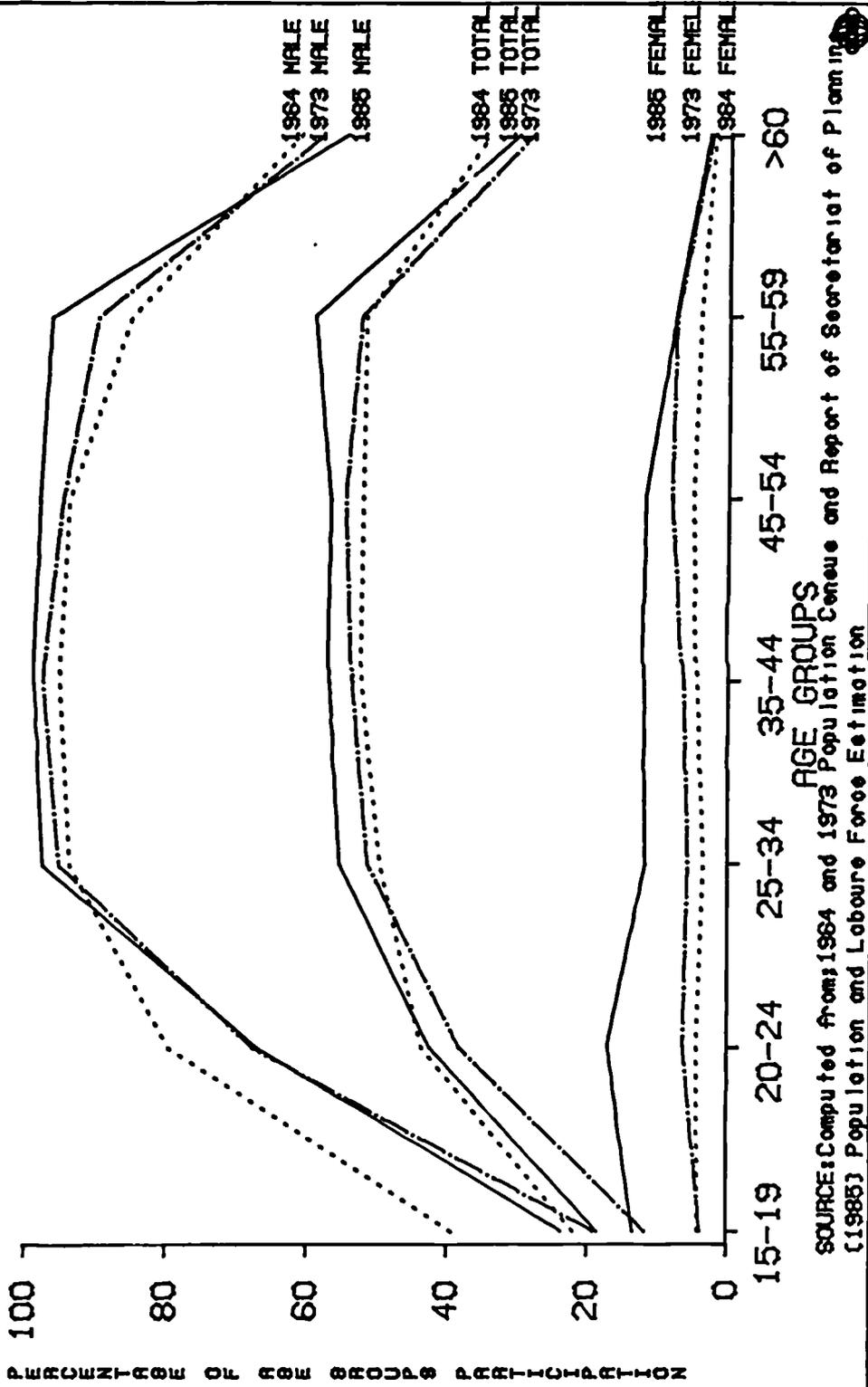
Age Groups	1964			1973			1985*		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
15-19	39.2	4.1	22.0	19.1	3.8	11.8	23.7	13.4	18.6
20-24	79.5	4.4	43.6	67.6	6.5	38.2	67.0	17.1	42.4
25-34	93.7	3.9	49.6	95.2	5.7	51.3	97.5	11.8	55.3
35-44	95.2	4.5	52.3	97.6	6.4	53.6	98.9	12.1	56.9
45-54	93.9	5.1	52.1	94.8	8.2	54.6	98.0	11.9	56.7
55-59	85.2	4.1	51.8	89.9	7.6	52.4	96.5	7.7	54.1
60+	61.1	2.1	34.2	57.7	2.5	28.1	54.5	2.9	30.1
Total	79.7	4.0	43.8	73.9	5.6	41.2	70.6	12.3	42.3

Note : Because the 1984 figures are not available estimates of 1985 are used instead.

Source : Calculated from:

1. 1964 and 1973 Population Censuses
2. Secretariat of Planning (1985)
 Development in the number of citizen population
 and labour force, Tripoli, Libya.

FIG.2.6 CITIZEN POPULATION PARTICIPATION BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX 1964-85



The spatial distribution of the increase in labour force is shown in Table 2.8. The highest annual increase during 1973-84 was recorded by Sirte 6.5, Ghadames 5.9, Azizia 5.8, Sebha 5.7, Gherian 5.6 and Derna 5.4. The smallest increase, however, was experienced by Suf-Ajjin 0.5, Zliten 3.1, Yefren 3.4, and Zavia and Tarhuma both recorded 3.5 per cent. While variations in the labour force increase could be attributed to the high pace of development, it should be emphasized that such variations especially among females might be due to the inaccuracy of the 1984 population count in some municipalities; Misurata and Zliten are good examples.

Despite the substantial numerical increase in the domestic labour force, the enormous economic and social development programmes financed by rising oil revenues and the resultant growth in demand for labour were impossible to satisfy by the domestic labour (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983). Besides, the situation of labour force shortage was not eased by good management of the scarce available local labour force and a significant increase in female crude economic activity rates as we shall highlight in separate chapters.

The wide gap between supply and demand in the labour market, therefore, needed to be closed by an influx of migration. Consequently non-Libyans became an important component of the total population and a significant factor in the scale of demographic development of the country, as we have already mentioned. The proportion of economically active foreigners to the total labour force accelerated from just over one-fifth in 1973 to about one-third in 1975 to about two-fifths in 1980, to almost half the total labour force in 1983. These figures however, do not include illegal movements.

Table 2.8

Economically Active Citizen Population by Municipality in 000s, 1973-84

Municipality	1973*				1984				Increase in citizen labour force	
	Males	Females	Total	% of grand total	Males	Females	Total	% of grand total	No.	Ann. Growth rate
Tobruk	10.1	0.7	10.8	2.5	14.2	3.8	18.0	2.7	7.2	4.8
Derna	11.0	1.0	12.0	2.8	15.7	5.6	21.3	3.2	9.3	5.4
Gebel Akhdar	13.7	1.2	14.9	3.5	18.9	5.1	24.0	3.6	9.1	4.4
Al-Fateh	11.8	1.1	12.9	3.0	16.2	3.3	19.5	2.9	6.6	3.8
Benghazi	54.3	2.9	57.2	13.5	74.3	12.8	87.1	13.1	29.9	4.0
Ejdabia	11.4	0.2	11.6	2.7	14.9	2.2	17.1	2.6	5.5	3.6
Sirte	9.2	0.1	9.3	2.2	16.6	2.2	18.8	2.8	9.5	6.6
Suf-Ajjin	6.2	0.3	6.5	1.5	6.6	0.3	6.9	1.0	0.4	0.5
Kufra	2.3	0.1	2.4	0.6	3.5	0.5	4.0	0.6	1.6	4.8
Misurata	16.7	1.6	18.3	4.3	25.8	1.4	27.2	4.1	8.9	3.7
Zliten	11.0	1.1	12.1	2.9	16.0	0.9	16.9	2.6	4.8	3.1
Khoms	16.6	0.6	17.2	4.1	24.5	1.0	25.5	3.8	8.3	3.0
Tarhuna	9.6	0.4	10.0	2.4	13.9	0.7	14.6	2.2	4.6	3.5
Tripoli	113.3	6.6	119.9	28.3	163.0	24.9	187.9	28.3	68.0	4.2
Azizia	8.1	0.5	8.6	2.0	13.6	2.4	16.0	2.4	7.4	5.8
Zavia	23.6	4.7	28.3	6.7	35.2	6.1	41.3	6.2	13.0	3.5
Niqat-Khams	19.1	4.0	23.1	5.5	30.8	5.3	36.1	5.5	13.0	4.1
Gherian	11.5	0.1	11.6	2.7	19.1	2.1	21.2	3.2	9.6	5.6
Yefren	10.5	0.2	10.7	2.5	12.5	2.9	15.4	2.3	4.7	3.4
Ghadames	4.9	0.1	5.0	1.2	8.2	1.2	9.4	1.5	4.4	5.9
Sebha	6.2	0.5	6.7	1.6	10.5	1.8	12.3	1.9	5.6	5.7
Shati	4.8	0.5	5.3	1.3	6.8	1.4	8.2	1.2	2.9	4.0
Ubari	4.5	0.5	5.0	1.2	6.6	1.5	8.1	1.2	3.1	4.5
Murzuk	3.9	0.4	4.3	1.0	5.9	1.3	7.2	1.1	2.9	4.8
Total	394.3	29.4	423.7	100.0	573.3	90.7	664.0	100.0	240.3	4.2

Source : Computed from 1973 and 1984 General Population Censuses after adjusting the 1973 census to the new administrative boundaries.

* includes those economically active in the age group 10-14 and those seeking work.

Non-Libyans are male dominated. In 1964 the male:female ratio was 50 per cent; by 1973 more than 66 per cent of non-Libyans were males. By 1984, the proportion of males was further increased to become 74.1 per cent. As a result of male dominance dependants of the non-Libyans decreased from 37.0 per cent in 1964 to 30.9 per cent in 1973 to only 18.9 per cent by 1984. Thus the crude economic activity rate of expatriates is very much higher than that of nationals and kept on rising from 59.9 per cent in 1973 to about 80 per cent in 1984.

The male dominance is due to the fact that Libya is characterized by hard living conditions, types of projects taking place in the country and because of the recent state preference to execute developmental projects on a "turn key basis".

However, the recent fall in oil prices during the early 1980's, the slackening in developmental planning and the intensive application of the Libyanization process in many occupations, among other factors, has made the percentage of foreign population decline from 19.4 per cent of the total population by 1983 to less than 11 per cent by 1984, and their percentage in the labour force has decreased from 47.7 per cent to 28.4 per cent in the same period.

2.8 Future Population Trends

In summary the total Libyan population increased from 1.1 million in 1954 to 1,564,000 in 1964 to 2,249,000 in 1973 to 3,637,000 in 1984. The average annual rate of growth was 4.1 between 1964 and 1973 and 4.2 between 1973 and 1984. The dynamic forces causing such a high growth rate, as has already been pointed out are (a) lower mortality brought

about by measures taken in immunization and general health care, (b) the continuing high fertility trend, and (c) the net migration into the country. The average growth rate among the citizen population, on the other hand, was 3.8 between 1964 and 1973 and 4.2 between 1973 and 1984. Again this high growth rate made the citizen population more than treble in only 30 years.

Because of the limited capacity of the rural area for employment and development, the greatest brunt of the incremental growth of the population has to be borne by urban areas. As a consequence the urban population growth has been extremely rapid. In 1954, the urban population component amounted for only 25 per cent of the total population. This proportion rose to 47 per cent in 1964, close to 60 per cent in 1973, 78 per cent in 1984, and according to the Secretariat of Utilities (1985) by the year 2000 the proportion of urbanized population will range from 82 to 86 per cent.

The harsh environmental conditions, except on the coastal belt, together with the State's developmental efforts bias towards two main agglomerations, implied an imbalanced population and labour force distribution. Tripoli and Benghazi, together account for more than two-thirds of the total urban population and about two-fifths of the total employment as of 1984.

Based on these overall trends, various population and labour force projections have been undertaken since the 1973 General Population Census. The Census and Statistical Department has made long term estimates for 1975-2000. Three variants of reproductive rate were applied.

- (a) A high variant which assumes that the prevailing high fertility would continue and that the high gross reproduction rate (GRR) of 3.9 will remain during the planning period.
- (b) A medium variant assumes a small segment of population will have lower fertility due to the influence of education, urban life, economic and social development and the increasing women participating in the labour force. Under this variant the assumed (GRR) values during 1975-80, 1980-85, 1985-90, 1990-95, 1995-2000 would be 3.9, 3.8, 3.7, 3.6 and 3.5 respectively.
- (c) The low variant assumes that the (GRR) will fall from 3.9, 3.8, 3.7, 3.5 to 3.3 during the same planning period.

All in all, the total citizen population in 2000 will range from 5,681,000 to 6,075,000. The percentage of those aged 0-14 and 60 and over was projected to be 52.4, 53.0 and 54.9 respectively by the end of the century depending on which of the variants was applied (Secretariat of Planning 1981).

The Department of Economic and Social Development Planning of the Secretariat of Planning in its studies of long term development strategy 1980-2000 made projections of the citizen population and labour force. According to this Department, the population of Libyans will reach 5,950,000 inhabitants by the end of this century, realizing an average growth rate of about 4 per cent. This conclusion has been based on the following assumptions :

- (a) The total fertility rate per 1000 women aged 15-49 will decline from 281 to 188, i.e. 33 per cent in the above mentioned period.

- (b) The CBR will decrease by approximately 16 per cent to reach about 42 per thousand.
- (c) The difference between the decline in total fertility and the CBR is caused *by* the expected change of the female population of the country in favour of the age group 15-49.
- (d) The infant mortality rate will decrease from 108 in 1973 to 33 in the year 2000.
- (e) The crude death rate will decrease from 12.6 to 7.4, or by 41 per cent.
- (f) A figure of 104 male births per 100 female births is accepted as the sex ratio at birth (Secretariat of Planning 1979:56-62).

Using the aforementioned assumptions, the official projection figures estimated that the citizen population will reach 5,950,000; 3,043,000 males and 2,907,000 females. Moreover, taking into account that female participation in the labour force will rise significantly together with the assumption of restructuring the educational system, expanding training opportunities and applying an intensive literacy campaign, the national element in the labour force has been projected to increase from 466,000 (431,000 males and 35,000 females) in 1975 to reach as high as 1,465,000 (1,145,000 males and 320,000 females) (See Table 2.9 and Figure 2.7).

Table 2.9 : Citizen Population and Labour Force by Sex 1975-2000
According to Secretariat of Planning Study in 000s

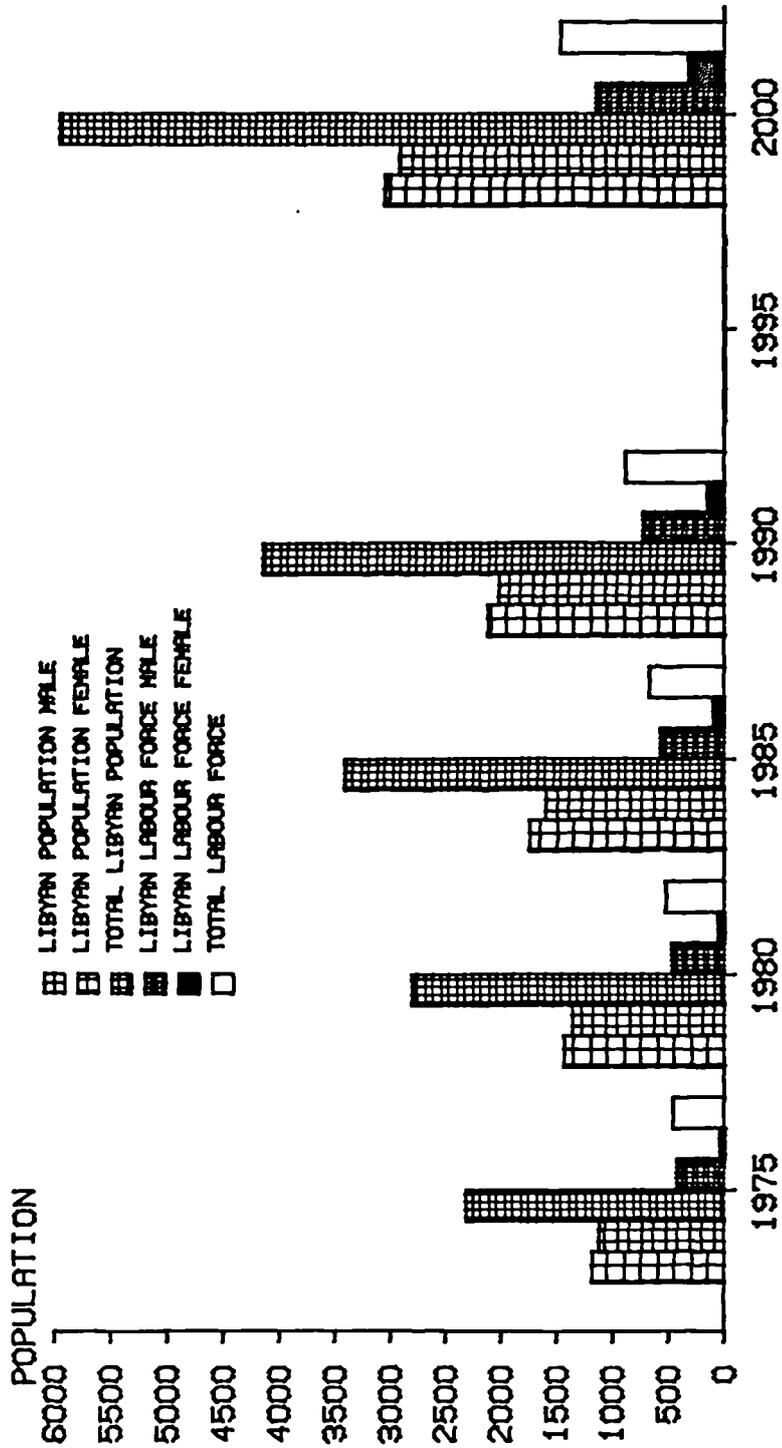
Year	Population			Labour force		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1975	1,189	1,128	2,317	431	35	466
1980	1,438	1,367	2,805	474	59	533
1985	1,747	1,664	3,411	579	100	679
1990	2,119	2,020	4,139	732	154	886
2000	3,043	2,907	5,950	1,145	320	1,465

Source : Compiled from Secretariat of Planning (1979),
 Studies in Long Term Development Strategy 1980-2000,
 Tripoli, Libya.

Table 2.9 discerns that the domestic labour force increase is very impressive, an annual growth rate of about 4.9 per cent. On average there will be almost 40,000 new citizen entrants to the labour force. Equally impressive is the significant increase of the female share in the total citizen labour force; it is shown by the same table that this share is expected to increase from about 11.1 per cent in 1980 to reach 21.8 by the year 2000.

Despite the fact that Table 2.9 suggests that the crude economic activity rate will rise from about 20 per cent by 1975 to become 24.6 per cent by 2000, at any given time the economically active citizen population will be burdened by a heavy load, about every 100 active citizens will be held responsible for almost 400 other dependents and themselves. As a matter of fact according to the same official figures those aged 0-14 and 60 and over will exceed 51 per cent by the end of this century.

FIG.2.7 NUMBER OF CITIZEN POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE
BY SEX TO YEAR 2000*



Sources Compiled from Secretariat of Planning (1978) Studies in Long Term Development Strategy 1980-2000, Tripoli, Libya.



Moreover, taking into consideration the gradual Libyanization of the labour force, the ability of the educational system to meet labour market needs, together with the anticipation of the shrinking labour demand in some particular occupations, e.g. construction, non-Libyans are expected to decline from a total estimated population in 1980 of 462,000 of whom 280,000 were economically active to become 195,000 (111,000 economically active) in 2000.

The most recent projections of population and labour force have been undertaken by four consulting agencies, namely Polservice, Finnmap, Speer Plan and Doxiades, during their regional planning studies and fieldwork labour force investigations in the period 1978-84. These studies and investigations do not disagree significantly with estimates of citizen population and labour force and they are sensible in their estimate of the number of the foreign community. It is no wonder, therefore, that after verification the Secretariat of Utilities which was in charge of preparing the National Physical Perspective Plan 1981-2000 accepted those estimates and adopted them. Indeed conclusions reached by consultants particularly in relation to foreign employment are the most likely situation to materialize.

The findings of the four Regional Planning Consultants study after revision by a specialized committee and the United Nations technical programme show that the total population of Libya will reach 6,320,000 inhabitants by the year 2000; 5,896,000 Libyans and 424,000 non-Libyans. Employment on the other hand was estimated to be about 1,713,000 of whom 228,000 would be foreigners (Table 2.10 and Figure 2.8.).

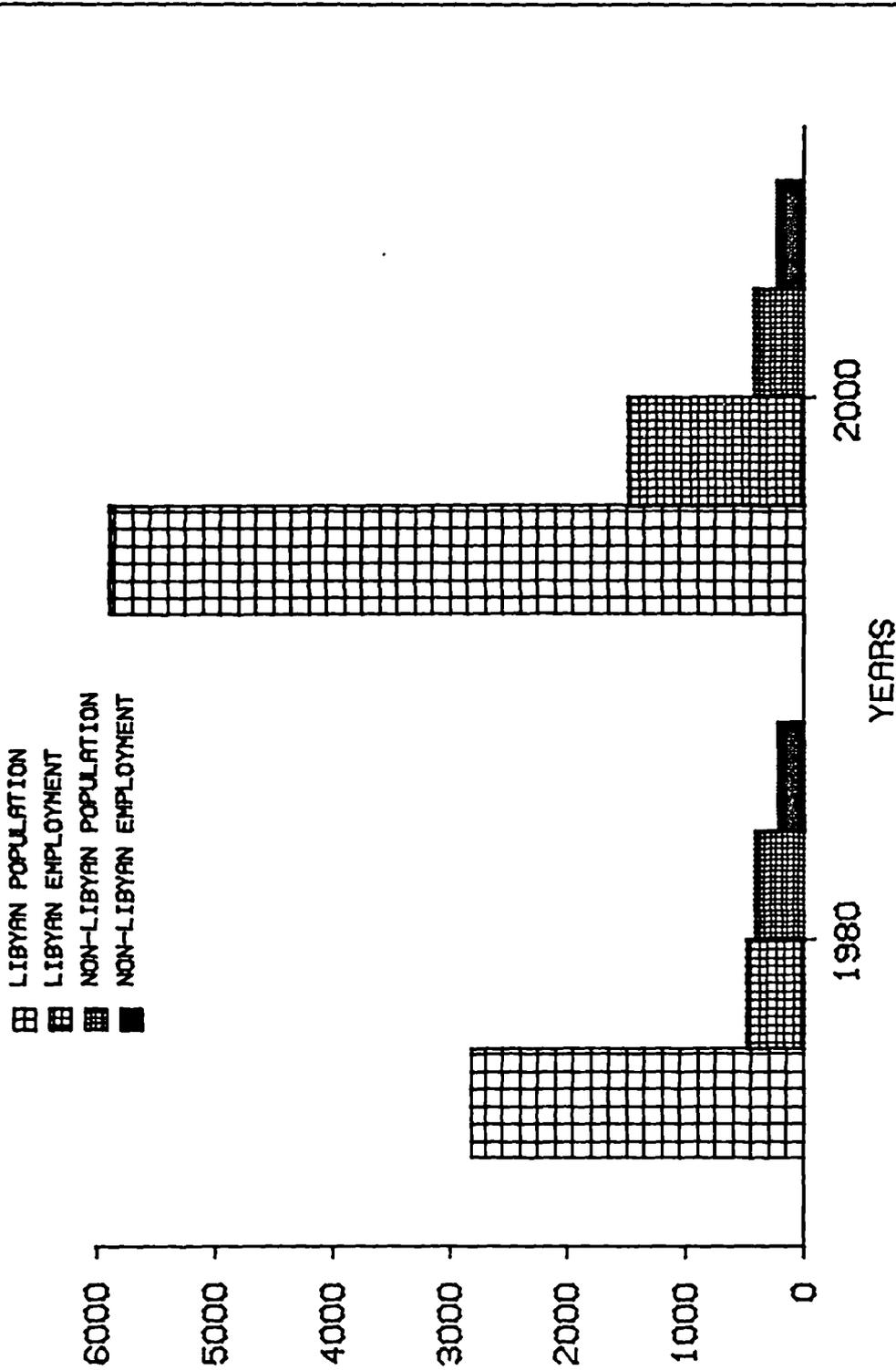
Table 2.10 : Population and Employment for Libyans and Non-Libyans
According to the Secretariat of Utilities
1980-2000 in 000s

Year	Libyans		Non-Libyans		Total		% Non-Libyans	
	Pop.	Employment	Pop.	Employment	Pop.	Employment	Pop.	Employment
1980	2,818	489	418	223	3,236	712	12.9	31.3
2000	5,896	1,485	424	228	6,320	1,713	6.7	13.3

Source : Compiled from Secretariat of Utilities (1985)
 The revised National Physical Perspective Plan 1981-2000
 Tripoli, Libya.

The most striking observation of Table 2.10 is the significant growth in the national element of the labour force. It is projected that the employment of nationals will jump from 489,000 in 1980 to reach 1,485,000 by the year 2000, i.e. a 5.7 annual growth rate. However, once more women are expected by consultants to play a more decisive role during the planning period. As it is the case in the projections made by the Department of Economic and Social Planning of the Secretariat of Planning, the national labour force increase is very encouraging. Such an increase, if realized, will push up the crude economic activity rate for citizens from about 17.4 per cent by 1980 to more than 25 per cent by 2000 which, irrespective of its low level compared to many countries of the world, is very significant. Reflections of the impressive increase of the national element of the labour force are obvious in relation to non-nationals, whose share of the total population and labour force is expected to decrease from 12.9 and 31.3 per cent in 1980 to only 6.7 and 13.3 per cent in 2000 respectively.

FIG. 2.8 POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF LIBYA 1980-2000 IN 000's



Sources: Secretariat of Utilization of Manpower, The National Physical Perspective Plan 1981-2000, Tripoli, Libya.



Despite the fact that rural development is currently a favoured goal and widely practised, the relatively hospitable characteristics in the north-eastern and north-western parts of the country, and the location of the two largest cities means that the population and labour force distributions are likely to remain almost stable. Studies by regional planning consultants prove such opinions when they suggest that while Tripoli and Benghazi regions were estimated to have about 88.4 and 88.7 per cent of population and labour force respectively by 1980, by the end of this century such percentages are expected to reach 87.6 and 88.4, a very insignificant decrease.

However, due to the recent State's dispersion policy of growth, the Tripoli region is expected to suffer a significant decline of its share of total employment from 67.8 to 58.0 per cent in the period 1980-2000. Such a decline is expected to occur in all main economic sectors, but it will be more obvious in the secondary sector. The overall decrease of Tripoli's share of employment, however, is expected to be compensated by almost the same increase in the employment share of the Benghazi region when the latter's share of total employment is expected to increase from less than 21 per cent to more than 30 per cent. Furthermore, while Al-Khalij region is planned to be a growth pole in petrochemicals and chemical industries, its share of total employment is expected to increase only slightly from 5.8 per cent to 6.8 per cent in the planning period. Sebha region, on the other hand, is expected to decrease, but insignificantly from 5.5 to 4.8 per cent of the total employment. The severe climatic and environmental conditions and the nature of jobs in both Al-Khalij and Sebha regions are responsible for their minor share of employment and consequently there will always be a gap between Tripoli and Benghazi regions and the rest of the country (see Table 2.11 and Figures 2.9 and 2.10).

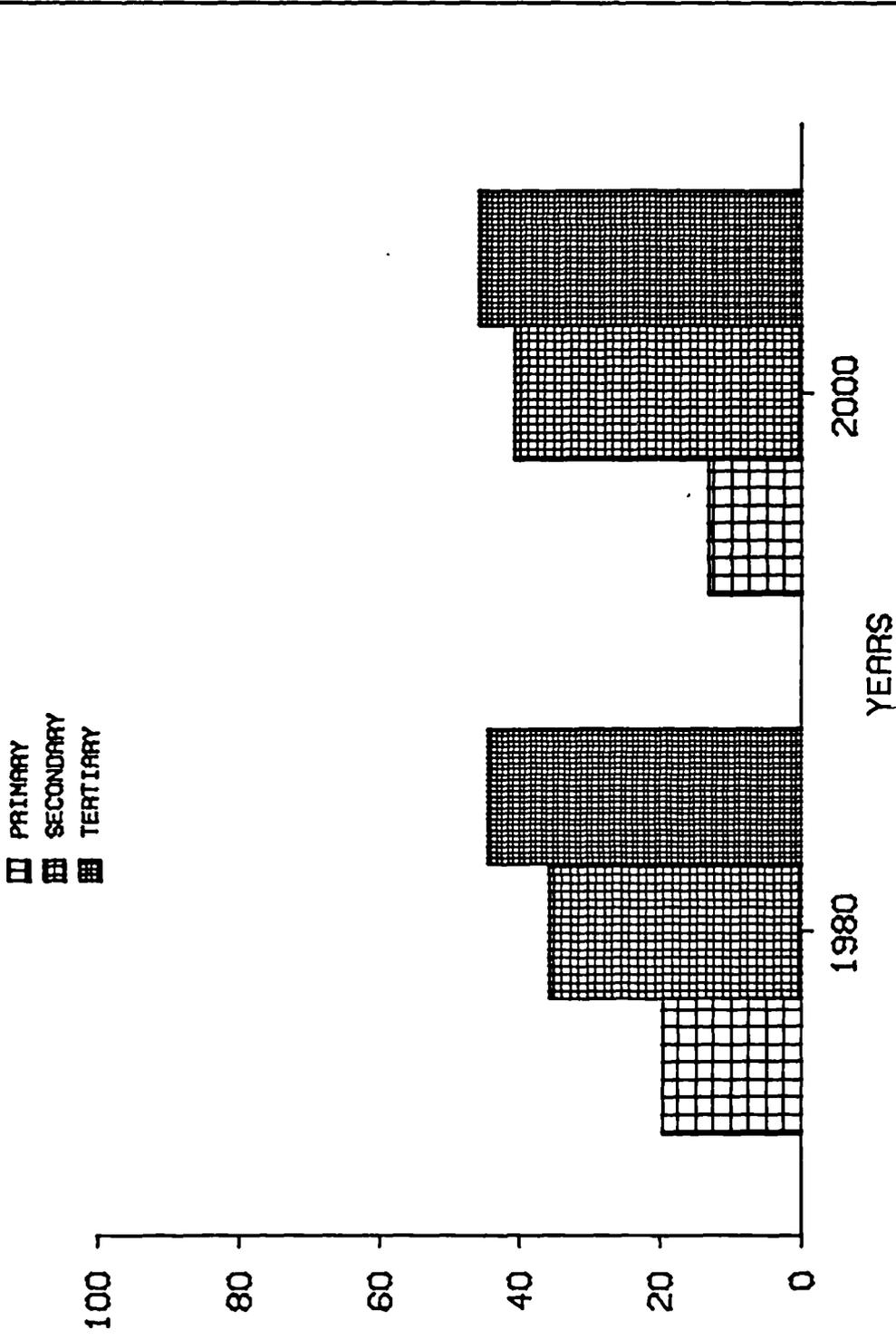
Table 2.11: Distribution of Employment by Regions and Main Economic Sectors 1980-2000 in 000s

Region	Economic sector	1980	% of total sector	2000	% of total	% change 1980 - 2000
Tripoli	Primary	95	67.9	135	59.2	42.1
	Secondary	195	76.5	455	65.2	133.3
	Tertiary	193	60.9	404	51.3	109.3
Total Tripoli		483	67.8	994	58.0	105.8
Benghazi	Primary	20	14.3	50	21.9	150.0
	Secondary	40	15.7	177	25.4	342.5
	Tertiary	89	28.1	294	37.4	230.3
Total Benghazi		149	20.9	521	30.4	249.7
Al-Khalij	Primary	14	10.0	20	8.8	42.9
	Secondary	10	3.9	40	5.7	300.0
	Tertiary	17	5.3	56	7.1	229.4
Total Al-Khalij		41	5.8	116	6.8	182.9
Sebha	Primary	11	7.8	23	10.1	109.1
	Secondary	10	3.9	26	3.7	160.0
	Tertiary	18	5.7	33	4.2	83.3
Total Sebha		39	5.5	82	4.8	110.3
Total	Primary	140	100.0	228	100.0	62.9
	Secondary	255	100.0	698	100.0	173.7
	Tertiary	317	100.0	787	100.0	148.3
Grand Total		712	100.0	1,713	100.0	140.6

1. Primary Sector includes Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing.
2. Secondary Sector includes Manufacturing, Mining & Quarrying, Construction, Gas and Water.
3. Tertiary Sector includes all Services, Administration, Commerce & Trade.

Source : Compiled from Regional Planning Studies (1984) Final Reports.

FIG.2.9 PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYMENT BY MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS ACCORD
 THE NATIONAL PHYSICAL PERSPECTIVE PLAN 1980-2000

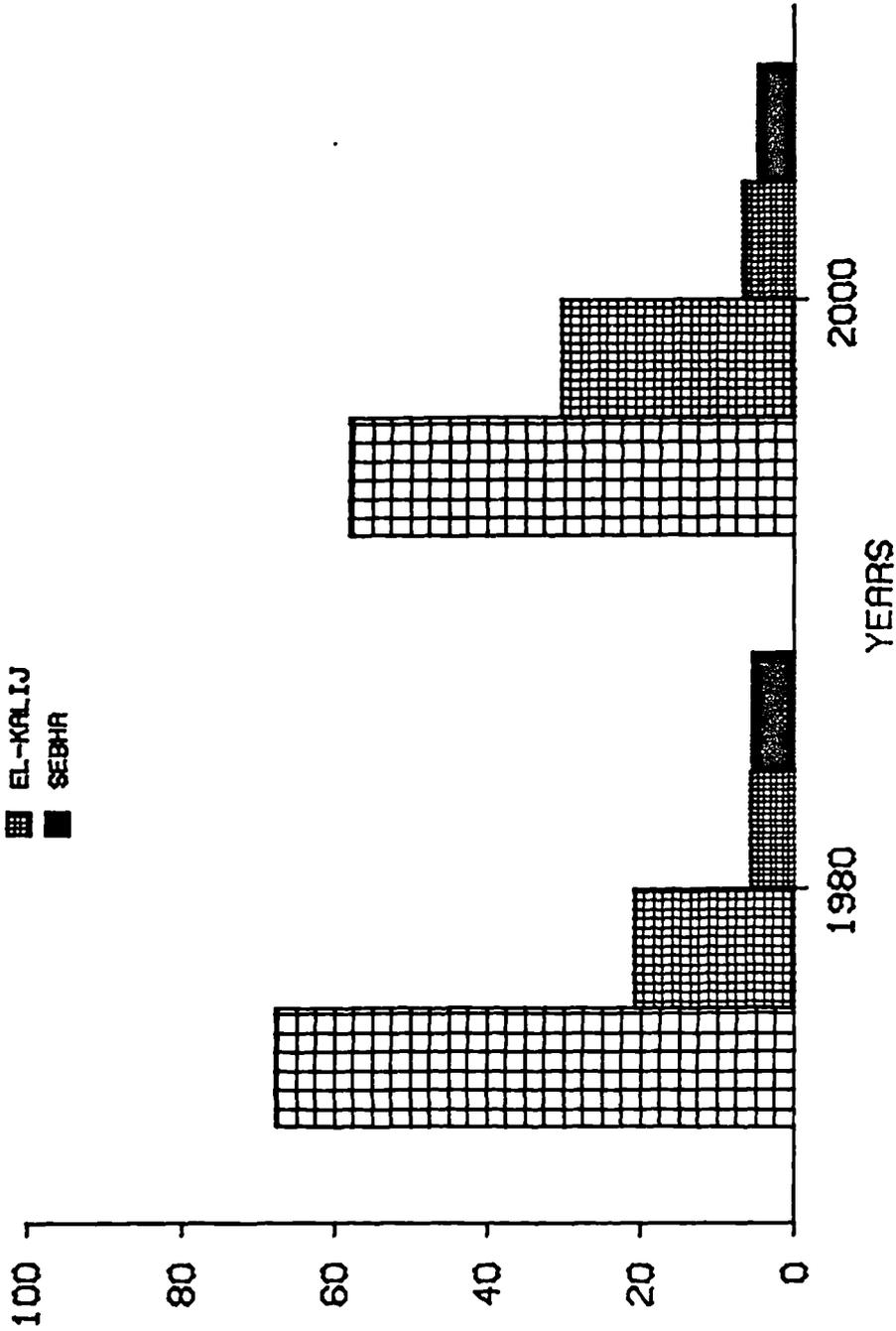


Source: See, Table 11.2.



FIG. 2.10 PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY REGION

- TRIPOLI
- BENGAZI
- EL-KALIJ
- SEBHA



Source: See, Table 11.2.

As seen in Table 2.11, those engaged in agriculture during 1980-2000 will increase by 62.9 per cent, from 140,000 to 228,000. The percentage change in the secondary sector is expected to be 173.7 per cent, and that in the tertiary sector is expected to be 148.3 per cent during the planning period.

Tripoli and Benghazi regions account for about 90 per cent of the nation's agricultural land, so their share of employment in the primary sector will be almost constant - 82.2 per cent in 1980 and 81.1 per cent by the year 2000. Moreover, because of the availability of labour force, market and infrastructural facilities in these two regions, their share of employment in the secondary sector is expected to decline from 92.2 in 1980 to 90.6 per cent by 2000. Because the employment in the tertiary sector depends to some extent on the primary and secondary sectors, the same regions are expected to dominate the tertiary sector; this share will continue to exceed 88 per cent of the total employment in this sector (Secretariat of Utilities 1985 : 93-100).

To close this chapter, it should be emphasized that all projections of the Libyan population based on different assumptions and carried out by different agencies assume a high rate of annual growth and there is not much disagreement among them as they all apply scientific demographic analysis (the difference in total population between the highest and the lowest variant to be applied is only about 170,000, which is very insignificant). However, a consensus exists among all agencies that irrespective of the impressive increase in the domestic labour force, the latter will remain to be a limiting factor as a high ratio of dependency and a very low economic activity will be experienced, and they will prevail for many years to come.

Variations in estimates do exist in respect of the number of non-nationals. While the Secretariat of Planning projects that by the year 2000 non-nationals are expected to reach only 195,000 of whom about 111,000 will be economically active, estimates of the four Regional Planning Consultants put the figure at 424,000, of whom 228,000 will be participating in the labour force.

Deviation of estimates discussed earlier are nevertheless attributed to the application of different assumptions in relation to the range of the educational and training systems effectiveness in meeting the proclaimed policy of the labour force Libyanization, society's capability for female integration in the development process, and last but not least the policy of the nation in regard to the issue of immigration. These very important but unfortunately unknown factors contributed to the deviation in the estimates of the number of non-Libyans. However, as it has already been mentioned, taking into consideration the huge developmental programme and the persistent inability of the educational system to meet the labour market's required skills among other factors, estimates made recently by consultants are more reasonable in relation to the number of the non-nationals.

The future population and labour force trends should be looked at from the following viewpoints:

1. The population of Libya is expected to almost double by the end of the century if the rate of annual growth remains the same.

2. At any given time more than half of the population will be in the age groups 0-14 and 60 and over. This leads to a continuing high dependency ratio carried by the economically active population, a point of interest for planners of education and technical training facilities and vocational guidance and occupational counselling activities in Libya (Prasad 1970).
3. The introduction and the application of modern technology in the three main sectors is assumed to create a large-scale demand for skilled manpower and as a result will necessitate the introduction of centres for professional education and high qualifications in various disciplines.
4. The expected highly sophisticated training in agriculture, industry and services is also expected to enable Libyans to exploit optimally rural resources and to ease the pressure on the cities by offering good earning potential in rural and remote areas.
5. The Gulf of Sirte and Sebha are planned to be significant coastal and desert economic activity zones in the future. The heavy investment in social as well as technical infrastructure extend development potentialities in the fields of industry and agriculture in those two regions. The man-made river which is under construction and planned to start in the early 1990's is expected to have significant influence on population and labour force distribution.

6. The dynamic, intensive socio-economic development programmes and the socio-demographic changes which are closely connected to them, the rapid growth of urbanization engendered by the process of industrialization and growth of tertiary sector will probably result in :
 - a. changing attitudes towards the size of the household;
 - b. reducing the role of children as an economic asset in the production process;
 - c. raising the educational attainment of parents;
 - d. increasing the age of marriages, resulting in the delay of reproduction; and
 - e. increasing the pressure for housing.

7. Last but not least, in the case of fertility decline, another trend may be anticipated, namely the heavy burden of youth being felt at present will be compensated for later on when these youngsters join the labour force. In other words, the population profile will possibly change in favour of an enlarged productive age group 15-60.

Changes such as these may serve as important variables affecting the manpower situation in Libya on quantitative and qualitative bases. Such changes could lead to the increase in the productivity of the labour force, greater opportunities for women to participate more effectively in the industrial and commercial life of the nation, and more rational distribution of population and employment opportunities. They could thereby redress the present imbalance, make up for the current shortfall in available human resources and lessen the dependence on the overseas assistance.

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CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMS OF LITERACY, EDUCATION AND TRAINING

3.1 Introduction

The sudden influx of the gigantic amounts of money into the economy and the huge allocation harnessed to finance the economic and social transformation plans led to the high rise in demand for productive manpower in various occupations and in different skills. To secure the needed number of personnel it was necessary to resort to the provision of more educational and training facilities, but these facilities proved to be incapable of meeting the rising demand due to some flaws generated historically, politically and culturally.

Accordingly, the principal objective of the discussion in this chapter is to investigate the existing educational facilities and the problems seen as important in hampering their effectiveness in producing most of the skills required for the labour market. But because of the significance and relevance of literacy in historical terms to the discussions of the theme of this chapter, the first section is devoted to this purpose.

3.2 Education : the Historical Perspective

After the Islamic conquest of the country in 643 AD, and as in many new converted Muslim communities, mosques were largely built to socialize and educate Libyans in Islamic teachings and beliefs. Soon these mosques were developed to acquire more elaborate educational functions; law, history, geography and other subjects were taught by

mosques and they taught people skills and activities needed in their community (Szyliowicz 1973, Jamal Al-Din 1979). However, literacy was predominantly religious.

Under the Turkish rule no major changes took place in relation to literacy. The only period during the Turkish domination when literacy relatively prospered was between 1710 and 1825 under the administration of the Qaramanli dynasty (dissident Turkish family in Libya). During that period of time, Libya as a whole and Tripoli in particular witnessed a new development in the educational system. Due to the commercial growth and the prosperity of that part of the North African continent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a large number of Europeans began coming to Libya, in particular French and Italians who in 1804 set up the first non-Islamic schools for their children in Tripoli. Indeed, literacy was widely encouraged and instead of sending various tax revenues to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul money was spent by the administration in the construction of many schools and in building up a strong and efficient army (Deeb and Deeb 1982: 19, El-Huni, 1978).

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Tripoli was again the centre of new developments of the educational system of the country, and modern education in Libya may be said to have begun. Two primary schools for boys were opened and one for girls. A training school for teachers was set up and, most important, vocational schools for the manufacturing of shoes, silk and carpentry and printing were opened in Tripoli (Deeb and Deeb 1982:20).

All in all, although during the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire education in its modern sense started to come into existence, for the majority of Libyans it was conducted only on an informal basis. Young boys were sent to the mosque or to the Zawiyah⁽¹⁾ attached to it to be taught moral and religious instruction. In most cases vocational training was provided in the field; boys were taught how to plough the land, get water from the well and raise cattle. On the other hand, young girls were instructed by their parents in the five Islamic pillars and provided with very simple and basic skills which they would need when they became mothers.

The conditions under the Italian occupation 1911-1943 were not better; by that time education was split into three divisions : the Quranic schools, the Arabic schools and the Italian schools. In the first division pupils were taught religious subjects and the Arabic language for six years. Upon completion, pupils could enroll in Ahmad Pasha College, Zawiyah Mizran College or in Asmari Institute; the first two colleges were in Tripoli and the latter was in Zliten 180 km east of Tripoli. The elementary Arabic schools provided five years of training in Arabic; religious and other subjects were taught in Italian. After the Islamic high school was established in 1936, students who had completed the elementary Arabic schools and who were issued the elementary school certificate could take additional academic work. The Italian schools were established for foreign pupils

(1) Zawiyah is an Arabic word for a place which provides teaching of Islamic belief and then developed to include other subjects such as history, geography, logic, astronomy and sometimes medicine. Originally it is an offshoot of a religious and military brotherhood of the 12th and 13th centuries during the Marabout state. There were 3 in Tripoli.

primarily, and for a very limited number of Libyans. Those schools offered programmes of education at both the elementary and secondary levels and all training was in Italian (Nizarat Education 1957). Opportunities for higher education were extremely restricted for Libyan citizens unless they obtained Italian citizenship.

In fact, under the Italian colonial period schools were built particularly in the urban areas and Libyans were brought into more contact with modern educational systems; by 1939 there were about 28,000 students in Libya; 7,000 Italians, 15,000 Arabs and the remainder (6,000) represented other minorities. From the first sight these figures seem to be impressive relative to their time and the size of population but once we break them down it becomes obvious that Libyans were deprived of modern educational opportunities, for example, out of the total number of schools (528), 348 or 66 per cent were primary private Quranic Schools funded and administered locally and they served more than 50 per cent of the total Arab enrollees. Furthermore, while there were 5 secondary schools for Italians with about 1,500 students, there was only one secondary school with 134 students for nationals (Fisher 1982, Deeb and Deeb 1982).

However, although educational facilities were more available during the Italian rule, it is of significance to mention that the main reason behind that was not the broadening of education per se, but rather to teach the values and ideas of Italy. Creig (1947), who occupied the post of the chief officer of the British Military Administration, noted that the Italians were concentrating on the young people to teach them to abandon their old customs, to create in them the great feeling of pride in being Italian. Consequently, most

Libyans refused to enrol their children in Italian schools for fear of exposing them to values that would weaken their Islamic faith and might undermine the Muslim way of life.

All in all, during the Italian period for various reasons, the educational system was fragmented and to the great majority of the Libyan citizens, particularly outside Tripoli and Benghazi, education was just a luxury and a privilege of a very small minority.

There then followed the period of the British and French Administrations from 1943 to the end of the 1951. By that time elementary schools were established on the same basis as those in some other Arab countries. In fact, the curriculum was just a replica of that in Egypt. However, education began to expand, especially in the northern parts of the country and at the primary level. In the school year 1946-47 two secondary schools were established in Tripoli and Zavia. Two more secondary schools were opened in Benghazi in 1947 and 1949 respectively. Subsequently in 1950-51 one Teacher Training College for men and one for women were established in Tripoli to train teachers after graduating from the elementary schools. While the British were really busy in making some injections into the fragmented educational system, the French in Fezzan - in the deep south - did nothing.

A British government report to the United Nations dated 21-1-1951 showed that in Cyrenaica and in Tripolitania there was a total of 194 elementary schools with 544 teachers and 29,882 students, of whom 26 were undergoing teacher training. At the same time the French government reported to the United Nations that the Fezzan province

boasted only two schools with fifty students between them. Higher education did not exist. Indeed at the time of Independence in 1951 "only 15 Libyans had University degrees mostly granted at Egyptian Universities" (Jamahiriya Review 1984:15). In short, during the British and French rule the literacy situation was likely to have improved, but the expansion of education was neither fast nor on a sufficient scale to compensate ^{for} the lack of opportunities given to the Libyan people during the preceding years of occupation. Due to the lack of resources and shortage of teachers, education was almost an urban phenomenon and very few village children or tribesmen received any formal education.

With the granting of Independence in December 1951, Libyans entered into considerably greater freedom in controlling their internal affairs, and the situation of literacy began to make substantial improvements. It is not an exaggeration to state that the thirst for knowledge and know-how became a passion. Many children walked more than five miles to study at primary schools. At the time the Libyan Government made a major step forward when it proclaimed the achievement of universal literacy as an aim. Article 30 of the Constitution promulgated in 1951 stated "elementary education shall be compulsory for Libyan children of both sexes; elementary and preparatory education in the public schools shall be free" (Ministry of Education and National Guidance 1969:13). Adults who could not attend regular classes were encouraged by providing them with an opportunity to attend evening classes in general education. The strategy was to open the door of education to a large number of children in the shortest possible time. However, great efforts were being made by a very young country starting from scratch and the achievement of the proclaimed

goal remained elusive due to insufficient facilities, staff and finance, scarcity of curriculum materials, shortage of buildings and the need for child labour at home, particularly in rural areas; and these combined together to make too heavy a burden on too small a shoulder. Consequently the passionate surge of popularity for education was lessened and led to high repetition and drop-out rates. Not surprisingly though of the total citizen population five years and over only 13.6 per cent could read and write in 1954; taking males and females separately the percentages of the literate population were 24.0 and 2.4 respectively (Ministry of National Economy 1956). Indeed, the overall literacy was very low, and it was very much lower in the higher age groups, reflecting the recent introduction of primary education on a large scale.

In 1955 another significant development in the field of education took place i.e. the establishment of the first University (at Benghazi), although at the time there were only 31 students and 11 teachers, and faculties of the University of Libya were established at Tripoli. Besides an Islamic University was opened at Beida 100 km east of Benghazi in 1957 (Jamahiriya Review, 1980).

After the advent of oil exploration and exportation in the early 1960's, the real threshold of modern Libya, more achievements in the field of education were obtained as the country was able for the first time to balance its budget and meet its expenses. Between 1963 and 1968 the Five Year Plan dominated attempts to improve educational facilities (Birks and Sinclair 1980); the University of Benghazi started its expansion, the School of Law was established and the level of literacy in general began to improve. According to the 1964 General

Population Census, 27 per cent of the total population aged six years and over were stated as literate, and of the total number of males (619,000) in that age group there were 267,000 who were shown to be literate, i.e. 43 per cent of the total. As for females, at the same time it appeared that literacy increased among them from 2.4 per cent in 1954 to reach 8.5 per cent in 1964, although the sex differential was still very marked.

In 1966 the first College of Agriculture was opened at Sidi El-Masri near Tripoli, and in 1967 a training college for teachers was established at Tripoli. Because of the effect of oil, pupil and student enrolments jumped dramatically at all levels. For example in the school year 1961-62 primary education had only 131,098 students, preparatory 11,216, secondary 2,284, teachers training 1,806 and technical education had only 1,155 students (Ministry of Education, 1974), while the total number of students at all colleges was only 842 (Secretariat of Education 1978). In the school year 1968-69 there were 270,617 pupils enrolled in primary schools, 29,181 in preparatory schools, 7,181 at the secondary level, and 5,159 were registered in teacher training institutes (Secretariat of Education, 1978). Moreover, 1,259 were receiving technical education and 12,086 were receiving religious education. By the same scholastic year University enrolments had risen to 3,956 (Jamahiriya Review 1980). The remarkable enrolment increases occurred in spite of the fact that the expansion of oil production created vacancies in all sectors that resulted in drop-outs from schools to join those vacancies.

From the foregoing discussion it has been pointed out that a cornerstone of a modern education system was laid down after Independence and considerable achievements were obtained. However, if

one breaks down data available, it becomes more obvious that technical education had never been emphasized nor did rural areas have the appropriate encouragement from the executive bodies of that time; clerical and administrative posts were the dream of most students and the educational system made such dreams come true.

In 1969 a new socialist regime took power and the monarchy was overthrown. The motto 'education for all' started to be really practised and educational facilities began to reach more villages and remote communities through mobile classrooms. Since that time, great measures in the field of education were introduced. Due to various sincere measures taken since oil was discovered and because of the high responsiveness of the Libyan population, literacy recorded a remarkable improvement in the intercensal period 1964-73.

It is obvious from Table 3.1 that literacy increased enormously in a short period of time 1964-73, although the age groups are not comparable. Nevertheless, it rose from a total of 25.8 per cent of the total population 6 years and over in 1964 to become 48.3 per cent of the total population 10 and over by 1973. By sex, while males jumped from 41.6 per cent to 67.9 per cent, females responded strongly too, when the same indices rose from as low as 8.5 per cent to reach 27.0 per cent in the same period. In view of the high population growth the enormous increase in literacy during 9 years is a further improvement. However, despite the significant increase in literacy, the same table discerns that by 1973 out of 608,600 who were considered by the Population Census to be literate, 527,500 i.e. 86.7 per cent were shown to be possessing less than the preparatory level certificate. This

Table 3.1 Citizen Populations by Sex and Educational Status 1964-73 in 000's

Educational Status	1964*						1973**					
	Males	% of total	Females	% of total	Total	% of total	Males	% of total	Females	% of total	Total	% of total
Illiterate includes reading only	361.9	58.4	514.7	91.5	876.6	74.2	210.7	32.1	440.7	73.0	651.4	51.7
Read and write	201.9	32.6	41.7	7.4	243.6	20.6	280.4	42.7	123.6	20.5	404.0	32.1
Primary Certificate	35.1	5.7	4.5	0.8	39.6	3.3	97.4	14.8	26.1	4.3	123.5	9.8
Preparatory, Secondary and below University	19.1	3.1	1.8	0.3	20.9	1.8	61.8	9.4	12.7	2.1	74.5	5.9
Graduate and above	1.4	0.2	0.1	-	1.5	0.1	6.2	1.0	0.4	0.1	6.6	0.5
Total	619.4	100.0	562.8	100.0	1182.2	100.0	656.5	100.0	603.5	100.0	1260.0	100.0

Source : Compiled from Population Censuses 1964 and 1973

* The educational status for those aged 6 years and over
 ** The educational status for those aged 10 years and over

indicates the very low level of education of the Libyan citizens which reflected on the low productivity of the national element of the workforce.

3.3 Organization of the Existing Education System

Education, whether general or vocational, falls administratively under the auspices of the Secretariat of Education which is held responsible for the planning and follow up of educational policies all over the country, including higher technical institutes and universities, as well as the national scientific research. It should be mentioned in this respect that education and research above secondary school level in the period 1983 up to early 1986 used to fall under the responsibility of two separate Secretariats : the Secretariat of Higher Education and the Secretariat of Scientific Research. The implementation of educational policy, however, is decentralized to the 24 educational bodies at the municipal level. Because local bodies are considered not yet competent, the preparation of the curricular writing, the publication of textbooks and teaching materials and most importantly the powerful control over spending still are highly centralized at the top for educational levels below higher education. Universities and higher technical institutes have the flexibility in the above educational policies. Moreover, the responsibility for various technical and vocational institutions is split. Commercial and applied engineering schools are run by the Secretariat of Education, while Secretariats of Agriculture and Industry are held responsible for the budget and administration. The Secretariat of Education carries out final examinations for all those technical and vocational institutes (Schmida and Keenan 1983).

On the other hand, accredited vocational institutions such as the Social Service Institute, institutes for nurses etc. and training centres are administered by different Secretariats depending on the activities they perform. These kinds of institutes and training centres therefore, are completely independent from the Secretariat of Education. The existing educational system, including the vocational training can be divided into the following 9 types :

3.3.1 Compulsory primary and preparatory : both primary and preparatory are mandatory by a law issued in 1975. This stage starts from the age of 6. The syllabus includes Arabic, religion, science, maths, history, geography, craft, physical education, and principles of chemistry and physics at the end of the stage. Of course not all subjects are taken in each grade. At this level the pupils are provided with 9 years of schooling concluded by determining those who pass the preparatory school certificate. According to the examination results, successful pupils are distributed among secondary general schools, secondary technical schools, teacher training colleges, military secondary schools and other vocational schools.

3.3.2 Secondary education : this stage lasts for three years covering roughly the ages 15 to 18. Secondary schools provide an academic pre-University course with a common curriculum for all students in their first year. This includes : Arabic, religion, maths, chemistry, physics, biology, development, art, physical education, besides history and geography. During the second year of this stage students go on to study either science or literature but continue with some subjects common to both, such as Arabic, religion and development. At the end of this stage students who successfully

pass the exams are awarded the general secondary school certificate. To pass such an exam students must gain at least 50 per cent or more in each subject. According to examination results, students are directed to different colleges and various institutes.

3.3.3 Teacher training : this includes special teacher training institutes with a four year period of training. The possession of the preparatory school certificate is a prerequisite for admission at this stage. Furthermore, teacher training includes the general teacher training institutes which were supposed to be phased out in 1983, but in some remote municipalities they are still functioning. While the special teacher training institutes are designed to produce teachers for the preparatory level, the general teacher training institutes qualify teachers for the primary stage.

3.3.4 Institutes of technical education : here again the possession of the preparatory certificate is a condition for enrolment. During the four years of study students are instructed in either surveying or agriculture or industry or commerce.

3.3.5 Health education : this includes an 18 month programme after the primary level for the purpose of producing assistant nurses and a 3 year programme for those with the preparatory certificate to be trained as nurses.

3.3.6 Social work education : with a training period of 4 years after the gaining of the preparatory certificate. Graduates from this stage are assumed to work with the Secretariat of Social Insurance and within organizational bodies attached to it.

3.3.7 Islamic education : this is a separate education, the period of study being 6 years in the Quranic primary schools. After the completion of this stage pupils either follow the path to preparatory religious education, secondary education and then to the College of Arabic Language and Islamic Studies, exactly as in general education, or they can affiliate in a 5 year reading institute which makes them preachers at mosques upon completion of such a period.

3.3.8 Higher technical education : the possession of the general secondary school certificate in science subjects is required. The period of study is three years and graduates are assumed to work as a link between middle level technical personnel and scientific specialists.

3.3.9 University education : the general secondary certificate is required to admission and the period of study is 4-6 years, depending on the field of study the student chooses. However, it is possible for those outstanding students who possess the certificate of the Institute of Technical Education and special teacher training to enrol in some departments of the University such as the School of Education, Arts and School of Economics.

The organizational chart for the existing educational system for both general education and religious education and their link with the labour force are shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

3.4 Development in Formal Education Enrolment

Enrolments at all levels of education have witnessed a phenomenal increase from a student population of 383,000 in 1970 to 1,226,000 by

Fig.3.1 DIVISIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE LABOUR FORCE

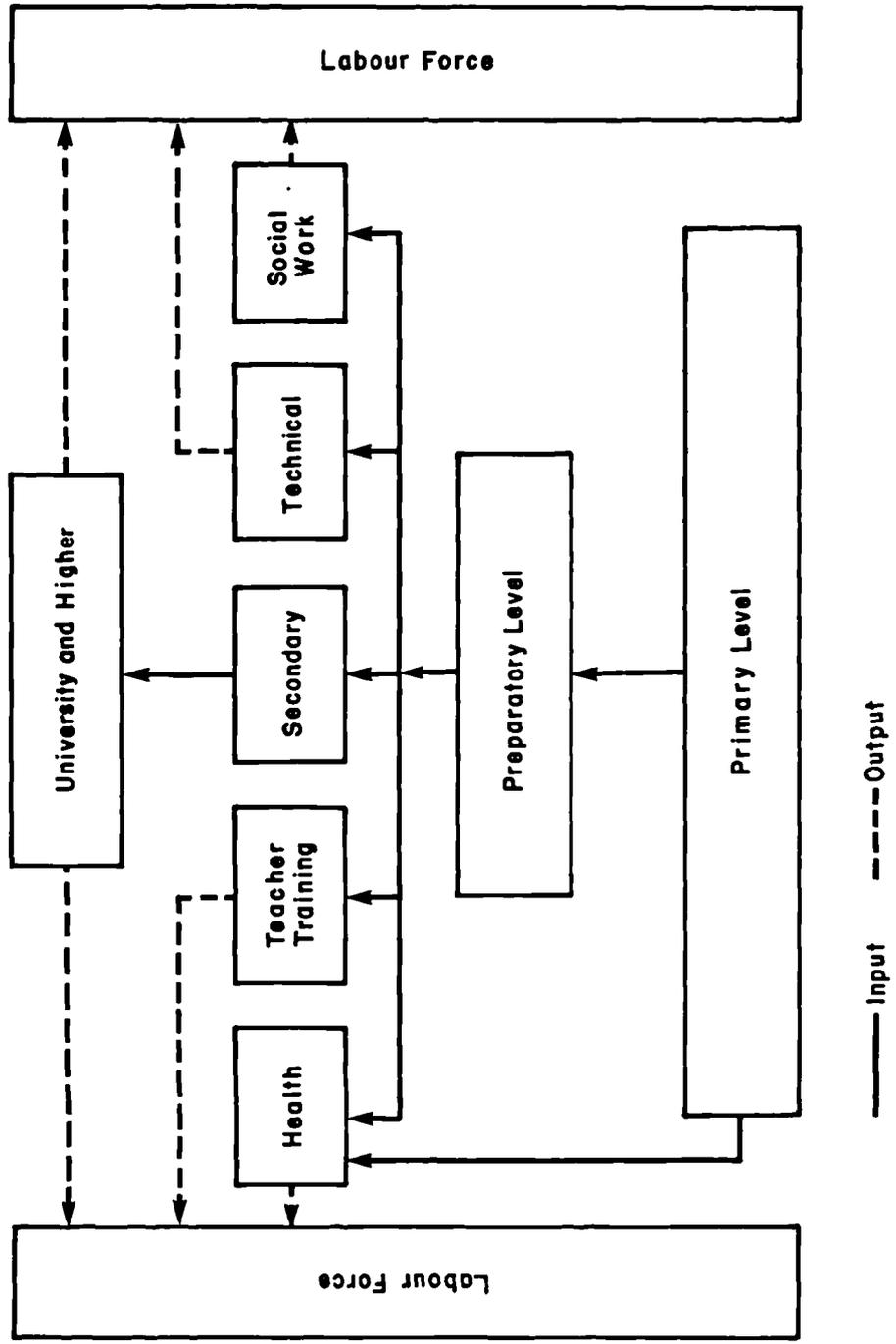
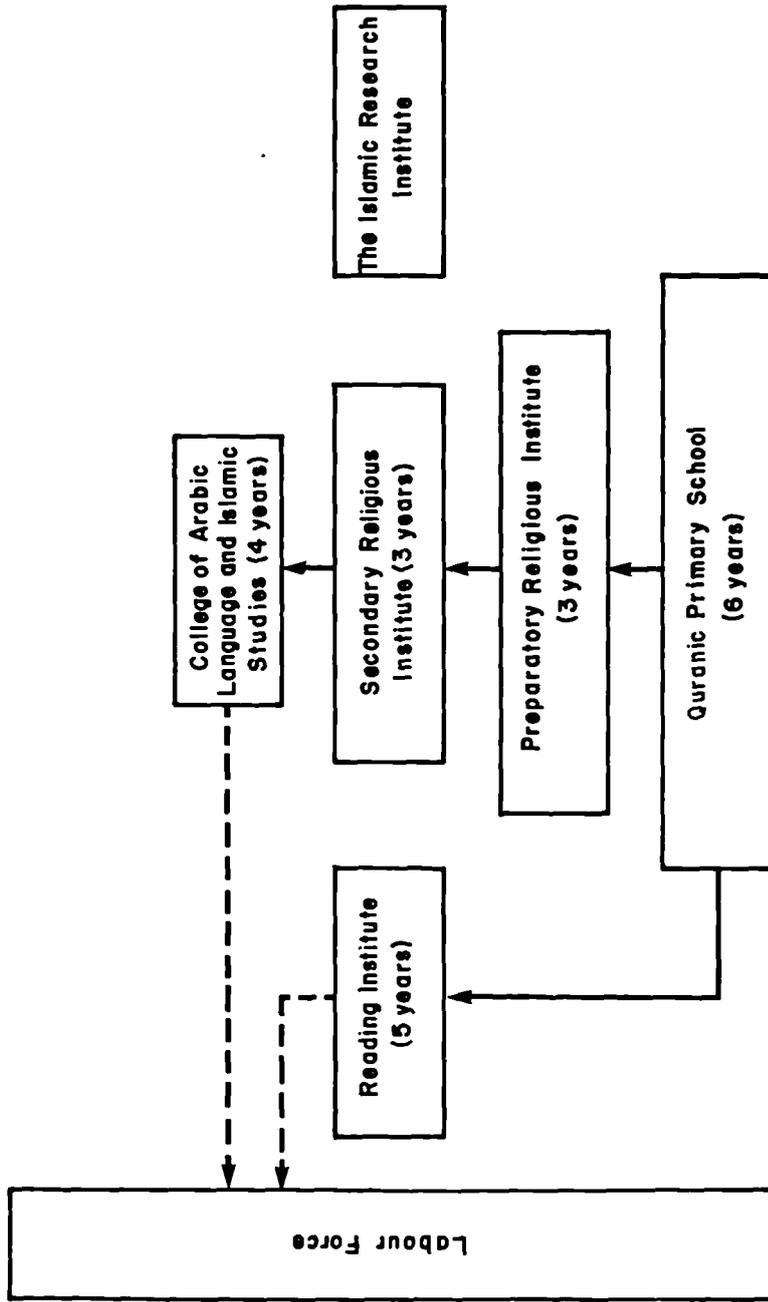


Fig.3-2 DIVISIONS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND ITS RELATION TO LABOUR FORCE



— Input
- - - Output

The Islamic Research Institute is designed for students from other Islamic nations to be preachers in their respective countries

1985; almost four times in 15 years (see Table 3.2). Such a remarkable increase pushed the proportion of the population attending schools and various institutes from about 19.7 per cent in 1970 to more than 30 per cent by 1985. Based on the assumption that the total population (Libyans and non-Libyans) will reach 4,880,000, the population attending schools will exceed 32 per cent by the year 1990 (Secretariat of Planning 1985).

Improvements in educational enrolment have been accompanied by a change for the better in the educational pyramid. In 1970, the percentage of the primary level to total enrolment reached 84.9, but it

Table 3.2 : Total Enrolment by Educational Level and Change in Educational Pyramid Since the Years 1970 and 1985 in 000's

Educational level	1970		1985	
	No.	% of total enrolment	No.	% of total enrolment
Primary	325	84.9	787	64.2
Preparatory	38	9.9	268	21.9
Secondary	9	2.4	75	6.1
Teachers Training	5	1.3	32	2.6
Technical	2	0.5	25	2.0
Higher Education	4	1.0	39	3.2
Total	383	100.0	1,226	100.0

Source : Calculated from

- (1) Secretariat of Planning (1983) Economic and Social Achievements in Libya 1970-83, Tripoli, Libya
- (2) Secretariat of Planning (1985) Development of Population and Labour Force 1973-90, Tripoli, Libya.

declined to 64.2 per cent in 1985. Such a decline was compensated by the enormous percentage increase in the other educational levels. The new governmental trend laying emphasis on technical education is also very obvious (see Figure 3.3).

The rapid increase in school population necessitated the fast growth in the number of teachers as well as the number of classrooms. In 1973, for example, there were less than 24,000 teachers and their number increased to almost 74,000 in 1983; more than three times. Classrooms, on the other hand, increased from 18,000 to exceed 40,000 in the same period. The same figures are shown to further increase to 79,000 and 44,000 respectively by 1986 (The Green March 1986). Table 3.3 shows the impressive growth in the number of teachers and school classes by educational level at the general education stage, and even more so in technical education.

In relation to higher education at the present time there are four Universities and four Higher Institutes throughout the country namely:

- 1.. The University of Gar-Younis, located on the outskirts of Benghazi City includes literature, economics, law, medicine, science, engineering and dentistry and specialises in humanities.
2. The University of Al-Fateh at El-Fornaj, a suburb of Tripoli City, contains the following colleges : engineering, agriculture, pharmacy, medicine, veterinary science and education. The main discipline of the University is science.

FIG.3.3 CHANGE IN EDUCATION PYRAMID IN THE YEARS 1970 AND 1985

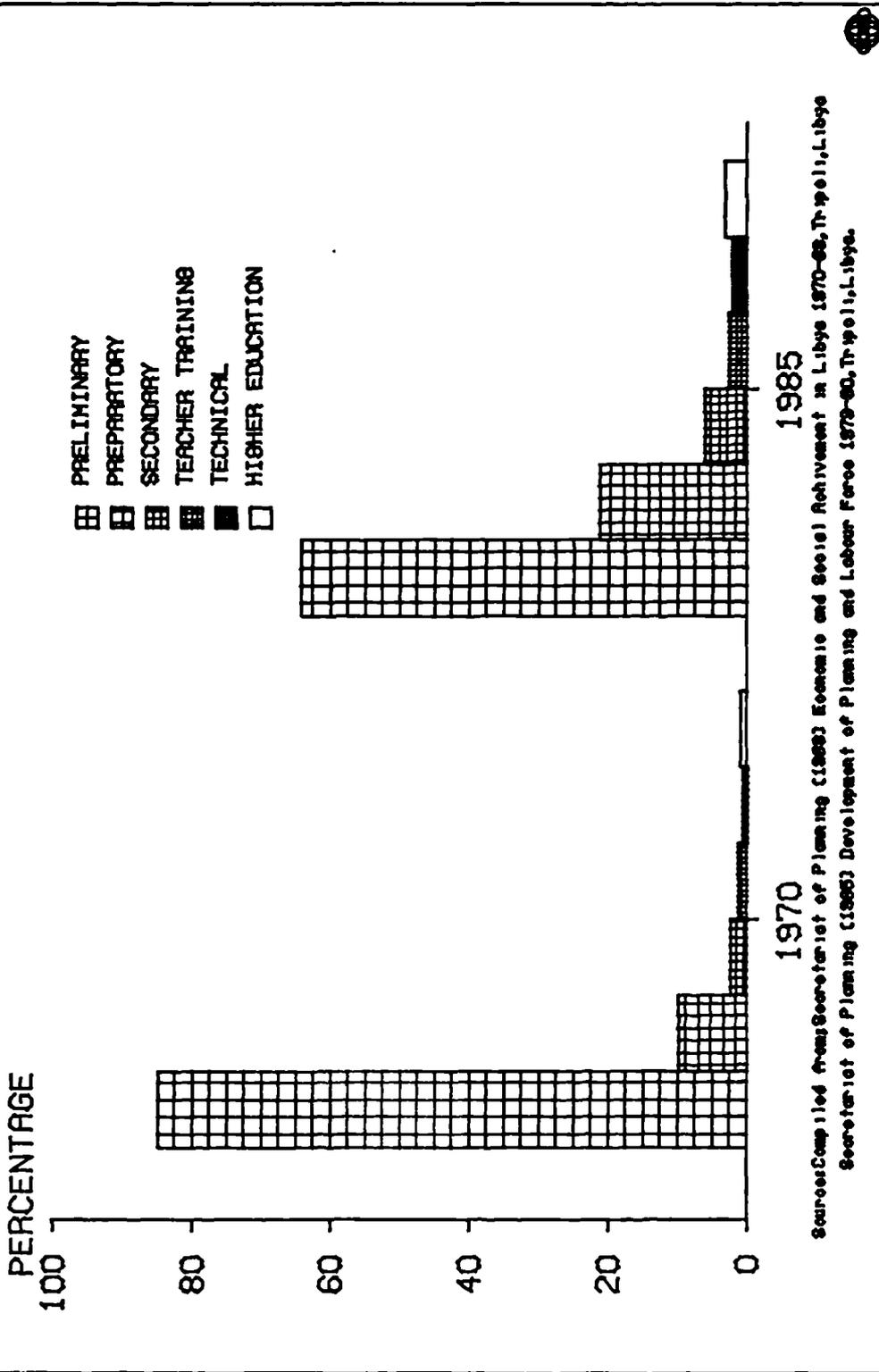


Table 3.3 : Growth in the Number of Teachers and School Classes in General Education According to Level
1972 - 1973 to 1982 - 1983

School year	Primary Teachers Classes	Preparatory Teachers Classes	Secondary Teachers Classes	Teachers Institutes Teachers Classes	Technical Teachers Classes	Total Teachers Classes
1972 - 73	17552	3782	1120	989	193	23636
1982 - 83	42969	21086	4699	2730	2428	73912
Percentage Increase	144.8	457.5	319.5	176.0	1158.0	212.7
	79.4	377.9	386.1	193.4	1463.8	121.1

Source : Compiled from :

- (1) Secretariat of Education (1978) Achievements of the Secretariat of Education from 1969 up to 1976-77, Tripoli, Libya.
- (2) Secretariat of Education (1983) Achievements of the Secretariat of Education, Tripoli, Libya.

3. The University of the Bright Star is located at Brega near Ejdabia, and was founded in 1981. Technical subjects related to engineering and oil production are its major field of study. The school of mining and petroleum of Al-Fateh University as well as other departments of higher technical institutes and the higher institute of petroleum which used to be in Tobruk, were transferred to the new University.

4. The University of Sebha contains only two schools at present, namely the School of Science and the School of Education, but is planned to expand in the near future to serve the southern region.

5. The High Technical Institute of Technology at Brak (Municipality of Shati in the deep south).

6. The Institute of Mechanics and Electricity at Bani Walid about 300 km south east of Tripoli.

7. The Institute of Electronics at Hun about 300 km south of the Gulf of Sirte Coast.

8. The Institute of Banking and Administration located in the heart of Tripoli.

The four higher institutes were established recently in 1976, and designed to produce qualified personnel who are expected to play an important part in the link between middle level technical staff and the scientific specialists.

Moreover, the number of students dispatched abroad constitutes a significant fraction. For example, in the academic year 1976-77 students who were sent abroad reached 3,939 (Secretary of Education 1977). In 1981 in the United States also there were 2,900 students (Schmida and Keenan 1983). In Great Britain the number is estimated to be around 2,000 students. However, because of the expansion in the number and in the field of studies of higher educational institutions at the local level, the number of students who are granted fellowships to study abroad is expected to decrease significantly in the near future, particularly in humanities.

In addition to those enrollees at the general and higher education institutions, there are other accredited schools and training centres under the auspices of some secretariats that conduct programmes running from three months up to three years to produce skilled and semi-skilled workers. Total enrollees in both accredited and unaccredited institutes and training centres excluding technical schools sponsored by the Secretariats of Agriculture, Industry and Education reached more than 17,000 in 1982 of which about 2,200 were women (Secretariat of Public Service 1982).

Besides, training of skilled and semi-skilled workers is also carried out abroad, for example, in February 1982, the British firm of Ingersoll won a \$41 million contract to train workers for Libyan Steel Works, being built at the coastal town of Misurata. The Company will run a five year training programme, with 350 entrants per year. In 1981 a contract was announced for the training of 480 Libyans in telecommunications (Jamahiriya Review 1982a), not to mention other departments such as the department of railroads and other various

agencies and factories being established and proliferated in the last 15 years or so.

Furthermore, in-service and short-term programmes are also conducted within departments of the state and public enterprises such as the Institute of Administration, Insurance Companies, Banks and so forth.

3.5 Female Education

It is no exaggeration to state that the educational system in Libya is very notable for its emphasis on female education (Wedley 1973). The gains in closing the sex gap in educational attainment have been spectacular. Total female enrolment increased from 121,000 in 1970, 31.7 per cent of the total enrolment, to 556,000 or 45.4 per cent of the total enrolment in 1985, i.e. by more than four times (see Table 3.4). It is of interest to note that according to official figures in 1956 female enrolment in Libya reached only 11,447, of which 11,195 were in the primary, 54 for both the preparatory and secondary and 198 in general teachers' training institutes. In 1956 there were no female students at all in the University and it was only in 1957 when the first Libyan woman took part in university studies.

However, whatever remarkable increases accomplished in female education, if one breaks down these figures one can easily pinpoint that achievements at the highest point in the education pyramid are still modest. While the women's share in 1985 at the primary level almost matched that of boys, 47.9 per cent of the total enrolment, their percentage diminished gradually up the educational scale, to 44

Table 3.4 Development of Female Education Compared to Total Enrolment by Educational Level 1970/71-1985/86 in 000's

Year	Levels of Education																	
	Primary			Preparatory			Secondary including technical			Teacher training			Higher			Total		
	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total	Total enrolment	No. of females	% of females to total
1970/71	325	111	34.2	38	7	18.4	11	1	9.1	5	2	40	4.1	0.4	9.8	383.1	121.4	31.7
1975/76	547	252	46.1	122	39	32.0	18	4	22.2	21	12	57.1	9.7	1.6	16.5	717.7	308.6	43.0
1980/81	675	318	47.1	223	91	40.8	63	18	28.6	28	18	64.3	19.3	4.8	24.9	1008.3	449.8	44.6
1985/86	787	377	47.9	268	118	44.0	100	29	29.0	32	21	65.6	39	11	28.2	1226	556.0	45.4

Source - Calculated from:

- (1) Ministry of Education (1977) Development of Educational Statistics in Libya, Tripoli, Libya
- (2) Secretariat of Education (1981) A Report on Higher Education in Libya, Tripoli, Libya
- (3) Secretariat of Planning (1981) Socio-Economic Transformation in Libya, 1970-80, Tripoli, Libya
- (4) Secretariat of Planning (1983) Achievements in Socio-Economic Transformation, 1970-83 Tripoli, Libya.
- (5) Secretariat of Planning (1985) The Development in Population and Labour Force 1973-1990, Tripoli, Libya

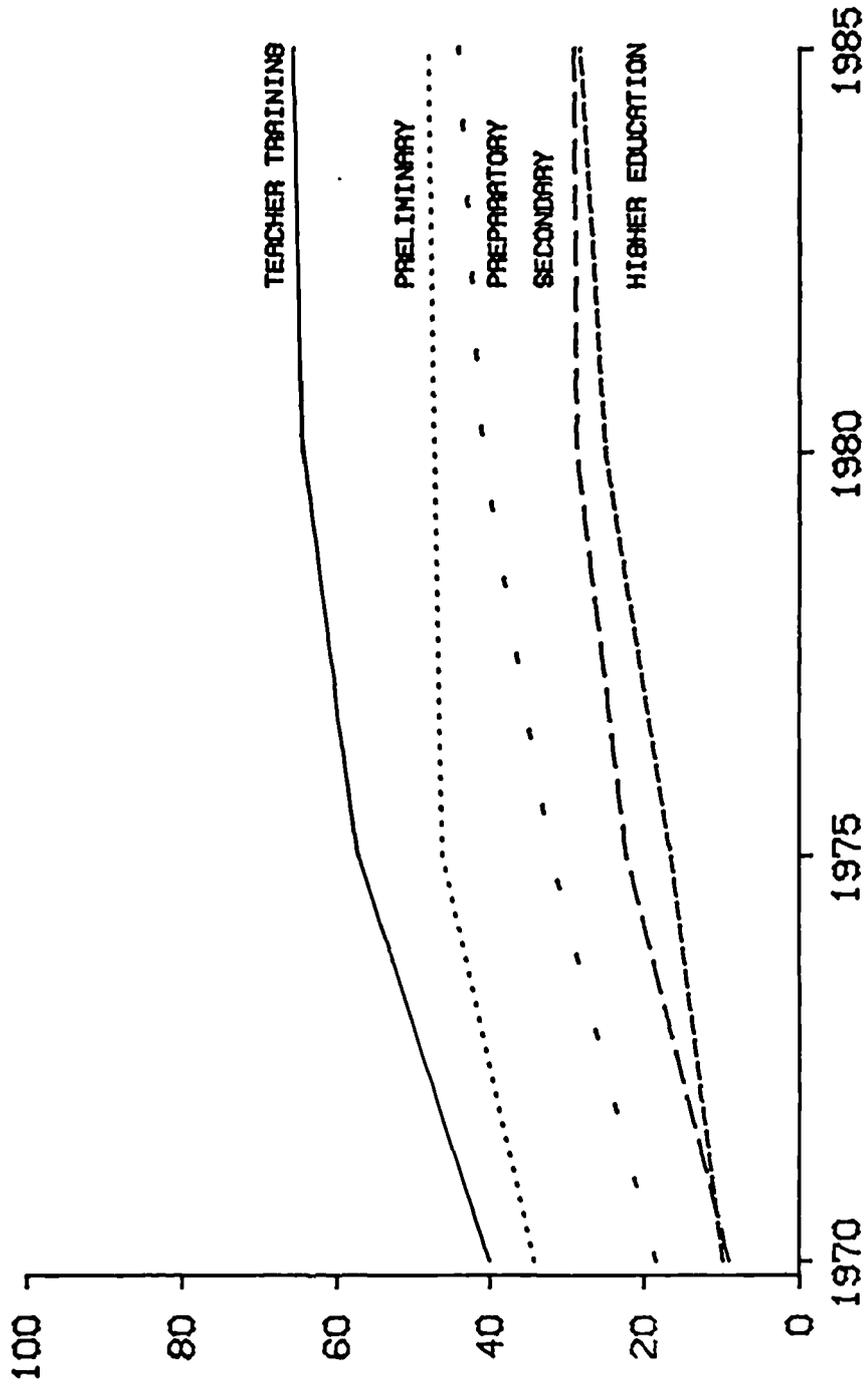
per cent at preparatory level, 29 per cent at the secondary level and merely 28.2 per cent at the higher level (Figure 3.4). It is only in teacher training institutes that the women's share exceeded that of males, 65.6 per cent, which resulted from a strategy taken by the State to feminize and Libyanize the teaching force at the lowest two levels and was generated by the social stratification of teaching activities as suitable for females, convenient for the family and acceptable to the community.

Women, however, are still doing badly in the area of training. The acquisition of job skills is largely neglected. Whilst theoretically the State encourages the integration of women in all developmental activities, the instruction of required skills to operate development projects is in most cases male oriented. As in all Arab countries, and Libya is not an exception, female training programmes are limited to those occupations very much related to family life (teaching, nursing, knitting, sewing, weaving, home economics, secretarial work and the like), some of which despite their significance to the individual and the society, have little prestige and market value.

Socially it is deeply rooted that when educating males, parents or guardians direct them towards a vocational and promising professional goal. Males are always taught to achieve, to create and to execute ideas. Females in the meantime, because of the absence of a defined occupational role for them, even when they are educated, their ultimate goal is to have a family of their own, to serve the family and the husband and to rear the children in a very good manner and their role is defined in this field (U'Ren 1971, Menon 1981, Lerner 1979, Powell



FIG. 3.4 PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE EDUCATION COMPARED TO TOTAL ENROLMENT BY EDUCATION LEVEL 1970-85



Source: See Table 3.4

1984). The misconception of the women's role leads to the tendency of many women to follow a traditional pattern of education which results in an excessive number of girls in the arts faculties at the University level, e.g. the Secretariat of Planning estimated that in the academic year 1985-86 while 54 per cent of all males were in scientific fields only 33.3 per cent of all females were in similar studies, which could be attributed to the idea prevailing in the society at least among many of them that women should only acquire sufficient general education to discuss and plan things with their spouses; and if they need to work, arts education will be sufficient for them to join the so-called women's occupations by nature. Another reason could be that women themselves prefer arts disciplines because they know there is no accessible range of occupations open to them when graduating from science faculties. Whatever the cause, this trend leads to an inevitable disequilibrium at employment levels.

Moreover, regardless of the fact that female enrolments increased enormously at all levels "the numbers of girls attending schools in some rural areas are well below the national average, and a high female drop-out rate suggests that many parents send their daughters to school only long enough to acquire basic skills to make them attractive marriage partners" (McMorris 1979:114).

However, inspite of all problems confronting female education, one can be sure that the reduction in social inequality between men and women, the remarkable increase in the proportion of female enrolment beyond the primary level, as shown in Table 3.4 and presented in Figure 3.4, the eagerness and willingness of women not to break up their studies any more, together with state encouragement of women all

suggest that the basic conditions of evolution exist and that the prospects of female involvement in any future solution of the labour force problems are promising.

3.6 Problems of Education

The basic figures illustrated in the preceding discussion of the dramatic increases in the number of enrollees at all levels and for both sexes should not overwhelm, obliterate or blind the reader to the serious challenges the skill formation institutions confront and the flows they conceal. In the following we shall point out some of these challenges seen as important in this respect.

3.6.1 Problem of quality : The quality of education in Libya leaves much to be desired. The prevailing strategy has been to boost the number and percentage of young children attending educational institutions at every level. "Educational progress has been measured by indicators such as the educational expenditures and the enormous expansion in absolute figures. These are misleading criteria of assessment and evaluation which take too little account of the quality of education (Zarrugh 1973:383). The curriculum has always been inflexible, rigid and urban-orientated. The educational system, including vocational training, suffers from the subjectivity of the examination system, from ill-prepared, under-equipped and poorly supervised teachers, and, most importantly, from the lack of critical analysis and open-minded reflective thinking from both teachers and students. Like many Muslim educational systems, the Libyan educational system is desperately in need of endogenous innovation. The latter could be attributed to the very conservative image still held and the

wrong interpretation of the Islamic belief that knowledge should never be hypothetical, speculative or critical rather it should be based on "the paramountcy of a central body of knowledge which is of divine origin. What else is known in Islam depends on argument by analogy and the consensus of learned authorities" (Hurst 1983:579).

Flaws and weaknesses of the educational system, however, have been reflected in high drop-out rates and a great many repetitions. For example, as of 1980 the number of drop-outs of first level certificates per 1000 reached 121 and repetition ranged between 16 per cent in the primary and 14 per cent at the preparatory (Hurst 1983). It is of interest to mention that by 1985 it was estimated that there were about 6,000 pupils at the primary level aged 15 years or more, 76,000 aged 15 years and over at the preparatory level, which was about 28 per cent of the total enrolment at that level (Secretariat of Planning 1985).

At the University level, education has been criticized by its "expansion in a vertical way, which is either by the addition of new departments to existing colleges or by the creation of completely new four-year colleges" (Bubtana 1977:15). It is only recently when independent colleges and graduate departments have started to emerge. Moreover, education at this level has always been judged by its inability to expand and penetrate the outer world. Neither the research tradition nor the integration of the university faculty in the transformation process has yet been developed. As in the Arab World generally, "the lack of serious research habit combined too with heavy teaching loads make the university training approach is very much similar to the educational approach for secondary schools in more advanced countries" (Tabbarah 1982:43). Furthermore, University

education has been criticized because of the irrelevancy of its knowledge to the real world of work, and its emphasis on the snob hierarchy of subjects and the academic education for secured white collar jobs. The stress on certification rather than real university education, together with employers requiring higher degrees for high level employment led many of the students who are academically unable to follow vocational subjects at University level which are relevant to national needs, science and technology in particular, to go into the humanities. In spite of a reasonable increase in the number of students in practical faculties, students in humanities still compose almost half the University students (about 45 per cent). This is the reason why many new developments in the modern sector are heavily dependent on non-national expatriates (El-Mahdawi and Clarke 1982).

The emphasis on white collar occupations by the curriculum itself and by parents and students may be attributed to several factors. Among them may be that technology has had a low reputation because of its historical association with dirt, the misunderstanding among teachers and pupils alike of what scientists do, and the curriculum may reflect the attitude of most Middle Eastern countries toward normal work as menial and work done behind the desk as prestigious. Moreover, another strong reason may be the fact that the Libyan education system has been "strongly influenced by the Egyptian system which was in the past at least moulded on the French and British school and University models at the time when those emphasized 'theory' to a much greater extent than their American counterparts" (Deeb and Deeb 1982:5). As a result of the lack of harmony and link between what universities offer and the requirements of the job market, the stay of the foreign workers is prolonged and even graduates from practical colleges start and end their careers in administration and less relevant occupations.

Universities, it should be admitted, have their problems too. They are very young, inexperienced and therefore not yet professional; they suffer from the continuous close state control and they are affected by the bias of the Department of Civil Service in the use of higher certificates when filtering candidate selections and in determining salaries. Moreover universities suffer from instability and the non-commitment of nationals as well as non-nationals (while expatriates know in advance that sooner or later they are going to be replaced by their national counterparts, the latter in many cases have less will and desire to achieve and accomplish because they are already acquainted with the fact that privileges of occupations held by expatriates are theirs as soon as they meet the very minimum qualifications).

However, it should be noted that the foregoing discussion does not advocate or intend to convert the reader to believe that universities should be transferred into professional institutes to meet only the requirements of employers and to dance to the tune of the labour market signal. They should not be kept away from their main function in preserving and promoting culture, developing the critical spirit of the individual, conducting serious, professional and free research and uncovering new facts. The author believes that universities are obliged to reach a balance between the above functions, the needs and desire of the individual (consumer needs) and of national manpower. To fulfil their purpose, they, as well as other higher institutes, should seek a partnership with the community for the benefit of the nation. This partnership shall come through the extension of their services beyond formal working hours into weekends and evenings. Moreover, the achievement of partnership could be accomplished through the

infiltration into additional areas and places (rural areas, governmental organizations, military offices and barracks and the like) to specify, identify, study and analyse taskforce problems which confront development efforts. Successful higher institutes are those which balance various forces and verify their functions that govern education at this level and initiate their own adaptations to them (Carter 1980, Ashby 1974, Niblett 1974, Bowles 1977).

At the present time and in years ahead, Libya will need a substantial supply of highly skilled, highly motivated and highly adaptable men and women who are capable of responding to and coping with the very rapid technological, social and economic changes.

3.6.2 Problem of school buildings : Another problem facing the educational system which influences the quantity of education is the availability and adequacy of school buildings. In some areas particularly in rural communities school buildings not only are small in number, sub-standard and lack adequate facilities, but also for some levels do not exist at all; although school population ratios are very reasonable and compare favourably with many developed countries, and at the national and regional level they match and even exceed some of the recommended standards of educational facilities which very recently were drawn up in the National Physical Perspective Plan. Recommended standards in the field of education are as follows :

- (1) Kindergartens are to cover age 4 and 5 and to be located within a walking distance from the residence of the child (within 500 m); the catchment population size should be approximately 4,000 inhabitants.

- (2) Primary schools to cover ages 6-11 years; school location should be within walking distance; catchment population size is 1,000-5,000.
- (3) Preparatory school to cover 12-14; catchment population size is 5,000-15,000.
- (4) Secondary school, catchment population 10,000-37,000 for vocational secondary and 18,000-70,000 for the general secondary education. However, the inter-regional imbalance does exist on a wide scale, e.g. while in Tripoli 90 per cent of school children aged 6-12 in 1980 were enrolled in the primary level, in Khomes the percentage was only 68.0. At the preparatory level the participation of children aged 15-17 was 77.5 in Tripoli and 43.9 in Khomes (Secretariat of Utilities 1980).

Because the country is so large and part of its population is dispersed in very remote communities, the state has faced and is still facing a severe locational planning problem. It became obvious that it is difficult to furnish school facilities everywhere and at all levels. In the Sebha region, for example, there are still settlements with no primary schools, and the population in the same region is deprived from either preparatory or secondary education. Technical education is nil, and it is only very recently when a University with only two faculties has been opened. Despite the fact that the region as a whole had about 170 primary schools, 74 preparatory and eight secondary schools, providing a service level of one school for 982 inhabitants at the primary level, about 2,257 inhabitants at the preparatory and about 20,875 inhabitants at the secondary level, service ratios which are much better than the national averages (Table 3.5), on the other hand in the same region settlements of Filalen, Fakhkh, Anko Bel Magnusa,

Table 3.5 Number and Structure of School Population and Buildings by Region, Sub-Region and According to the Three Main Educational Levels 1980/1981

Regions and Sub regions	Population		Primary level			Preparatory			Secondary		
	No. in 000s	% of total	No. of schools	Catchment	% schools to total	No. of schools	Catchment	% schools to total	No. of schools	Catchment	% schools to total
Tripoli	1066	33.0	418	2,550	17.3	204	5,225	24.6	29	36,759	26.9
Zawia	355	11.0	273	1,300	11.3	101	3,515	12.2	11	32,273	10.2
Gherfan	179	5.5	273	656	11.3	101	1,772	12.2	8	22,375	7.4
Khoms	179	5.5	334	536	13.8	55	3,255	6.6	5	35,800	4.6
Misurata	239	7.4	262	912	10.8	63	3,794	7.6	9	26,556	3.3
Total Tripoli region	2018	62.4	1,560	1,294	64.5	524	3,851	63.1	62	32,548	57.4
Benghazi	450	13.9	208	2,163	8.6	84	5,357	10.1	15	30,000	13.9
Jebel Akhdar	224	7.0	188	1,191	7.8	51	4,392	6.2	5	44,800	4.6
Derna	88	2.7	89	989	3.7	26	3,385	3.1	3	29,333	2.8
Tobruk	82	2.6	70	1,171	2.9	19	3,416	2.3	2	41,000	1.9
Total Benghazi region	844	26.2	555	1,520	23.0	180	4,689	21.7	25	33,760	23.1
Ejdabia	93	2.9	32	2,906	1.3	13	7,154	1.6	5	18,600	4.6
Sirte	87	2.7	86	1,012	3.6	28	3,107	3.4	6	14,500	5.6
Kufra	17	0.5	15	1,133	0.6	11	1,545	1.3	2	8,500	1.9
Total Al-Khaliij region	197	6.1	133	1,481	5.5	52	3,785	6.3	13	15,154	12.1
Sebha	60	1.9	30	2,000	1.2	15	4,000	1.8	3	20,000	2.8
Ubari.	35	1.1	46	761	1.9	21	1,667	2.4	2	17,500	1.9
Shati	38	1.2	36	1,056	1.5	20	1,900	2.4	1	38,000	0.9
Murzuk	34	1.1	58	586	2.4	18	1,889	2.2	2	17,000	1.9
Total Sebha region	167	5.3	170	982	7.0	74	2,257	8.9	8	20,875	7.4
Total Libya	3226	100.0	2,418	1,334	100.0	830	3,887	100.0	108	29,870	100.0

* Teachers Institutes are not included in the Table

Sources : Compiled by the author from the Four Regional Studies

Soors, Nazla, Smuda, Budrinnah, Senet, Trouna, Al Ayn, Al-Byden, Abughardiga and Hatiya Deb Deb were shown to have no school facilities at all. Furthermore, Tajihri, Uzu and Al-Fuqaha are most distant from preparatory schools. The four municipalities of the region, although occupying about 32 per cent of the total country's area contained only 7.4 per cent of the total secondary schools. It is true that the region's share of the total population in 1980 was only 5.3 per cent, but the dispersion of the population and their insistence in remaining in their old communities (despite the continuous and intensive state efforts to induce them to resettle in new agricultural schemes provided with a full range of educational facilities and other technical and social infrastructures) are the main factors contributing to the availability and accessibility of educational facilities in the region.

What has already been mentioned about Sebha region, however, is also applicable to Al-Khalij region and to some extent to the sub-regions of Gherian, Khomes and Misurata.

The spatial distribution of training institutes and centres as of 1980 is also unbalanced. Areas on the coast, Tripoli and Benghazi in particular, besides containing the two main Universities are the focus for most training facilities. The concentration of population on the coastal belt, the availability of employment opportunities in these areas combined with the state's emphasis, at least up until recently, on such areas are behind the existing spatial distribution of training institutes and centres. The high concentration of higher institutes and training facilities in urban areas has led to the development of population concentration discussed in an earlier chapter.

Because education has a strong effect as a new phenomenon in generating population concentration especially of the elites, it has an equal effect on the location of industries and service centres. Thus educational facilities have aggravated the high polarization of the big cities, impoverished many smaller settlements of highly qualified manpower, and deprived many students and trainees of the opportunity to follow up their major interest. Therefore, they find themselves either compelled to drop out at certain levels (girls in particular) or obliged to specialize in subjects neither related to their interests nor relevant to the country's needs. The severe locational problem is to some extent solved at some levels by boarding-out arrangements, and although the latter are available they have their problems too. Another choice could be to convey pupils and students by buses at reasonable distances (i.e. 30 miles) which might be a practical solution for some settlements, especially now the country enjoys a very modern and complete road network.

3.6.3 Problem of technical education : Technical education still constitutes another problem in the existing Libyan educational system. It is true that in the last few years it has registered a remarkable development, but the number of students is still very small compared to the general secondary education. Not only is the quantity of enrollees in technical education insufficient for the middle manpower, but also they are ineffective in the labour market as they constitute the rejects from the general secondary education because of their low grades or because they are 18 years of age and over.

The lack of stress on technical and vocational training is not only the responsibility of the state; parents, particularly those who

are well off or well educated, contribute to the problem by discouraging their children from becoming affiliated to technical and vocational education inspite of the fact they never hesitate to advocate the indispensibility and importance of such education; it is a good education, but for other children. Those who run after University credentials hope their children will hold higher and influential governmental posts.

It is true that in general the more education the individual gets the less unemployment he is likely to suffer and the more earnings he will receive, but the case of Libya is quite different as earning opportunities are spread everywhere with a minimum effort and should last at least in the foreseeable future. However, inspite of this lucrative environment, Libyans as in most Third World countries are really obsessed by the qualification disease (Blaug 1979, Dore 1976).

The above discussion does not underestimate higher education; the contrary is true. It is impossible for any advanced economy to operate without a substantial flow of highly educated persons to the workforce at all levels (Musgrove 1979). In addition, highly educated people form most of the change designers and 'change pushers' (Haribison 1966). Higher education should be accentuated, as the researcher considers it an economic and social investment with an accelerator effect. The author alludes, in this respect, to the creation of a skill mix guided by social and economic development needs. Such professional positions as nurses, technicians and agriculturalists are scarce, and it has been estimated if one doctor or engineer is to perform at his fullest capacity, three or four persons with middle level skills are needed to assist him (Szyliowicz 1973).

3.6.4 Lack of vocational guidance and counselling : Yet there is still another problem arising in the quality of skill formation, i.e. the absence of vocational guidance and counselling systems. In Libya where a diversity of occupations exist, vocational guidance is necessary in helping individuals to sort out the abundant choices. Vocational guidance in this respect can be seen as an active process for identifying and facilitating the attainment of skills and aptitudes, preferences and other individual differences which are related to differences in requirements for manpower development (Herr 1974). The lack of proper trained vocational advisors to the students at the compulsory and secondary levels in all schools aggravates wrong selections of careers, by all parties : students, parents, or even the students placement office (Hansen and Radwan 1982), and consequently leads to high cost of education and vocational training, frequent repetition, dropouts and high labour turnover.

3.6.5 Adult and continuing education : Moreover, limited adult education and persistent adult illiteracy are still important issues that hamper the supply of labour skills. Although programmes in this area were started many years ago, they proved to be a failure due to poor administration and the prevailing apathy among citizens and organizations alike.

Indeed and starting from 1975 onwards, great impetus and more emphasis from the state were introduced; evening classes as well as TV programmes were set up and the year 1980 was set as a date for stamping out illiteracy for all citizens (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1976). However, illiteracy still exists in and outside employment on a very wide scale and it seems there is a very long way to go before it is

completely wiped out, especially when it is permanently fed by drop-outs in the lower level of education who soon turn out to be illiterates or semi-illiterates because they leave school before the habit for reading and writing becomes a very well established fact (Zarrugh 1973). Nevertheless, the introduction of the 9 year mandatory education among generations is an important and indispensable step to help reduce illiteracy to its minimum if not to almost zero level in the future. The present 9 year mandatory education, if very well organized and effectively enforced, will lead to a gradual increase in the number of people who can read and write and as a result their employment structure will be transformed in accordance with manpower requirements. This is a significant improvement when we know that a substantial percentage of the Libyan workforce are not literate, more than 35.8 per cent of economically active Libyans were illiterate in 1980, and in 1985 the percentage is still probably as high as 30.0, as we shall explain in another chapter.

3.7 The New Educational Structure

Lack of skilled and semi-skilled workers made the people and secretariats in charge comprehend the problem and take measures to solve it. The Secretary of Planning when addressing the General People's Congress stated while evaluating the achievements and flaws of the 1976-80 Transformation Plan that the impressive results of the plan had been achieved despite a number of difficulties, the foremost being the shortage of skilled manpower (Jamahiriya Review 1981:18).

In the preliminary conceptual and qualitative framework of the second Five-Year Transformation Plan 1981-85 it was declared that to

bridge the gap between the demand for and the supply of middle manpower there should be some measures to be taken. Among them according to the Secretariat of Planning are :

(i) to adjust the structure and content of education more closely to the requirements of the economic and social sectors for various types of skilled manpower, which is a decisive factor influencing the pace and efficiency of the process of economic transformation and modernization;

(ii) to introduce the elements of vocational and technological education in the general education system;

(iii) to adjust the curriculum to ensure the most effective preparation of students for their environment in the process of economic and social development;

(iv) to improve the quality of textbooks;

(v) to speed up the process of Libyanization of teaching staff with a view to reaching self-sufficiency in various levels as soon as possible;

(vi) to improve the management of educational institutions and initiate and/or intensify educational research;

(vii) to ensure enrolments of all pupils covered by compulsory education up to the end of the preparatory level;

(viii) to promote technical and vocational education by correlating more closely theoretical studies with practical training; and

(ix) to intensify efforts regarding literacy programmes and the continued education for adults.

The Five Year Plan 1981-85 adopted these guidelines mentioned earlier and expressly called for greater efforts towards the acquisition of technical skills by Libyan citizens, and the policy was reaffirmed at the January meeting of the G.P.C. (Jamahiriya Review, 1982).

The early specialization method therefore was adopted. Such a method concentrates on the basic curriculum relevant to particular fields of specialization in order to curtail the period of time covered in each educational level.

As a result, the new educational structure was proposed. Some changes at pre-secondary level were considered for gradual introduction. The primary and preparatory schools were to be combined to provide comprehensive basic education and made compulsory. Secondary level education was to be integrated, offering both technical and general education in one building. While the integrated secondary schools will be sex segregated, the basic education will remain co-educational. The new proposed educational system, therefore, consists of four stages namely: kindergartens, basic education, secondary education and university education (Secretariat of Utilities 1985, Secretariat of Education 1982).

(1) Kindergartens : the period of study at this stage is two years starting from 4 years old aiming at taking care of the child in his early infancy by adapting him to the social life.

(2) Basic education : The pupil in this broad stage, 9 years, which is planned to be reduced to 8 as soon as kindergartens are completed, is provided with basic general knowledge, skills, values and standard behaviour. Some principles of social science and foreign languages seen as important are provided at this stage.

(3) Secondary education : This level includes -

(a) Technical education which aims to ensure a theoretical and practical education that is necessary to support the applied technology required for economic and social development. At this level there shall be 18 secondary subjects, namely basic science, mechanics, electricity, electronics, chemistry, quarrying, architecture and construction, earth science, environment, finance and banking, information, space technology, social services, languages, music, fine arts, physical education and archaeology.

(b) Vocational education which is designed to be more practical to provide specialized vocational trainees, skilled and semi-skilled workers. Subjects in this type of education are electrical works, mechanical works, construction and architecture, weaving etc. The period of educational and training study at this level ranges from 2 to 3 years and students are granted the vocational secondary certificate.

(c) Teachers Institutes are designed to provide teachers for the first two levels of the educational system, i.e. kindergartens and basic education. The period of study is 5 years starting from the age of 15.

(4) University education : According to the new educational structure, this level consists of various broad fields of study namely : pure science, industry and engineering, agriculture, medical sciences, social sciences and study centres for humanities, Islam, linguistics, art and physical education.

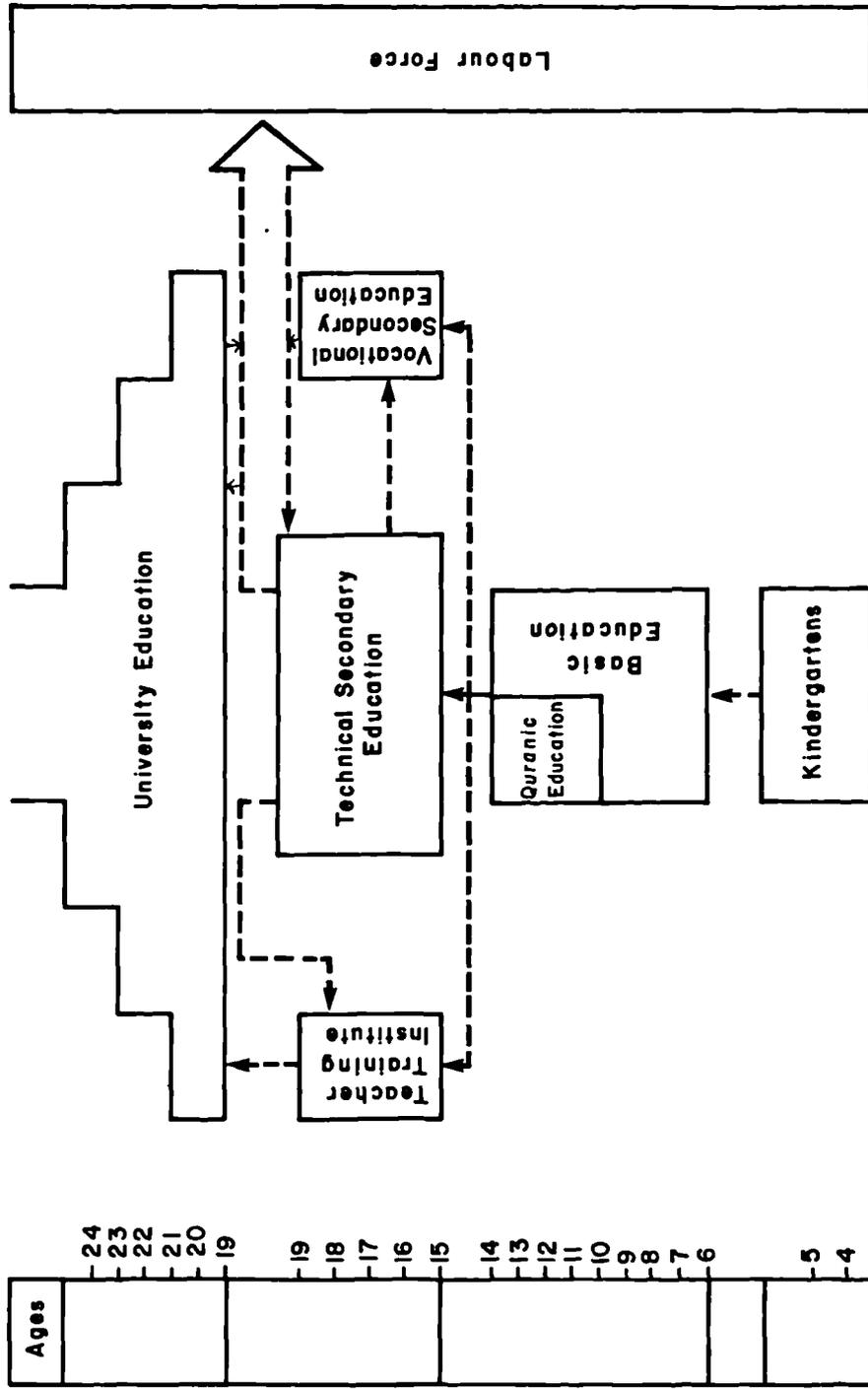
The new educational structure proposed by the Secretariat of Education has already been approved and decided, but will face a lack of qualified teachers with the required credentials and practical experience. In addition, there are the problems of buildings and facilities, of balancing technical education's need of students and the students' interests, of the high cost of the system, and finally of the prevailing values of the society towards blue collar jobs.

Irrespective of these problems and as long as the country can afford the structure and diversifying its economy with heavy concentration on industry and related activities, it seems there are not many choices left for the Libyan people but to try the new system on an experimental basis. Indeed from the labour force point of view, the new structure is flexible enough offering choices by a variety of different institutions to meet employment needs if made administratively possible and culturally accepted (see Figure 3.5).

3.8 Final Remarks

More than twenty five years ago, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1960), at the request of the Government of Libya, sent a mission to evaluate economic conditions and to put forward specific recommendations for the development of the country. The mission by that time reported that "One of Libya's pressing needs

Fig.3.5 THE NEW EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS RELATION TO LABOUR FORCE



is for qualified artisans (mechanics, fitters, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, bricklayers, etc.), skilled agricultural workers and demonstrators and intermediate technicians, assistant engineers, surveyors, draftsmen etc. Such persons are of much greater value to the country" (IBRD 1960:260). However the Libyan government for various reasons did not and could not follow the advice of the mission very closely; instead, like many other developing nations in the world, it concentrated its efforts on the traditional educational system to achieve the aspiration in development, later harnessing its enormous oil revenues to finance its facilities, but paying little attention to the most needed type of education (technical and vocational) by leaving it scattered, fragmented and disregarded. However, one should not reproach the state, which in its early post-independence period was a very closed society with inexperienced people in charge who found it hard to follow the mission's advice. A country with more than 90 per cent illiterate inevitably focuses on the quantitative approach to education.

The growth of the economy resulted in an increase in the numbers employed and in the structure of employment which left few choices for those in positions of responsibility but to think more seriously about the labour force bottleneck. A new manpower approach necessitated the school system to be arranged in a way to meet further demands of education and trained persons. On 10 August 1975 a resolution adopted by the High Council of Education stipulated that education should be directed to technical fields in a way that meets the requirements of the development plans, since studies proved that development projects during the period 1976-80 required 300,000 persons in sensitive technological and vocational fields when at the time only 140,000

students were enrolled at secondary and post-secondary levels and less than 10 per cent of these were attending institutes of higher education. Nevertheless, inspite of this resolution, it was only in the 1981-85 Five Year Plan when the qualitative approach has been directly and firmly stressed. It was declared in the Plan that the expansion of enrolments must be coupled with other qualitative improvements such as reforming the curriculum, strengthening and modernizing teachers training and calling for the reduction of educational waste, i.e. drop-outs and repetitions.

The policies and measures adopted to overcome problems of education and training are not expected to yield results overnight. Indeed investment in the short run whatever its size will not significantly change the skill distribution of the population, as the acquisition of different types of skills requires gestation periods of different lengths. In fact, one of the most significant aspects of human investment as distinguished from other types of investment lies precisely in the length of the gestation periods. It is worth noting that in the case of Britain, the first industrial nation in the world, it took about 150 years to achieve universal literacy and to lay down the foundations of elementary and secondary schooling for all (Leibenstein 1966, Richmond 1975).

In Libya, like many other less developed nations, traditional occupations had acquired very limited skills in the past due to historical, political and cultural factors. It is only in recent years that it has started to obtain some of the skills required for the country's development. Therefore, it is not anticipated that it can build up overnight a capable and efficient workforce needed for

transformation programmes. Until the new educational structure is applied and carefully evaluated and, moreover, until universities and higher institutes get matured, it seems that not many choices are left for the Libyan people except in developing an efficient enough number of teachers. Rugh (1951:470) was right when he reported that "no national system of education can ever rise above the quality of its teachers." No nation has ever developed a strong educational system without first developing an effective system of teachers, recruitment, selection and professional training. The numerous and in many areas the high quality of school buildings and equipment at the present time is deterred by the low quality of teachers. The low quality of teachers, on the other hand, is attributed to the ill prepared nationals and to "the primary loyalty of imported teachers to another state and to another education system" (Birks and Rimmer 1984:19). Indeed most of the educational activities in Libya are Egyptian in origin; the teacher, the curriculum, advisors and so forth and this has its negative effects on the functioning of the educational system. Thus, Libyanization of the teaching force should command a top priority.

We should concentrate more efforts upon other forms of education which, whether we like it or not, contribute substantially to the progress of any country. In this respect the following points are to be considered.

a) skill training programmes should be developed that open wide opportunities for adults whether employed or not to learn, increase or update their skills and their knowledge;

- b) skill training for apprenticeship and school leavers of planned work experience should be developed and diffused;
- c) in view of the long periods during which young people are drafted into the national service (3 to 5 years), the military should be committed to provide draftees with the necessary vocational training during their stay within the armed forces in order to cope with the changing technology when draftees are demobilized and return to their original occupations.

Education and training are expensive undertakings. According to the Five Year Plan 1976-80, more than 750 million Libyan dinars were allocated to the development of general education alone, followed by 1 billion Libyan dinars to be spent in the Five Year Plan 1981-85. Total investments on university and higher education in the period 1978-83 reached about 585,000,000 Libyan dinars (Secretariat of Education 1983), not to mention the huge amounts allocated for the purpose of training. These should be harnessed to produce a composition and volume of human resources which can mesh with the demand in the labour market, and not be misallocated to areas of less relative importance.

In Libya, the provisions of full employment are not an issue at this time, but the most important issue is the development of an appropriate mix of skill and specialization essential to sustain a mixed economy, as some time and not far away when oil production will slow or vanish, unemployment may begin to appear. In fact, unemployment that might happen will be the unemployment of the educated. Therefore, it is believed strongly that given the growing

Libyan economy at the present time with its vast resources and scanty population the only strategy is to aim towards increased education in applied technology, as the latter will be capable of adapting itself to the internal changing environment and more importantly to the rapidly changing world technology. Because the country is concentrating its effort upon the expansion of its industrial and agricultural efforts as a means of achieving rapid economic developmental growth, technical and vocational education at all levels must play the central role if such growth is to occur.

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CHAPTER FOURNATIONALS IN THE LABOUR FORCE : DEVELOPMENTSTRUCTURES AND PROBLEMS4.1 Introduction

In this chapter attention is given to the economic characteristics of nationals in the labour force. The discussion therefore is devoted to dealing with the economically active nationals, their sectoral and occupational structure, spatial distribution, educational attainment and their employment. Future employment trends of nationals will conclude the discussion. In building up the analysis, however, a brief review of native employment structure before oil exploration is to be considered at the outset of the chapter.

The primary sources of information in the Chapter are the population censuses and the 1980 Manpower Survey conducted by the Secretariat of Planning which covered more than 60 per cent of the total labour force in the country. Moreover, because the 1984 General Population Census final results are not yet released, estimates of locals in the labour force undertaken by the Secretariat of Planning and the public Service in cooperation with ILO experts are to be consulted.

In all censuses conducted in the country the term labour force was used to include the economically active and those seeking work. According to employment status, the classification of population in 1954 was confined to the population aged five years and above. The 1964 survey covered the portion of population having by the time of the

census six years of age and more, while the 1973 Population Census covered persons ten years of age and above, and the 1980 Manpower Survey, the 1984 Census and estimates of employment up to 1985 either made by the Secretariat of Planning or carried out by the Secretariat of Public Service, covered persons 15 years of age and more. Thus there exists a lack of uniformity in the age groups for which the classification was presented making intercensal comparisons difficult.

4.2 Nationals in the Labour Force Before Oil Exploration :

A Brief Review

During the Italian occupation 1911-43, the great majority of the Libyan population depended upon subsistence agriculture and on livestock-raising. The extent to which natives relied upon the primary sector for their support is indicated by the fact that more than three-quarters of nationals in the labour force, as estimated by the 1936 population census, were active in the agricultural sector. The situation at Independence in 1951 was not much different. It was estimated that the agricultural sector absorbed more than 70 per cent of the labour force and contributed about 30 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Abdussalam 1983, Blutstein 1979).

The 1954 General Population Census again showed a clear pattern of an economy in its infancy, the agricultural sector being the source of income and employment for the majority of the people. It was shown in the census that a substantial percentage of the labour force were working in agriculture, about two-thirds, and only an insignificant proportion were employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Indeed, the country was a rural society with many agricultural workers.

Every person aged five years and over in 1954 was asked to state his or her occupation, the industry of economic activity to which his or her trade or calling belonged and his or her professional status in life. But the meaning and significance of the question as admitted by the Ministry of National Economy who conducted the Census at that time was not fully grasped by a large number of enumerators. However, rough estimates were attempted and approximate results were reached and documented.

According to the 1954 Census, the total number of citizens in the labour force amounted to about 355,000; 29,000 were seeking work and the rest, 326,000 were actually members of and active in the labour force.

Although the 1954 Census covered all persons aged 5 years and over in relation to their economic activity, the vast majority who were aged 14 years and less and reported information about their employment status had no full time occupations. According to the aforementioned population census returns : "89 per cent of them were either students or failed to submit their occupations if they had any, 9 per cent were occupied as unpaid family workers or helpers to their family in agricultural pursuits and the remaining 2 per cent were engaged in domestic services, spinning and weaving mostly (unpaid family workers) and manual labourers in that order" (Ministry of National Economy 1956 : XVII).

4.3 Nationals in the Labour Force in 1964 and 1973

According to the 1964 General Population Census nationals in the labour force aged six years and over reached 388,000 (368,000 males and

20,000 females). Out of the total national labour force it was revealed that 34,000 were seeking work, i.e. about 8.8 per cent of the total labour force. On the other hand census returns of 1973 show that out of the total citizen population aged 10 years and over (1,260,000), the total number in the labour force reached 424,000 (394,000 males and 30,000 females). Those who reported themselves as active but having no occupations numbered 15,000 or 3.5 per cent of the total citizen labour force (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Citizen Population According to Sex and Number of Persons
in the Labour Force 1964 and 1973 in 000s

Description	1964				1973			
	Males	Females	Total	% of total	Males	Females	Total	% of total
Employed	336	18	354	29.9	380	29	409	32.5
Seeking work	32	2	34	2.9	14	1	15	1.2
Total labour force	368	20	388	32.8	394	30	424	33.7
Not in labour force	251	543	794	67.2	262	574	836	66.3
Total	619	563	1,182	100.0	656	604	1,260	100.0

Source : The 1964 and 1973 Population Censuses.

By and large, the labour force in the country increased by only 9.3 per cent in the intercensal period, or about 1 per cent per annum. The insignificant activity rates of women in the two censuses are obvious from the preceding Table 4.1, being 5.2 per cent and 7.1 per cent respectively. The extent of female participation in the labour

force indeed had been influenced by traits of culture which affected not only the extent to which women actually engage in gainful occupations but also the reporting of their activities to the census enumerators (husbands and male relatives who in most cases respond to the census questionnaire prefer not to state women as economically active (older generations usually consider the work of women as a slur).

In addition, Table 4.1 reveals the relatively high rate of unemployment, being 8.8 in 1964 and declining to 3.5 per cent in 1973. In this respect, it should be noted, however, that most of the unemployed in 1964 and 1973 did not have the required skills to assume particular positions. Most classified themselves as new workers seeking work in any sector of the economy but, presumably, in a job with a money wage. These new workers were not merely the young; they came from all age groups. They also tended to come from the rural areas. Thus the unskilled workers seem to account for the bulk of the unemployment (Wedley 1966). This was because by the time oil revenues began to flow in the country, unemployment was the result of the wrong supply of skills rather than the unavailability of jobs. The distribution of active nationals by broad economic sectors is referred to in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 reveals that the primary sector suffered a sharp absolute and relative decrease over the intercensal period from 144,000 to 110,000 and from 37.1 per cent in 1964 to 25.9 per cent in 1973. However, the same table discerns that the primary sector was still of importance to the citizen population labour force as it absorbed more than one quarter of the workforce in 1973. The secondary sector

Table 4.2 Economically Active Population by Broad Economic Sectors and Sex, 1964 and 1973 in 000's

Economic Sector	1964				1973			
	Males	Females	Total	% of total	Males	Females	Total	% of total
Primary	141	3	144	37.1	96	14	110	25.9
Secondary	66	8	74	19.1	59	2	61	14.4
Tertiary	119	5	124	31.9	217	13	230	54.3
Activities not adequately defined	42	4	46	11.9	22	1	23	5.4
Total	368	20	388	100.0	394	30	424	100.0

Source : Calculated from the 1964 and 1973 Population Censuses.

moreover, experienced a slight absolute and relative decline from 74,000 to 61,000 and from 19.1 per cent to 14.4 per cent in the same period. The decrease in both the primary and secondary sectors was due to the movement of active nationals to more lucrative occupations and the negligence of these two sectors in that time by the state owing to the labour force and social decisions which had been applied when economic growth boomed, a great many of the national labour force abandoned their jobs and changed to more non-productive service occupations, and as a result the tertiary sector underwent a dramatic increase in the same intercensal period from 124,000 to 230,000 and from 31.9 per cent of the total employment to 54.3 per cent.

By occupational divisions it was revealed that all occupational categories experienced increases in absolute numbers and percentages except that of administrative executives and managerial workers which decreased from 5,000 (1.3 per cent) of the total national employment in

1964 to only 3,000 (0.7 per cent) in 1973. A decline in number and percentage also was observed in the occupational division of farmers, hunters and related occupations from 146,000 (37.6 per cent) to as low as 88,000 or 24.8 per cent in the same period. Decline in the aforementioned period for the two occupational groups possibly because of different classifications in the two censuses.

4.4 The National Labour Force 1975-85

Nationals in the labour force increased from 454,000 in 1975 to 533,000 in 1980 to an estimated 678,000 in 1985 i.e. an annual compound growth rate of 4.1 per cent. The distribution of nationals by economic sectors is shown in Table 4.3 and as the reader may notice the most striking feature of employment development is in the secondary sector, represented in mining and quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water and construction, in which the nationals element increased from 74,900 in 1975 to 111,100 in 1980 to 156,500 in 1985, indeed more than doubled. In other words, while nationals share of the secondary sector constituted only about 16.5 per cent of their total employment in 1975, their share rose to 20.9 per cent in 1980 and to more than 23 per cent by 1985. In this respect Libya is unusual amongst the oil-rich states of the Middle East, few of which have managed to persuade their nationals to work in these sectors (Birks and Sinclair 1982:267). The significant decline in the percentage of the tertiary sector - though the number increased - from 58.1 per cent in 1975 to 55.9 in 1980 and further to 55.0 per cent by 1985 is equally unusual. The following factors could be behind such a percentage decline; (i) the state commitment to agriculture to achieve self sufficiency in food and its concentration on industry to diversify its economy in future

Table 4.3 : Development of the National Labour Force by Broad Economic Sectors 1975-85 (in 000's)

Broad Economic Sectors	1975		1980		1985*		Compound Growth rate 1975-85
	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	
Primary	115.5	25.4	123.8	23.2	148.6	21.9	2.6
Secondary	74.9	16.5	111.1	20.9	156.5	23.1	7.6
Tertiary	263.7	58.1	297.9	55.9	373.3	55.0	3.5
Total	454.1	100.0	532.8	100.0	678.4	100.0	4.1

* Note 1985 figures are estimates

Source : Calculated from the Secretariat of Public Services (1982),
Statistics of Employment in S.P.L.A.J., Tripoli, Libya.

(ii) the transfer of many governmental employees especially with low rank to these two main sectors and (iii) the widespread state takeover of commerce which took place in the country since the late 1970's.

The recent development and distribution of the national labour force by broad occupational categories is quantified in Table 4.4 and graphically represented in Figure 4.1. Table 4.4 indicates that while the first three occupational categories experienced remarkable absolute and relative increases over the period 1975-85, respectively from 11,600, 37,600 and 31,400 to 35,400, 112,500 and 53,000 and from 2.5, 8.3 and 6.9 per cent in 1975 to 5.2, 16.6 and 7.8 per cent in 1985; the significance of the skilled and semi-skilled category to the total national employment declined from 55.4, 54.7 and 53.3 per cent in the same period. Furthermore, the unskilled division suffered a sharp absolute and relative decrease from 122,100 to 115,800 and from 26.9 per cent in 1975 to 17.1 per cent in 1985. The enormous increase in the first two categories is because of the relative improvements in the educational system (higher levels in particular) discussed in an earlier chapter. The application of new measures in technology, the transfer of some unskilled bureaucrats to more productive occupations and the lack of desire of nationals to work in the unskilled occupations could be behind such a decrease.

The spatial distribution of the national labour force by ten main areas is shown in Table 4.5. The growing concentration especially in Tripoli and Benghazi which had nearly half the national labour force inside their boundaries (46.8 per cent) as of 1984 is evident. However, in Benghazi the growing concentration is more obvious when its share of national employment increased significantly from 13.9 per cent

Table 4.4 : Development of the National Labour Force by Broad Occupational Categories 1975-85 in 000's

Occupational Divisions	1975		1980		1985		Compound growth rate 1975-85
	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	
Professional & Administrative	11.6	2.5	20.2	3.8	35.4	5.2	11.8
Technical & Supervisors	37.6	8.3	65.3	12.2	112.5	16.6	11.6
Clerical	31.4	6.9	44.1	8.3	53.0	7.8	5.4
Skilled & Semi-skilled	251.4	55.4	291.4	54.7	361.7	53.3	3.7
Unskilled	122.1	26.9	111.8	21.0	115.8	17.1	-0.5
Total	454.1	100.0	532.8	100.0	678.4	100.0	4.1

* 1985 estimates

Source : Calculated from The Secretariat of Public Services (1982)
 Statistics of Employment in S.P.L.A.J, Tripoli, Libya.

FIG. 4.1 PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL LABOUR FORCE
IN BROAD OCCUPATION CATEGORIES, 1975-85

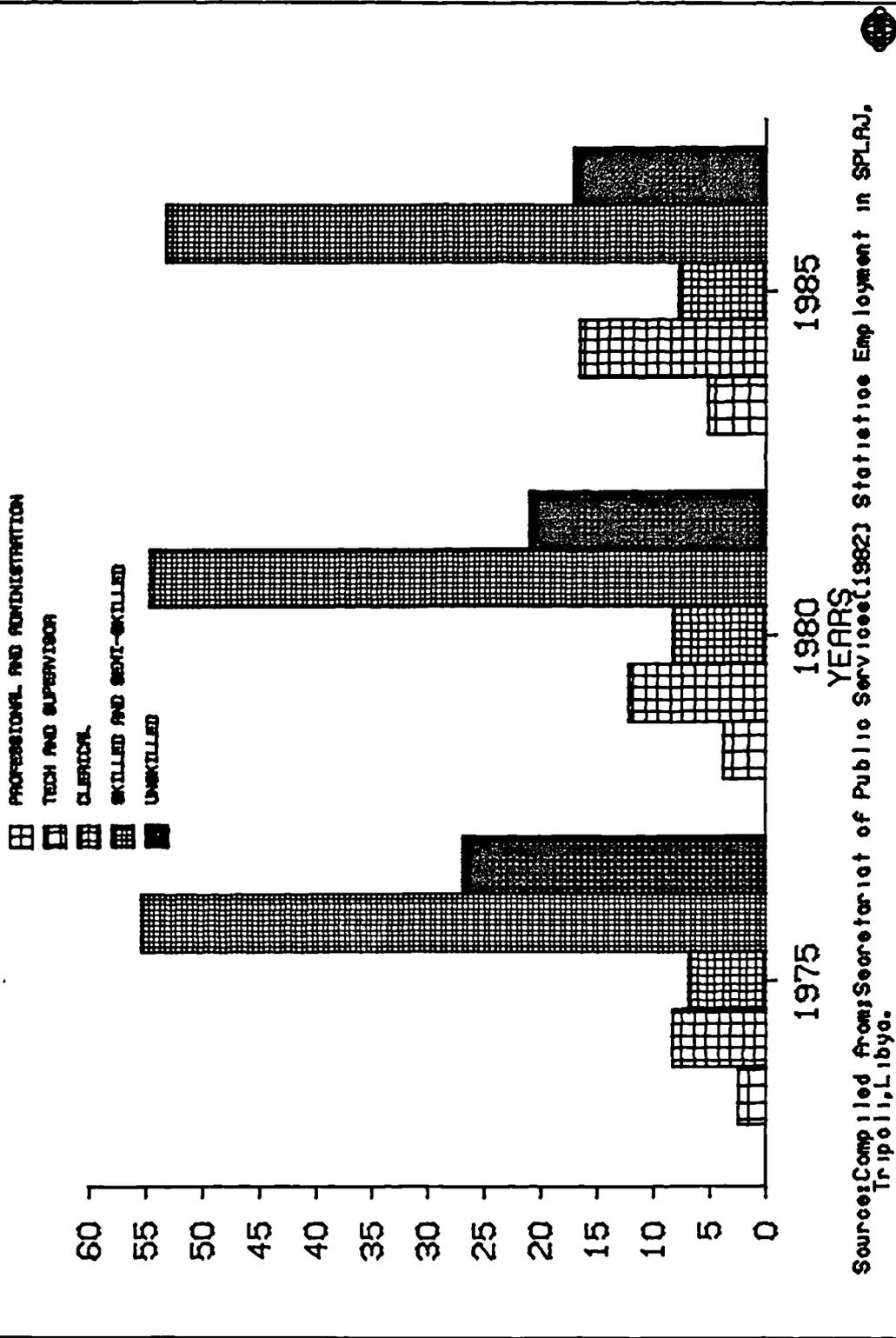


Table 4.5 : The Percentage Distribution of National Labour Force
by Main Regions 1973-84

Region	1973	1984
Tripoli	31.6	30.7
Benghazi	13.9	16.1
Zavia	12.3	11.7
Misurata	8.2	7.7
Khomes	7.3	6.0
Gherian	6.3	6.9
Gebel-Akhdar	5.6	3.6
Derna	5.7	5.9
Sebha	5.0	5.4
Al-Khalij	4.7	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source : Calculated from the 1973 and 1984 General Population Censuses.

in 1973 to as high as 16.1 per cent by 1984. In fact while Benghazi increased its share of total national employment by 2.2 per cent in the period, Tripoli experienced a slight decline, by only 0.9 per cent. But all in all, despite efforts particularly during the last decade to slow the growth of Tripoli and to stabilize the expansion of Benghazi, it seems that these two Metropolitan areas sustain their dominant position due to the concentration of economic activities at least until recently (Secretariat of Planning 1983). Thus an imbalance of national employment distribution had been experienced with a flow of many members of the indigenous labour force migrating to these focal cities from the neighbouring areas or relatively depressed areas. Zavia, Misurata, and Khomes are very good examples, their share of employment declining respectively from 12.3, 8.2 and 7.3 per cent in 1973 to 11.7, 7.7 and 6.0 per cent by 1984. The same is true for the Gebel Akhdar in the eastern part of the country, when its share decreased substantially from 5.6 per cent in 1973 to as low as 3.6 per cent by 1984. An impressive increase, however, has been witnessed by Al-Khalij region (Sirte, Ejdabia and Kufra) when its percentage share increased from 4.7 in 1973 to 6.0 per cent by 1984. Such an increase is due to the creation of large industrial centres in Marsa Brega, Sirte, Ejdabia, Benjawad, Ras-Lanuf and Marada, most of which are based on crude oil.

With regard to the literacy of nationals in the labour force, the great majority of the national active population was revealed as unqualified by the Manpower Survey conducted in 1980. About two-fifths were illiterate; if we add those who read and write but who had no education and those who possess only primary level education, the percentage rises to as high as 72.7 per cent; almost three-quarters of the Libyan national labour force could be considered unqualified.

Persons attaining only the primary level or less exist in all occupations; even among high official posts more than one third of the occupational group was revealed by such survey to have primary level or less. In scientific occupations the percentage was as high as 24.7 (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 : Percentage Distribution of National Labour Force by Educational Level and Occupation 1980

Education level	Scientific	High officials	Clerical	Trade workers	Service workers	Agriculturalists	Production workers	Not stated	Total
Less than Primary	13.8	20.2	23.1	81.8	86.4	89.5	77.4	61.0	56.7
Primary	10.9	14.5	38.3	10.8	9.5	4.8	15.5	17.0	16.0
Preparatory & Secondary level	62.2	37.3	31.5	6.7	3.3	4.3	6.1	15.8	22.3
Above secondary and less than University	1.9	3.1	2.0	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.6	1.9	1.1
University and above	11.2	24.9	5.1	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.4	4.3	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Manpower Survey 1980.

The low literacy rate among employed Libyans demonstrated by Table 4.6 indicates that despite a remarkable increase in school enrolments over the years and the huge investments in the field of education discussed in an earlier chapter, the investment in the human capital is still modest and is in need of more efforts and capital.

It was also shown in the survey that more than 50 per cent of the national labour force had 10 years of experience or less, which is attributed to both youthful age structure and the remarkable expansion of development projects in the country in recent years. Indeed the low qualifications combined with the short experience of the national labour force aggravates the low labour productivity and contributes to the lengthening of the country's dependence upon foreign expatriates.

4.5 Major Issues Related to the Under-Utilization of Locals in the Labour Force

Discussion of the subject so far indicates that although the number of nationals in the labour force increased dramatically, they remained relatively unqualified, inexperienced and unevenly spatially distributed. However, in this respect one should enquire if the indigenous labour force was used optimally or misused and whether there are any distortions in employment policies which if treated might increase the number and productivity of nationals in the labour force and subsequently minimize the numbers of foreigners in the country.

It should be stressed that there is considerable under-utilization of the scarce indigenous labour force and the need for expatriates is exaggerated. In some occupations such as teachers official figures suggested 16.1 per cent of the general educational level were in excess of needs (Secretariat of Public Service 1982). However, the following examples will illustrate in detail the situations:

4.5.1 Military Service : One constraint to the utilization of the indigenous active population is seen in the arena of military

appointments, drafting and training. In recent years, military appointments have begun to constitute a very considerable share of those who hold the general preparatory and secondary certificates. According to official reports from the Secretariat of Education, in 1983 about 20 per cent of those who successfully passed the preparatory and the secondary levels were to be placed in military secondary schools and colleges (Secretariat of Education 1983), apart from those who are voluntarily appointed in the military organization.

Military service in Libya is compulsory by law for males and females. The minimum period of compulsory service is theoretically three years. However, according to experience the minimum period may be prolonged to four or even five years depending on tensions in the area. Naur (1981:91) estimated the total people in the armed forces as of 1980 to reach about 70,000 soldiers. Furthermore, those who are forty years of age and over and those who fail the compulsory service medical test are all obliged to get military training in local defence schemes. Students too starting from grade 9 are compelled to undertake military training at their schools, where not only military training is one of the curricula subjects but also secondary level school buildings and above were changed to military barracks. In other words, all Libyan citizens 15 years of age and over are obliged to receive military training on various weapons in order to be able, as with certain countries such as Switzerland, to call on a citizen army in case of need. According to Qathafi's thinking "it is not simply a matter of imitating Switzerland or Israel; the proposals correspond to the logic of his own ideology of power now belonging to the people, and the defence of the country should therefore logically be their

responsibility" (Monastiri 1982:320). In fact on various occasions the country's leader stated that the nation needs at least 1 million trained citizens to defend its interests. No wonder therefore, Libyans of all ages (males in particular) are conscripted (see Plate 4.1).

The drafted part of the population still consists mainly of males in spite of female compulsory service, and as males traditionally form the highest percentage of the labour force, military service drains a substantial part of the active population. It also takes males at their best working age when, of course, they are most capable of fighting, but also when they are most needed in the labour force to build the future economy. The armed forces also contain the best educated cohort of the population as they have experienced the boom in the educational sector which the older generation has not. Furthermore, it is the most adaptable part of the labour force, as modernization is strongly correlated to education (Naur 1981).

From the production point of view, military drafting is a severe threat to the process of industrialization. For highly educated experts as well as for on-the-job trained skilled workers, the consequence of drafting is a drain away from production, and the manufacturing establishments do not have any guarantee of having their personnel back after military service. The newly trained may go to other regions of the country as well as to the other areas of production. For production it means that the group of experts become out-of-date with the up-to-date knowledge in their field, a dequalification, as the job requirements are not the same three or five years later (Naur 1981 : 93-94). As a result of all these factors, talents get ousted, abilities undiscovered and production becomes more and more in the hands of non-nationals.



Plate 4.1 Conscription of men of all ages

It is not intended in this part of the section to discuss in detail the justification of military drafting but what is intended here is to indicate that the military drafting could be a waste of the country's scarce human resources for economic and social development if it is left as it is now, i.e. unorganized.

Reducing the time scale of mobilization should command top priority. A small undereducated and untrained population like that of Libya cannot and should not abandon an important segment of its economically active population to be absent from production for a minimum of three years, nor should the society of Libya tolerate the frequent interruptions made by the military to its employees when they are often stationed in barracks without meaningful work.

Therefore, reducing the time span of the drafting service to the shortest possible time might be the first step, but the strongest immediate point to be stressed is applying fully the idea of the people's army, i.e. military training for people after work hours and for shorter periods. In the short run, those who are drafted should be stimulated to participate in various state-owned agricultural projects instead of wasting time in their barracks.

4.5.2 Wages and salaries : Wages and salaries in Libya are still not clear and this is not conducive to efficiency, job motivation and productivity. Structurally, the share of allowances (housing, family and children's allowances) which are not related to the job performance really constitute a very high share of the wage or a salary as a whole, e.g. in the public sector, the total emolments paid to classified employees in lower categories contain more than 50 per cent allowances

(I.L.O. 1979). To make occupations more attractive, people in charge find no other choice but to involve their subordinates in overtime benefits, most of the time without working overtime at all. Moreover, differentials of the wages of unskilled workers in higher occupational categories are not sufficient to encourage occupational mobility from lower to higher jobs, or to attract the new entrants amongst Libyans to occupations with better qualifications and training requirements. The average wage of the Libyan workers in the professional and managerial category is only two and a half times the wages in the unskilled category; technical and supervisors get twice as much as the unskilled workers (I.L.O. 1979). Besides, those with limited wages or salaries are eligible to some exemptions, for instance free housing or reduced instalments.

Differentials of wages, increments and incentives occur even among public service departments and public enterprises. Differentials between the wages and salaries of semi-skilled and unskilled workers and those of highly qualified groups are very narrow. The salary of a general practitioner seems to be too low compared to those wages and salaries paid to a clerk working in an oil company or public relation company engaged with a foreign establishment undertaking a project in the country. Even after the enactment of the new Salaries and Wages Law in 1981 differentials still exist, for example a junior graduate trainee from an oil company when sent abroad made at least up to 1985 twice as much as a university lecturer and enjoyed his salary at home during his mission, while the latter did not.

In addition, wages and salaries of Libyans are much lower than those of non-Libyans with the same skills with similar occupations.

The average earnings of a graduate with five years experience are less than two-thirds of an expatriate counterpart, which is exactly the opposite of that prevailing in some other oil-exporting countries; for instance in Kuwait the average monthly wage for a government civil servant in 1976 varied between KD 204 for Kuwaitis to KD 123 for expatriates (Daftari 1980).

Moreover, wages and salaries are not changing with prices and commodities. It is true that some basic commodities and foodstuffs such as flour, sugar, oil, rice, tomato paste and tea are subsidized by the state, but other articles are subject to world speculation, inflation and so on. Between the Revolution in 1969 and 1986 the daily minimum wage has been raised by about five times and the concept of minimum wages rates in Libya is actually enforced. The Arab Dawn Magazine (1976:19) claimed that a study undertaken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) discloses that Libya is one of the countries which is effectively enforcing minimum wage rates. The ILO study which covered countries in Africa, the Far East and Latin America shows that despite many countries' theoretical support of the concept of a minimum wage, few states actually enforced it. However, although minimum wages had been raised and Libyan workers are protected to some extent from inflation, real increases of wages and salaries are still lagging far behind prices owing to world inflation.

In the absence of a wages and salaries council and good sound employment policies, it is no exaggeration to state that the extent of productivity and efficiency in many departments is restricted and the attitude of many officials towards their jobs is defective. The mental attitude of many officials, particularly juniors, is negative to their

jobs. Norman was probably right when he described the mental attitude stating "they do not seem to appreciate that they have a duty to complete work given to them, promptly and to the best of their ability; nor that they must aim to make their best better; neither do they seem to be able to appreciate that promotion is something that must be earned and that it is normally the reward of hard work, long experience and greater skill and efficiency. On the contrary almost from the moment they enter the civil service officials seem to be more concerned with questions of promotion that they are worth their work, or how best, and how soon they can become proficient therein" (Norman 1965:50-51). This description is not outdated; for many it is still valid.

For senior officials, a typical working day for many of them could be drawn as follows:

1. The night before the official was socializing with some relatives or friends up to 1 o'clock in the morning so he has to wake up around 7.30 a.m. and drinks his coffee or tea. Most Libyans do not take breakfast early. The official then has to take his children or relatives to school which starts at 8.30 a.m.
2. Then the official drives to his place of work arriving around 9 o'clock. He then sits with his colleagues in one of the offices to chat about political and social issues. The chat, however, is not good if not accompanied by an Arabic coffee mixed with rose water. The conversation may last around one hour minimum.
3. It is now 10 a.m. and work might begin.

4. Around 11 or 11.30 a.m. the employee has to join some of his colleagues to have their breakfast - usually egg or tuna sandwiches together with a soft drink. This reunion will take at least 30 minutes.
5. Around 12 o'clock the employee might come back to work. However, in less than one hour some of his relatives and close friends or a friend of relatives or a friend of a friend will start arriving; coffee and tea start again then the employee will see what he can do for them; and his help is called in buying a car, a tractor, an exit visa and the like.
6. The employee will start to make telephone calls to friends who are able to help in the matter and either takes or sends his guests to them. Moreover, his relatives or friends who come from remote areas are in most cases invited to dinner.
7. It is around one o'clock now, the employee has to go shopping and tells his wife confined at home that he is expecting some guests, and therefore she has to make a good meal for them.
8. Between 1.30 and 2 p.m. the employee has to go to school to collect those children he took in the morning, take them back to the house and wait for his visitors.
9. From the time the guests arrive to the time they leave it takes at least three to four hours either playing cards or talking and rumouring and ruminating about politics and other issues. Some of the guests, however, will stay for two or three days until they finish their business.

This pattern of life is the way for many employees, seniors in particular. Productivity is very low; while they sit and perform things which are not related to their job descriptions, a polyglot mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs flow in tremendous numbers, legally and illegally to work in various sectors of the economy. Indeed many Libyans create little and destroy more. They use government transportation, telephones and air conditioned offices for their personal businesses; and it is the foreigners who perform most of the day-to-day functions. Fortunately the latter got used to the system of work specifications.

Solutions to these kinds of problems, if there are any, under the circumstances prevailing in the country, will not come very easily as they are related to intricate social norms. Relatives and friends expect you to protect and help them by all means, and attend for days their happy and sad occasions. Loyalty to social orders is more important to them than the state's laws and regulations. The future success in tackling these types of problems will for sure be preceded by many frustrations.

It should be noted in this respect that not all junior employees have negative attitudes towards their jobs, nor do all senior employees believe in behaving in the same way as drawn earlier, but a great many juniors as well as seniors do.

4.5.3 Administrative organization : The disorganized nature of new administrative organizations and companies acts as another manpower drain in the country and increases the demand for non-nationals. For

example, the main body for the construction industry is the Secretariat of Housing, which has at the present time nine main companies of mixed specializations, namely:

- (i) Education Buildings
- (ii) Heavy Structure Company for concrete construction
- (iii) Al-Khalij Company for General Buildings
- (iv) Gherian Company for General Buildings
- (v) The National Company for Buildings
- (vi) The Benghazi National Building Company
- (vii) Civil Works Company
- (viii) The National Company for Engineering and Construction
- (ix) The National Company for Construction

Moreover, other Secretariats, particularly in the 1970s, started to initiate and organize public companies to serve the purpose of that Secretariat, for example:

- (i) The National Company for Metallic Works and the National Company for Civil Works attached to the Secretariat of Industry.
- (ii) The National Company for Electrical Works attached to the Secretariat of Electricity.
- (iii) The National Company for Construction and Municipal Works attached to the Secretariat of Utilities.
- (iv) The National Company for Construction of Farm Buildings, under the supervision of the Secretariat of Agriculture.

Furthermore, there are other organizations and investment companies which take care of construction, for instance

- (i) The Call of Islam Society
- (ii) The National Investment Company
- (iii) The General Board for Social Security
- (iv) The Industrial and Real Estate Bank
- (v) The Real Estate Investment Company and
- (vi) The Arab Union Construction Company

These organizations and companies in most cases, if not all, are only 'shadows', as they usually subcontract most of their duties to foreign companies which take over the recruitment of the workforce and the supply of materials. In most cases, therefore, they represent a mis-allocation of the scarce local labour force and augment the number of foreign expatriates in the country. While foreigners perform jobs, Libyans in these organizations and companies are increasingly becoming managers and 'fixers' only.

There are no data available for the numbers of nationals in these types of construction industry, but it is acknowledged that they are high. The confusion of the construction industry has been recognized by the people in charge of the current National Physical Perspective Plan 1981-2000, and new reorganization of the industry has been examined. According to the aforementioned plan, areas in which companies will be formed include only the following companies with local regional centres:

- (i) Heavy works, ports, dams relating to seas and water

- (ii) Civil engineering works; this proposed company will cover general buildings such as housing, schools etc.
- (iii) Roads
- (iv) Electrical and mechanical works
- (v) Municipal works
- (vi) Military and Civil Defence

see (The Secretariat of Utilities 1979a).

With the new restructuring of the construction industry, the overlapping and duplication is intended to be eliminated which will result in securing savings of national and non-national labour force working in this sector. However, despite the fact that the draft of the National Physical Perspective Plan 1981-2000 recommended such amalgamation as early as 1979, such integration has not taken place yet.

4.5.4 Female labour : Another important shortcoming in the utilization of nationals in the labour force is the insignificant contribution of women in the labour market. The wide disparity in the participation rates of males and females in the country is very evident and the role of women in the modern sector is very limited (though an upward females labour force trend is noticeable from the preliminary results of the 1984 Population Census). Traditional and non-traditional constraints are behind the insignificant female labour force participation. Although the rapid urbanization could serve as an important factor to induce women to take more meaningful roles, its initial effects have also been responsible for the small number of women in full-time employment. The decline in traditional activities where women play an

important role, particularly agriculture and handicrafts, has been influenced by the increase in income and a necessity for a period of adjustment in urban settings. There is also a social reluctance to let women work outside the family sphere, especially when earnings have increased sufficiently without women having to work. Two other elements have aggravated this inclination; one is the unavailability of women to meet the requirements of urban jobs (the high percentage of female aliens in urban employment is testimony to this situation), the other has been the relatively sluggish development of activities in which women are more readily accepted, especially light manufacturing and certain commercial and service activities (Hartley, 1972:334).

The traditional social outlook which disapproved of women taking occupations particularly in the fields rather than the educational sector, and which regarded women's place preferably at home is undoubtedly changing slowly but steadily. The expanded female education opportunities in Libya may encourage increasing female demands for equal employment opportunities and feeling of personal efficacy (Marshall, 1984). Moreover, the new generations of fathers and brothers are expected to be more liberal to appreciate the women's situation, and then women will enter the labour market and will comprise a substantial portion of the labour force. However, in view of the importance of female employment in Libya, it will be dealt with separately in Chapter 7.

4.5.5 Unemployment and Underemployment : It is contradictory to find that unemployment existed in the country at the time of 1964 and 1973 censuses as we have already mentioned. The 1980 Manpower Survey, moreover, indicated that about 20,000 persons were estimated to be

unemployed (Secretariat of Planning 1981a) about 2.7 per cent of the total estimated labour force at that time. However, statistics are not only of dubious quality but also they do not necessarily reflect the true situation of employment. Wedley (1968:70) was right when he stated that in Libya, where independence and nomadic spirit are highly prized social values, there is a strong impulse for the worker to periodically quit his job and escape the routine and rigorous schedule of an industrial enterprise. In the present boom conditions, the ease of finding another job makes this practice all the more prevalent. Indeed most oil companies have always experienced very high rates of labour turnover. But because a worker quits his job, it does not mean that he will be unemployed; often he arranges beforehand so that he is immediately able to assume another position. Even if another job is not pre-arranged, the scarcity of labour at the time of boom conditions enables any person seeking a job with needed skills to find it. With high employment levels in the labour market at the present time, unemployment is largely functional (often volitional) and arises from wrong supply of skills.

Underemployment, on the other hand, exists to a greater extent. Although there are no figures available on the amount of underemployment, its existence is generally acknowledged. Underemployment exists on the farms and in most governmental departments. First (1980:132) reported that the accumulation and overstaffing of unneeded workforce stimulated by the state's employment policies smothered governmental departments with useless civil servants, workers, orderlies and watchmen. The jobs created by the state were often disguised unemployment and the salaries disguised handouts.

The governmental sector in Libya comprised a considerable surplus of largely unskilled employees with little or no education at all, and even those who possess a credited formal education could be in many cases characterized as unskilled either because they are not placed in the right jobs, or they have remained for longer periods in the army and have been deprived of refresher courses. From the author's experience, it can be stated with confidence that in many state departments 20-25 per cent of the nationals in the labour force are very busy, overworked and indeed overstrained (usually those of high rank). Sometimes the overwork of the few results from the inability of the rank and file to perform job duties, but sometimes it results from the failure of those employees at the top to delegate authority to their subordinates either because they are authority addicts or because their subordinates are of low quality in respect of job requirement.

However, the situation is not that gloomy. The most encouraging factor is that those who are in charge are conscious of the problems, and from the early 1970s have started finding solutions. For example on April 15th, 1973 the leader of the Revolution in a speech delivered at Zuwara enunciated a Five Point Programme of recommendations for the new Libyan Cultural Revolution, in which one of the cornerstones of the programme was proclaiming an administrative revolution since the bureaucracy "had been growing fat and idle and become cut off from the people". He brought examples of this when he stated "Libyans were refusing to work in the salutary agricultural and other developmental projects being established in remote areas of the country" (Cooley, 1983:137).

Other people in charge are definitely aware of the scale of the problems too. The transfer of surplus bureaucrats to more productive activities has also been attempted in recent years and it was one of the strategies stressed by the Five Year Plan 1981-85 (Secretariat of Public Service 1979, Secretariat of Planning 1981b).

However, inspite of the fact that many measures have been taken ever since the speech at Zuwara, the bureaucracy is still fat and the transfer of the surplus bureaucrats launched by state bodies still is "one of the areas where the authorities have fallen short of their target" (M.E.E.D. 1985:20). Part of the failure is due to (a) the reluctance of the people in charge to declare an employee redundant, (b) the unwillingness of redundant employees to get transferred to new jobs, and (c) the incapability of training institutions to offer the needed skills for new occupations.

4.5.6 Labour intensive techniques : Another observation to be made in respect of local labour underutilization is that labour intensive techniques are still applied to many economic sectors, e.g. banking, insurance, transportation and to some extent agriculture. The promotion of locals in the labour force to be more efficient and productive through adopting new organisational methods and computerising many activities, although strongly declared, is still an unaccomplished aim. This is due partly to the resistance to change from some of those in charge and partly to the intellectual vacuum of personnel in key posts in some economic and social sectors. The Municipality of Tripoli computerized birth certificate procedure, but when a citizen asks for a birth certificate he is told by employees of

civil records departments that if he needs the birth certificate manually he will have it the same day but if he wants it through the computer it takes more than one day!

It is beyond argument that a country with a small population and considerable resources in a vast area requires the adoption of new techniques to simplify jobs and subsequently release many active people to undertake employment in other sectors of the economy. However, this approach is not anticipated to yield in the near future when the nationals in the labour force suffer from a high percentage of illiteracy, particularly among managers in many important positions, who lack the minimum requirements of the occupations they hold.

4.5.7 Training abroad : A shortcoming in the utilization of nationals in the labour force is reflected in the lack of follow-up studies and training abroad. Hundreds if not thousands of students and trainees are commissioned every year and left in most cases free to decide their field of education and the type of training. The lack of follow-up delays their graduation. Moreover, when they graduate they mostly seek occupations that are more lucrative and prestigious and more compatible to their training.

4.5.8 Longevity : Although life expectancy registered a dramatic increase in the intercensal periods as discussed in an early chapter, Libya is still lagging behind many developing and developed nations, which works as a barrier to the prolongation of the productive years of work for males as well as females. Nevertheless, the expansion of health programmes, as well as the improvement of standards of living is likely to push up workers' life expectancy. The rapid decline of

mortality among the population will, in future, improve the productivity of the labour force as physical fitness will increase and this will mean that the span of working life will be prolonged.

4.5.9 Unequal development : While the state's policy in relation to manpower is aiming at the overall rise of the citizen active population to Libyanize as many occupations as possible in a shorter period of time, the spatial diversification of employment opportunities at least until very recently has been absent. The laissez-faire approach up to the first half of the 1970s has resulted in an overall concentration of activities in some areas, and as a result Tripoli and Benghazi became increasingly attractive poles not only to business entrepreneurs but also to job seekers. The exodus of young farm employment potential is an example of the latter. Tripoli and Benghazi, as discussed in an earlier chapter, possess a relatively more diversified economic structure within them, and in contrast other areas remained depressed, weakly industrialized and have very much lower incomes and more limited infrastructures. It is of interest to note that although more than half of the Libyan GDP is being created in the Al-Khalij region, it is one of the most depressed regions in the country. It is no exaggeration to state in the Sebha and Al-Khalij Regions many people are still living in tents and shacks and their average standard of living is very much lower than the country as a whole (Secretariat of Utilities 1979b, Abdussalam 1983, Kezeiri 1984). This economic contrast has resulted from unevenness of economic growth factors and employment opportunities among the various regions.

4.5.10 Students and disabled : Two more segments of population are not yet utilized, namely students and the disabled. Despite the fact that

people's congresses since 1978 legislated that all students at the secondary school level and above should be harnessed to participate in the economic and social transformation of the country, until the present time this segment of population is not yet participating fully due to many problems, the most significant being the lack of coordination among various related bodies, indeed the lack of coordination among those who have to employ students, those who undertake their politicization and most importantly those who are responsible for their military training (Secretariat of Public Service 1984). Students can and should participate in many activities, e.g. during harvest times and cleaning and sweeping the streets, of course after continuous and careful coordination with the Secretariat of Education.

The disabled on the other hand who numbered more than 50,000 as of 1980 (Secretariat of Planning 1983a) and who were mostly not economically active (70 per cent) could be rehabilitated and trained for specific jobs. The application of safety measures to minimize the wastage resulting from industrial accidents is an important issue in this concern.

To conclude this section, a new issue has been raised and even started to govern employers and producers relationships, which is the application of the slogan in the Green Book, Volume 11 'Partners not Wage Workers'. Qathafi in his book argued that workers carry out a production process for the benefit of others who hire them to produce a certain product. In this case they have not consumed their production, but have been obliged to surrender it for a wage. "Wage workers are a type of slave, however, although their wages may be better" (Qathafi,

1978:43-69). On September 1, 1978, the Revolution's ninth anniversary, the leader of the Revolution spoke to the Libyan workers to liberate the wage earners from slavery and become full partners in production. Hundreds of firms, except those in the oil sector, were taken over and eventually put in the hands of the People's Committees, in most cases composed of the company's workers (Cooley, 1983, 145). Moreover, with the new revolutionary principles every Libyan worker has an equal say in the policy, management, planning and all matters of the firms or organizations he belongs to (Dawson 1981). All workers meet regularly three or four times a year (like shareholders) to discuss, analyse and follow up policies practised by the Committee appointed by them (Board of Directors) and share equally the profits of the organizations.

In applying such a principle, one might anticipate that because workers regard the jobs as theirs this would produce a more favourable climate, to say the least there would be no labour disputes. Furthermore, because the worker has an equal say in the organization he belongs to, he will have access to sufficient information to familiarize himself with the reality of the organization and consequently his efficiency would improve (Yalcintas 1979, Calvo 1979).

However, it is premature to judge workers committees and new issues that come in the Green Book and their effect on productivity, as their ultimate shape and formulation requires a deep and sincere debate on some related subjects such as which standard should be used in sharing national income? How about other state services and non-profit institutions which promote development through the provisions of services such as education and garbage collection? How can we apply 'partners not wage workers' to non-nationals in the labour force?

Questions such as these should be asked and sincerely answered, so that principles stated in the Green Book might be of interest to the raising of productivity of the indigenous labour force, as they could effectively stimulate job motivation.

4.6 Future Trends of National Employment

The future trends of employment could not and should not be disconnected from the political, economic and social environment. The high pressure of the huge investments on the small quantity of national labour force is evident. Subsistence agriculture and nomadism for example have been abandoned for urbanized and governmental occupations. The agricultural sector, once employing most of the active nationals, decreased to a little over 20 per cent in the 1970s and the early 1980s. The total number of nomads decreased from 27.6 per cent of the total population in 1954 to only 3.7 in the late 1970s and to a lower percentage at the present time. The private sector, once employing a great many active Libyans, has been taken over by the state.

Education, which in the 1950's used to be a luxury for Libyan males and almost a taboo for Libyan females particularly at higher levels is now expanding enormously, as we have seen when we discussed education and training. Such encouraging and continuous trends not only might produce a very much better trained Libyan required for the labour market, but also could motivate the participation of women more positively in different economic and social activities.

Overall, employment will increase, but the increase is expected to vary from one sector to another. In fact the future trends of national employment in some sectors will stabilise or even experience a decline.

1. The primary sector : The share of the primary sector in total employment is expected to increase though not significantly. Modern technology methods aiming at the elimination of the disguised unemployment in agriculture are expected to be applied. At the same time, three factors will emphasize the importance of the sector. First, it has been outlined in all recent development plans that the achievement of the high degree of self sufficiency in vital food commodities is a target. Indeed despite the severe environmental conditions, the state has carried out ambitious agricultural development programmes. Up to the year 2000 efforts in the field are expected to yield about 66 per cent increase in total agricultural land area (Secretariat of Utilities 1985). Secondly, the country is now investing \$6 billion to pump millions of cubic metres of water from beneath the southern desert for agricultural, industrial and domestic use in coastal areas from Benghazi in the east to Tripoli in the west (Euromoney 1984, George 1983). Such a scheme indeed after completion will generate and require great numbers of labour force. Thirdly, the Mediterranean Sea wealth is also expected to be more intensively exploited, adding to the national employment in that sector.

2. The secondary sector : Although employment in this sector is capital intensive rather than labour intensive, present trends imply that employment in this field will increase very dramatically. This conclusion is attributed to various factors. First, the adoption of diversification in the economy and the concentration on the manufacturing sub-sector to achieve this goal is another target of the Libyan short and long-term planning. The establishment of petro-chemical industries in the west and middle of the country and steel mills in Misurata are examples in this respect. Secondly, the

sub sector electricity, gas and water will undoubtedly experience substantial increases, e.g. in most small and medium towns sewage projects and purification plants are under way and this implies more national employment. In addition, the Libyan construction market has been growing very steadily. Technical and social infrastructures have been built and will be built, renewed or expanded everywhere; e.g. in the housing sub sector alone during the Five Year Plan 1981-85, it has been estimated that 160-180 thousand dwelling units would be constructed to house new families and provide replacement of old stocks (Secretariat of Utilities 1979a). The construction industry is not expected to grow at the same rate in manpower consumption in the future, but there will be a rapidly increasing demand for repair and maintenance services of the huge economic and social infrastructures which were constructed over the past 20 years or so. Maintenance is of course labour intensive.

3. The tertiary sector : This sector is expected to increase dramatically except that of the public administration sub-sector which is anticipated to either increase modestly or to be stabilised. Trade, restaurants and hotels will experience a big increase in future national employment. Moreover, tourism is insignificant at the present time, but because the country enjoys a natural beauty thanks to her location, sunshine, exoticism, attractive beaches and many antiquities, the state may be able to take advantage of this, and occupations in this sub-sector may increase substantially. Such an expectation becomes more necessary when oil exportation starts to decline or even disappear. Transportation, storage and communication too will experience an important increase. To give an example "studies have been undertaken for a 1,630 km railway network" (EIU 1986:5). Although

this has yet to be built, such a big project will stimulate national employment. Expansion of new manufacturing and new agricultural projects necessitate the expansion in the tertiary sector, for example the employment of nationals is expected to grow in finance, insurance, real estate and other services.

Libya is a declared Welfare State and the available oil revenues sustain such declaration. In order to secure a prosperous life for her citizens, the state has launched several expensive programmes such as free health and education, and the achievement of such targets will require greater employment in these welfare related activities.

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CHAPTER FIVENON-NATIONALS IN THE LABOUR FORCE5.1 Introduction

Since oil exploration and exportation and the receiving of its lucrative revenues, a substantial alteration has occurred in the characteristics of the country's manpower situation. The crude economic activity rate has been declining year by year and the demand for more qualified labour force has been rising ever since. Many factors as we have already mentioned contributed to such situations, and therefore, the shortage in the supply of the indigenous labour force to satisfy the growing national labour market demand dictated a situation where it became necessary to import labour in order to provide skills needed for the implementation, operation and maintenance of various development projects.

In the period 1970-83 the number of expatriates grew to the extent that it almost constituted half the country's total labour force. This dramatic increase resulted from two main factors (though one is much stronger than the other) : (i) the oil wealth, and (ii) the commitment to Arab Unity and bilateral agreements with some nationalities. From 1984 onwards, the same two factors made the number of expatriates decline sharply, the dramatic decline in Libyan oil revenues and to some extent the dwindling relations with other countries (Arab countries in particular) made the expatriate contingent in the labour force fall to less than a quarter.

The focus of this Chapter therefore lies in dealing with expatriates in the labour force, i.e. their growth and decline in number, sectoral, occupational and spatial distributions and their ethnic composition. The assessment of the Libyanization process then concludes the discussion of the subject matter.

5.2 Employment of Non-Nationals 1954-73

In the early 1950's and up to the early 1960's the Libyan labour force was considered more than enough in relation to the country's resources. Non-nationals were only found in those occupations which required particular skills, thus their number was insignificant. They were mostly Italians who remained after the defeat of their country of origin during the second World War, Jews who used to live among Libyans for thousands of years, Egyptians or Palestinians who concentrated in the educational and health services and Americans or Britons who served as advisors or in oil exploration.

According to the 1954 Population Census, non-nationals in the labour force numbered only 19,000 persons or 5.1 per cent of total employment at this time; 29 per cent of them were employed in production occupations such as craftsmen, mechanics and the like, 25 per cent as farmers and in animal husbandry, 16 per cent in white collar jobs as managers, administrators or holding posts like accountants, typists and clerks in governmental offices and business houses, 9 per cent in service occupations of various descriptions, 8 per cent as professionals and technical workers mainly engaged as teachers, doctors, or engineers, 6 per cent in transport, 5 per cent in the retail trade and the remaining 2 per cent of the total foreign

expatriates were shown as seeking work (Ministry of National Economy 1956).

By 1964 the number of non-national expatriates was again very small, about 18,000 (15,000 males and 3,000 females) with a nationality and occupational pattern very much similar to that of 1954 in many occupational categories. The small number of foreign employees despite the relative expansion in economic activities was probably due to the fact that many skilled and semi-skilled occupations needed by the labour market in the early 1960's were filled by the repatriation of many Libyans who were living abroad before the granting of Independence in December 1951 and the discovery of oil in the late 1950's. The distribution of foreign expatriates shown by the 1964 Census was as follows: professionals, administrators and related workers 19.3 per cent, production and related workers 34.6 per cent, clerical workers 18.5 per cent and the remaining were distributed among other occupational disciplines (see Table 5.1). Moreover, by broad economic activities it was shown by the same Census that non-nationals were mostly occupied by the tertiary sector (51.2) per cent and 41.4 per cent of the active aliens were employed in the secondary sector. On the other hand, the primary sector was shown not to be of attraction to foreigners who registered only 7.4 per cent (Ministry of Planning 1965).

According to the 1973 General Population Census, foreign employment reached almost 116,000 (109,000 males and 7,000 females). The pattern of occupation as indicated by the Census was that non-nationals were heavily concentrated in production and related activities as operators and labourers with almost 63.0 per cent of the

Table 5.1 Alien Employment by Broad Occupational Categories 1964-73

Occupational major group	1964		1973	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, technical and related workers	3,399	19.3	19,197	16.6
Administrators, executives and management	786	4.5	822	0.7
Clerical workers	3,242	18.5	3,581	3.1
Sales workers	1,058	6.0	1,214	1.0
Farmers and related activities	1,250	7.1	10,909	9.4
Production and related activities	6,074	34.6	72,931	63.0
Transport, equipment operators & labourers				
Service workers and labourers and labourers unclassified by occupations	1,760	10.0	7,184	6.2
Total	17,569	100.0	115,838	100.0

Source : Calculated from the 1964 and 1973 Population Censuses

* Note figures in 1973 do not include about 2,000 seeking work.

total, professional, technical and related workers 16.6 per cent, then workers in agricultural husbandry, fishing and forestry 9.4 per cent, and the remaining distributed among other different occupational groups. By broad economic activities, alien employment was shown to be as follows: 61.9 per cent in secondary, 27.8 per cent in the tertiary and the remaining 10.3 per cent in the primary sector (Ministry of Planning 1975).

The overall impression provided by Table 5.1 is the significant change in the occupational structure of foreign employment during

the intercensal period 1964-73, which might be attributed to three factors:

- (i) One important factor which had considerable impact on the change of occupational patterns was the abrupt departure of Jews in 1967 and the sudden expulsion of thousands of Italians in October 1971 because of political reasons. Both the departure and the expulsion resulted in many vacancies particularly in farm management, commerce, banking, maintenance and garage technicians. These occupations, especially those which did not require too much training such as those in commerce and agriculture, were filled up by locals. The highly professional posts, on the other hand, were occupied by other nationalities, Arabs in particular.

- (ii) The dramatic expansion in the construction of residential buildings, public educational institutions, hospitals, transport and communications network as well as other technical and social infrastructures helped to push up the percentage of those working in production and related workers from 34.6 per cent in 1964 to as high as 63.0 per cent by 1973. The state consciousness together with public pressure to build needed infrastructures and render necessary public services in the shortest possible time boosted alien employment. In the construction sector alone, in 1973 there were almost 58,000 foreign employees, almost 51 per cent of the total foreign employment.

- (iii) The start of the concentration of nationals in the tertiary sector in response to its lucrative earnings, for example in land speculations, imports and exports and dealing, helped to increase

the flow of skilled and unskilled migrant workers into the country, to take over those jobs which used to be performed by locals. The locals concentration in the tertiary sector is illustrated by the fact that their sectoral share increased, as we have mentioned in an earlier chapter, from 32.0 per cent in 1964 to become 54.5 by 1973.

5.3 The Growth and Decline in the Number of Non-Nationals

The ambitious development revolution undertaken by the Libyan government has resulted in a steadily increasing demand which could not be met by the domestic supply of manpower. The flow of foreign labour into Libya grew and grew, a process which was intensified further by the expansion of the armed forces and the lengthy period of compulsory military training from 1978 onwards (Mattes 1985 : 50-60). Indeed the percentage of the total foreign community to the total population increased from 4 per cent in 1964, to 4.2 per cent in 1970, to 13,7 per cent by 1975 and to 19.4 per cent by 1983. Moreover, the number of foreigners who were engaged in gainful occupations jumped from 16,000 in 1964, to 50,000 in 1976, to 223,000 in 1975 to 562,000 by 1983, resulting in a substantial percentage increase of foreign employment in the country from 4.3 in 1964, to 11.5 in 1970, to 32.9 in 1975, to as high as 47.7 per cent by 1983. It is of interest to mention that in Western Europe the percentage of foreign expatriates to the total labour force never exceeded 10 per cent (Ibrahim, 1986).

It is only in 1984 when the percentage of foreign expatriates started to decline sharply. Over half the migrant labour force left the country during 1984 and by 1985 their number had further declined

to almost 215,000. It has been reported that at the start of 1985 most of the Egyptians, Pakistanis and more than one-third of the total Tunisians had left the country (Secretariat of Public Service, 1985; Mattes, 1985).

The growth and then the decline of non-nationals in the labour force over a 15 year period, 1970-85 is illustrated in Table 5.2 and moreover presented graphically by Figure 5.1.

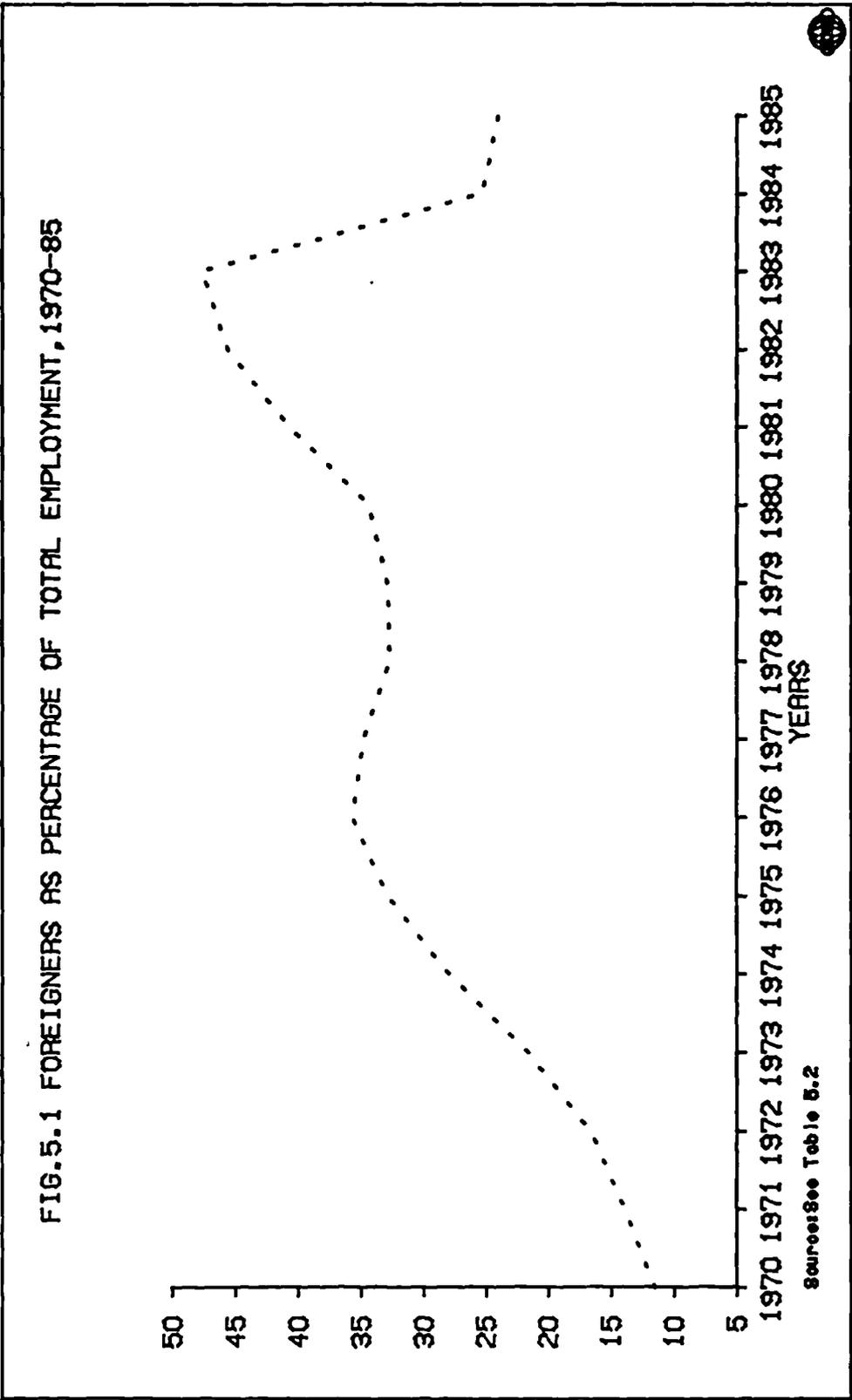
The growth in the number of recruited foreigners up to 1983 as indicated by Table 5.2 is due to two main factors which worked together : (i) the 1969 revolution with its social and Arab Unity principles, and (ii) the 1973 sudden jump in oil prices. Economic and social projects were built every year everywhere, and the country changed into a busy construction site. Moreover, the bilateral political relationships between Libya and some other countries led to an unchecked flow of migrants into the country from neighbouring countries (Egyptians and Tunisians) in particular. Politicians on many occasions proclaimed that there exists an Arab nation whose goal is Unity and whose roots lie in a specific cultural heritage, a common language Arabic and a common religion Islam (Amoretti 1985:5-6). Moreover, they declare occasionally that Libya is a very unpopulated country and with Arab Unity, problems of manpower will surely be solved. As a step in this direction Law No. 13/75 was issued asking all Arabs with skills to emigrate to Libya and were entitled to the Libyan Citizenship. No data are available of numbers who responded to that Law but the response was fairly poor.

Table 5.2 Recruitment of Foreign Expatriates 1970-85 in 000s

Year	Total employment	Foreign expatriates	% of total employment
1970	434	50	11.5
1971	459	64	13.9
1972	488	81	16.6
1973	538	116	21.6
1974	607	170	28.0
1975	677	223	32.9
1976	737	263	35.7
1977	765	266	34.8
1978	773	252	32.6
1979	789	259	32.8
1980	813	280	34.4
1981	947	386	40.8
1982	1084	495	45.7
1983	1179	562	47.7
1984	1038	263	25.3
1985	894	215	24.0

Source : Calculated from

- (1) Secretariat of Planning (1984)
Economic and Social Aspects of Foreign Employment,
Tripoli, Libya.
- (2) Secretariat of Public Service (1985)
Employment Situation in Libya for the years
1984 and 1985, Tripoli, Libya.



Thus, the availability of an adequate, capable workforce in the Arab countries and in those countries with mutual understanding with Libya, combined with difficult economic conditions in most of the migrants countries of origin, persuaded more than sufficient numbers to migrate legally or illegally to the country, where the demand of their labour was highly prized and appreciated and very much competitive with wages offered by other labour importing countries.

While the slight percentage decline of foreign employment in the period 1977-80 could be attributed to the military clash between Egypt and Libya in the summer of 1977, and to the disruption and deterioration in the Libyan/Tunisian relations which ended in their break-up, the sharp foreign employment decline in 1984 and 1985 and which looks set to continue has resulted mainly from difficult economic conditions. The following factors have caused the number of aliens to fall steeply in recent years:

(i) The restriction of remittances to only 75 per cent of the expatriate salary, compared with 90 per cent in 1983 and before for those workers provided by their employers with food and board, and to only 50 per cent instead of 60 per cent of the migrants' salary or wage for those who do not enjoy the privilege of receiving free food and board (EIU, 1984, 1985 and 1986). These significant reductions in the amount of transfers allowed, together with the increase in income tax, delays in receiving wages and salaries and shortage in some imported goods, meant that for a great many foreigners employed economic reasons are no longer serving as motivation for them to continue their stay in Libya.

(ii) Owing to the continuous economic recession, the state was obliged to terminate the contracts of many expatriates during 1984 and 1985, particularly for those occupations seen as easily performed by Libyan citizens. Details will be examined later.

(iii) The redundancy of migrants either voluntarily or compulsorily had been accelerated by the fact that the major infrastructure had been completed, and sustained by the increasing governmental will to nationalize as many occupations and in the shortest possible time. Indeed, since the year 1981, the Basic People's Congresses decided that the nationalization of the Libyan labour force should start and be treated as a priority, and ever since Libyanization has become the doctrine of almost every politician and most of the decision makers.

(iv) The relative increase in the qualified personnel through either the educational system or training made the expulsion of many migrants in many occupations possible.

5.4 Migrant Workers by Place of Origin

Until recently nationalities from all over the world made their presence felt in the Libyan labour market. The Secretariat of Planning (1984) reported that as of 1983 there were 130 nationalities represented in the Libyan workforce. However, the bulk of migrant workers was reported to have come from less than 30 nationalities. Table 5.3 provides the ethnic composition of foreign employment in Libya during 1976-85 and Figure 5.2 presents such a composition by broad world regions.

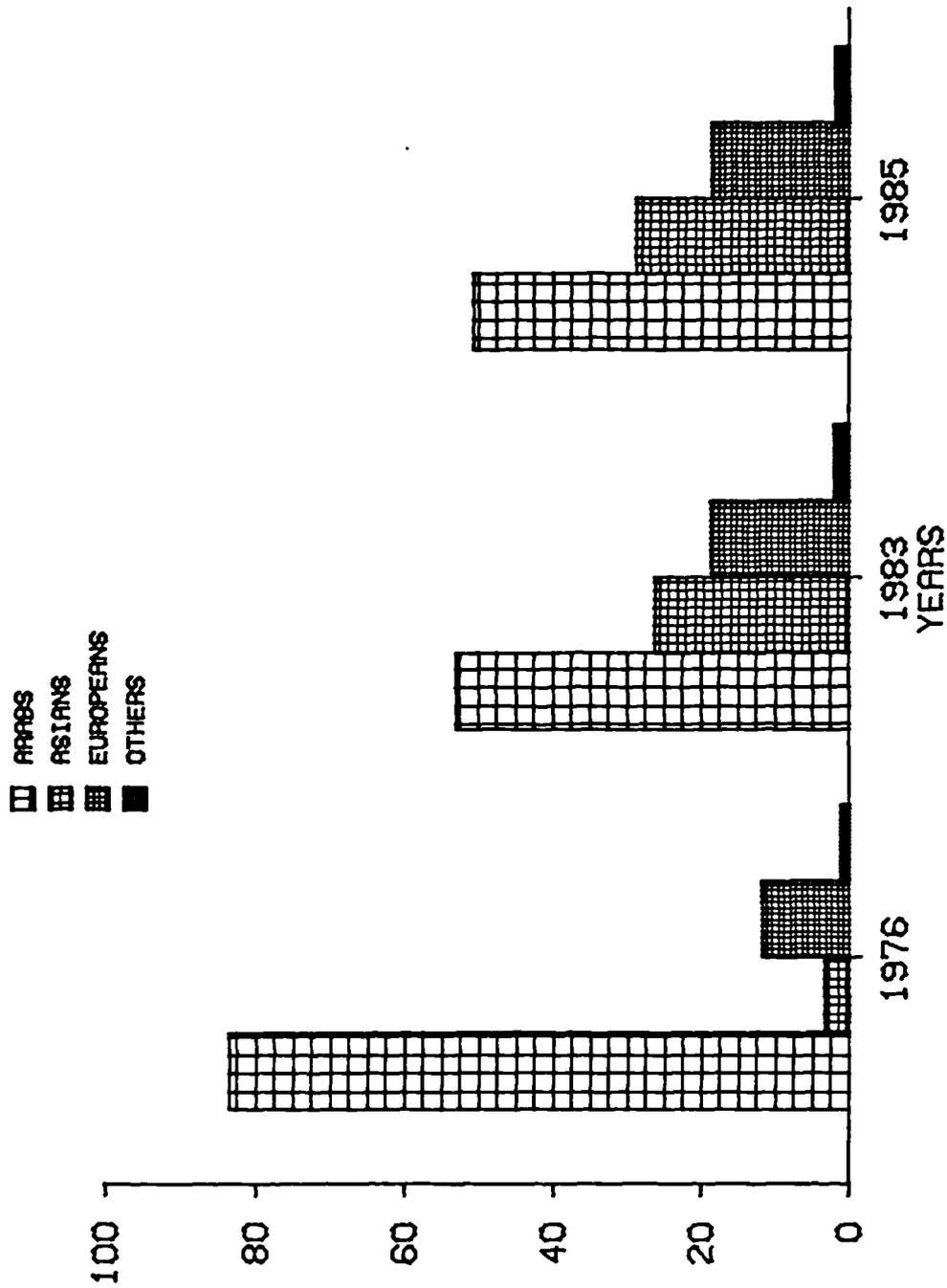
Table 5.3 Foreign Expatriates by Nationality 1976-85 in 000s

	1976		1983		1985	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Egypt	145	55.1	143	25.4	49	22.8
Tunisia	32	12.1	90	16.0	31	14.4
Syria	13	4.9	24	4.3	6	2.8
Sudan	6	2.3	16	2.9	4	1.9
Palestine	7	2.7	7	1.2	6	2.8
Jordan	7	2.7	6	1.1	2	0.9
Morocco	3	1.1	2	0.4	7	3.2
Other Arab Countries	7	2.7	10	1.8	4	1.9
Total Arab Countries	220	83.6	298	53.1	109	50.7
Turkey	3	1.1	53	9.4	20	9.3
Pakistan	5	1.9	23	4.1	6	2.8
India	1	0.4	22	3.9	6	2.8
South Korea	-	-	17	3.0	20	9.3
Thailand	-	-	15	2.7	4	1.9
Philippines	-	-	8	1.4	2	0.9
Bangladesh	-	-	7	1.3	1	0.4
Other Asian Countries	-	-	3	0.5	3	1.4
Total Asia	9	3.4	148	26.3	62	28.8
Italy	3	1.1	17	3.0	5	2.3
Great Britain	4	1.5	9	1.6	4	1.9
West Germany	2	0.8	5	0.9	2	0.9
U.S.S.R	-	-	6	1.1	2	0.9
Rumania	3	1.1	21	3.7	9	4.2
Czechoslovakia	-	-	3	0.5	1	0.5
Yugoslavia	9	3.4	14	2.5	6	2.8
Bulgaria	2	0.8	8	1.4	3	1.4
Poland	2	0.8	10	1.8	3	1.4
Other European Countries	6	2.3	12	2.1	5	2.3
Total Europe	31	11.8	105	18.6	40	18.6
African Countries	1	0.4	7	1.3	2	0.9
U.S.A. and Canada	2	0.8	3	0.5	1	0.5
Rest of the World	-	-	1	0.2	1	0.5
Total	263	100.0	562	100.0	215	100.0

Source : Calculated from:

- (1) The Secretariat of Planning (1984) Economic and Social Aspects of Foreign Employment in Libya, Tripoli, Libya.
- (2) Secretariat of Public Services (1985) Employment Situation in Libya, Tripoli, Libya.

FIG. 5.2 PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN EXPATRIATES BY REGION 1976-1985



Source: See Table 3.5.

In scrutinising Table 5.3 it is obvious that reductions in the number of foreign employment severely hit most of the nationalities especially the Arab countries during 1983-85; Morocco of the Arab countries increased her share of migrant workers and her percentage of total foreign employment. The increase in the number of South Koreans is attributed to the involvement of Korean companies in the execution of projects considered of top priority and were not postponed when oil prices slumped down such as schools and hospitals, the readiness of the Korean Companies to receive their due payments in oil and most importantly a big Korean company called Dong Ah won the first stage of what is officially known as the Great Man-Made River to build 2,000 km of pipelines to carry 4 million cubic metres of water a day from Tazerbo and Sarir in the Sahara Desert to the coastal areas on the Mediterranean. Dong Ah was also to build two factories to produce the four-meter-diameter pipe needed for the work (MEED 1983). The increase in the number of Moroccans, was partly because Morocco had a small base number in 1976 but mainly because of the political accord between the two countries which resulted from the confederation signed between the two nations in August 1984. In this respect political reasons proved to be as strong as economic reasons in the volatility in number and nationalities of foreign employment. The same table shows that although there has been a remarkable decline in the percentage of foreign Arabs in Libya, their percentage is still of significance, more than half the total foreign employment. The still relatively high share of Arabs in the alien workforce is attributed to many factors including:

- (i) Nearness of Libya to many surplus Arab workers

(ii) The ease with which the Arab workers adapt to Libyan society due to social and religious considerations.

(iii) The relatively high wages in Libya compared to the very low wages and high unemployment rates among the neighbouring Arab countries.

(iv) The liberal Libyan rules for granting entry visas to certain Arab nationalities (at least until recently Syrians and Egyptians were exempted from requiring entry visas).

(v) The relatively low priced consumer goods (at least until recently) due to the subsidization or the low tax tariff and the rendering of many services free of charge (though in recent years these types of obligations started to be of concern to the state because of the large size of foreign communities).

(vi) The recession in the West in the 1970's which resulted in the adoption of a new strategy by the Tunisian and Moroccan governments to redirect their labour force migrations to the Arab oil-rich countries; e.g, "by 1974 Libya had surpassed France as a chief destination for Tunisian migrations" (Lawless and Seccombe 1981 : 7).

(vii) Despite the considerable and growing resistance among locals nowadays to further foreign employment, it should be emphasized that the tolerance of the Libyan people in accepting an enormous number of various nationalities with different cultures is unique in the Middle Eastern Arab labour-importing countries. For example the leading authorities Birks and Sinclair (1980:116) reported that "despite a

vener of Arab solidarity, Saudi Arabian nationals feel a detachment from Palestinians, a lack of respect for Yemenis and a mistrust and dislike of Egyptians, all of whom, they feel, are benefitting inordinately from Saudi Arabian development, especially whilst large numbers of the Kingdom's population remain in the traditional sector. In Kuwait moreover employed foreigners are discriminated against." Alessa (1981:44) stated that although the non-Kuwaiti labour force are distributed among the various occupational groups and are better qualified they are still paid less than their Kuwaiti counterparts. He went on to state that a Kuwaiti school guard for example will have a monthly salary three times that of an Arab high school teacher who teaches 48 hours per week. "While guards are usually illiterate, foreign teachers must have a BA or BSc degree to teach in Kuwait". On the contrary, in Libya the Arab cause is given top priority (Palestine, Arab Unity and the like), and furthermore, highly skilled Arab migrants, as well as other foreigners, always make much more money (about 30 per cent more) than locals with the same qualifications and job responsibilities. The tolerance and the generosity of the Libyan people could be ascribed to the fact that they themselves have experienced the need to work and they used to travel to the neighbouring countries during the difficult years when they were not only accepted by Tunisians, Egyptians and other communities but they were highly respected.

(viii) The enactment of a law by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) on 6 February 1975 encouraged Arab nationals living outside their homeland or their sons who acquire skills or qualifications to immigrate to Libya, to carry out research and assist in development efforts, which also made them eligible for benefits, such as acquiring

Libyan citizenship (The Arab Dawn 1975). Even during the years 1984 and 1985, when the expulsion of foreign employees reached its peak, Arabs were asked and urged through different news media to stay and work in Libya if they wished to do so on condition that they are to be treated equally with locals in respect of remittance transfers.

Table 5.3 indicates that the largest group of foreign employees have long been the Egyptians, although their percentage has declined from 55.1 in 1976 to 22.8 in 1985. The importance of the Egyptians derives from their large number of qualified workers. As of 1980 Egyptians constituted as high as 34.9 per cent of the total foreign employment in professional and technical occupations. It is of interest to note that of all foreign expatriates engaged in teaching occupations 56.8 per cent were Egyptians and of all foreigners working as accountants the share of the Egyptians was about two-fifths.

The second largest group is the Tunisians, whose contingent constituted 14.4 per cent of the total foreign employment in 1985 and 28.4 per cent of all Arabs working in the country. However, unlike the Egyptians, the importance of the Tunisians has always been in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories. Agriculture, repair shops and construction are their domain.

The number of Palestinians in the labour force remained unchanged despite the heavy reductions in foreign employment. Employment possibilities for the Palestinians in Libya together with the extreme backing for their cause are factors behind such an inclination.

Table 5.3 also indicates that in the last few years a new trend has been generated to diversify foreign employment in the country and moreover changing in types of migration. Asian and European countries (East European in particular) started to take over breaking the Arab monopoly of the workforce supply. Because the Arab labour supply proved to be unorganized, relatively expensive but most importantly politically vulnerable, decision makers started to look for other labour exporting countries. The Indian subcontinent, the Far East and Europe were their sources. Consequently the share of the total foreign employment from Asia and Europe increased from 15.2 per cent in 1976 to 44.9 per cent in 1983 to 47.4 per cent by 1985. In 1976 USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bangladesh, Thailand, Philippines and South Korea had only 373 expatriates working in Libya; by 1983 despite heavy reductions in foreign employment, they still could hold to about 30,000. In other words their share increased from 0.01 per cent in 1976 to 10 per cent by 1983 to almost 14 per cent of the total foreign employment by 1985. Furthermore, types of migration have changed from individual and project-tied type contracts to collective type contracts in which companies from the Far East and Europe get involved in the design and the execution of developmental projects from A to Z - sometimes foreign companies perform project maintenance too. The readiness of companies of these countries to accept payment in crude oil and probably the willingness from the part of Libyans to contain and control foreign employment are factors behind such new trends.

Due to the historical links, good economic and political ties, the share of some countries in the Libyan labour market increased enormously, e.g. ambitious plans for economic cooperation between Libya and Turkey were announced in 1974-75 and in January 1975 an agreement

for the dispatch of 10,000 skilled Turkish workers to Libya was signed. It was reported that the chief Libyan negotiator by that time declared that Libya needed about 650,000 Turkish workers at an emigration rate of 45,000 per year. Although these figures had never been accomplished, the number of Turkish workers, as Table 5.3 shows, increased substantially. Moreover, the number of projects and value of contracts carried out by various Turkish firms increased considerably. In 1980 there were only about 34 firms engaged in contracts valued at \$2.3 billion, in 1984 the number of Turkish firms working in Libya reached 112 and the value of their contracts exceeded \$8.6 billion including the 800 million new town of Brega near the City of Ejdabia. A Turkish diplomat in Tripoli stated that remittances sent by Turkish workers in Libya to their families in 1983 exceeded remittances by Turkish guest workers in West Germany (EIU 1982, Birks and Sinclair 1984, Euromoney 1984, Seccombe and Lawless 1986).

Relations with the Eastern Bloc countries were strengthened from the year 1975 and consequently there was a considerable number of workforce of those countries during the period 1970-83, but as in other cases their number subsequently declined. Beside the mutual political and economic understanding, the increase in the employment of some nationalities, a strong and sensible economic reason is the readiness of some countries firms to accept payments in crude oil : Turkey, South Korea, Italy and many of the Eastern Block countries are very good examples in this respect.

5.5 Regional Distribution of Foreign Employment

The distribution of the employed non-nationals is referred to in Table 5.4, as expected Tripoli and Benghazi having the lions share of

Table 5.4 The Percentage Distribution of Foreign Employment by
Region 1973-84

Region	1973	1984
Tripoli	39.0	26.9
Benghazi*	26.0	13.3
Zavia	6.2	9.0
Al-Khalij	6.1	11.0
Gherian	6.0	5.9
Derna	4.7	5.4
Gebel Akhdar	3.9	4.1
Sebha	3.2	7.5
Misurata	2.7	10.6
Khomes	2.2	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source : Calculated from the 1973 and 1984 Population Censuses.

* In 1973, Benghazi Region used to include Ejdabia, one of the main cities in Al-Khalij Region in 1984.

the total foreign employment, more than 65 per cent in 1973 and the rest being distributed among the other eight regions with Khomes, Misurata, Sebha and Gebel Akhdar at the bottom of the list. By 1984 the distribution of foreign employment was quite different. While Tripoli and Benghazi suffered a significant percentage decline respectively from 39.0 and 26.0 in 1973 to 26.9 and 13.6 per cent by 1984; other regions gained substantially. In respective terms Zavia, Sebha, Al-Khalij, Misurata, Khomes, Derna and Gebel Akhdar increased their shares from 6.2, 3.2, 6.1, 2.7, 2.2, 4.7 and 3.9 per cent in 1973 to 9.0, 7.5, 11.0, 10.6, 6.3, 5.4 and 4.1 per cent by 1984. Gherian on the other hand almost managed to keep to its share, 6.0 per cent in 1973 and 5.9 per cent by 1984.

The percentage share decrease of foreign employment in Tripoli and Benghazi might be attributed to the relative increase in the number of qualified personnel among locals in these two regions, to inter-regional migrations to these growth poles, and to the real start of the national spatial planning of economic activities.

\ The increase in the employment of foreign expatriates in some regions might be attributed to the recent concentration by the state on these regions or even the misuse in the recruitment and management of foreign employment. However, the massive, large-scale development programme in some regions and in remote areas is more likely to be the main cause. Indeed, over the last ten years or so a special emphasis has been placed on economic development in isolated and remote areas and as there is a low educational attainment among locals in these areas to man, operate or to maintain these types of projects, and the unwillingness of qualified locals to work in remote regions, the share

of total foreign employment has increased dramatically. For example, in Al-Khalij Region a set of petro-chemical industries were developed such as at Marsa Brega industrial centre with its brand new city, the synthetic fibre complex, the plastic complex, and the ethylene, propylene, methanol and urea plants. In Misurata there was the building of an integrated steel plant and metal industry, in Sebha the wide expansion of governmental services in all economic and social spheres, and in other regions the establishment of some industries such as the wool processing, food processing for local markets and so on. Small towns have benefitted more from such a massive development resulting in an astonishing increase in their share of foreign expatriates. In the period 1973-1980, Kezeiri (1984) found that percentages of expatriates in the labour force in small cities were so great that some cities experienced dramatic changes in their degree of urbanization and population and employment structure. Indeed, by 1984 Sirte, Aziza, Misurata, Sebha, Suf Ajjin and Kufra had a non-Libyan percentage in their labour force of about 46.0, 38.4, 46.0, 43.3, 42.8 and 45.7 per cent respectively.

5.6 Skill Composition of Expatriate Labour Force

Reliable and accurate data on the skill composition of the foreign employees are not available, but the existing evidence shows that foreign expatriates in the labour force have a higher level of education than those of nationals in the labour force.

Table 5.5 shows that those who are illiterate, those who read and write and those who had obtained the primary school level constituted a very substantial percentage of the total 59.9 per cent, but it still

Table 5.5 The Percentage Skill Composition of Libyans and Non-Libyans 1980

Education level	Libyan	Non-Libyan
Less than primary	56.7	51.0
Primary	16.0	8.9
Preparatory and Secondary	22.3	21.2
Over Secondary and less than University	1.1	2.8
Higher education	3.9	16.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source : The Manpower Survey 1980.

compared very favourably with the percentage of the same categories of locals in the labour force. Furthermore, those with higher education reached 16.1 per cent of the total non-national employment compared to only 3.9 per cent among nationals. Moreover, the existence of a considerable percentage of foreign expatriates who obtained the preparatory level and less reveals indirectly that employed non-nationals perform a significant number of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, in particular those occupations related to the construction industry.

By and large the majority of the unskilled labourers, particularly from neighbouring countries, have in most cases very low educational attainment, if any, and enter the country both legally and illegally. The legal and illegal migrants with low educational attainment are in most cases prepared to work for the legal minimum wage or even less and

locals start to get displaced and substituted by the flow of the unskilled foreign workforce (Birks and Sinclair, 1980). This trend, if allowed to continue, will affect the development of the national labour force negatively, as we shall elaborate when we discuss the cost of foreign employment.

The Manpower Survey of 1980 reveals that the median stay of foreign expatriates in the country was as follows : Palestinians 6.4 years, Egyptians 4.8, Tunisians 3.9, Pakistanis 2.8, Americans 2.3, Indians and Bulgarians 2.0, African countries and Turkish 1.9, Italians and Romanians 1.7 and Poles 1.6 years (Secretariat of Planning, 1980). While political and social reasons are behind the relatively long stay of Palestinians, Egyptians and Tunisians, the short stay for some nationalities may be attributed to the difficult social adjustment of some nationalities and to the nature of contracts for others. Indeed migrants from some countries, from East Europe in particular, come to Libya on a state contract basis and are usually asked by their governments to return to their own country as soon as their contracts expire.

5.7 The Employment of Non-Nationals by Economic Sectors

The foreign workforce in the country is dispersed all over the economy. Table 5.6, which shows such a dispersion by broad economic sectors, indicates that 141,200 foreign workers, or 63.3 per cent of their total, were absorbed by the secondary sector in 1975, and that the same sector increased its share of foreign employment to 366,600 or 65.2 per cent of their total by 1983. The state emphasis on the sector to diversify the economy, and the lack of adequate skills required by the nature of the sector among locals is reflected by the same table

Table 5.6 The Distribution of the Non-Nationals by Broad Economic Sectors, their Structure and their Percentage to Total Employment, 1975-83 in 000's

Economic Sector	1975				1983				Increase 1975-83	
	Total employment	No. of Ex-patriates	Structure of Expat-riates %	% of Ex-patriates to total sector	Total employment	No. of Ex-patriates	Structure of Expat-riates %	% of Ex-patriates to total sector	No.	%
Primary	133.1	17.6	7.9	13.2	173.0	42.0	7.5	24.3	24.4	138.6
Secondary	216.1	141.2	63.3	65.3	502.0	366.6	65.2	73.0	225.4	159.6
Tertiary	327.9	64.2	28.8	19.6	504.5	153.5	27.3	30.4	89.3	139.1
Total	677.1	223.0	100.0	32.9	1179.5	562.1	100.0	47.7	339.1	152.1

Source : Calculated from:

- (1) The Secretariat of Public Service (1982) Employment Statistics in SPLAJ, Tripoli, Libya
- (2) The Secretariat of Planning (1984) Economic and Social Aspects of Foreign Employment, Tripoli, Libya.

- * (1) Primary sector includes agriculture, forestry and fishing
 (2) Secondary sector includes manufacturing, mining, quarrying, electricity and gas and water
 (3) Tertiary sector includes all services, trade and commerce and administration

when the percentage of the non-nationals to the total employment of the sector increased from 65.3 per cent in 1975 to 73.0 per cent by 1983. The state's stress on education, health, transportation and other services is also obvious when the number of non-nationals in the tertiary sector increased from 64,200 (19.6 per cent of the total employment in the sector by 1975 to reach 153,500 or 30.4 per cent of the sector by 1983). On the other hand, the primary sector had the least share of the total foreign employment being 7.9 per cent in 1975 and further declined to become 7.5 per cent of the total by 1983. However, because the overall increase of employment in the sector is so modest, the number of non-nationals to the total employment of the sector increased from 13.2 per cent to 24.3 per cent in the same period.

5.8 The Occupational Distribution of Foreign Employment

Non-nationals existed in all occupations. The author's place of work in the Secretariat of Utilities was typical. Engineers, architects, town planners and related activities were mostly Egyptians, Sudanese, Poles and Yugoslavs; public health doctors and chemists were Egyptians; economists, accountants and book keepers were Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, Sudanese or Egyptians; consultants were British, Greeks or Finns; drivers were Sudanese or Tunisians; a Sudanese was serving coffee and tea; an Egyptian translated into English, and a Moroccan into French; street cleaners were Tunisians or Thais. Those who work in very large projects such as sewage projects, drinking water plants, treatment plants, fertilizer factories, bridges, streets and public parks were mostly Turks, Italians, Germans, French, Austrians, South Koreans, Poles, Portuguese, Brazilians or Spaniards. However, in

many cases, the latter nationalities employ a variety of cheap labour from Pakistan, India, Philippines, Bangladesh etc. to perform semi-skilled and unskilled occupations under their supervision.

By broad occupational categories the total foreign employment was shown to be concentrating in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations, being 42.7 in 1975 which increased to 60.4 per cent by 1983 reflecting the emphasis on the construction and industry sector by various social and economic development plans. The recent state restrictions on foreign employment in the unskilled occupations are also reflected in that foreign employment in the category of the unskilled showed only a modest increase compared to the increase in other categories and therefore the share of the unskilled occupations to total employment declined from 38.1 per cent of the total in 1975 to 22.1 per cent by 1983 (see Table 5.7).

Although it is evident from Table 5.7 that the non-national element exists in considerable numbers in all occupations, particularly in the professional and skilled and semi-skilled occupations, the dependency on the non-nationals becomes more obvious when we break down those aforementioned broad occupations. Detailed data for 1983, however, are not available, but the 1980 Manpower Survey conducted by the Secretariat of Planning which covered 200,000 foreign expatriates or 71.4 per cent of the estimated foreign employment at that time shows that in some occupations non-nationals are preponderant. The dominance of the foreign expatriates in many important, vital and sensitive occupations is illustrated by the fact that 91.2 per cent of doctors and dentists, 86.5 per cent of engineers, 68.9 of surveyors and draughtsmen and 67.1 per cent of all accountants were foreigners (Table 5.8).

Table 5.7 The Distribution of Foreign Expatriates by Broad Occupational Categories as Percentage of Total Employment 1975-83 in 000's

Occupational Categories	1975				1983				Increase/s 75-83	
	Total Employment	No. of non-nationals	Structure	% of total Employment	Total Employment	No. of non-nationals	Structure	% of total Employment	No.	%
Professional & Admin.	27.6	16.0	7.2	58.0	66.5	43.7	7.8	65.7	27.7	173.1
Technical & Supervisors Clericals	58.1	20.5	9.2	35.3	133.6	42.9	7.6	32.1	22.4	109.3
Skilled and semi skilled Unskilled	37.6	6.2	2.8	16.5	61.4	12.1	2.1	19.7	5.9	95.2
	346.6	95.2	42.7	27.5	642.6	339.4	60.4	52.8	244.2	256.5
	207.2	85.1	38.1	41.1	275.4	124.0	22.1	45.0	38.9	45.7
Total	677.1	223.0	100.0	32.9	1179.5	562.1	100.0	47.7	339.1	152.1

Source : Calculated from:

- (1) The Secretariat of Public Service (1982) Employment in SPLAJ, Tripoli.
- (2) The Secretariat of Planning (1984) Economic and Social Aspects of Foreign Employment in Libya, Tripoli.

Table 5.8 Non-Nationals in Some Selected Occupations, 1980

Occupations	Total Employment	Non-Nationals	
		No.	% of total
Engineers	6,881	5,953	86.5
Surveyors & draughtsmen	3,742	2,580	68.9
Medical, dentists	4,815	4,392	91.2
Nurses, midwives & related occupations	16,793	7,401	44.1
Accountants	4,570	3,068	67.1
Teachers	66,632	19,886	29.8
Other scientific and technical	9,134	2,356	25.8
Total	112,567	45,636	40.5

Source : The Manpower Survey 1980.

The dominance of foreign expatriates becomes more serious if we further break down some of the occupations shown in Table 5.8, for example 92.7 per cent of all mechanical and engineers were shown to be non-nationals, 91.6 per cent of all civil engineers, 98.5 per cent of chest disease medical doctors, 96.0 per cent of gynaecologists and paediatricians, 91.4 per cent of surgeons, 56.2 per cent of all country's secondary, preparatory and intermediate (industrial, technical and commercial) teachers, 44.3 per cent of University and higher education teachers, and 79.4 per cent of professional midwives.

In some other occupations related to production, excluding those working as agriculturalists, the survey revealed that non-nationals constituted 98.1 per cent of those working in concrete production, 93.6 per cent of those working in plastering, 88.7 per cent of those working in roofing, 87.8 per cent of working in bricklaying and 84.1 per cent of all carpenters (Secretariat of Planning, 1981).

5.9 Employment of Non-Nationals : Benefits and Costs

5.9.1 Benefits : The positive role of the foreign expatriates in the country should be stressed. The foreign labour force has participated very effectively in reducing the gap between Libya and the more advanced nations and very significantly helped the country to go ahead with its economic and social development efforts and as a result the country successfully bridged a considerable time span of modernization. Indeed without the positive role of expatriates the scale and pace of development witnessed by Libyans would be out of the question. Despite the mass expatriate expulsion in the last three years or so under the cover of the prevailing rhetoric "the nationalization of the labour force", it is absolutely clear that the role and presence of foreign expatriates will remain to be a deciding factor in the course of development, otherwise a drastic cut in growth should be expected (Al-Musa, 1975, Birks et al, 1981).

The foreign labour force has participated effectively in the building, maintaining and operating of various economic and social infrastructures. The agricultural and industrial projects, the sophisticated road networks, ports, hundreds of thousands of houses, hospitals and schools all indicate the positive role of foreign expatriates.

Non-nationals have occupied various occupations and engaged in all sectors of the economy, but their roles are most marked in construction and manufacturing. For example in 1983, 43 per cent of employment in manufacturing and 85.5 per cent of employment in construction were foreigners; in economic terms in the construction sector alone

official figures estimated that the contribution of the non-nationals to the GDP increased from LD 34 million in 1970 to LD 337 million in 1975, to LD 658 million by 1980 and to LD 689 million in 1983. In fourteen years 1970-83 out of the total LD 7.7 billion, LD 5.9 billion or 76.6 per cent was the contribution of non-nationals (Secretariat of Planning, 1984). These facts and figures not only indicate the positive role of foreign expatriates but also point to the heavy dependence of the Libyan economy on foreign employment.

Some people might argue that Libya provides a favour by employing a large number of foreigners as this relieves the problem of chronic unemployment in their countries of origin; but despite the fact that this is true to some extent for the unskilled categories and moreover remittances for some labour-exporting countries (Egypt and Tunisia in particular) are as vital as revenues from the Suez Canal to Egypt and as olive crops to Tunisia, it should be emphasized that foreign skilled workers in Libya, usually hold occupations in their own countries before they get contracts to work in Libya, their countries suffer during their absence and the only things they enjoy by being guests in the country are better wages and higher remittances. Indeed, because Libya incurred no education and training expenditures in respect to their qualifications, Gupta (1976:11) expresses it as "revenue of brain drain".

Another important area where the benefits of non-national employment is obvious is in its contribution to the development of the national human resources through educating and training locals. The total number of foreign teachers, tutors and lecturers increased from 6,500 in 1973 to reach 17,800 by 1983. Despite the fact that the

number of foreign teachers in the primary level was shown to have declined slightly from 3,000 to 2,800 in the aforementioned period, the number of foreign teachers in other levels of education experienced a significant increase; e.g. at the secondary level and higher education their number increased from 3,300 in 1973 to become almost 8,400 by 1983, which resulted in 67 per cent of all secondary level school teachers and 48 per cent of the total country's lecturers at higher educational levels being foreign expatriates. The marked influence of the foreign teaching force is reflected in the relatively improved structure of the Libyan workforce discussed in a previous chapter. It is obvious from Table 4.4 that the percentage of the national labour force in the first two occupational groups changed dramatically for the better. Although nationals engaged in skilled and semi-skilled categories experienced a percentage decline, their overall number increased from 213,000 in 1970 to about 362,000 by 1985. This structural improvement in the occupations of Locals in the labour force is attributed mainly to the role of expatriates.

5.9.2 Costs : On the negative side, however, foreign expatriates receive a considerable amount of the national wage bill, transfer a substantial amount of money, share with citizens various subsidized goods, use social and technical infrastructures, enjoy free health care and education, aggravate the housing problem, are insecure during political tensions and most importantly they engage in a very wide range of occupations (difficult and unpleasant ones in particular) which used to be performed by locals.

As far as wages, salaries and financial transfers are concerned, the heavy economic cost of foreign employment is reflected by the fact

that in the year 1974, for example, the wage bill for foreign expatriates amounted to only LD 298 million (Gupta 1976), but by 1983 the amount was almost quadrupled when it exceeded LD 1.1 billion (Secretariat of Planning 1984). This huge bill, however, did not take into account other educational and health costs, the free housing and transportation for some segments of foreign workforce, free tickets for migrant workers and their family members, a part of social insurance expenses, allowances enjoyed on the termination of their contracts and other privileges.

Moreover, financial transfers increased dramatically from LD 54.9 million in 1971 to LD 72.4 million in 1976, to LD 381.4 million by 1981 to almost LD 550 million or about 15 per cent of oil revenues by the year 1983. In thirteen years from 1971 to 1983 the total amount of remittances transferred into hard currency exceeded LD 2.4 billion which is equivalent to about \$8 billion (see Secretariat of Planning 1984; Lloyds Bank Group 1985).

Although dependants of non-nationals increased from 81,000 in 1973 to 202,000 (excluding dependants of foreign workers in the agricultural sector) by 1980 and then declined to about 137,000 by 1984 the number of dependants to every active expatriate was very low; ranging from about 0.7 in 1973 to one person in 1980, to only 0.5 in 1984. As expected, dependants of Arab nationalities were more numerous than dependants of expatriates of other nationalities. The difficult working conditions from the point of view of other cultures (e.g. because Libya is a Moslem country drink is officially forbidden, public entertainment is rare, restaurants and clubs are not common and finally the effect of the new policy adopted by the state of turnkey projects

which result in immigrants becoming employees of their own country) could be the cause behind the relatively small number of dependants. However, despite the low number of dependants to active non-nationals, the foreign employment costs the Libyan Chancellor of Exchequer much money in housing, education, health care and other services for migrant workers and their families.

Regarding housing, there are no figures about the exact numbers of houses occupied by the foreign community; nevertheless, data as of 1983 exist about the number of families which reached 71,000 by that time which means that at least 71,000 houses were occupied by foreign expatriates. Such figures, however, include neither campuses, hotels and barracks, nor do they consider apartments, houses and villas rented by foreign firms for office use.

The education of the children of expatriates is another area where financial cost is considerable. Data revealed by the Secretariat of Education (1983) indicated that the number of non-national students was as follows : 22,000 at the primary level, 7,000 at the preparatory, 4,000 at the secondary and about 4,000 more at higher level. This implies that 3.2 per cent of the educational bill was spent on foreign workers children including the recruitment of their parents as teachers, lecturers, tutor construction workers and the like. However, this percentage compares favourably with some oil exporting countries; e.g. Kuwaiti local children at schools have become a minority at all levels of their education, and in Saudi Arabia the proportion of expatriate students was 12 per cent in 1976 and had risen by the early 1980s. Nevertheless, other issues might arise should the children of

expatriates be granted rights to free postgraduate education, as for example "should they be granted the right to work in the country which is host to them..." (Birks and Rimmer, 1984:29).

Foreign expatriates in Libya also enjoy the advantages of subsidized food items, home benefits of reasonably good quality and cheap imported goods, not to mention their share in the health expenses and other technical and social infrastructures. The share of foreigners in subsidized food items alone was estimated to have reached LD 72.4 million in 1983 (Secretariat of Planning, 1984). In addition, non-nationals contribute considerably to the congestion of ports as they usually take with them many commodities when they leave Libya, but tough austerity measures brought about since 1983 have meant that this type of cost might not be applicable at the present time. Foreigners, moreover, cause some social problems in relation to law and order. Although there are no data available in this respect, through news media their involvement in many crimes has been observed.

Many foreign expatriates learn new skills during their stay at the cost of the national economy. Because Libya is more advanced in the application of technology compared to most of the expatriates countries of origin, they get trained on many machines and technological devices and they acquire skills through trial and error. Furthermore, in this respect an important query should be raised by all labour importing countries including Libya i.e. are all expatriates efficient and effective? Indeed at least many of them are inefficient or do not care about the interests of their host country.

The financial burden of expatriate employment is probably not too great an issue, but the most important fact to be considered in the heavy cost of foreign employment is its contribution in making nationals move out of occupations which in most cases involve dirt, tedium, tiresome responsibility, low social prestige and much dull training, as they had never been attractive to locals.

Illegal immigrants are very prominent in these types of occupations. Although naturally there are no exact updated figures of these numbers, the extent of their migrations is illustrated by the fact that Birks and Sinclair (1980) estimated that there were more than 82,000 clandestine Egyptians in the country, more than 4,000 Sudanese and 3,000 Tunisians. In 1976 Libya asked 13,700 Tunisians who were clandestine immigrants to leave the country and by 1985 it had been proclaimed that out of 30,000 Tunisians left in the country in August and September 1985, one-third of the number was said to have no work permits.

It should be emphasized, however, that the flow of the non-national clandestine entry will not stop. The fact that even if legal migration is banned totally, the need for employment by citizens of the neighbouring countries even with very, very low wages combined with the demand of the Libyan economy for their skills, together with "the great length of the country's borders" (4,434 km) (Hamdan 1973) will make the flow of the clandestine immigrants semi-permanent.

The permanent flow of non-nationals to the country legally or illegally, with little educational attainment, make the local population leave unacceptable jobs to them, but of more significance to

the economy is that they change their careers to other jobs which are seen as socially acceptable, generally in the tertiary sector. While this trend continues and the socially accepted occupations are limited in number, the Libyans will find no alternative but to stay in the traditional sector and therefore a dual economy occurs. Even within agriculture, the dual economy is sustained. Relatively few Libyans are involved in the modern large-scale projects. It is in these schemes that the immigrants are employed in the agricultural sector (Birks and Sinclair 1980:138). Furthermore, by importing migrant workers into the modern sector of the economy, opportunities for Libyans to enter these are reduced; a vicious circle therefore develops. Because Libyans have limited or non-existent modern sector skills, migrant workers are imported contemporaneously, Libyans develop no wish to work in occupations held permanently by migrants, nor does the opportunity to do so arise. In the absence of able and willing Libyans, further immigration occurs, and a self-reinforcing process is ensured by government policies towards agriculture and by growing dependence on migrant workers to run the modern sector (Birks and Sinclair 1984:272).

\ The situation in the governmental sector is not much better. The laziness of the governmental administrative bodies in the adoption and the execution of sound training programmes to create capable counterparts to the expatriates in the productive and non-productive fields led to an enormous dependence on aliens which has created the absenteeism phenomenon; the absenteeism of locals from work and obligations (Al-Kubaisi 1984). A paid job with little or no duties encouraged Libyans to concentrate in quite irresponsible governmental departments representing a terrifying underemployment. Poor supervision, ineffective application of disciplinary employment codes

and their replacement by tribal codes in many areas, aggravated by jobbery led to further national labour force decay and dequalification and further importation of more non-Libyans to perform the duties of the absentee underemployed nationals.

The causes of loss of motivation among nationals to participate in the modern sector and therefore leaving the door wide open to non-nationals to take over their occupations are due partly to the state's lax employment policies, as discussed in an earlier chapter, and to some extent the excess of jobs for Libyan citizens to choose from and the abundance of wealth to lean on. These two factors resulted in spoiling many Libyans.

5.10 Libyanization : Rhetoric and Reality

While nationals in the labour force constituted 95 per cent of the total employment in 1964, this declined to 77.6 per cent in 1973, to only 65.6 per cent in 1980 and further slumped to only 52.3 per cent by 1983. The state attributes this decline to the huge development projects that are taking place in the country, but the underutilization and inadequate training of locals discussed in an earlier chapter is also encouraging the heavy dependence on non-nationals.

Since the introduction of the 1976-80 Economic and Social Development Plan, it was decided to reduce reliance on foreign labour, by increasing the productivity of Libyan citizens through the rationalization of employment policies and by increasing labour skills through education and training. Furthermore, the plan mentioned the encouragement of women to take more positive roles in occupations seen by society as fit for women.

These strategies were, moreover, sustained in the 1981-85 Socio-Economic Transformation Plan when it was stated and emphasized to Libyanize the important occupations during the plan period starting with the strategic sectors and occupations for which the national manpower would be available in adequate numbers and skills, especially jobs in trade, restaurants and hotels, aviation and telecommunications, teaching professions at the compulsory level and health service (Ministry of Planning 1976; Secretariat of Planning 198).

In December 1981 Basic People's Congresses throughout the country decided to minimize the employment of non-Libyans particularly in the public administration departments. Consequently, the People's Popular Committee (Ministers Council) issued the following resolutions:

(i) It was prohibited to employ foreigners in the administrative departments; and the ban was operative throughout the year 1982. At the same time it was prohibited to renew foreign employment contracts in some occupations (those of drivers, clerks, typists and accountants).

(ii) All national firms and public companies were also restricted from recruiting any foreign expatriates unless they obtained a written approval from a bureaucratic central committee constituted for the purpose and attached to the Secretariat of Public Service; and in any case it was decided that the ultimate total number of foreign employment to be recruited by those firms and establishments would not exceed 5,000 expatriates.

(iii) By the same resolution the Secretariat of Public Service was asked to prepare and update lists bearing those occupations where foreign employment would not be allowed.

The aforementioned measures were followed by a decree from the General People's Congress (GPC) (The highest authoritative body in the country) in February 1983 to terminate the contracts of all foreign employment in the state supermarkets, air and sea ports, garbage collection and related activities. Three months later The People's Popular Committee issued a decision (No. 405) with the purpose of redistributing the available drivers, warders and unskilled labourers among various departments according to their real needs as it has been proclaimed that there was a surplus of the national labour force of these occupations in some departments.

Despite the fact that the Libyanization target has long been pursued, Table 5.9 shows that by mid 1983 no branch of the economy seemed to have accomplished this and, as a matter of fact, the percentage of Libyans to the total labour force and in many occupations was shown to have declined substantially due mainly to the growth of the national economy and to the expansion in the provision of services. The construction of technical and social infrastructures and the expansion in the provision of services which used to be provided on a wide scale by the private sector (recently nationalized and based increasingly on foreign manpower) are behind such a decline. In addition, the considerable downslope in the percentage of Libyan national workforce was probably because of the expansion in state farm projects and the flow of unskilled foreigners, in particular illegal immigrants, who replaced Libyans in many occupations.

Table 5.9 Percentage of Libyans in Various Economic Sectors 1975-83

Economic Sector	1975	1980	1983
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	86.8	80.7	75.7
Crude petroleum	74.8	88.0	79.7
Other mining and quarrying	59.4	52.6	54.1
Manufacturing	58.1	60.9	57.1
Electricity, gas and water	72.3	70.1	72.5
Construction	22.5	27.0	14.5
Trade, restaurants and hotels	84.1	74.3	81.1
Transport and communication	88.4	84.1	77.2
Finance, insurance & business services	79.2	89.6	87.4
Public administration	92.1	98.2	95.1
Education services	75.7	78.0	87.1
Health services	67.9	61.1	62.5
Other services	66.6	61.0	39.2
Total	67.1	65.6	52.3

Source : Calculated from

- (1) The Secretariat of Public Services (1982)
Employment statistics in S.P.L.A.J. Tripoli, Libya
- (2) The Secretariat of Planning (1984) Economic and
Social Aspects of Foreign Employment in Libya, Tripoli, Libya.

Figures provided by Table 5.9, together with the drastic reduction in oil prices, made the People's Popular Committee issue very elaborate and important decisions in relation to foreign employment. These decisions are illustrated in detailed occupations where foreign manpower was to be reduced by one half as a first step and further to terminate its presence not later than October 1985.⁽¹⁾

Public firms and companies were initially prohibited to renew foreign employment contracts in occupations of legal advisers, librarians and curators, statisticians, stenographers, book keepers and cashiers, typists, transport and construction supervisors, bus conductors, receptionists, telephone operators, sales workers, telex operators, accountants, economists, personnel and occupational specialists, administrative experts, translators, unskilled labourers, painters, drivers, archive clerks, administrators, filing clerks, labourers, dry cleaners and pressers, handwriters, butchers and meat preparers, storekeepers and store assistants, wardens and photocopiers.

In addition to the above prohibited occupations, foreign employment was planned to be reduced and further to be terminated in public service departments by 1985 in the following occupations : mail distributors, bus station supervisors, sheep shearing technicians, teachers at the compulsory levels (primary and preparatory), legal contract registrars, social workers, gardeners, tree cutters, agricultural extensionists, assistant technicians in nursing, chest x-ray and drug specialists, hair cutters, meter readers and all foreign manpower in religious affairs.

(1) For detailed occupations deterred or restricted on foreign employment, see The People's Popular Committee Decisions Numbers 142, 407, 408 in 1983, 883, 884, 885, 886 and 888 in 1984 and decisions No. 1 and 2 1985.

In November 1984, 5,000 foreign workers in public firms projects were asked to leave the country. It was also decided that all foreign employment engaged in primary and preparatory education be made redundant. Moreover, foreign employment in financial, public administration and clerical occupations, legal advisers, jurists as well as all unskilled workers were terminated. The end of October 1985 was set as a final date for the termination of services for the aforementioned occupations.

Furthermore, it was decided to terminate all foreign employment contracts in public enterprises, commercial establishments, banks, insurance companies and again the end of October 1985 was set to be the ultimate time for such a termination.

In the first week of January 1985, yet two more decisions were issued by the People's Popular Committee. The first dealt with the termination of foreign employment in restaurants and hotels and included the following occupations : cooks and chefs, plumbers, electronic technicians, massage specialist workers, bakers, air condition technicians, electricians, cost accountants and food specialists. The second dealt with the prohibition and termination of foreign employment as motor vehicle mechanics and electricians, electrical repairers, glass cutters and fitters, blacksmiths, carpenters, wiremen, radio and television repairers.

In the last week of May 1985 it was decided that foreign employment should be restricted further in occupations attached to the already slack private sector. Meanwhile, it stressed to all Arabs working in Libya who would like to continue their work and living in

the country that they were welcome on condition that they were to be treated exactly as Libyan citizens in respect of money transfers. Some chose to stay; data on their number is not available but the number was insignificant.

In the summer of 1985, during August and September in particular, tens of thousands of foreign expatriates were asked to leave the country. Those foreign workers who had official contracts at the time were offered full compensation but illegal workers suffered the consequences. By the end of September, more than 31,000 Tunisians were expelled. This event led to the break down of diplomatic relations between Libya and Tunisia and to Tunisian freezing of all economic cooperation agreements between the two countries. Furthermore in the same summer, more than 10,000 Egyptians were ordered to leave the country, as well as thousands of workers of various other nationalities, the only exception being Morocco, due to an Agreement between the two countries which took place in August 1984 and which was later liquidated by Morocco in 1986.

The sudden departure of foreign workers affected negatively all sectors of the economy, although the state took care not to terminate the contracts of highly qualified expatriates. At the time the author observed that almost no sector of the economy was left without some negative influence; agriculture, machine and car repair shops, restaurants and so on. Indeed it was observed that citizens were queuing for two to three hours to buy a loaf of bread from a bakery.

On the other hand, the foreign departure considerably reduced the outflow of remittances to ease the economic difficulties resulting from

the general decline in oil prices and the lack of world demand for Libyan oil in particular; in fact remittances were cut from LD 550 million in 1983 to LD 450 in 1984. By 1985 and 1986 these figures must be very much lower. Probably the most positive effect of the massive reduction in foreign expatriates could be reversing the trend developed from the mass flow of foreigners with low education. As a result, citizens might go back to perform those occupations considered at present as socially unacceptable and automation for sure will be applied on a wide scale. Bottlenecks, however, are expected any time in any sector but in the long run Libyans might accept the fact that they should be prepared to perform such important occupations.

5.11 Conclusion

Libya's labour force problems have grown out of the country's economic and social planning (Gummed 1979). The ambitious development programme resulted in a steadily increasing demand for qualified labour since 1970, a demand which could not be met by the domestic supply of manpower. The increase was so great that by 1983 foreigners in Libya reached 19.4 per cent of the total population and 47.7 per cent of the total labour force; not to mention the clandestine migrants who came from neighbouring states of Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria and Chad. Despite the recent sharp reduction in expatriates, the same indices are still considerable.

By international standards the total population of non-Libyans employed and dependants is high. In countries such as the USA and UK where only 5-6 per cent of the population are foreign born, political

leaders have expressed concern about the volume of migration into their countries and its social and economic demographic effect (Weller, 1981). On the other hand, these figures compare favourably with those Arab countries who have a similar economic and demographic background to Libya; in the United Arab Emirates and Qatar the non-national proportion reached 75 per cent and in Kuwait almost 66 per cent. Libya is, however, "a long way off the situation in the Gulf States where the nationals are outnumbered by non-nationals" (El-Mahdawi and Clarke, 1982:70). Indeed Libya is unlike those Gulf States where locals started to constitute apartheid governments in their homeland.

The number and place of origin of expatriates has been volatile because of economic and political factors since the year 1969 when a new regime came into power. Arabs were encouraged to flow into the country, as it was believed that Libya was the country for all Arabs and its projects should be for the benefit of Arabs. Such a philosophy was followed by Arab Unity efforts by Libya with Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, Algeria, Morocco and the Sudan. The situation was sustained by and enhanced with the dramatic rise in oil prices in the 1970's. The abundance of money, together with the regime's philosophy led to more expansion in development planning and left the number of foreign expatriates (Arabs in particular) unchecked.

Unsuccessful unity efforts with the Arab World, the rising political tensions with some nationalities, but, most important, the slump in oil revenues made the number and place of origin of foreign expatriates take a new trend. Because of the political misunderstanding between Libya and Egypt (resulting in a military conflict between the two countries in the summer of 1977), tens of

thousands left the country voluntarily and returned to their homeland. The same thing can be said about Tunisia; when economic and political relations were at their peak of harmony almost 100,000 Tunisians entered the country, but when relations between the two countries deteriorated Tunisians started to leave and the Moroccans, Syrians and Sudanese took over those occupations vacated by departing Egyptians and Tunisians. To state just one example, with the signing of the Oujda Accord of 13th August 1984 between the two countries Libya and Morocco, all Tunisians who were working in hotels and restaurants were replaced by Moroccans. Furthermore, during the summer of 1985 when all unskilled labour were expelled from Libya, Moroccans were exempted from such a procedure *but when the confederation was liquidated in 1986*, Moroccans had to leave the country.

It should be emphasized, however, that it is not only Arabs who proved to be volatile to economic and political factors; other nationalities are volatile too to the same factors. For example, during the tensions between Libya and the United States, American experts were asked by their homeland administration to terminate their work contracts in Libya, and those who did so were replaced by West European nationalities especially Britons. At the present time, technical specialists from the West are gradually replaced by East European expatriates more friendly to the politicians and less costly to planners and administrators.

The mix of foreign expatriates is now expected to change dramatically. The still heavy dependency on Egyptians in some occupations is anticipated to be substituted by the dependency of the Sudanese and Algerians, with whom the country has good relations at the

present time. Good relations with Turkey and East European countries will result in workers from those countries replacing expatriates from West European countries. Finally it can be predicted with confidence that the young population at present attending schools and institutions at home and abroad will join the labour force - that is if they participate in those sectors where they are much needed. This segment of the population will be better trained and will have the skills that were lacking, a relatively fruitful injection into the labour market, but whether the increased number of better educated and trained personnel will be sufficient to generate the country's economic and social development process will depend on various factors:

- (i) The targeted G.D.P. for the future
- (ii) The increase in productivity
- (iii) Effective female participation
- (iv) More rationalization of development planning
- (v) Better utilization of human resources.

These factors and issues will govern the scale of the non-national involvement in the labour force.

To conclude the discussions of this chapter, some policy measures are proffered by the author for immediate positive consequences to curb the demand for and number of non-nationals.

- (1) The prevailing attitude that certain types of work are to be reserved for foreigners and white collar jobs for Libyans should be broken down. Unless this disastrous approach is abandoned and overcome the number of foreigners will continue to grow and thousands of Libyans

displaced from jobs they used to perform. This is not an easy task, but will probably come through coordinated efforts among governmental agencies, more spending in development of human resources and spending in a spatially balanced way on economic and social infrastructures. Relevant to these measures, there should be a substantial wage rise, and the wide introduction of modern techniques adopted by more developed nations for those occupations seen as socially unacceptable. This might stimulate local labour to consider such types of occupation. Also, to promote the geographical mobility of Libyan citizen workers an effective incentive should be applied, as for example the provision of free housing, free transportation costs for the employee and his family, longer holiday periods and so forth for those who work in remote and interior areas.

(2) "On site instruction by expatriates" (Shaw 1983:175-78) should be adopted and expanded. Various departments could harness the potential of the available highly qualified expatriates to train the barely skilled local subordinates. Because the working environment is adequate, technology is available and language is not a problem because most of the highly qualified expatriates are Arabs, this process will help quickly to develop and build up an enormous number of trained locals who can take over many occupations engaged by foreigners. This policy directive is at the finger tips of decision makers, though it is not being developed and extended to the full.

(3) There is a crucial need for better organization of the employment market and further utilization of the local labour force in the country (I.L.O. 1979). Information must be disseminated about the existence of employment offices and available vacancies with the

procedure for granting work permits by labour offices. The Secretariat of Public Services should create a system under which the employment offices concerned for issuing a certificate of the non-availability of a Libyan worker of the type in demand should not only check its own registers of applicants but should ascertain such availability from other employment offices in the region and adjoining regions which in turn should find out from their applicants whether they are prepared to move to the place of available work.

(4) To improve the mechanization, organization and methods of work, intensive short-term programmes must be conducted for locals in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, such as drivers of trucks and heavy equipment, typists, telex operators and so on.

(5) The state should seek local cooperation in the non-employment of illegal workers.

(6) Last but not least significant, authorities should periodically check and conduct studies about occupational categories engaged by foreign expatriates and suggest practical and gradual methods to Libyanize them.

Despite the mass expulsion of foreign employment which took place in recent years, it is apparent that the demand for foreign expatriates will not diminish in the foreseeable future as they will be needed in significant numbers in numerous occupations. With broad population pyramids, still ineffectual educational and training systems, massive investments in various developmental projects, unorganized military appointments and drafting, lack of dedication, the absence of

workaholic addictives and of a sense of responsibility among many locals, and more importantly without "serious change in the cultural pattern of excluding women from the labour force" (Abu Lughod 1984:43), expatriates will be needed for a long time to come. Libyan dependence on them in key sectors will continue irrespective of the labour force nationalization slogans unless the pace of social and economic development is to be severely slowed down.

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CHAPTER SIX
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN LIBYA :
THE NEED TO RETHINK

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to consider development planning in Libya in a labour shortage environment. Such a consideration obliges us to review most if not all the different programmes and social and economic plans before and after oil discoveries, preceded by an historic background to the subject matter of the chapter.

The abundant oil wealth and high expectations led decision makers to permit the construction of projects bigger than the administration and technical capacity of the society, and the situation that arose, besides generating a demand on manpower, has led to delays in completion, poor operation and bad maintenance in many projects.

Since the country is giving more attention and resources to agriculture and industrialization to achieve self reliance and self-sufficiency, the reader will notice more emphasis is placed on the discussion in these two sectors.

6.2 An Historical Background

From olden times, the population of Libya has lived a very simple life on its land, expectations were very low and as a result the needs of the individual were very limited. Economic conditions under the Turks were dependent on traditional farming methods with small capital

resources, animal husbandry, which varied from year to year according to rainfall, and a private handicraft industry for domestic consumption. Because of the simplicity of the economy the manpower available in Libya was sufficient to perform the tasks.

In the early years of the Italian occupation, primitive industry and subsistence agriculture were still prevailing among the indigenous population. Under the Fascist Regime, particularly when the national resistance slowed down, the Italians conducted an intensive developmental programme in their promised land, "a network of roads was constructed, including the great strategic road running between the Tunisian and Egyptian frontiers, railways, telephones, aerodromes, barracks, hospitals, churches, Fascist clubs and schools began to spring up everywhere" (Evans Pritchard, 1945:75). Expenditure on this extensive programme, excluding military, amounted to 10,175 billion Lira which was equivalent to 880 million American Dollars (Ghanem, 1982). The development of the Italian agriculture alone with direct and indirect investments cost the Italians during their occupation about 1,831 million Lira, equivalent to \$159 million, of which 728 million Lira went directly to agricultural development and land reclamation (Lindberg, 1951). But it was the Italian government and citizens who benefitted. The Italian government felt the need to solve her demographic problems and to settle thousands of landless peasants and Libya seemed to serve the purpose (Wright, 1985).

Italy as an occupying nation arranged an elaborate settlement plan for its people, largely Sicilians to be transported and installed on land which had been ready with farms, houses and entire villages complete with hospital, church, courthouse and assembly hall. Schemes

for gradual repayment by the settlers were made but were still unfulfilled by 1941 (Norman, 1965:16). In the same year, however, the Italian population numbered 110,000 of whom 70,000 were in Tripolitania (IBRD, 1960). For the indigenous population development was almost absent. Libyans were exploited and depressed in their homeland. Fertile land was bought at nominal prices if not confiscated, the local labour force was either unemployed or represented a supply of very cheap labour to work for the Italians, and the economy as a whole permitted only a low standard of living for Libyans.

In respect of skill formation, the Italians did little or nothing to prepare the Libyan people for self government. Educational and technical training were neglected and the Libyans were virtually excluded from the administration (IBRD, 1960). No wonder, therefore, that during the school year 1939-40 only 10,000 Libyan children attended school (Ghanem, 1982).

Moreover, the enormous infrastructures which were built up by the Italian government for the settlers at such great cost were largely destroyed during the Second World War.

Both the British and the French during their stay (1943-1951) ruled the country on a maintenance and care basis. The two administrations made some effort to repair buildings, schools, hospitals and roads which were badly damaged during the aforementioned war. Expenditures during their rule, however, were barely enough to keep the economy functioning. Nevertheless it should be worth mentioning in this respect that the British Military Administration, besides paying attention to the maintenance, repair and reconstruction

of some vital projects, had put considerable effort into the training of Libyan policemen, magistrates, teachers, farmers, health officers and industrial and labour personnel. Besides this, the British started public health and medical services, plus a special grant to set up teachers' institutes and to expand secondary education (Norman, 1965). They also carried out some vital programmes, for example the building of new waterworks and power station in Benghazi and the reconstruction of the quays of Tripoli harbour. The French, moreover, introduced some development, although minor, in the field of agriculture in the Fezzan.

Because of these injections some improvement took place, e.g. student enrolment increased from 10,000 in the school year 1939-40 to about 33,000 on the eve of the granting of Independence in 1951. However, due to the meagre resources, the nature of colonialization and the short time the English and the French remained in the country, among other factors those efforts were not enough to revive a deteriorating and deficient economy, and skill qualification and formation only moved one step forward as such efforts were just a drop in a very wide ocean. For example, there were no female primary school teachers, and only 14 Libyans held University degrees from Europe and Egyptian Universities. There was not a single Libyan physician and only two Libyan students were studying medicine outside the country (El-Fathaly, 1977; Ghanem, 1982).

6.3 Development Planning in the Deficit Years 1951-62

In the period from late 1951 when the Independence of the country was granted until the discovery of oil in late 1959, economic conditions were still discouraging. This was inspite of the

considerable expenditures made by the multinational petroleum companies during their search for oil from 1955, stimulated by the issuance of the encouraging petroleum law, grants in aid and international subsidies.

The first post-Independence developmental programme was based on a report which was submitted to the United Nations by Mr. John Lindberg appraising the Libyan economic conditions in the year 1951, including some recommendations to alleviate the difficult economic matters of the country, and, more important, was based on a report prepared by the United Nations Survey Mission which visited Libya in the period 1951-52. Benjamin Higgins who led the mission, recommended developmental expenditure of 2.3 million Libyan pounds in 1952-53 and an annual average of 2.6 million Libyan pounds for the following five years.

To finance the development planning in that era, revenues came from:

- (1) Agreement between Libya and the U.K. signed in 1953.
- (2) A treaty between Libya and the U.S.A. signed in 1954.
- (3) International donations.
- (4) An expanded technical assistance programme.

The great poverty of Libya, together with the former regime's pro-West policy, made the country willing to make and enter into special agreements with both the U.K. and the U.S.A. In 1953 a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed between Libya and the U.K. through which the latter had the right to military facilities in the

country on condition that the U.K. undertook to pay one million Libyan pounds a year from 1953 up to 1957 to development organizations and 2.75 million Libyan pounds a year to finance the deficit budget. Terms of the treaty were renegotiated in 1958 when the U.K. was to provide only 3.25 million Libyan pounds a year as a budgetary aid for a further five years, but with no additional contribution to development.

Revenues from the United States, on the other hand, came through the channels of a seventeen-year agreement signed between the two countries in which the United States had the right to establish air bases in the country, and Libya under the same treaty had the right to receive 4 million United States dollars a year for the first six years and one million dollars for the remaining eleven years. Moreover, under another economic agreement, the United States was to provide Libya with 7 million dollars along with some grain (Lockwood, 1957; IBRD, 1960).

Other external assistance was very meagre and inconsistent; e.g. in the year 1954-55 it amounted to only a little over 100,000 Libyan pounds. In the year 1955-56 and 1956-57 it was only 40,000 Libyan pounds, rising to 470,000 Libyan pounds in 1957-58 and to slightly over 100,000 Libyan pounds in the fiscal year 1958-59 (IBRD, 1960).

The United Nations Organization, through its specialized agencies, provided a total of 3,380,000 United States dollars for the year 1952 up to the year 1956. The United Nations Technical Organizations had provided resident technical assistance to the country. Experts covered a very wide range of activities to assist in different fields of developmental programmes. It was the United Nations who supplemented

Libya's scanty resources of professional and administrative skills in many ways, for example:

- (1) They undertook a study in ways of increasing efficiency in the public service.
- (2) A school of public administration was opened in 1957 with an initial enrolment of 35 students.
- (3) Two of the organization's teams were responsible for the Population Census of 1954, and one statistician served as a Director of the government Central Statistical Office.
- (4) Economic and agricultural advisory services were set up; e.g. more than 35 F.A.O. experts came to the country to assist in the development of the country's agricultural potentialities.
- (5) UNESCO and W.H.O. conducted some programmes according to their specialization. A nursing school was established in Tripoli and an Institute for Medical Assistance and Sanitary Officers in Benghazi was founded and moreover, particular stress was placed on adult education both in rural and urban areas.
- (6) Training programmes for kindergarten teachers and teachers in rural handicrafts were also conducted.
- (7) I.L.O. cooperated with the Libyan government in three projects : the drafting and implementation of a social insurance law; the establishment of a handicraft centre in Fezzan; and the operation of a technical and clerical training centre in Tripoli.

(8) An important feature of the United Nations technical assistance in Libya, moreover, had been the award of fellowships and scholarships to Libya for overseas studies. Approximately 100 such awards had been made since Independence, the majority of these being in the field of public administration (IBRD, 1960).

Other social and economic programmes were administered by the following development agencies:

(1) The Libyan Public Development and Stabilization Agency was established in 1952 to supervise the programmes financed by funds received from the contributing countries, which were the U.K., France, Italy and Turkey. However, the U.K. was the main contributor.

The main activities of the agency were in the fields of transport and public utilities. Significant projects executed in the two sectors were the reconstruction and the re-equipping of Tripoli harbour, the maintenance and improvement of the Fezzan road, the re-surfacing of the road between Susa and Derna, improvements to urban water supplies in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the reconstruction of new railways and lighting of the two civil airports. Among the major projects in other sectors were the construction of a new hospital at Yefren, a Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Cyrene, a nurses training centre in Tripoli, the equipping of a technical and a clerical training centre in Tripoli, and training college for men in Benghazi. In all, the amount of money spent by the agency exceeded 14 million Libyan pounds.

(2) The Libyan American Reconstruction Agency was established in the year 1955 to assist in the implementation of those programmes financed under American aid. The main projects executed by the agency were :

Tripoli power undertaking, the creation of a telecommunications system, the establishment of the Libyan broadcasting system, the settlement of 120 families on the newly irrigated land of Wadi Caam, the setting up of the National Bank of Libya, the foundation of the University of Libya, the construction of school buildings, the payment of school teachers salaries, the provision of overseas scholarships and a number of projects for technical and vocational training and the rehabilitation of some hospitals (IBRD, pp. 50-53).

Although the two foreign agencies participated significantly in some developmental programmes, it was London and Washington who imposed a system that allowed very little flexibility for the adjustment of developmental projects to the evolving needs; local public participation was neglected, as beggars can never be choosers. Another factor was the dependency of finance on short-term allocations made annually; contributors therefore were liable to decrease radically depending on the outlook and mood of the granting country at a particular moment.

(3) The Libyan Finance Corporation was established in 1952 and its funds were provided on a subscription basis by Libya and by foreign governments. This institution made intermediate and long term loans for developing projects, mainly to private enterprises.

(4) The Libyan American Technical Assistance Service was established and administered by the U.S. operation mission. This organization gave assistance to Libyans by instruction in agriculture, husbandry and other occupations which were thought to raise the individual standards of living, and provided equipment and services in the field of agriculture (Legg, 1952).

In 1956 the Construction Board as a national entity was established with the objective of coordinating developmental schemes managed by different institutions. However, until the year 1960 the Board was only an Advisory Agency, when its law was issued and it substituted all foreign organizations aiming at bringing together efforts in order to economize in time and money.

The IBRD mission during 1960 had designed a five year developmental plan as an extension to different projects that were already taking place in the country by that time. The investment suggested by this plan was to be directed towards transport, education, health, housing and public buildings; nevertheless such a developmental plan was never implemented.

In short, in the period before oil exportation in economic quantities development planning started but only slowly, because of external and internal factors. Foreign influence through Western condominium expertise and money, governmental organization, scarcity in capital and trained manpower and the absence of technical and social infrastructures are only examples of the difficult environment in which the planning process was taking place.

6.4 Development Planning in the Period 1963-72

In April 1963, the Libyan Constitution was amended so that Libya changed from a federal to a unitary state, under a single constitution, controlled from the centre, and Law No.5 of 1963 was the same Law that manifested the unitary state, abolished the Construction Board and created the National Planning Council (NPC). The law invested the NPC

and entrusted it with several functions in relation to development affairs. Moreover, the above mentioned law created the Ministry of Planning and Development as an executive body responsible for planning and development matters in cooperation with various ministries and the overall supervision of the NPC.

In 1963 the first five year plan 1963-68 was adopted, calling for about L£ 169 million. When the first budget surplus in the country's history occurred in 1966 caused by the spectacular increase in oil revenues, the plan was enlarged to L£ 234 million by the end of the 1966-67 financial year.

Although allocations of the plan were considered to be very huge, and the anticipated wealth due to the factor endowment, i.e. oil, was seen as very reasonable, the oil output flow revenue during the execution of the plan was very much more than could be foreseen. Hence although proposed investment totalled L£ 169.1 million, actual expenditure rose to L£ 298.2 million (Allan, 1981).

The plan was concentrating on investment in construction and infrastructures. Actual expenditures on communication and public works amounted to L£ 140 million or 46.9 per cent of the total expenditure. Agriculture and industry together had only 17.6 per cent of the actual expenditure. Education had been considered a vital concern and was given considerable priority; its actual proportion was L£ 25.9 million or 8.7 per cent of the total expenditure.

The Five Year Plan ran into difficulties. The more than expected easy money made the government launch over-ambitious schemes; the

building of the main coastal motorway which connected Libya with its frontiers, and the construction of 100,000 new homes were just two examples. These types of projects made the plan lose its coherence and perspective (Wright, 1982). However, it was not the abundant resources that were behind the relative failure of the plan but the lack of qualified skilled manpower, the inadequate technical infrastructures, besides which one should not forget the characteristics of the social milieu, namely a closed family economy, reluctance to change, and the prevalence of corruption among those who occupied key positions.

It had been thought that the plan was short in time, thus an extra year was added for the assessment of its accomplishments and shortcomings because in the plan itself no growth rate target was set nor were estimates made of output ratios. It has also been suggested that the plan was delayed to help meet the cost of an army contract which was signed in April 1968 with the British Aircraft Corporation with an initial value of about LD 100 million, but rising to as much as LD 500 million. The nature of the contract was to supply Libya with high and medium level anti-aircraft missiles and maintenance of low level missiles (Wright 1982).

The Second Five Year Plan 1969-74 envisaged a total investment allocation of LD 1000 million; but the implementation of this plan was halted after the coming into power of a new revolutionary regime in September 1969. On a one year basis this new regime spent in the period 1970-72 a total amount of LD 788.9 million (COMET, 1982), but the budget allowed most of the projects to be implemented that had been started before the new government came into power. Of the total, 19.8 per cent was allocated to the construction sector, about 17 per cent to agriculture, and 12.5 per cent to the industrial sector.

Development planning since the granting of Independence in late 1951 and up to the early 1970s was more or less randomly based. The enormous and complex problems inherent in development in relation to various aspects of life were probably behind this approach. However, some progress was made, particularly in the relative improvement of student enrolments, family life, health care facilities and in bringing about some reductions in infant mortality, mortality in general and a considerable increase in life expectancy.

Nevertheless, such progress was socially polarized and urban oriented. When it came to income distribution during the 1960's and the early 1970's the majority had very little while the small minority enjoyed the largest share of the country's wealth being distributed (Naur 1981b). Besides a spatial distortion of production and distribution, as it was the case in most African countries, services were limited to primate cities (Mehretu, 1986). The urban oriented progress in the period reinforced the widening percapita differentials. While the three major cities of Benghazi, Tripoli and Sebha managed to have 128.7, 114.8 and 102.7 per cent respectively of the total Libyan average percapita income, in the planning areas of Tarhuna, south of Sebha and Gherian the percentages in respective terms were 59.8, 60.1 and 61.5 of the average national percapita income.

The hierarchy of regional percapita differentials which prevailed in the 1960's and early 1970's could be attributed, according to Sankari, to a "cumulative causal mechanism" and to "backwash effects" meaning that growth makes an area more attractive for further development, and once growth in certain regions has begun, capital, raw materials, and labour tend to follow to these regions from less

developed regions - such a process accounts for the tremendous growth in Benghazi and Tripoli regions (Sankari, 1981:56-57 and 73).

However, in the aforementioned period development planning created a great many jobs which the educational and training institutes could not match either quantitatively or qualitatively and it is not surprising that aliens in the labour force increased from 18,000 in 1964 to 118,000 by 1973.

6.5 Development Planning Since 1973 : Unlimited Resources and Over Ambition

During the mid 1970's and up to the early 1980's Libya has never had it so good. As in other oil-rich Arab countries, the nation has been a huge construction site. Spurred on by a burgeoning oil revenue and ambitious development plans, Libya was willing to buy anything at any price on condition she got it as soon as possible (Shaw, 1983). Moreover, the concentration on the achievement of self-reliance in industries and self-sufficiency in food products with the aim of lessening the importance of the oil sector as a source of the national income was included in the Libyan development planning literature for the first time.

Since 1973 the state has adopted four social and economic development plans namely:

- (1) The intermediate Social and Economic Development Plan 1973-75.
- (2) The Plan of Economic and Social Transformation 1976-80.
- (3) The Socio-Economic Transformation Plan 1981-85.
- (4) The Socio-Economic Plan 1986-90.

In addition, the Secretariat of Utilities and other agencies prepared and issued some guidelines of development on a long term basis 1981-2000.

The magnitude of the intermediate three year plan was LD 2247 million distributed among different sectors, with agriculture and industry having the lion's share, almost one-third of the total investment. This plan was indeed "unusual in the Middle East and the developing world in that several optimistic growth targets were exceeded. In particular, 17.5 per cent planned growth rate in non-oil production between 1973-75 was beaten by two per cent. Only in agriculture did the actual expenditures fall significantly below the target figures" (Birks and Sinclair, 1978:24). By and large the intermediate plan ended with the Libyan economy having become one of the most rapidly growing in the world, and it brought about little short of an economic transformation of the country (Birks and Sinclair, 1978). However, the substantial revenues and the short span of planning experienced in the country were mainly behind such growth. Revenues from oil especially since the dramatic rise of oil prices in 1973, jumped from "469 million Libyan Dinars in the year 1970-71 to 1,766 million Libyan Dinars in 1974" (Waddams, 1980:316), almost quadrupling.

In consequence of this plan and its huge investment, total employment jumped from 488,000 in 1972 to reach 677,000 in 1975. The increase in foreigners was even more impressive, rising from 80,000 to 223,000 in the same periods. In other words, during that short period of time the non-nationals proportion doubled from a little over 16 per cent of the total labour force in 1972 to reach about 32 per cent in 1975.

Undoubtedly, school buildings and student enrolment increased dramatically in the same period and so did vocational centres and trainees, as mentioned in a different chapter, but the geometric demand on skills was stimulated by the over-ambitious and hasty intermediate economic and social development plan, and ever since the demand on employment has been getting more severe.

The high rate of developmental growth rate achieved during the aforementioned three-year plan inspired the planners and made them more ambitious in the adoption of the 1976-80 Economic and Social Transformation Plan. Such ambition was reflected in the huge investments harnessed to development planning, particularly to the first two sectors, agriculture and industry, light and heavy. It was intended by the planners that such an intensive injection of investment would give the economy an even bigger thrust than the previous plan and thus help it take a bigger leap forward along the path of transformation (Ministry of Planning and Scientific Research, 1976). The investment magnitude of the plan therefore amounted to LD 7,840 million and those original allocations were revised to reach LD 9,350 million. It was expected in the plan that a 10.7 per cent annual growth rate would be achieved. Although results as a whole were positive as objectives set for the plan were reportedly attained, projects completed stood at 70 per cent and allocations were 85 per cent, and a major handicap cited by Libyan planners was the shortage of skilled manpower. This has indeed been the principal ailment in industry and agriculture, and was defined as one of the reasons for unsatisfactory performance and ability to fully meet targets (The Arab Economist, 1981a:29).

In relation to manpower issues, the plan emphasized that reliance on foreigners should be reduced, which comes only through the increase in the productivity of the Libyan citizens by education and training and the encouragement of women to play an effective part in the labour force.

Since improvement in the efficiency of Libyan manpower was one of the basic objectives of the plan, an allocation of LD 122 million was made for the establishment of new institutes and vocational centres as well as the expansion of the existing ones. The total number of these institutes was planned to grow from 81 in 1975 to 118 and a capacity of 51,620 students by 1980 (The Ministry of Planning and Scientific Research, 1976:36).

Again the relatively high realized growth rates in some economic sectors, for example 21.2 per cent in manufacturing industries, 21.5 per cent in electricity and water, 19.8 per cent in health services and 13.7 per cent in education, encouraged and led planners and decision makers to the adoption of the more comprehensive development plan 1981-85. This plan was more ambitious than the previous two as it amounted to LD 18,500 million.

Once again, the non-oil economic activities had been promoted and, moreover, stressed; about 32.2 per cent of the total investment was allocated to agriculture and industry and 13 per cent to the electricity sector. Around 45.2 per cent of the total allocation of the plan, therefore, was harnessed to the productive sector. However, before the ink of the 1981-85 plan dried up oil prices started to decline drastically. Such a slump in oil prices was reflected in the

actual expenditures of the plan; only about 64 per cent of the plan allocations were spent during the period (Bearman 1986).

The enormous decline in oil prices has also reflected on the 1986-90 development plan when the State allocated only LD 10 billion for this plan. Again agriculture and industry have been emphasized, about 33.5 per cent of the total allocations. Housing has also been stressed, being 14 per cent of the total allocations, followed by electricity and utilities 11 and 10 per cent respectively.

By and large in the period 1970-86 actual investments in both the productive sectors and the welfare related projects, such as health, housing and education exceeded LD 24 billions i.e. about U.S. \$80 billions.

The following discussions will be devoted to explore and review some of the economic sectors seen as important in both generating the demand for employment and contributing to the quality of population. The reader, however, will notice more emphasis being placed in the discussion on agriculture and industry as the State places much faith in them to achieve progress and moreover, and we will not elaborate on education as it has already been discussed in the earlier chapter.

6.6 Agriculture

Agriculture has consistently been assured high priority in the allocation of national funds. In the period 1970-83 actual amounts spent on the development of the sector reached LD 3,480.3 million,

let alone the administrative budget and the investment by the private sector (Secretariat of Planning, 1983).

In the intermediate development plan 1973-75 the sectorial target was to produce necessary foodstuffs locally in the shortest possible time. This obligation led to the development of four development projects, namely the Jefara Plain, Fezzan, Kufra and Sarir and Sulul Al-Khudr, the reclamation totalling 584,000 hectares. The aim was and always is in the subsequent plans to accentuate the tendency of accomplishing self-sufficiency in agricultural products especially wheat, vegetables, fruit and meat. The leader of the country, on different occasions, urged that the weapons of the revolution are now not only "the gun and the cannon but also tractors which you possess, equipment and planes by which you sow. They are revolutionary weapons -----". This is a revolutionary work. We are determined, with God's will to continue the agricultural revolution in order to cultivate every cultivable stretch of land." Agricultural land, the leader went on, must be "transformed to a green land and we must become agriculturally self-sufficient. A revolutionary extensionist must be present in every project and every area." The conventional agriculture should be transformed to a modern agriculture and there would be no freedom for a nation eating from behind its border" (Secretariat of Agriculture 1985).

It was believed by the revolutionary government that low agricultural productivity was the result of inadequate investment, therefore investment in the sector had been on the rise. Only the fall in oil revenues during the 1981-82 period brought about a hesitation in the commitment of the leadership to the development of marginal land

and water resource (Allan, 1983). However, the sector has been given substantial funds to provide some incentives to farmers. Soil and water studies have been undertaken, land reclaimed and a link has been formed between agriculture and the financing of industry in order to develop and expand the base of agricultural raw materials to create agricultural industries and in the hope of reaching a balanced population distribution by the establishment of new population centres in the new agricultural areas.

Notwithstanding the huge investments and the concentrated efforts, the sector has never responded as had been planned. In spite of those in charge adding some gloss to the achievements of the sector by massaging figures, some bitter results could not be hidden; for example in the production of major agricultural crops and animal products from 1976 to 1980 none of the commodities produced accomplished their planned targets despite the increase in the allotted investment during the plan period from the original \$4.1 billion to \$5.5 billion (see Table 6.1). The sector nevertheless had recorded a modest annual growth of about 3.9 per cent (The Arab Economist 1981b; Secretariat of Planning 1981). Indeed agricultural development in Libya proved to be not only costly but also a very slow process (El-Wifati 1987).

Although the agricultural sector has been receiving increasing allocations year after year, at the same time its contribution to the national capital has been declining. Agriculture received 4, 10 and 13 per cent of the State developmental investment in the years 1962, 1972 and 1983 respectively, but for the same years the sector's contributions to the national capital were 14, 5 and 2.6 per cent respectively (Glavanis, 1982; Secretariat of Planning, 1984a).

Table 6.1 Production of Major Agricultural Crops and Animal Products
(in thousand tons)

Commodity	1976	1980	Achieved Annual growth	Planned
Wheat	75	140.5	13.3	35.0
Barley	192	71.5	- 17.9	5.0
Vegetables	564	658.4	3.2	7.9
Legumes & nuts	19	13.6	- 7.3	17.2
Olive oil	18	15.5	- 2.9	10.0
Fodders	351	390.0	2.1	30.3
Meat	44	58.6	6.0	17.6
Milk	87	110.0	4.7	27.2
Eggs	10	15.5	8.7	19.7
Honey	0.235	0.360	8.9	20.6

Source : Secretariat of Planning, Summary of the Socio-Economic Transformation Plan 1981-85, Tripoli.

The share of the sector in indigenous employment has been on the decline too. In 1962, about three-fifths of the Libyan workforce made their living in this sector. After only four years those working in agriculture declined to about 35.7 per cent of the total. By 1972 they had again decreased to only 29.3 per cent. At the end of the implementation of the intermediate plan the proportion of those working in the sector had further declined to only 27.8 per cent. In 1980 the proportion was 18.9 per cent and was expected to have fallen to 16.8 per cent by the end of 1985 (Farley, 1971; Hajjaji, 1978; Secretariat of Planning, 1981).

Constraints on the development of agriculture are enormous: the extremely difficult terrain and climate, poor land, unpredictable rainfall and deteriorating underground water reservoir, marketing bottlenecks, educational backwardness, agriculture senility (i.e. lack of desire of young generation to join their parents in farming), and most importantly, agricultural projects which are over-ambitious and too numerous with respect to manpower requirements. To farm the total reclaimed and developed land as of 1983 (2,398,000 ha) the sector needs at least 719,000 agriculturalists on the basis that three workers are needed to till every 10 ha farm land, i.e. almost the total projected labour force, let alone the new project called the man-made river which is designed to irrigate vast areas of land (Secretariat of Agriculture, 1985; Lloyds Bank Group 1985).

The high investment in the sector led to the implementation of a great many projects by both the private and the public sector which resulted in the incapacity of Libya to provide enough nationals to run them. In the private sector it is mostly the Egyptians and Tunisians who work on farms. "In the public sector moreover, most of the agricultural projects, particularly those which are situated in remote areas, were often implemented, administered and supervised by expatriate personnel and experts" (Hajjaji, 1978:77).

Generally speaking, the country has been relying heavily on the foreign labour force in agriculture as the labour supply in the sector was looked on in the context of Arab Unity. Attempts from the side of the Libyan people to create unions between Arab States are many, though none has borne fruit yet. Development planning integration with the

dream of unity of one Arab nation is evidenced by the following five events :

(1) During the preparation of the three year plan 1973-75, the Federation of the Arab Republics, consisting of Libya, Egypt and Syria, was formed and the cooperation among the three countries indeed existed widely. For instance, the Ministers of these countries and the Sudan convened in Tripoli in 1971 and drew up the organization and the coordination of labour movements in the federal states, the main features of which were the coordination between the economic and social development plans and manpower at the federal level.

(2) The signing of the Jerba Declaration on January 12, 1974, for the establishment of the Arab Islamic Republic between Tunisia and Libya.

(3) The issuance of the Arab Nationality Law by 1975 in which Arabs have the right to stay in Libya.

(4) On the eleventh anniversary of the 1969 Revolution the leader of the country announced a political unity with Syria based on military and economic issues. At the time the leader welcomed all Arab workers, including Egyptians (as there was political tension between the two countries in the summer of 1977 to the extent of military confrontation). He said that Libya could absorb 10 million people, and welcomed Arabs to become partners in Libya (Naur, 1981).

(5) The Declaration of Oujda in Morocco in August 1984 in which the two countries formed a Federation.

Indeed, encouragement of the mass Arab movement has always been seen by Libya as a stimulus to the ambition of Unity. Generally in all national and religious occasions the leader calls on Algeria, Egypt, Syria and Tunisia to implement agreements and statements on Arab Unity which they had agreed upon or signed with Libya. These events and the rousing call for Arab Unity is reflected in the way that socio-economic projects became politically oriented.

Disappointments in the realization of many of the aforementioned declarations, among other factors, made policy makers face reality and attempt to reorganize the available indigenous labour force. The shortage of skilled and unskilled workers was seen to have reduced throughout the redistribution of the labour force among different sectors. In 1977, state drivers, workers and the like who were under 40 years of age were reallocated to work in occupations related to the primary and the secondary sectors. However, although this procedure was intended to reduce the excessive tertiarization and alleviate and improve the implementation of agricultural performance, in most cases people who were transferred either failed to report to their new occupations or they lacked the necessary training for such jobs and hence became a burden for the sector rather than helpers.

The over-ambitious agricultural plans, besides necessitating the importation of tens of thousands of foreign workers, led to the non-completion of many projects already started in the 1976-80 plan. The emphasis on the completion of projects started under previous plans and the priority given to the training of Libyans could mean that some lessons have been learnt. In future, the Libyan authorities will not press for projects which they are not certain to complete or operate (The Arab Economist, 1981b).

Before oil discoveries and exportation, most of the Libyan population was dependent on agriculture as it was the major source of their livelihood and trade. It was the oil boom that changed the structure of the economy, and the agricultural contribution began to be a minor part of the gross national product. Nevertheless the sector will continue to be of importance to the Libyan population, and the state has strong faith in this prediction. Indeed the Secretary of Finance has funded the sector to a very large extent and provided incentives for farmers unreservedly, but what was missing was literacy among farmers and the widespread use of training courses to train farmers in the operation and maintenance of their agricultural machines and to guide them in husbandry and animal breeding. In addition, farmers' children should be trained to create and form a new generation of future farmers, and education in rural and remote areas should be related to farming methods and agrarian development.

Because women are very prominent in the agricultural sector, emphasis should be placed on training them or any girls who drop out of schools at early age in the operation and maintenance of agricultural machines. In addition, women could be trained in dress making, knitting, housekeeping, home economics, first aid, child and mother care. These types of training programmes, if offered on a wide scale, will result in the raising of the level of women's productivity and will be conducive to their participation in the labour force, particularly that in agriculture.

6.7 Industry

The massive spending in the industrial sector, both heavy and light, is similar to that in agriculture in that it has been carried

out vigorously, reaching LD 3.4 billion from the period 1971 up to 1984; 966 million in light industry and about 2.4 billion in heavy industry (Secretariat of Planning, 1985).

The main goal of industrialization as stated in different development plans is to achieve a balanced, well diversified and stable economy both self-reliant and self-generating, in which the burgeoning manufacturing sector should reduce substantially the dependence of the national economy on petroleum and provide alternative sources of income, savings and foreign exchange and ensure self-sustaining economic growth in the post-petroleum era. It has been advocated in the literature of development plans, particularly in recent ones, that higher living standards, when oil revenues scale down or even disappear, can only be sustained through the country's industrialization process. This sector, if developed according to planners' arguments, could yield enormous job opportunities in the future. It has also been indicated that the objective of the spatial planning has been considered in the location of various industries, locating them wherever economic and technical constraints permit in such a way to act as a nucleus for the attraction of population, thus achieving the objective of regional development (Ministry of Planning and Scientific Research, 1976; Secretariat of Planning, 1981).

Like agriculture, industry too has its problems. The rapid growth of the sector has mostly been confronted by problems related to the shortage of workforce, particularly in skilled categories. The availability of nationals to handle these industrial projects is reflected in the increasing foreign workforce which in itself is an index of the seriousness of the skilled manpower shortage in the

country. Table 6.2 shows that the employment of foreign skills increased from 5,400 in 1970 to 35,000 in 1983, more than six times. In percentage terms the foreign expatriates, while contributing 26.5 per cent in 1970, jumped to 43.6 per cent by 1976 and has oscillated around 40 per cent ever since.

Table 6.2 : Development of Foreign Employment in the Industrial Sector, 1970-83 in 000's

Years	Total employment in the sector	Foreign expatriates	% of foreign expatriates to total
1970	20.4	5.4	26.5
1971	21.4	6.0	28.0
1972	22.9	7.0	30.6
1973	25.9	9.3	35.9
1974	29.3	11.5	39.3
1975	32.9	13.8	41.9
1976	37.4	16.3	43.6
1977	41.7	17.1	41.0
1978	47.4	18.0	38.0
1979	52.8	20.1	38.1
1980	58.0	22.7	39.1
1981	64.0	27.2	42.5
1982	73.7	32.5	44.1
1983	80.6	34.6	42.9

Source : The Secretariat of Planning (1985).
Industry in S.P.L.J. An Analytical Study, Tripoli, Libya.

Other problems confronting the sector are the high rate of labour turnover, mainly because of the lack of adequate transport, electricity supplies and Libyan entrepreneurs along with military conscription

(Ghanem, 1985), and as a result of these problems the utilization of plant is running under its planning target, ranging from about 87 per cent in the methanol industry to as low as 31 per cent in tobacco and only 19 per cent in the glass industry (Secretariat of Planning, 1985). However, according to the Secretariat of Industry, the insufficiency of skills is considered to be the main cause behind the low performance capacity. It is of interest to mention that inspite of the fact that the sector has been receiving a considerable amount of funds, particularly in the last ten years, its contribution to the national capital has been very disproportionate. For the years 1962, 1972 and 1983, industry received 3, 12 and 18.6 per cent respectively of funds while its output contributed 6.0, 2.0 and 4.4 per cent of the national production for the same years (Glavanis, 1982; Secretariat of Planning, 1984).

The expanded industrial programmes is not accompanied and matched by adequate technical and vocational facilities which indeed should precede the huge industrial development, and although specialized education and training has been stressed in all development plans as essential for running industrial projects, the reality in most cases is different. For example, the planning target for heavy industry was to train about 1,100 persons internally and externally in the first quarter of 1983 but only 22 were trained (Secretariat of Planning, 1985). This means that decision makers in the Secretariat of Industry were not taking the issue very seriously.

The extent of industrialization and its growth calls for an adequate and efficient manpower to make it succeed. It has been anticipated by the National Physical Perspective Plan that the sector

will need around 300,000 persons. This number, however, requires an effective education and sound training so that it can use the technology to the best advantage. Moreover, in some factories and in some particular occupations women should be encouraged and trained to play a greater role in industry. Unless attention is paid to the aforementioned points, dependency on the non-nationals will remain within the Libyan society.

6.8 Public Health

For centuries Libya was a victim of endemic and epidemic diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria and trachoma. Such diseases were widely spread throughout the country and put an early end to the lives of many people as well as depriving many of their eyesight. As a matter of fact in the early years of the century it was estimated that one per cent of the total Libyan population was blind and that almost all the population suffered from the consequence of one or the other chronic diseases (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1976; Fergiani 1983). The deteriorating health situation had led undoubtedly to less productivity. In summarizing the labour situation of Libya in 1949, the Department of Labour of the United States reported that the productivity of those who were employed was extremely low; e.g. in 1949 Tripolitanian workers took at least ten times longer than American workers to make such products as a pair of shoes or a garment. A decade later the report went on to state that the disparity still largely obtained, and was due not only to a lack of training and inadequate industrial development but also to insanitary housing and near starvation diet. It is no wonder then that almost all union leaders interviewed by John Norman by that time "explained that they

had entered the labour movement mainly to ameliorate these conditions" (Norman, 1965:24).

However, with oil revenues this bleak situation was left in the realms of "once upon a time". Indeed, since 1970 the sector has been heavily involved in different development plans. In the period 1970-83 about LD 601.2 million were actually spent in the sector. The 1981-85 Plan alone called for an investment of LD 547. Despite the collapse in oil prices the sector managed a share of LD 500 or 5 per cent of the total allocation of the 1986-90 Development Plan (Secretariat of Planning, 1983; Secretariat of Planning, 1984b). As a result of intensive efforts and abundant resources, health facilities have recorded phenomenal progress. The number of hospital beds, for example, increased from 7,589 in 1970 to about 16,704 beds in 1983, i.e. an increase of 9.115 beds in the period. The bed ratio as a result increased from 3.8 beds for every 1,000 persons in 1970 to 4.3 per 1,000 of population in 1983 (Secretariat of Planning, 1981; Secretariat of Planning, 1983). Other health facilities have also recorded remarkable build-up (see Table 6.3).

Generally speaking, however, investments and efforts made their impression on the general health in the country which is now quite acceptable. John Wright (1982:373) was right when he stated that by the late 1970's Libyans were among the healthiest people in Africa, and all epidemic diseases were claimed to have been reduced simply by better subsidized eating and by a better understanding of basic rules of diet and hygiene. It has been reported moreover that Libya since 1976 has become one of the world's best fed countries, after having been deficient in both calories and protein supply in the 1960's. The

Table 6.3 : Development of Health Services 1970-83

Health Services	1970	1983	Increase	Annual compound Rates
Hospital beds	7,589	16,704	9,115	6.2
Bed ratios per 1,000 persons	3.8	4.3	-	-
Polyclinics	1	28	27	320
Health centres	12	208	196	24.5
Basic health care units	439	958	519	6.2
T.B. centres	9	28	19	9.1
Doctors, including dentists	783	5,200	4,417	15.7
Number of persons per doctor	2,562	752	-	-
Nurses	3,073	16,295	222	13.7
Number of persons per nurse	653	240	-	-
Health assistants and technicians	385	3,000	2,615	17.0
Number of persons per health technician and assistants	5,210	1,300	-	-
Estimated population (in thousands)	2,006	3,910.7	1904.7	5.2

Source : Secretariat of Planning (1983) Achievements of Economic and Social Transformation, 1970-83, Tripoli, Libya.

average intake of calories per day in Libya was 2,761 or 117% of requirement, which was the highest among the members of OAPEC (McMorris 1979:118; Naur 1981b). Concentrated efforts in the field are reflected also, as we have mentioned in an earlier chapter in the rise of life expectancy and the decline in mortality among children.

Nevertheless, this sector has not been an exception in suffering from overambition. The shortage of manpower, particularly in construction, and other factors not only delayed the growing physical structure of the sector but also made actual achievement lapse far behind the planned targets. Benghazi Central Hospital, for example, has recorded a delay of a period exceeding 10 years. The value of the contract was more than doubled, from LD 22 million to reach about 50 million. Moreover, complaints against maintenance exist among many other hospitals (The Green March, 1985). Because many hospitals and health centres could not be completed on schedule, the bed ratio was not achieved as planned; it was anticipated by planners that in 1980 the bed ratio per 1,000 persons would be 6.5, while the actual achievement was only 4.3 in 1983 and further remained 4.3 per 1,000 population by 1985. Moreover, the number of TB centres was planned to reach 28 in 1980 but in fact only 22 units were open by then. Notwithstanding, the number of physicians all over the country rose markedly as we have mentioned earlier, only 10.5 per cent of whom were Libyans. Among the pharmacists and chemists, the percentage of nationals in these occupations was only 40, and the percentage of nationals among the nursing staff was only 58. In addition, the share of Libyan nationals in technical occupations was only 41.3 per cent. It was only in the 1981-85 Socio-Economic Transformation Plan that intensified efforts were to be made to develop manpower in the health

sector with a view to alleviating the severe shortage of Libyan manpower working in various medical fields. The aim was to raise the share of the Libyan staff in total manpower in the sector as follows : (i) physicians from 10.5 to 40 per cent, (ii) nursing staff from 57.8 to 90 per cent, (iii) technicians from 41.3 to 90 per cent.

Another point to be noted is that in spite of the spread of health services and the increase in physicians, as well as the purchase of the most expensive medical equipment, thousands of Libyans are still treated by the state and on their own abroad, which indeed hints that medical services and health facilities are not yet up to the standards required. Unfortunately no data on their number are available.

6.9 Housing

An adequate house is considered to be in Libya one of life's necessities and a right for every individual to possess. Since the year 1965 it was decided to build about 100,000 units costing around LD 400 million. The provision of decent hygienic housing has been a vital objective in all development plans and to achieve this aim the 1973-75 intermediate plan allocated about LD 355 million for the purpose. The plan called for building about 112,500 housing units either by the state or through loans and investments. The 1976-80 Economic and Social Transformation Plan allocated about LD 800 million for housing. Subsequently, the 1981-85 Socio-Economic Plan was more ambitious when it called for the allocation of LD 1,700 million for the purpose, followed by about 1.4 billion Libyan Dinars allocated for the sector in the 1986-90 Development Plan.

Because of these huge allocations, achievements in this field were remarkable; e.g. in the period 1970-83 about 257,000 homes were constructed and 72,000 homes were under construction. During the same period the total actual expenditures in the sector reached LD 2,088 million (Secretariat of Planning, 1983). Nevertheless, due to over-ambition, targets set up in different development plans in respect of housing were never accomplished. The 1973-75 development plan for example called for the building of 112,500 homes, but only 76,400 dwelling units were completed in the three years (The Ministry of Planning and Scientific Research, 1976). In the plan 1976-80 it was decided that a national target of 150,000 new units would be built, but only 80,000 were completed, i.e. 53 per cent (The Secretariat of Utilities, 1985), and that was perhaps why the 1981-85 plan called for the completion of houses which were not finished in the preceding plan, and targeted the building of only 146,000 housing units.

However, taking into consideration the elimination of the present deficit, replacement of dwellings unfit for habitation and the increase in the public housing programme to meet the requirements of additional population, the National Physical Perspective Plan 1981 - 2000 estimated about 750,000 new housing units will be required in the period (Secretariat of Utilities, 1985).

The economic prosperity, high living conditions enjoyed by Libyans, the gradual disappearance of the extended family system and the indispensable presence of the high proportion of the non-nationals have all made and continue to make housing demands soar and will subsequently require a very large workforce both skilled and unskilled and who will be mostly non-nationals.

Easing this acute situation could come through the adoption of new methods and techniques in the building industry such as persuading the people against unnecessary concrete foundations and pillars for one and two storey buildings, the application of prefabrication and, moreover, the encouragement by all means to revive the good tradition that had been prevailing in the country of the cooperation and the participation of the people in the neighbourhood in self help home construction. These factors, besides reducing very high building costs, could effectively minimize the need to increase manpower in the building industry.

6.10 Electricity and Utilities

Other areas of huge capital investment are the electricity and utilities sectors. Actual expenditures in these two sectors increased from LD 41.4 million in 1970 to exceed LD 3.8 billion by 1983 (Secretariat of Planning, 1984a). Expansion in the creation and provision of these types of services stimulated the demand on the labour force in various occupations which in most cases use foreign expatriates.

The object of capital investment in these projects is the promotion of the efficiency of individuals in society and increasing indirectly their productivity, but it has been much recognized that management, operation and maintenance is less than adequate and these unmaintained infrastructures could not ensure the planned target of their implementation. The closure of the storm-water drainage system on rainy days in cities, cuts in electricity and water supplies, delays

in garbage collection, are just some examples of phenomena people have become used to, and the inadequate manpower is one of the main factors behind these distortions.

6.11 Transportation and Other Sectors

The transportation and communications sector has been paid considerable attention also. Expenditures in the field rose from LD 12.3 million in 1970 to reach LD 2723.8 million by 1983 (Secretariat of Planning, 1984). In the period 1969-85 more than 23,000 km of roads were built. In addition studies have been undertaken for a 1,630 km railway network connecting the Tunisian borders with Tripoli, Misurata, Shati and the Egyptian borders (The Green March, 1985; EIU, 1985). Plans to construct undergrounds in the two main cities Tripoli and Benghazi are at present in hand. Both the railway and the underground projects are expected to start by the end of the 1980's. Moreover, the country has planned to have four international and eleven domestic airports; not to mention other related projects in the sector such as telephones, post offices, civil aviation and the like.

These over-ambitious targets in the sector have been reflected in the delays in the execution of so many projects for roads, bridges and so on, and the huge amounts harnessed to the sector have necessitated the recruitment of many skills, particularly from foreign workers.

The remarkable progress made in the provision of education and training facilities in terms of increase in the volume of services provided is reflected in the take-off of student enrolments and the growth in vocational and training institutions and centres which has

already been discussed in an earlier chapter. The remarkable expansion in the sector stimulated the demand for enormous numbers to teach and to instruct in them.

Other areas such as oil and gas, sports and recreation have always increased the demand on the workforce, whether skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled.

6.12 Spatial Approach in Development Planning

As oil revenues scaled up and a new socialist regime took over there has been an increasing awareness on the part of the Libyan government of the prevalent negative aspects of the polarization of population and investment. Development plans since 1976 therefore have stressed the need to accomplish greater rural urban and regional balance (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983). Indeed in the last twelve years or so one of the salient features of development planning in the country has been the spatial policy in investment. The underdeveloped areas, particularly those of the interior are emphasized e.g. the per capita investment in Zuwara during 1976-80 was more than six times that of Tripoli. Kufra was almost seven times that of Benghazi (see Table 6.4). This situation is in complete contrast with the situation prevailing in the 1960's and in the first half of the 1970's when regional percapita differentials were at their peak as has already been mentioned.

The National Physical Perspective Plan, as well as other Socio-Economic Transformation Plans called for more equitable distribution of benefits of development planning among various settlements, and a wider geographical dispersal of economic activities

Table 6.4 : Per Capita Investment During the Five Year Plan 1976-80
by Planning Areas in LD

Planning area	Per capita investment	Planning area	Per capita investment
Kufra	6,224	Janzur	573
Zuwara	5,822	Sorman	532
Sirte	4,350	Zahra	521
Ejdabia	3,629	Qaminis	516
Ubari	2,909	Tajoura	473
Ghat	2,691	Sabrata	470
Murzuk	2,505	Zliten	454
Shati	2,302	Marej	429
Sebha	2,258	Gherian	423
Misurata	1,850	Abyar	391
Tobruk	1,808	Tokra	387
Khomes	1,649	Qubbah	375
Jofra	1,320	Misallata	351
Benjawad	1,287	Jadu	345
Jalu	1,117	Zavia	342
Derna	1,020	Azizia	310
Benghazi	957	Ajailat	265
Mezda	942	Bengheshir	244
Ghadames	933	Yefren	242
Shahat	917	Garabulli	233
Tripoli	885	Tarhuna	224
Beida	625		
Nalut	618		
Bani-Walid	575		

Source : Ministry of Planning and Scientific Research (1976)
The Plan of Economic and Social Transformation 1976-80
Tripoli, Libya.

has come upon the scene. The spatial implications of such an approach were to create a balanced settlement network with all the necessary infrastructural elements. In the following section we shall highlight some of those aspects which have very considerable and obvious spatial dimensions.

(1) In Tripoli Region, which includes Tripoli, Niqat Khams, Zavia, Khomes, Zliten, Misurata, Yefren, Gherian, Azizia, Tarhuna and Suf-Ajgin, it has called for:

a. The maximization of the region's agricultural potentials. In quantitative terms this means that land under agriculture is to be expanded by about 39 per cent (from 1,858,000 ha in 1980 to 2,950,000 ha by 2000), of which cultivated land should increase by 50 per cent (from 561,000 ha to 844,000 ha) and irrigated land by about 30 per cent (from 130,000 ha to 170,000 ha) (Secretariat of Utilities 1985).

b. The expansion as well as the diversification of the manufacturing sector. To development planning this could be accomplished through the establishment of the industrial cities of Misurata, Zuwara and Millita. By the end of this century Misurata could well have a population of a quarter of a million making it Libya's third largest city. Misurata's development is centred around a project that is easily Libya's most ambitious, the construction of an iron and steel works. When the first stage is completed in 1987, output is planned to exceed a million tons a year and this stage alone will cost one billion Libyan Dinars (The Arab Economist 1981a:31). Zuwara and Zavia too are expanding because of the installation of Bukammash Chemical and Millita smelter plants and the building of the oil refinery in Zavia.

c. More development efforts are to be placed in Gherian and Nalut Zone (particularly Gherian and the establishment of the City of New Zintan) in the South of Tripoli.

d. Available local economic resources in the region's south are to be exploited to the full (those in Ghadames, Mezda Derj, Bani-Walid and Bugrain).

e. The construction of food processing industries, textiles, cement factories, glass factories, gypsum industries and so forth.

f. The size of the city of Tripoli is to be watched and controlled. Its expected population increase is to be directed to the neighbouring cities.

(2) In Benghazi region, which includes Al-Fateh, Gebel Akhdar, Derna and Tobruk, the following measures are considered:

a. An expansion of the region's agricultural land area. The revised National Physical Perspective Plan called for the expansion of the region's agricultural land use by 331,000 ha (from 440,000 ha in 1980 to 771,000 ha in 2000), of which irrigated agriculture would account for 12,000 ha. The areas which would witness agricultural expansion are : the wider Benghazi area (south east of Benghazi, Beninah and Arrajma), Marej and Abyar area, northern slopes of Gebel Akhdar and the wider coastal zone of Tobruk. There should also be an expansion (by about 260,000 ha) in pasture in these areas (Secretariat of Utilities 1985).

b. The reduction of the prevailing high industrial growth of the city of Benghazi and the redistribution of industrial activities to the neighbouring cities of Marej, Derna, Beida and Tobruk. As a primary node in the region Beida was selected to be a point of emphasis.

c. The development of secondary urban centres in the region; Susa, Burdi, Shahat, Tolmitha and Darsia were chosen for the purpose.

(3) In Al-Khalij Region development planning called for:

a. The increase in the agricultural land development. The arable land, particularly that under irrigation, is to be expanded by about 48 per cent, from 54,000 ha to about 80,000 ha and some land under rainfed agriculture at the present time will be brought under irrigation. Moreover, there will be a large-scale increase in the range land development (88,000 ha) in the coastal area, the major infrastructure to serve the purpose being the Great Man Made River.

b. As the intention of the big agricultural projects throughout the country is to stimulate rural development, industry in Al-Khalij Region has an objective to provide for the creation of industrial cities. The development of Brega and Ras-Lanuf as major industrial centres of the petrochemical complex is under way. The city of Ras-Lanuf is designed to house 40,000 where a refinery and a methanol and urea plant are being built. Other petrochemical plants have followed; a complex was built producing aroma and polyfibres such as polyester - with such industries, Ras-Lanuf will undoubtedly become Libya's first petrochemical city.

c. Moreover, Brega has been selected to be developed as the new focal point with Ras-Lanuf. Ejdabia and Sirte in the region are planned to serve as such regional centres. Jalu and Kufra on the other hand are to be developed but to minor sub-regions.

d. The construction of two airports in Brega and Ras-Lanuf and the completion of port and harbour projects in the region.

(4) In Sebha Region attention has been paid to the following:

a. The expansion of agricultural land by about 50,000 ha from 90,000 ha in 1980 to 140,000 h in 2000. The biggest share of such a growth will be enjoyed by Murzuk - Al Qatrun area (40 per cent) and the remainder will be the share of other sub-regions.

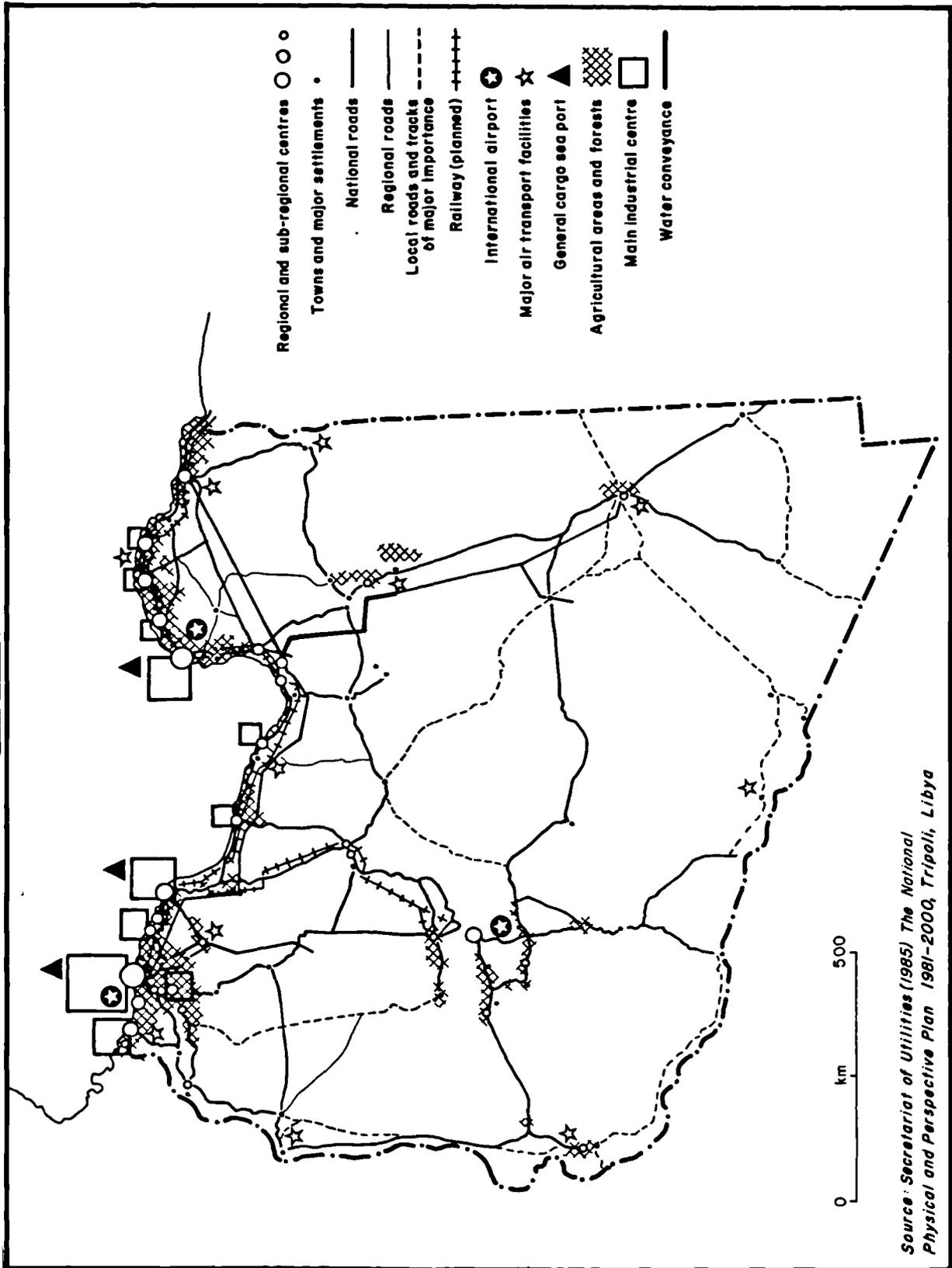
b. It has been planned that the region will be self sufficient of construction materials (cement, tiles, bricks etc.).

c. The construction of the railway line to connect the city of Brak in Shati sub-region with the city of Misurata on the coast. The railway will be used to transport the iron ore from Brak to the newly established steel mill in Misurata.

d. The selection of Waddan, Sukana and Hun for the location of some industries that serve the region's requirements.

The physical development of Libya by the year 2000 is shown in Figure 6.1. Despite the fact that efforts in the field of restructuring development are enormous, objectives stated by various

Fig. 6.1 PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LIBYA - 2000



Source: Secretariat of Utilities (1985) *The National Physical and Perspective Plan 1981-2000*, Tripoli, Libya

development plans to increase rural employment, productivity and income and to reduce urban-rural migrations are still modest; e.g. as of 1985, it has been reported that Sebha region still suffers from demographic push factors due to the poor utilization of physical resources (Alawar, 1985:108) and the same thing could be said about Al-Khalij Region. However, in the future it is expected that efforts in the new spatial development planning will yield results, though they may not be as significant as the government would wish.

6.13 The Demand and Supply of the Labour Force

Development projects in different fields being implemented in the country have been demanding a gigantic labour force which could not be furnished by the potentialities of a relatively small, uneducated and untrained society. In accordance with the manning of such projects, the requirements of the national economy in 1985 were estimated to have exceeded those of 1980 by about 249,200. In other words, the requirements for a productive force increased from 812,600 in 1980 to about 1,061,800 by 1985, distributed amongst various economic activities.

The volume of employment in agriculture was envisaged to increase from 153,300 in 1980 to about 178,200 in 1985, at a compound growth rate of 14.1 per cent per annum. Other sectors of the economy were estimated to need about 170,000 more in 1985 (Secretariat of Planning, 1981).

Furthermore, other projects were launched in the 1981-85 plan period and were not taken into account, such as The Great Man Made

River which has been designed to pump and transfer water from underground aquifers in the desert of Tazerbo and Sarir to the coastal strip of Benghazi in the east to Sirte in the west and to transfer water from Jebel Al-Hasawna in Jofra to the water-starved coastal areas of Tripoli. This huge project, with its first out of five stages costing about \$3.2 billion is estimated to require during its peak activity between 8,000-10,000 workers both skilled and semi-skilled (The Green March, 1984; Euromoney, 1984), not to mention other agricultural and industrial projects linked to it, the aforementioned planned railway and underground railways in the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi.

With the huge demand on hand and under very optimistic predictions, taking into consideration the output of universities and secondary schools as well as the various vocational and training institutes and centres, total entrants into the labour market will hardly reach 145.6 thousand.

The demand on the labour force by occupation, according to official documents, has been estimated for 1985 as follows :
professionals and administrators 57.7 thousand, technical and supervisory 139.3, clerical 55.5, skilled and semi-skilled 591.0 and unskilled 218.3 thousand (Table 6.5). Libyans in the meantime would not be able to offer the labour market more than 35.4 thousand for professional and administrators, 112.5 for technical and supervisors, 53.0 thousand for clerical, 361.7 for skilled and semi-skilled and 115.8 thousand for the unskilled categories.

Table 6.5 : Demand and Supply of Labour Force According to Occupational Categories in the period 1980-85, in 000's

Occupational Categories	Demand for labour		Increase demand 80-85	New Libyan entrants to labour	Loss due to death, retirement etc.	Net increases in the period.
	1980	1985				
Professionals and Admin.	42.2	57.7	15.5	18.0	2.8	15.2
Tech and Supervisors	91.9	139.3	47.4	56.1	8.9	47.2
Clerical	51.1	55.5	4.4	13.8	4.9	8.9
Skilled and semi-skilled	416.8	591.0	174.2	102.9	32.6	70.3
Unskilled	210.8	218.3	7.5	15.4	11.4	4.0
Total	812.8	1061.8	249.0	206.2	60.6	145.6

Source : The Secretariat of Planning, 1981,
The Five Year Plan 1981-85 Vol.1, Tripoli, Libya.

The demand for teachers alone was estimated to have increased from 62,000 in 1980 to 85,000 by 1985. In the case of engineers the demand grew from 6,300 to become 9,800. Moreover, official figures estimated that by 1985 the Libyan labour market needed 5,280 medical doctors after being only 4,300 in 1980. In the case of nurses, assistant nurses and technicians, the demand on such occupations was estimated to have jumped from 16,000 to 21,000 in the same period.

6.14 Summary and Final Remarks

Although development planning in the country started with the Italian occupation, until 1963 it had very little effect on the majority of the Libyan population. The Italian regime left a legacy of

illiteracy and a lack of trained personnel which even the striking adaptability of Libyans and the rapid increase of educational facilities were unable to overcome (Clarke, 1963). Under the British, French and the first 11 years of the Monarchy some injections had been made but the country's economic and social response was negligible.

It was the advent of oil exploration and exportation when real development planning emerged and the Libyan economy began to experience a considerable rate of growth. Indeed it was the first time in centuries that capital shortage was no longer a problem to Libyans; the real problem changed and became the limitation of the absorptive capacity of the economy. In the course of the First Five Year Plan and in other subsequent development plans, total allocations in most cases were exceeding the ability of various sectors to spend and absorb those allocations. The obstacles of different plans in their design and execution are largely problems of shortage of trained personnel.

Skills needed for development were compensated by manpower importation, but problems still arose. The Secretariat of Planning in its study and preparation of the 1976-80 Social and Economic Transformation Plan and evaluation of the intermediate three year plan 1973-75 stated that one of the difficulties and obstacles attending plan implementation and which faced the development effort in Libya has been the wide gap between the demand for and the supply of manpower and particularly the technically trained categories. This is partly a result of the low population level which naturally leads to a deficiency of the quantity supplied, but it also stems from the qualitative deficiency of the actual supply coming to the labour market without the

requisite technical skills. The gap has had to be closed by an influx of foreign labour. As a result of this, labour turnover problems have been created, especially at the operation stages of the projects, which have in turn created confusion leading to the lowering of the rate of output in these projects.

It has also been indicated that the shortage and, at times, the inadequacy of the machinery in charge of implementation, follow up, and operation of development projects, has led to inability in discovering them in good time before they put the projects behind schedule (The Secretariat of Planning and Scientific Research, 1976).

The Planning Secretary, when addressing the General People's Congress in January 1981 and reviewing the achievements of the 1976-80 Social and Economic Transformation Plan, stated that the impressive results of the Plan had been achieved despite a number of difficulties, foremost amongst them the shortage of skilled manpower (Jamahiriya Review, 1981).

\ The very huge developmental plans and programmes, particularly those of 1981-85, made the Public Civil Service Secretary report, at the January 1982 meeting of the General People's Congress, the following : "while the 1981-85 Plan provided for expatriate workers to increase to 388,000 by the middle of the decade...their number already totalled 623,000 of whom 106,000 were unskilled" (COMET, 1982:9-10).

All development plans that have been implemented without any exception have admitted the shortage of a trained labour force to operate and maintain various developmental schemes; all of them indicate

vigorously the expansion of education, the increase in productivity, the promotion of efficiency and the stimulation of women to participate in the labour market. Indeed, education at all levels has expanded dramatically; vocational training, labour education institutes and training centres increased enormously, and the most expensive, highly complex and highly sophisticated laboratories and equipment have been bought at great expense and brought into the country. Unfortunately, efforts in this field have been made with no clear conceptualization of goals for the future. How many workers does the economy really need and for how long? What composition of skills are wanted? What migration policy should be adopted? Are there any counterparts to foreign skilled labour? How can the Libyan education and training system be promoted to function in relation to labour market requirements? What incentives, positive or negative, and motivation should be introduced to the available local labour force? What is the effect of military conscription on the labour force?

Of course there have been some sincere efforts to answer some of these questions by a few organizations and bodies but those efforts are left dispersed, unorganized and sometimes neglected; for example places in vocational and training centres in most cases are occupied by those who are mostly rejects from the more selective academic institutes. Young graduates end up in clerical jobs that could in fact be performed by those with intermediate level education and some training. The under-utilization of the Libyan labour force which is scarce, exists at all times and in all places. Despite the fact that the country is still, for example, in need of teachers, Libyan nationals refuse by every means possible to get involved in these occupations. All development plans targeted the increase in the employment of women, but

the increase is still modest. Child care centres, which are very much related to the issue, are very few and if they exist their locations are in the few urban centres in an unorganized way. In general, the state's policies in relation to manpower are extremely short-sighted, highly inefficient and wholly based on rhetoric and contrary to development efforts.

The emphasis on the maximization of food production to achieve self-sufficiency and the country's commitment to obtain a diversified economy made agriculture and industry dominate the financial thinking and actions of the Libyan decision-makers, and smaller, but probably more important issues like training, motivation and integrating women in development, although mentioned, obtain minor consideration, if not just lip-service. Although self sufficiency and self-reliance sound reasonable and justifiable, such approaches should be made in relation to other approaches, and manpower should be on the top of the list.

Self-sufficiency and self-reliance projects to achieve autarchy, in addition to being economically questionable are not easily implemented in normal times. For one reason it would mean that capital goods and technology would have to be internally generated, a slow process for politicians who usually opt for quick returns. Moreover, the aforementioned approaches probably in the short term lead to a drastic fall in the standards of living and they lead to disengagement from the international system (Ojo, 1985). But most importantly they shift the country's dependence on oil to its dependence on non-nationals. Most occupations thus created are not for the native population but for the migrants. Occupations are either too many for the indigenous population to handle, not yet acceptable to Libyan

taste, or highly sophisticated and needing a sound educational and training system to cope with them. Therefore, development occupation vacancies are enclaved by expatriates, and the importation of the non-nationals continued, becoming willy-nilly; as one official once pointed out, the Iron and Steel Works at Misurata were committed indefinitely to the use of an expatriate workforce. To win the ore from the desert mines, the official went on, and to transport it to the coast and process it will demand thousands of workers, maybe as many as 30,000 and it seems unrealistic to expect that even half those workers will be Libyan. We are already committed to having Indians build and then operate the iron ore railroad (Euromoney 1984:26).

The indigenous labour force engaged in occupations created in the industrial sector - which are in most cases capital intensive - are largely coming from rural areas. Traditionally accustomed to working in a slow, seasonal and lazy pattern, they never care if the job has not been finished today as it can always wait. Malishi, Inshallah and Bukra terminologies are used often; meaning never mind with God's will tomorrow it will be done. Moreover, workers because they are not committed to their jobs, after being trained at substantial cost to the state, often return to their rural areas to be replaced by new and raw recruits.

The follow up report by the Secretariat of Heavy Industry during the period from 1st January 1984 to the 30th June 1984 demonstrated apathy, procrastination and non-commitment when evaluating the labour turnover in eleven companies under its auspices with a total labour force of 8,531; 5,543 locals and 2,988 non-locals. Instances of

absenteeism reached 12,731 of which 7,281 were illegal (i.e. 57 per cent of the total) in the six months period (Secretariat of Planning, 1985).

In an industry where the share of the workers to the capital is too high, this is hard to swallow. Indeed, an important question arises : how can one hope to establish an economically viable modern sector with the situation on hand? To transform the workers with this type of work ethic to be employed in a highly advanced industry which measures time by seconds, not by days, is in itself a challenge, indeed it is not an easy job as it needs patience, intensive guidance and training to create discipline, confidence and motivation.

Different economic and non-economic activities with heavy investments require continuous repair and maintenance to keep them going or they will reach a stoppage point and ultimately result in very high capital and social losses. At the present time, there exists a substantial wastage of capital investment due to the hasty, overambitious, prestigious and sometimes show case projects. The high rise buildings which were constructed on the outskirts of Tripoli and Benghazi to house those who lived in slum areas are deteriorating even before lifts are installed and there are a great many examples of this type. The priority given to the investment in new projects left no room for thinking about the promotion of service industries and operations. To avoid this dreadful situation, it is indispensable that each project should have not only its funds and its properly trained workforce, but also continuing maintenance resources for its upkeep. One way to do this could be to sign contracts with specialized Libyan firms or foreign companies which will execute the project for a period of time until Libyan personnel get properly trained and are able to take over.

The remarkable investment made to finance these big projects in the country is dependent mainly on one resource - oil. What should be thought of in this respect is that oil, although it is dear, is not in any way rare. The law of supply and demand governs it. Besides, unless major new discoveries take place the expected date for oil depletion in Libya is the year 2,038 (El-Imam, 1986). In other words 51 years or so from now oil will dry up.

Moreover, since 1981 the trend of oil development signalled a dramatic retardation with respect to its production and prices. As in other OPEC countries the industrial world made it hard for Libya to maintain production and prices. Production decreased from its level of 3.3 million barrels per day in 1970 to 1.8 million barrels per day in 1980 to reach 1.1 million barrels per day in 1985 and is expected to have followed the same trend in 1986. Prices, moreover, dropped from \$40 a barrel at the beginning of June 1981 to a little over \$35 a barrel in January 1982 to about \$29 in 1983 and as a response to the international recessions the spot market price of Libyan crude oil, despite its high quality and its nearness to the world consumption market dwindled to close to \$10 a barrel in the first quarter of 1986 (Chamber of Commerce, 1984; Al-Dugayli, 1986; EIU, 1986-7; OPEC Bulletin, 1985). Consequently, oil revenues declined from their peak of \$22 billion in 1980 to \$20 billion in 1981 to about \$10 billion in 1984 and it is estimated to have fallen further to less than \$8 billion by 1986. Official figures from the Secretariat of Planning show that the oil price collapse has affected the economy to the extent that GDP reached only LD 5.9 billion in 1986, or 21.5 per cent less than the LD 7.5 billion figure recorded in 1984. The fall is almost entirely due to the reduced contribution of oil to GDP (Allan, 1983; Lloyds Bank

Group, 1985; The Sunday Telegraph, 1987; EIU, 1986-87). As a result, enormous developmental spending was curbed, many projects were delayed or came to a halt and per capita income has shown a remarkable decline. Development expenditures declined from about LD 2.7 billion in 1981 to only about 1.4 billion by 1986. Even the administration budget decreased from around LD 1.5 billion in 1983 to LD 1.2 billion by 1985 and was expected to oscillate around LD 1 billion in 1986. The massive effect of oil price collapse has reflected, as we have seen, on the new Development Plan 1986-90 which shows a marked reduction in its total allocations; from about LD18.5 billion in 1981-85 plan allocation to only LD 10 billion, with emphasis on the completion of projects delayed during the 1981-85 plan. Moreover, despite the fact that per capita income in Libya is still the highest in Africa and more than double the next highest, South Africa, it slumped from LD3,135 in 1980 to LD2,655 by 1985 (Secretariat of Planning, 1983; Secretariat of Planning, 1984; EIU, 1986-87).

Another point to be explored in the discussions is that required skills for the labour market are treated in the light of the elasticity of the supply of foreign expatriates, which is not the way it should be. Political tensions may occur similar to those between Libya and Egypt in the summer of 1977. Moreover, the rising concern of the labour exporting countries and the relative improvement of the levels of standards of living all make the supply of skills limited, if not inelastic.

Because the ramifications of labour shortage are enormous and the attitude towards it is still to some extent negative, manpower planning, given the long gestation periods required for domestic human

capital formation, requires that medium-term five-year development plans be placed in the perspective offered by long-term or indicative planning, to the end of the next two decades. Only with the development of comprehensive economic-demographic planning models can long-term imbalance in the labour market be simulated and various policy measures be experimented upon. Planners should resist the temptation to utilize simple manpower projections based on stringent assumptions. Instead, economic-demographic relationships should be estimated in order to analyse the impact of future changes in the labour force, structure of the economy, wages and factor substitutions among other things and to formulate corrective policy measures accordingly (Azzam, 1980:42).

The success of any social and economic programme depends totally on the availability of trained and adequate manpower. Unless development planning is oriented and balanced in a way to secure sufficient and very well trained locals to man and maintain occupations and machines created and bought by the development process and run at the present time by foreign "brains and brawn", the inevitable result will be an economic and social drain and the state's efforts will be nullified. What the country needs now is the rationalization of her aspirations and projects, particularly in the use of her scant local labour force.

In a country like Libya with a relatively small population and an insufficient mix of skills, the key to her real transformation is the investment in her people to make them interact with and respond to the transformation process of the country. The response and interaction comes through the provision of better education, more equitable income

and infrastructure distribution, more efficient medical services, better use of people and improving the status of women by actions such as increasing nurseries and child care centres and by improving their work conditions - not by lip service.

These examples of various policies seem to be very rewarding and could prove very useful and pay the best interest, though the author is fully aware of their complexities and difficulties. For example, a steel mill or a smelter made overseas, manned by expatriates and even using imported raw materials, is easy to install when wealth is abundant. But to build and improve the quality of those who operate it to optimum benefit and make it a part of society is a different and difficult story.

Libya has less potential than many other oil rich states to buy herself out of her mistakes (Birks and Sinclair, 1983). The marginal oil revenues and reserves should be harnessed to motivate the indigenous people to accept working in blue-collar jobs and to encourage entrepreneurs in all fields. Administrators and experts must be found who are capable of training skilled and unskilled workers to change society for the better, as when oil revenues scale down or disappear it will be too late. Higgins and Royce (1967) ended their extremely sensible article "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Capital : The Libyan Case", by writing "when in doubt educate". Such an advice twenty years later is still valid and I might add "educate, but not wrongly, investigate thoroughly and re-think carefully".

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CHAPTER SEVENWOMANPOWER : A POTENTIAL LABOUR FORCE RESOURCE7.1 Introduction

It has been stated in earlier chapters that one of the major causes of the labour force shortage is the insignificant female participation. To the author such a minor participation is not governmental or religious in origin, rather it appears to be caused by lack of education, skills and women's awareness of their potential involvement and moreover, by the abundance of wealth and the prevailing conceptualization of women's position and role in the society.

The interest of the chapter, therefore, is to examine some issues and problems related to female status, to pinpoint some of the most important causes of their limited participation, to promote some solutions to these problematic matters and to conclude the discussion by stating some factors which are expected to stimulate women's tendency to take jobs in the future. The format of the chapter will include the following topics : (1) an historical background, (2) present female employment, (3) traditional constraints, (4) religious justification, (5) legal justification, (6) changing roles and (7) concluding remarks.

It should be noted however that foreign female employment is not to be included in the discussion, for the simple reason their number is small (less than 16,000 as of 1984) and expected to have further declined to less than 3,000 by 1987 as their employment in those occupations has been restricted (typists, secretaries, primary education teachers).

7.2 An Historical Background

Until recently women in Libya, with piety, purity and submissiveness, contributed substantially to society in more functional and less complex forms. While urban women tended to be more conservative in their dress and their social relations, rural women and bedouin were more free and active. A typical working day for a rural woman for example was along the following lines

- wakes up very early in the morning to grind cereals
- prepares the modest family breakfast
- walks out to the farm and helps her husband and relatives in ploughing, weeding, irrigating or harvesting
- goes back to the home and on her way gathers sticks for fire
- brings water - starts cooking for the family and serves the meal
- returns to the field or the farm to help for some time
- goes back home to cook supper for the family
- washes dishes, herself and young children and goes into a deep sleep.

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Besides the above, it is the woman's duty to help in rearing the children and the domestic livestock, such as the cow, the camel, the horse and chickens. Moreover, women, whether rural or urban, had always been responsible for clothing the family, as they usually established domestic and traditional industries performed at home.

In short, women, particularly those in rural areas shared with husbands, sons and relatives the commitment to family, cattle and land and their responsibilities in Oppong's (1980) expression "were never

ending". They obtained their status through production and reproduction i.e. the more they contributed to the production of food and home industries in the confines of the family and most important the more children they brought into the world and reared, the most status they would get; status, however, increases when the children are males.

The latitudinarianism of women, however, started to take place in some parts of some neighbouring countries with a similar social and religious background to that of Libya as early as the mid-19th century. Libya remained far behind due to "political and economic upheavals" (Deeb and Deeb, 1982). In a span of less than three quarters of a century, the country passed through various foreign occupations under different administrations with enormous economic transformations. In this short period of time Libya was under the Turkish and Italian rule, unintentionally got involved in the Second World War, was granted Independence in late 1951 and administered by a regime that preserved strongly and perhaps mistakenly the traditional values. Endowed by an oil bonanza, socialist revolution then took place and a mass rule philosophy was adopted.

During foreign rule the emancipation of women on legislative or historical bases did not exist at all. From 1952 onwards new and important phases of the emancipation of women took place. In the 1950's and 1960's a set of regulations and rules were introduced to stimulate women in the field of education, when primary education was legislated as compulsory for both sexes, and in family life when women were granted the right to divorce and the marriageable age of girls was established as 16 years and above. In the early 1960's women were

granted the right to vote and run for political office. In the early 1970's, however, for the first time in the country's political history, all Libyan women were invited to a special congress and they were asked to discuss openly and frankly with authorities what they wanted (The Green March 1984a). Unveiling was encouraged, education was spread and women were stimulated to participate outside the confines of home in those social and economic activities related to their nature and their family life. From 1980 onwards, a new state ideology has emerged in which males and females are viewed as completely equal and the old ideology prevailing till the 1970's that females should be treated differently has been completely abandoned (Attir, 1985a).

State intervention through the introduction of radical change has resulted in the emergence of new roles and considerable improvements in the position of women, but integration of women is still modest due to demographic and non-demographic factors, as we shall see in the following discussion.

7.3 Female Employment

Data obtained from the 1973 Population Census revealed that womanpower had reached about 29,000. By economic activities it was shown that nearly half of all active women were in the agricultural sector, while educational services contained around 21 per cent, health services about 15 per cent and the remainder were distributed among other various economic activities. The high concentration of womanpower in the agricultural sector reflects the close relations between rural women and agriculture, and as in most agrarian based societies the family in Libya was both the basic cell of society and

also the basic unit of economic production and, moreover, such data reflect the low level of educational attainment of Libyan women until that time. The concentration of about 36.0 per cent of womanpower in the educational and health services may suggest the preference for such sectors due to the limited contacts with males and to the convenience of these sectors (education in particular) to balance the woman's work duties with domestic obligation.

By occupational distribution, it was shown in the same census that female professional and technical workers reached 6,269, female farm workers 13,573 and those engaged as service workers amounted to 6,366 (Table 7.1).

Although Table 7.1 shows that women were doing extremely well in the first occupational major group, if we break down the figure we find that about 4,320 females were in teaching occupations, 3,939 were engaged as primary teachers, 324 were in the preparatory and secondary levels and the rest 57, were in higher education. Those working as nurses and in related occupations were about 1,900. In addition women are found in other service occupations, for example house cleaners, cooks and waitresses. Clerical workers represented only 1.8 per cent of the total female workforce while production occupations accounted for about 6.0 per cent. The great concentration of womanpower in occupations that do not necessarily need any educational level, such as agriculture, cooks and waitresses, again reflects the very high illiteracy among Libyan females.

The Secretariat of Planning made an estimation of 50,000 Libyan females as economically active in the year 1979 which meant, according to the population projection of females 15 years and over (623,000) and

Table 7.1 : Libyan Female Active Population 10 Years and Over
by Occupational Major Groups 1973

Occupational major groups	Numbér	%
Professional, technical and related workers	6,259	21.8
Administrative and managerial workers	6	-
Clerical and related workers	505	1.8
Sales Workers	90	0.3
Service Workers	6,386	22.2
Agricultural, animal husbandry and factory workers and related occupations	13,573	47.3
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	1,730	6.0
Not adequately defined	169	0.6
Total	28,718	100.0

Note:

Economically active females in the Table above excludes those seeking work for the first time.

Source : The Statistical Abstract 1977.

labour force estimations (530,000), that 8.1 per cent of Libyan females aged 15 years and over were economically active and that they constituted 9.6 per cent of the total Libyan employed population. In 1973 these figures had been 5.9 and 7.6 respectively, so there had been some progress during the 1970's.

By economic categories it was revealed that Libyan women were heavily concentrated in education and health, more than 50.2 per cent of the total female employment being in those activities. Next females were significant in agriculture (32 per cent), while public administration, finance and trade had 12.5 per cent. Female participation in other economic activities such as mining, manufacturing, electricity and construction was shown to be still not important, being only 5.3 per cent.

By occupational categories, in the service sector, for example, womanpower was found to be concentrated to a large extent in occupations such as teaching, nursing, clerical work and cleaning. In the agricultural sector Libyan women belonged to the general category of agriculture and animal husbandry workers and their role was essentially that of family helpers. Finally, in the non-agricultural productive sectors, in which the participation of Libyan females was numerically rather small, their main occupations were in weaving, dress making, carpet making, etc. (Secretariat of Planning 1979a:5-7).

The 1980 Manpower Survey mentioned in an earlier chapter covered about 44,000 women in various occupations. By economic activity, according to this survey, it was revealed that 86.7 per cent of female employment was found in services, 2.7 per cent in manufacturing, 2.8 per

cent in transportation, storage and communication, 2.2 per cent in trade, hotels and restaurants and the remaining 5.6 per cent were engaged in various other economic activities. However, it should be noted that those who worked in the agricultural sector were not covered by the survey except those who were employed in governmental agricultural projects.

The occupational distribution of the surveyed womanpower was shown to be as follows: 47.0 per cent as professional, technical and administration, 13.7 per cent as clerical workers and the rest distributed among other different occupational categories (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 The Occupational Distribution of the Libyan Female Labour Force 1980

Major occupational group	No.	%
Professional, technical and related workers	20,880	47.0
Executives, high officials	27	0.1
Clericals and related workers	6,100	13.7
Sales Workers	166	0.4
Service workers	15,695	35.4
Agricultural, Animal husbandry and related occupations	262	0.6
Production and related workers	1,078	2.4
Not adequately defined	163	0.4
Total	44,371	100.0

Source : The Manpower Survey for 1980.

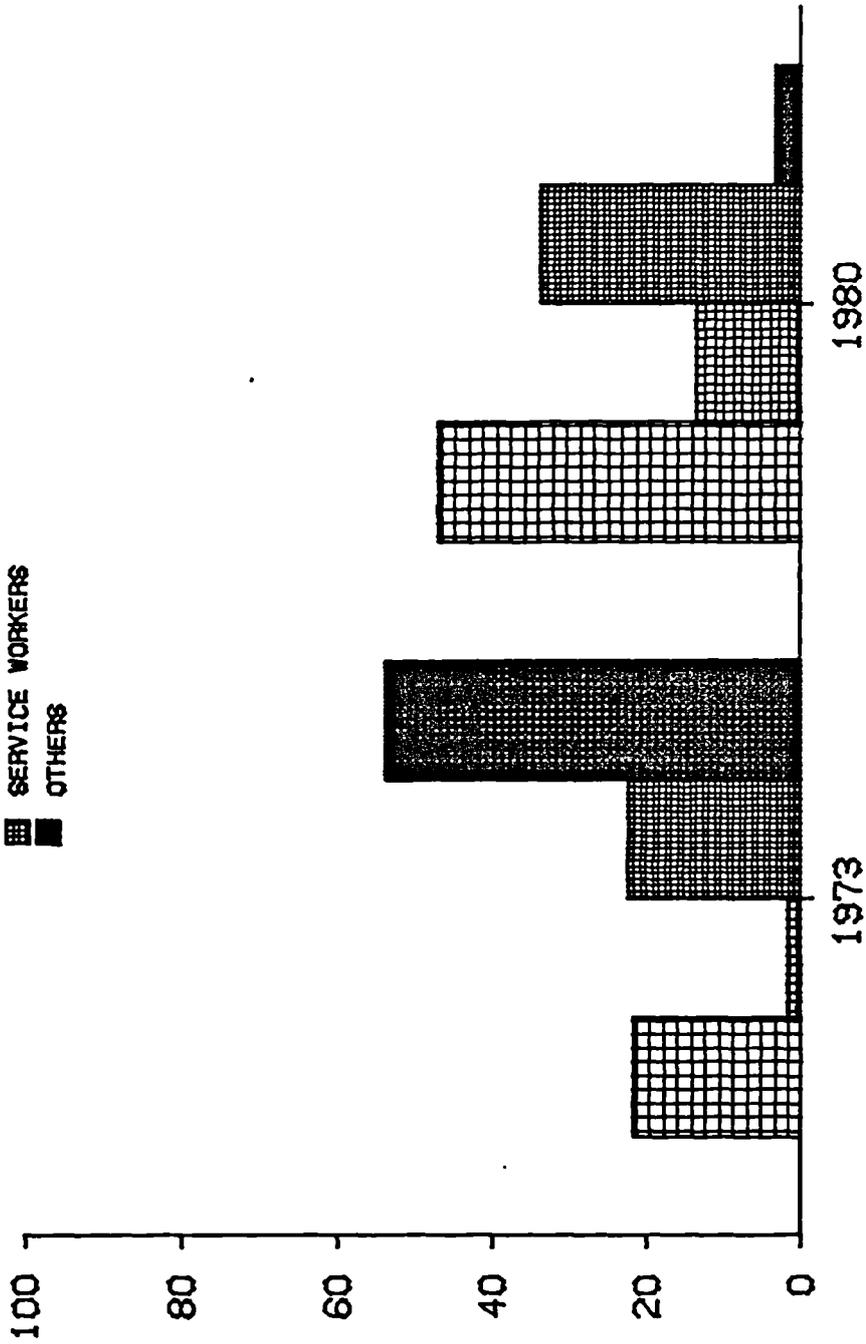
It is of significance to note that Table 7.2 reflects the fact that women started to penetrate in those occupations considered a few years ago to be male dominated i.e. executives, managers and the like. Although the number is very minute it does show a new trend. However, it is the professional, scientific and technical occupations clerical and service workers where women were shown to have done well (see Figure 7.1).

It is worth mentioning that females in the first occupational category constituted a remarkable share in relation to the total national labour force covered by the aforementioned survey, when it was revealed that 35.0 per cent of all teachers, 42.7 per cent of all nurses, midwives and related occupations and 7.1 per cent of all medical, veterinary and dental appointments were filled by females. All in all, it was revealed that womanpower constituted more than 31 per cent of the total professional, scientific and technical workers. According to Marshall (1980:100), "in the Muslim culture the diffusion of women among professional, managerial, industrial and clerical categories indicates the most promising situation from the standpoint of female emancipation." Nonetheless, the remarkable number of women in this category indicates that either the emancipation of women has started or female employment in this occupational group is still largely in this category, which is the activity of the elite.

The attraction of such occupations, particularly teaching, is partly due to their social acceptance, as they require less male contacts and are considered to be convenient, especially for a housewife. Teaching is considered a very light job and fits well into the triple burden of the working woman. In this respect a working

FIG. 7.1 PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION 1973-80

- PROFESSIONAL, TECH. & ADMI.
- ▨ CLERICALS
- ▩ SERVICE WORKERS
- OTHERS



Source: Statistical Abstract 1977 and Manpower Survey 1980



woman can come home after only a few hours a day from the educational institution and then she will be able to perform domestic activities. Moreover, the concentration of the service occupations, particularly those of teaching, has resulted from the fact that the General People's Committee, i.e. (Council of Ministers) issued a series of decisions promoting the employability of women in such occupations. Those decisions will be discussed later on in the section concerning changing role of women.

With regard to years of experience, it was demonstrated in the survey that those with less than five years of work experience totalled 27,015 (60.9) per cent, and from 5 to 9 years the number was 9,443 (21.3) per cent. In other words, more than 82 per cent of economically active women had less than 10 years of job experience. This trend indicates the recent entrance of females into employment. In this respect, however, while the mean of female experience was 6.1 years it was only about 13.7 years for males, both reflecting the youthful age composition of the population.

\ Regarding literacy, the survey shows that 58.0 per cent of the total economically active females had possessed the primary certificate and above, compared to only about 40.7 per cent among employed males. On the other hand, those who were shown to be illiterate with neither reading nor writing, or were able to read and write but had never obtained the first educational level totalled 42 per cent; this percentage compares favourably with the figure for employed males, which was as high as 59.3 per cent.

As expected, the geographical distribution of economically active women as of 1984 was seen to be concentrating in Tripoli and Benghazi, which had about 41.5 per cent of the total. In contrast, ten of the 24 Municipalities had only 11.4 per cent of the total female employment (see Table 7.3).

While the concentration of female employment in Tripoli and Benghazi is due to their large share of population, the availability of employment opportunities and the comparatively high pace of female emancipation, the relatively high percentage of female employment in some other areas shown in Table 7.3 could be attributed to the high pace of development but more likely to the expansion in female recruitments in some unskilled occupations resulting from strong tribal interventions in employment procedures. In 1977 for example the author observed a recruitment of about 16 women cleaners in a very small two storey governmental office building, a job that could be performed by two persons at the most.

The still insignificant number of female labour force, though the number increased markedly, might not reflect the real womanpower in the country. Such inaccuracy in the number of women workers may be attributed to the incorrect reporting of females from those who conducted the questionnaire interviews or from the questionnaire respondents, as we have explained in an earlier chapter. As in many developing countries and Libya is not an exception, significant efforts by women, especially in rural areas, remain unrecognized in attitudes, policies and official statistics (Entwhistle, 1985). Rural Libyan women perform, as we have mentioned earlier, a great many agricultural duties but have never been considered employed. Deeb and Deeb

Table 7.3 The Percentage of Womanpower Distribution 1984 (by Regions)

Region	No.	%
Tripoli	24,869	27.4
Benghazi	12,813	14.1
Zavia	6,082	6.7
Derna	5,585	6.2
Niqat Khams	5,307	5.8
Gebel Akhdar	5,112	5.6
Tobruk	3,807	4.2
Al-Fateh	3,319	3.7
Yefren	2,907	3.2
Azizia	2,377	2.6
Sirte	2,210	2.4
Ejdabia	2,177	2.4
Gherian	2,089	2.3
Sebha	1,829	2.0
Ubari	1,514	1.7
Misurata	1,424	1.6
Shati	1,413	1.6
Murzuk	1,295	1.4
Ghadames	1,188	1.3
Khomes	964	1.1
Zliten	894	1.0
Tarhuna	659	0.7
Kufra	483	0.5
Suf-Ajjin	421	0.5
Total	90,760	100.0

Source : The Secretariat of Planning (1985)
The preliminary results of the 1984 Population
Census, Tripoli, Libya.

(1982:70-73) revised the figure of the 1973 Population Census by using the age factor to show the amount of womanpower in rural Libya; they included all females 15 years and above up to the age of 60 and subtracted those who were attending school and the disabled, then reached a number of about 86,000 women active in rural areas only. According to their estimation, female participation rate was put at 20.6 per cent of the economically active Libyan population. Data obtained from the 1984 figures justifies their estimations, when in some regions it was shown that the female participation rate was around 20 per cent, e.g. Derna 25.5, Tobruk 19.7, Gebel Akhdar 19.1 and Yefren 16.3 per cent (see chapter 2).

Although official data tabulation is neither complete nor consistent to make sound comparisons in particular periods of time, it is evident that the agricultural sector lost its position as a primary Libyan female employer. Services on the other hand, have increasingly accounted for female employment. Furthermore, the absolute number of employed Libyan women increased considerably - from about 29,000 in 1973 to more than 50,000 in 1979 and almost to 91,000 in 1984, representing an increase of more than three times in only eleven years. However, the overall percentage of womanpower to the total national labour force is still very minor, i.e. less than 12 per cent as of 1984. Besides, despite the fact that womanpower has increased significantly in the last ten years or so, it is a very well established fact that such an increase has not followed a healthy occupational hierarchical structure. Those who were shown to be engaged in gainful occupations were either employed at a very low level of the occupational hierarchy, such as cleaners, waitresses or agricultural workers, or have tended to concentrate in stereotype jobs

such as teaching, typing and the like. The reasons behind this, however, are obvious; historically women in Libya were not enabled to obtain the necessary formal work-related qualifications that make them capable of doing more demanding jobs, and, most important, they are oriented by Society's indoctrination into certain occupations and professions through tradition, norms, customs and political ideology.

7.4 Traditional Constraints

The low Libyan women participation rates in various socio-economic activities are attributed among other factors to their high illiteracy and high fertility, to time-consuming cooking habits, to the shortage of day-care nurseries and creches and to their apathy and unawareness of their decreed rights.

7.4.1 High illiteracy : Almost three quarters of Libyan females aged ten years and over according to the 1973 Population Census were shown to be illiterate, which is indeed a high percentage for a relatively small and rich country like Libya, though that was little more than a decade from first exports of oil. The preliminary results of the 1984 Population Census have no figures in relation to literacy but it should be pointed out that the educational attainment has been considerably improved in the last fourteen years or so. As a matter of fact, as we have already discussed when we were dealing with problems of literacy, the number of women at schools increased from about 121,000 in 1970 to 556,000 by 1985 making the percentage of females to total enrolments increase from 31.7 per cent in 1970 to 45.4 per cent by 1985. Such a trend is very promising in the promotion of women's integration in the developmental activities (see Chapter 2).

7.4.2 The extremely high fertility : In Libya as in many other traditional Islamic countries, early marriage is characteristic (Oppong and Mannila, 1979). Because there is no fixed age limit for marriage in the Islamic culture it used to take place as soon as the girl reached puberty (Menon, 1981). Although the marriage age was first fixed at 16 years, strong social pressures force parents to make all possible efforts to marry off their daughters. Universal marriage is, moreover, . . . practised as we have already mentioned in an earlier chapter. Thus the early and universal marriage of females underlines the acceptance of the woman's primary role of reproduction. Strong pressures from the family to get married exist on a large scale. Traditionally when females reach puberty it is the parents or relatives who organize marriages to older males, a wide age gap being common as in other Arab and Muslim countries, reaching about one decade (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1982). The proof of fertility by the delivery of the first baby is indeed the most important event and status to be gained for a young married woman by the family and relatives. As a wife she remains threatened and insecure until this takes place. Her standing rises when the first child is a boy; girls are valued much less than boys for fear of shame that they might bring to the family and the tribe. They are considered an economic liability and a movable asset as when they grow up they move from their original family to their husband's permanent residence.

Male preference is a tendency for most Libyans, at least until recently - as they believe that males whom they can lean on in their old age increase their security, bear the family's name and create pride and strength for parents, clan and the tribe, and equally important, large families with more male children maximize the family's

budget. As a result of these attitudes, married women continue child bearing to get as many male births as possible. Women with no male children therefore are considered strange. Contraceptive issues, moreover, are unlikely to be discussed by the majority. Even those who personally change their residence from the rural areas to the urban agglomeration take with them such traditional attitudes and values. Thus a social complex of various traditional customs, practices, institutions and values interact together and stand behind attitudes and sustain the existing high fertility in women. No wonder therefore that the total fertility rate of Libyan women reached an average of 7.2 per head (see Chapter 2) and the average size of the Libyan household amounted to 6.4 persons (Secretariat of Planning 1984). The implication of all this, however, is the priority given by women to child bearing and rearing for many Libyan women and less time left to be economically active.

7.4.3 Some other traditional constraints : Due to large families and widespread social relationships, food preparation in a traditional way is a daily activity. In most homes the woman's day begins at dawn and the cooking begins then. Meals take a long time to prepare, a traditional meal takes from 2 to 3 hours depending on the size of the family, and the times are not fixed. The only period of time when some women are exempted from cooking is when many people attend, such as for marriage ceremonies or funeral gatherings; otherwise they are expected to do all the cooking. It is normal for a woman to wake up at 11 p.m. to prepare a meal for unexpected guests.

Whether women work or not, men never assist in home chores. Socially, among older generations in particular, men are not expected

to have domestic responsibilities. A young Libyan housewife once complained to my wife and reported the following:

"Before we moved to the North East my husband used to help me in all domestic chores; he used to cook - my goodness, he is a great cook - he washes dishes, diapers for our small child, but as soon as we moved to this area his help, which used to happen all the time, came to an end. Even when I'm not feeling well and he knows that he has to perform the familial role responsibilities, he is apprehensive and full of fear that he might be watched by the Arabs in our residential area, especially from our neighbours who unfortunately happened to be Libyan. This is not fair. What shall I do? Does your husband act in the same way"? And she was relieved when she learned from my wife that she has never received or even expected to receive any significant assistance in home chores or responsibilities.

Another problematic matter is the continued non-recognition, at least from the practical point of view, of the importance of and the changing role of women as mothers and workers at the same time. This is manifested in the non-availability of good adequate creches, nurseries, play groups and the like for married women with children under six years old - the school age - for every one who needs them free of charge or at reasonable price. Working hours should also be adopted so that they are convenient for people who seek employment and look after children to make part-time work more accessible and to alter career structures so that those women who take time out to bring up children can return back to their original job (Yudkin and Holme, 1963, Fransella and Frost, 1977). The stoppage of work for many wives as soon as they deliver their first baby is a result of this problem and

those who continue in the labour force either have relatives to take care of their children during their absence or in many cases working mothers; the needy in particular, are obliged to take their pre-school children to the work location. It is easy to imagine the hard conditions and the feelings of the working mother and of those who are in charge.

Despite the fact that it was planned to build adequate places to care for those children under school age, accomplishments in this concern are still very modest. For example it was planned to establish 200 kindergartens during the development plan 1981-85, but official figures in 1984 show that there were only 65 kindergartens for 12,494 children and up to that year there were no specialized institutes which train Libyans to run them (Secretariat of Education, 1983).

Furthermore, another traditional constraint to the participation of women in the labour force is their apathy and unawareness of their decreed rights. Despite the fact that women face no formal or legal barriers to any position in society, as we shall discuss in another section, in most cases they hesitate to take influential positions and even if exceptionally they do, they remain passive and the home remains their prior concern. Even those who are highly educated tend to be crowded at the lower end of occupations. In public, women hesitate to discuss and dispute vital issues affecting them and those who do, because they are few, make insignificant impact (Epstein, 1972; Oddo, 1980). In recent years, for example, during the discussion of a piece of legislation on marriage and divorce with the objective of bringing changes in traditional established practices which have been for so

long in favour of men, female attendance at the General People's Congress was very poor, which led men to impose their will in decisions very much related to women.

As in many other countries women in Libya are confronted with two models. On the one hand, they are under considerable pressure to make careers for themselves to compete with males for various jobs outside the home. On the other hand, they are expected to perform all home responsibilities (Gasson, 1981). When they join the labour force they carry a triple burden; fulfilling the conjugal role, performing the housekeeping duties in addition to working. Even the responsibility of caring for the old and the mentally and physically handicapped also falls naturally to them.

With few benefits of modern science and technology which serve as a stimulus to re-evaluate the traditional tendency to have large families and in the absence of female awareness of their rights and the enthusiasm to get publicly involved, combined with the limited number of social organizations that are supposed to ease the burden of the working women, one can not but expect women to be reluctant to join the labour force and when they do, they are willingly pushed into very static and stereotyped occupations, convenient to carrying on domestic duties.

7.5 Religious Justification

The relatively low rates of female employment can not and should not be attributed to the Islamic faith (Shaw, 1983; Menon, 1981; Dood, 1981). In fact when Islam came into existence it brought

considerable improvements and a wide range of activities to women; e.g. during the pagan times people in Arabia used to bury baby girls for fear of shame. The Roman woman was not permitted to appear in court even as a witness. As a widow she could not claim any right in her husband's estate; he might if he wished leave her nothing (Michael, 1979). In the past women in Catholic countries were confined to a sphere in which their greatest contribution, unless they remained celibate and thus pure, was the production and rearing of children and the service of men (Abedin, 1977). At one time, "an orthodox Jewish woman had to cut off her hair upon marriage and wear a wig all her life long because her hair, her crowning glory, is a chief source of temptation, and now that she has fulfilled the obligation to marry and beget children she must tempt men no longer" (Gornick, 1971:77). A traditional Jew still gives daily thanks that he was not born a woman (Stacey and Price, 1981; Gornick, 1971).

On the contrary, in Islam both men and women are regarded equal partners in life; women's rights and privileges, however, have been subverted historically from the true religious ideals by false interpretations, local traditions and social trends. Such diversion from the true Islam, therefore, caused Muslim women's status to fall. In the Quran, the Muslim's Holy Book, it is stated:

"Men have fear of your lord, who created you from a single soul. From that soul He created its mate, and through them He bestowed the earth with countless men and women." (4:1 Women).

".... He that does evil shall have none to protect or help him. But the believers who do good works, whether men or women, shall enter paradise. They shall not suffer the least injustice." (4:122 Women).

Similarly:

"I will deny no man or woman among you the reward of their labour. You are the offspring of one another." (3:194 The Imrans).

Furthermore, the Quran has incited both men and women to work according to their will. The Quran states:

"Do as you will, God will behold your works and so will his apostle and the faithful; then you shall return to him." (9:105 Repentance).

The Quran moreover, incited women as well as men to learn; the first of the Quran to be revealed stated:

"Read in the name of the lord who created man from a clot. Read, and the lord is the most Bounteous, who teaches by the pen. teaches man that which he knew not." (96:1-5 Clot).

In addition:

"are those who know equal with those who know not? but only human beings of understanding will pay heed." (39:9 The troops).
 ... "Ask the followers of the remembrance if you know not (16:43 The Bee).

"God will exalt those who believe among you and those who have knowledge, to high ranks .." (58:11 she that Disputeth).

Besides, women in Islam "have the right and capacity to possess money, no matter what the sum, she has right to inherit, to give, to leave wills, to have debts, possess goods, earn commercial exchange, bring to justice, dispose of her goods through agreement, sale, lending, gifts, and will" (Zohri, 1980:244). In other words under

Muslim Law there are no concepts of women's limited estate (Mahmoud 1987).

The prophet of Islam, too, instructed that in Islam males and females should be treated alike. He spread no wisdom among his companions urging them to take care of the woman as a mother, wife, daughter and as a female (Al-Moulla, 1985; Mahmoud, 1987). It has been documented that the prophet once said "if a person rears his daughter affectionately, respects her and shows her the same treatment he renders to his son he would be rewarded by paradise. It also has been reported that the prophet once instructed the followers that if a person takes care of his daughter, educates her, trains her in the art of life, I shall myself stand between him and Hellfire (El-Huni, 1978).

Furthermore, the prophet attached more value to learning than to worshipping without discrimination among sexes when he ranked the learned much higher than the devout. It is reported once the prophet entered his mosque and found there two groups of Muslims, one engaged in praying and the other busy with acquiring knowledge. He declared that the latter group was superior to the former one" (Alam, 1985:25). In learning the prophet never differentiated among males or females. He ordered women as well as men to be in quest of knowledge. The quest of knowledge is every Muslim's duty, male or female. He also encouraged women to take their decisions for themselves; it has been reported that he once cancelled a marriage contract which was concluded by a man on behalf of his daughter without having her prior consent (Al-Jarrah, 1979). Even after his death, his wives used to have their houses as schools where men and women alike could learn about their religion (Al-Moulla, 1985).

In Islamic history there were famous women who emerged in different social and economic activities, starting with Khadija who used to employ the prophet in commerce - then she became his first wife and was much older than he was. Ayesha was also one of the prophet's wives who, besides her deep knowledge, was consulted on political matters and, more significantly, it is documented that she participated in the war between the Caliph Ali and his opponents (El-Waheshy, 1981). "Others who were sought for advice by leaders and jurists included Umm-al-Darde, Sitt Nifisa, Sitt-al-Muzayyed, Ayesha al-Hanafia and Rabia Basari" (Ariffin, 1984:53).

However, there are some issues which are usually raised against Islam in relation to the position of women such as polygamy, divorce, seclusion, veiling and inheritance.

The marriage of one man to more than one woman has been mentioned in only one verse of the Quran and as a matter of fact there are so many conditions preceding and following it that in only exceptional cases is it indisputably permissible. The Glorious Quran says "marry of the women who seek good to you, two or three or four; and if you fear you can not do justice (to so many) then one... This will make it easier for you to avoid injustice" (4:3 women). Among other conditions that Islam requires is the free consent of the previous wife. In short, if the conditions prescribed by the Quran are to be enforced, polygamy would become simply impossible (Abedin, 1977; Puri, 1985; Waddy, 1976). The Quran regulations for polygamy were no doubt a very progressive step in a historical context (Michael, 1979). Divorce on the other hand, although permitted with the intention of relieving distress and misery of some couples, is considered in Islamic

jurisprudence as the worst act before God. It is interesting to note that the practice of polygamy appeared to be stable if not declining out except among older generations and in rural areas (McMorris, 1979; Chamie, 1986).

Another issue which is occasionally argued is the Islamic seclusion and veiling of females. First, although this phenomenon has been related to Muslim countries, it is practised in some other cultures (Jeffery, 1979), and secondly, the Muslims of the first Islamic era did not practise seclusion of women; the two sexes exchanged visits, moved indiscriminately through the streets and prayed together in the mosque ... "It was only in the second century that the harem system and the veil took form, first among the powerful and the rich as a status symbol and later among the less affluent through emulation" (Michael, 1979:3). If seclusion and veiling are enacted by the Islamic doctrine, then women should be veiled during the pilgrimage time when men and women together visit Mecca. Indeed Islam urged modesty and sought to protect and prevent women from being insulted and harrassed, but never impelled or advised their veiling nor asked for their seclusion. Veiling in Libya has started to be something from the past. "One observer generalized that city women under the age of 35 were modern in their approach to life and had discarded the traditional veil. Those between the ages of thirty five and forty five were increasingly ready to consider such a change, but women over the age of forty five appeared reluctant to give up the protection their veils afforded. Another observer noted that on a visit to Tripoli in 1969 he has found nine women in ten to be veiled, but that on his return ten years later, he found that the practice had been abandoned by nine out of ten." (McMorris, 1979:110).

The manifested discrimination towards women in respect of inheritance when the daughter gets half the share of the son is also based on merits. When Islam was revealed such legislation was more than progressive as it was the first time that females were granted a definite share. Even at the time she leaves the family to join her husband to make a family for her own, she is still eligible for her share and neither the husband nor the brother could claim or argue such a share, and more importantly according to Islamic law the daughter, besides obtaining her share, is legally eligible for support on the property of her male relatives.

Even on the contemporary issue of contraceptives, in principle Islam does not reject birth control. "No text in the Quran authorizes or forbids it. It advises the faithful to increase and multiply, but other verses recommend having fewer children, so that the family as a whole may enjoy a better standard of living" (Minces, 1980:59).

Indeed, the Islamic religion is very elaborative to women and their position is extensively treated. About a third of legal injunctions in the Quran deal with family matters and with the rights and obligations that provide the basis for family life. The fourth chapter of the Quran is called Women. They as wives, daughters, and as members of society are very well documented but with no mention whatsoever of them being passive in any aspects of life. See chapter IV of the Quran (Women), Chapter II, (The Heifer) verses 234-241, Chapter XXIV (Light) verses 31-33, 50, and Chapter LXV (Divorce) verses 1-6.

Islamic law is based on the following sources; the Quran which is the main source of legislation, acts and deeds of the prophet, teaching and opinions expressed by him, analogy and judgement. While divine revelation through the Holy Book and the true practices and teachings of the prophet are final authority, analogy and judgement on the interpretation of their intentions should guide and show institutions uncovered by them. "Many Muslim scholars have urged the revelation of the Spirit of Judgement to restore a dynamic role to Islamic jurisprudence. M. Iqbal (1870-1938) attached special importance to judgement as a source of Muslim law : in his famous lectures on reconstruction of religious thoughts in Islam he held that judgement within the limits of revealed text is absolutely free and was permitted even in the lifetime of the prophet" (Puri, 1985:988). Islam encourages independent judgement in religious rule interpretations. The prophet's teachings state: "Whoever makes an independent judgement and succeeds is rewarded twice and whoever makes an independent judgement and fails is rewarded once" (Al-Jarrah, 1979:165). Muslim doctrine is not inherently unchanging and the provision of judgement was intended to guard against such an eventuality. It is for political and cultural reasons that Islamic doctrine has in the past few centuries remained unchanged. Islamic religion which proved to be very influential and showed itself to be capable of adapting to change and to be appropriate for mankind, had never been a barrier to the integration of women in society's development. It is the misinterpretation, the commitment to wrong practices and the closing of doors of sincere judgement which made women second class citizens.

Indeed, "Islam contains an ideology of gender and embodies assumptions about women" (Strobel, 1984:93). Basic rights, if not

equality, are provided but we have little reason to believe that female participation is non-permissible as, if women are not allowed to participate in daily activities, there should be a witness in either the Quran or in the well founded teachings of the prophet. In fact if a sincere judgement is applied, the conclusion no doubt will favour female involvement. Islam makes no distinction between religious duties and secular duties. "All duties, whether they are in the field of politics, economics or social matters, are in fact religious duties; since both sexes are equal in their religious obligations it is obvious that they should get equal rights in all other fields" (El-Waheshy, 1981:10). The only thing that could be drawn from true Islamic beliefs is that women and men should complement each other rather than compete with each other.

7.6 Legal Justification

In Libya womanpower legislation is very progressive and comparable to that in developed countries. The 1969 constitutional proclamation states that all Libyans are equal and work is a right for all able citizens. The word citizens is applicable to men as well as women.

Law No. 58 of 1970 on labour not only does not discriminate against women but is dedicated to protect womanpower. Through some of its articles the above mentioned law ensures some measures of social security so that work is facilitated under relatively good conditions. Nearly 40 organizations exist to protect women's rights and to mobilize their activities (Qurashi, 1984). The following articles of Law No. 58 mentioned above deal with protection of womanpower in Libya:

Article 31 states:

"The employer shall not engage an employee at a wage rate which is lower than the minimum pay .. nor can he distinguish between males and females when the nature of the job and conditions are equal."

"a female employee who has spent six consecutive months in the service of an employer is eligible to child birth leave." The same article however does not prejudice the female employee rights provided under the social security law."

Article 95 states:

"Women are not allowed to work in mines or to follow arduous or perilous occupations."

Articles 96, 97 and 98 of the same law deal with the working hours and the working mothers' rights to children's nurseries:

"The working hours for women are fixed at a maximum of 48 hours per week, including overtime." It is also emphasized that women should not be asked to work between 8 p.m. and 7 a.m. except in such cases which are seen and specified by the Secretary of Public Service i.e. pro-bono publico circumstances, e.g. nursing occupations. Furthermore, it is required by the same law that a female employee nursing a baby should be granted periods of time to foster him; each period shall not be less than half an hour for 18 months with full payment and without any prejudice whatsoever to employees rest periods. It is also emphasized in the law that employers and establishments should undertake and run a nursery for married women's children when they employ 50 female employees or more.

Various aspects of maternity protection in Libya are reasonable and a step forward to women's integration but other aspects are not as they are neither recommended by ILO and ALO conventions, nor do they compare favourable with some of those Arab countries which have similar economic and social backgrounds to that of Libya, e.g. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq (see Table 7.4). On the other hand, if we measure women's advancement through the Ratification of ILO conventions, Libya is doing comparatively well, even better than those Arab countries in which the female emancipation started much earlier i.e. Lebanon, Egypt and Tunisia (see Table 7.5).

However, guaranteeing the equality of rights for women could not and has not abolished actual discrimination against them. It is a prevailing social rule that males are the breadwinners and women have to stay behind the man to sustain him in his daily public activities. Under the existing social relations female subordination remains a fact, and legislative measures have not had a far reaching effect to integrate women in the labour market, due to demographic and non-demographic factors either mentioned earlier or to be discussed later on.

7.7 Changing Roles

Changing roles of women in Libya from the traditional to the modern sector is presented in Plates 7.1-7.7. Indeed in the past few decades enormous political, economic and social changes have taken place in the country. The ramification of factors that have affected the woman's role makes it difficult to trace exactly the changing role. However, for the sake of the discussion we shall try to highlight the changing roles of women through three different stages.

Table 7.4 : Various Aspects of Maternity Protection in Libya Compared to those set by ILO, ALO and in those Arab Countries with similar Economic and Social Background

Country of organisation	Duration of maternity leave	Leave for Delivery		Wages payable during leave	Payable grants bonus	Medical and delivery expenses	Sick leave due to delivery	Nursing	Nurseries
		Before	After						
ILO Convention	84 days	Unspecified	6 weeks	2/3 of salary	-	Covered by medical insurance. On national legislation	To be specified by national legislation	Convention No. 103 regarding nursing hour	To be established by employer
ALO Convention	49 days	Unspecified	5 weeks	Full salary	-	Medical care and treatment	-	-	-
Libya	50 days	Unspecified	30 obligatory days	Half pay by social insurance	Maternity grant of LD 25	Medical care before, during and after delivery	A total of three months 50% of salary	One hour daily for 18 months	Institution with 50 or more female employees
Saudi Arabia	70 days	4 weeks	6 weeks	Half pay	-	Medical and delivery expenses	A maximum of six months	One hour daily	Institution with fifty or more female employers
Iraq	70 days	one month	6 obligatory weeks	Full salary	-	"	Maximum of nine months in total	Two periods of half hour each	Institutions in estabs. employing women
Kuwait	70 days	30 days	40 days	Full salary	-	"	Continuous or discontinuous 100 days with no salary	-	-

Source : Adapted from Azzam H. (1979)

The participation of Arab women in the labour force : Development Factors and Policies, Population and Labour Policies Programme, Working paper No.80, Table 17, International Labour Office pp. 54-56.



Plate 7.1 Traditional female role looking after livestock



Plate 7.2 A rural woman helping husband in the farm



Plate 7.3 Contrasting female generations : mothers watching children swimming

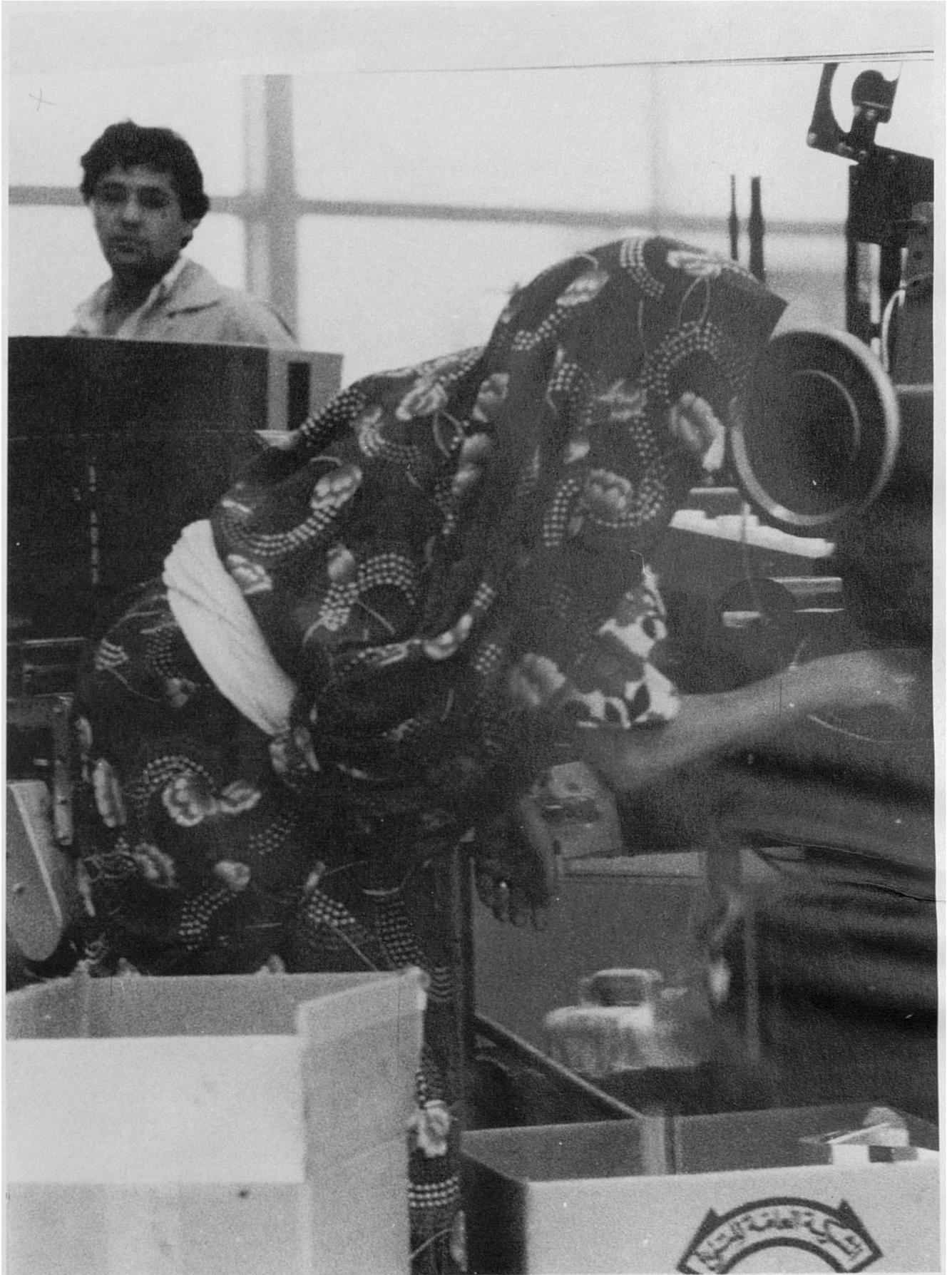


Plate 7.4 New female role in a factory



Plate 7.5 Girls studying missile systems



Plate 7.6 Women in military service

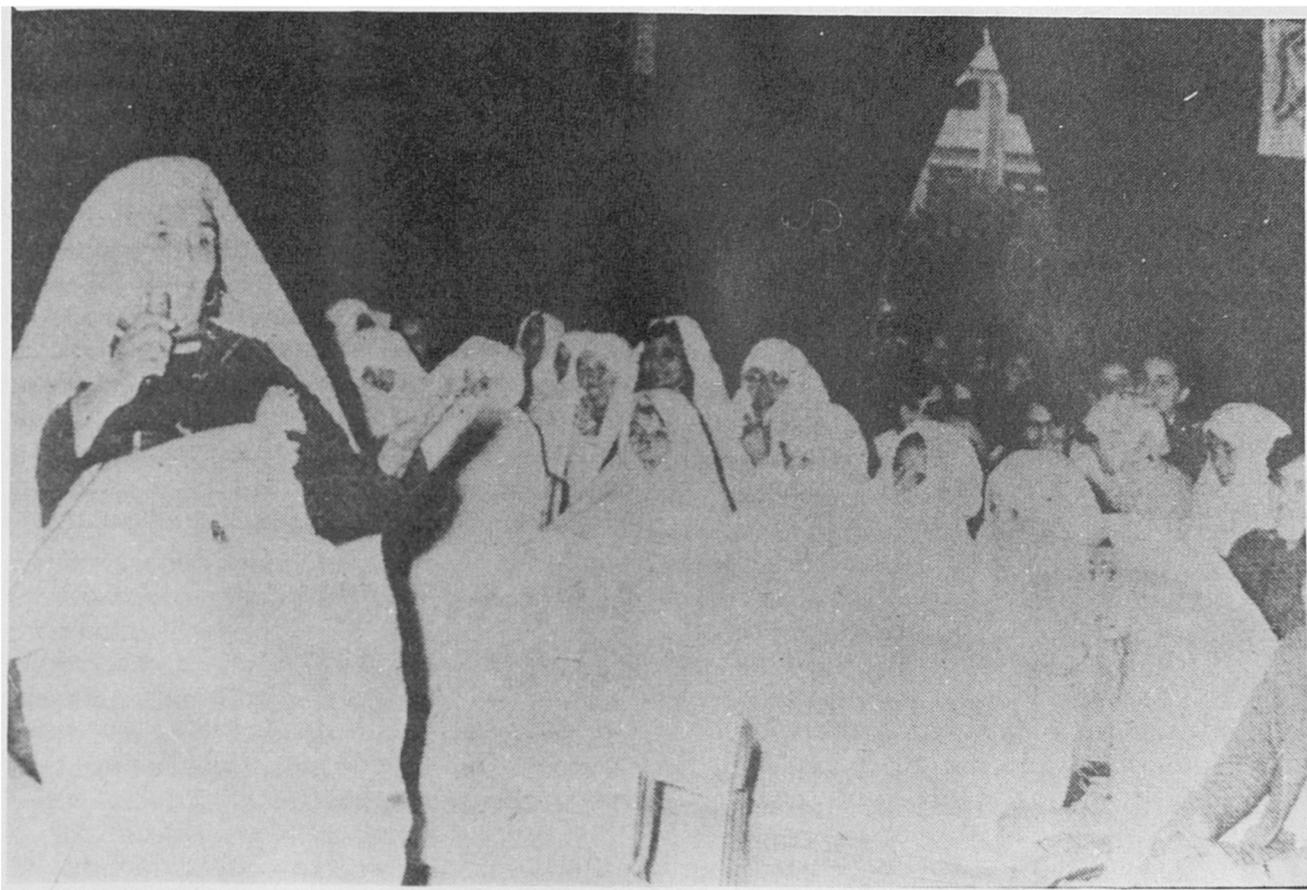


Plate 7.7 Women speak out at the basic peoples congress

7.7.1 From 1952 up to the end of 1968 : This period witnessed the following events :

- (i) The granting of Independence
- (ii) Oil discovery and exportation
- (iii) The creation of a Unitary State
- (iv) The real introduction of technology

The interaction of all these variables dictated a situation when decision makers from that time thought that the country's development needed the other half of its population, and it was proclaimed that the inadequate role of women should be changed. To improve the dreadful conditions of all people, men and women, education was seen as the best hope for change. And, inspite of the scarcity of economic resources in the early years of Independence, education was emphasized. Schools and teaching facilities received the largest proportion of the governmental budget (Attir, 1985a). Indeed it was the first time in the country's history when education up to the primary level for both sexes was made by law universal.

Other measures to improve the woman's status were legislated, if not carried out; among them women were allowed to choose their mates, to ask for divorce, to make their own unions, to run any economic businesses and were allowed to vote. However, the prevailing strong traditions impeded such progressive measures. Although parents demonstrated their enthusiasm for female education, they still believed that the main role for a woman was the familial role, bearing and rearing children and bringing them up morally. It was believed that prolonged education defeminizes girls and delays their marriages, and to

a great many obedience, modesty and docility were feared to be threatened by long schooling. Those who had to seek employment were crowded in teaching occupations as there were less contacts and also they tended to occupy unskilled jobs because their acquired skills could not compete or match the requirements of the modern market.

7.7.2 The period 1969-80 : The relatively high rise in educational standards for both men and women, the emergence of a new socialist regime in September 1969, the diversity of jobs resulting from intensive development programmes and the enormous increase in urbanization, among other factors, made decision-makers, as well as many Libyans, the elite in particular, accept the fact that women must share some tasks usually reserved for men besides their familial role.

In spite of the fact that the female role in the education of different generations and the maintenance of the homes was stressed, she has participated in those activities seen as best suited to her fitness and capacity. They should not be expected to work in a zinc or steel mill factory but might take part in schools, hospitals, clerical jobs and the like (Qurashi, 1984; Zohri, 1980; Al-Bitar, 1979; Marques and Palacio, 1980; Al-Jarrah, 1979).

As a matter of fact, the role of women was outlined by the thinking of the country's leader in the third part of the Green Book which called for equal rights but with job differentiation among sexes, and the relation among sexes was seen to be based upon complementary rather than competing roles. The Green Book states the following, "There is no difference between man and woman in all that concerns humanity. None of them can marry the other against his or her will or

divorce without a just trial. Neither the man nor the woman can remarry without a previous agreement on divorce The woman is the owner of the maternity shelter which is the house ... work should be provided by society for all able members - men and women - who need work, but on condition that each individual should work in the field that suits him and not forced to carry out unsuitable work ... equality is an injustice and is dictatorship for a woman to find herself in the working condition of a man ... There is no difference between man and woman ... but there is no absolute equality between them as regards their duties." (Qathafi, 1978:92-106).

To improve the woman's position and stimulate her in those physically fitted and socially accepted jobs many measures were taken : the compulsory level of education was increased to reach the preparatory stage; the banning of child marriage, the right to divorce and the marriage by proxy were re-emphasized and followed up; and the participation in political activities was encouraged by all means. In 1977 the People's Popular Committee, i.e. the Ministers Council, issued a set of resolutions thought to promote, motivate and stimulate the integration of Libyan women in some occupations seen as fitting for their capabilities, relatively convenient to their heavy domestic duties and anticipated to be socially acceptable. Those occupations were thought to be, to start with, teaching, nursing and clerical work, including typing.

- (a) It was decided that teaching posts at the first level should be gradually feminized.

- (b) It was also determined to train 4,700 girl students as primary and preparatory teachers in every scholastic year starting from the school year 1977-78.
- (c) It was decided that women who qualify as teachers should not be allowed to join other occupations.
- (d) More institutes were to be established and opened throughout the country to qualify nurses for the health sector.
- (e) Both the private and public sectors were obliged by the same resolution to employ only females in clerical and related occupations such as typing, archives, etc.
- (f) The Institute of Public Administration was, moreover, assigned to train female typists and as of the year 1980 more than 2,000 were trained for that purpose and distributed among different governmental organizations.
- (g) There was the establishment of the Secondary Technical Institute and the opening of the Banking Institute to train female clerical workers, accountants, book keepers, data processing and machine operators, shorthand typists etc.
- (h) Meanwhile, it was decided to open up women's employment offices in large cities accepting women to work on a part-time basis and establishing child care nurseries.
- (i) In addition, a list of occupations which were seen as convenient for women to take part in was prepared (see Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 : List of Occupations seen Suitable for Females by Sector, 1977

Sector of Economy	Occupations
1. Cross sectoral (i.e.common to all or several sectors)	*1. Administrative or executive officials *2. Clerical workers (including typists, stenographers, punch machine operators, book keepers, stock clerks, correspondence clerks, registry clerks etc.) *3. Library workers (including librarians, library clerks and assistants) *4. Laboratory workers *5. Office assistants (including duplicating machine operators, cleaners etc.)
2. Education	1. Teachers
3. Health	1. Doctors (especially gynaecologists, paediatricians, dentists, etc.) 2. Nurses, Assistant nurses 3. Midwives 4. Laboratory technicians 5. Health technicians 6. Pharmacy assistants
4. Trade, restaurants and hotels	1. Saleswomen and shop assistants (particularly in public sector markets, cooperative stores and confectionary shops) 2. Restaurant and hotel workers (including cooks, cleaners, laundresses, hairdressers, maids, receptionists, information desk employees etc.)

* These occupations are not repeated in the list for each sector, but they should be included in each case.

5. Manufacturing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Textile industry workers (including spinning, weaving, carpet and rug making, dyeing etc.) 2. Food production workers (including food canning workers) 3. Beverage, biscuits and confectionary workers 4. Shoes and leather industry workers 5. Tobacco industry workers 6. Tailors, dressmakers 7. Precision instrument makers 8. Electronic workers 9. Jewellery Workers
6. Agriculture	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General farm workers 2. Vegetable farm workers 3. Orchard and vineyard workers 4. Veterinary assistants 5. Dairy workers 6. Poultry workers
7. Construction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Draughtswomen 2. Cartographers
8. Transport and communications	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Post office workers in general (especially employees selling stamps, and mail and parcel sorting workers) 2. Telephone operators 3. Telegraph operators 4. Airline and marine transport workers (including air hostesses, receptionists information desk employees, travel agency employees etc.) 5. News announcers and commentators
9. Finance and insurance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bank assistants, cashiers etc. 2. Accounting workers.
10. Public administration	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statistical assistants 2. Accounting workers 3. Social workers

Public Administration (continued)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Translators and interpreters 5. Workers dealing with personnel and occupational matters 6. Traffic police (in town not on highways) 7. Office employees (particularly in the immigration and passport department, civil registry offices etc.)
Other Services	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hairdressers 2. Dry cleaners and laundresses 3. Cinema (ticket sellers, film machine operators, etc.)

Source : The Secretariat of Planning,
The Role of women in Development of the Socialist
People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with special reference to
their Employment, Health and Education, November, 1979,
 Tripoli, Libya

However, it was observed that although teaching, and to some extent clerical occupations, proved to be attractive to females and socially acceptable to parents, other occupations shown in Table 7.6 proved not to be, and the witness to that is the dominance of such occupations by non-national women; nursery occupations are a good example.

Despite the many and intensive measures, female employment on the whole remained insignificant due to the fact that financial sufficiency made for domestic needs; but most importantly the insignificant participation was due to male domination in the society which was supported by an "asymmetrical legal structure", which was Marshall's expression, meaning that "women were warned of the dangers lurking outside their secluded world and that they would jeopardize their social status by seeking access to modern employment" (Marshall, 1980:110). The warning, however, was not direct or intentional but the overemphasis of the woman's traditional role in the Green Book aggravated by the inability of societal organizations to help working mothers and the other strong traditional constraints contributed to the modest female integration. However, in the period there were a handful of women doctors, some women lawyers working for the government, nurses and various university lecturers and headmistresses. Women were also working in quite large numbers as radio and television announcers, secretaries, telephonists and receptionists, sometimes replacing Palestinians or Egyptians who used to do all these jobs (Dearden, 1983).

7.7.3 The period of the 1980's onward : The modest achievements in the field of women's integration in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's drove the

state to adopt a new radical and extreme modernist view towards women's involvement in the development process. The new view called for an equal distribution of sex roles in all fields. Besides education, public administration and health, among new fields of employment, banking and insurance have come to the fore. They started to absorb hundreds of women as clerks, accountants, etc. However, the most startling manifestation of the new role of women has been in the military arena, where females enrolled at secondary and at the present time even preparatory school level are compelled to have military training, wear training uniform at classes and to be supervised by men and obliged to attend training camps. Moreover, girls were persuaded and now directed to join the military academy through intensive pro-national programmes organized by the state-news media. Furthermore, women all over the country were guided and encouraged to form revolutionary committees with the objectives of guarding the revolution and pleading for women to take a more active and meaningful role. These salient steps were meant, according to Attir (1985a:128-129) to destroy and rebuild values and traditions in relation to female social status. In other words, military service has been seen by policy makers as a drastic challenge to the prevailing attitude which devalues women.

Julie Kitchener, writing in the October issue of the 1983 *New African Magazine*, argued that the military academy opened for girls in Libya has advanced the position of women more than university education (Jamahiriya Review, 1983). Indeed, the female military academy witnessed its first graduates in 1981, and in 1983 two female pilots and naval recruits participated in the September parade. Exact numbers of women in military service are not available, but for sure the number exceeded one thousand.

However, because Libyan society is still traditional these new measures imposed still do not have considerable weight in the public eye; in fact people oppose them by various means and decision makers and those with modernist views have become frustrated more than ever. For example, in April 1983, one of the formal newspapers admitted that women failed to take advantage of the progress which the revolution has made possible. The newspaper went on to state : "Despite all opportunities which have been opened up women remain prey to reactionary ideas which only makes the struggle for women's liberation a harder one" (The Green March; 1983:7)

In December the same year the Libyan leader, addressing a women's rally, again confessed that there still exists a religious and a social backwardness in society. The defeat of backwardness will be achieved when all the masses enter the battle, with men and women entering all fields of industry, agriculture, military service, education, health and construction. If we, all men and women, have the determination to fight for progress, development transformation and construction the backwardness will be inevitably defeated and on this we should concentrate our efforts" (Jamahiriya International Report, 1984; The Green March 1984a).

Nevertheless, because of the strict conservative attitudes of society the General People's Congresses at Tripoli Meeting of 1984 decided to end military training for women and the Military Female College was closed down.

On 2nd February, 1984, the Libyan leader met with females who were dismayed by the General People's Congress decision and the College was

re-opened. On that day, the leader stressed once more that "the Military Female College was directly linked to the freedom of women. This generation", the leader went on, "the generation of wrath, is now proving its presence. It is your decision to re-open the college; it is not my decision this time" (The Green March; 1984b), and the College has remained opened to receive women ever since. Moreover, by the school year 1985-86 girls holding the Secondary School Certificate began to be directed to enroll in such an academy.

Although planners and decision makers hope that the new role imposed on women will stimulate and integrate them in all social and economic activities, it is found that for such a minor role it is not worth sacrificing the society's old values.

7.8 Concluding Remarks

It has been mentioned in preceding chapters that one of the barriers persistently facing development planning in Libya is the relatively small population, and the difficulty of providing quantitative and qualitative skills for vacant occupations which in a great many countries in the world have been filled by womanpower.

In theory, in Libya, there are no obstacles to female emancipation. Women have full rights and clear legal access to jobs with equal pay for equal work; they can vote and participate in all activities and events of public life as we have discussed in earlier sections.

However, neither the guaranteeing of equality, nor the radical state intervention have succeeded in integrating women on a large scale in the development process, as there exist demographic and non-demographic factors both of which serve to impede their employability and availability in the work market.

According to the 1973 population census, more than half of the Libyan females were 14 years or less, and only 12.5 per cent of the age group 15 years and over were revealed to be unmarried. Those married females had on average given birth to almost 5.5 children (per married female) out of whom about 3.8 children were alive. By the mid 1980's the situation in relation to these indices had not changed very considerably. This demonstrates the heavy burden of household responsibilities upon Libyan females and results in their restricted availability for full-time activity.

On the other hand, the level of educational attainment of Libyan females improved very considerably, which is expected to motivate their employability. It was shown in the 1973 census that 72.7 per cent of females aged 10 years and over were illiterate, 20.8 per cent could either read and write, 4.3 per cent had obtained the primary level, 2.1 per cent the preparatory and secondary, and only 0.1 per cent were revealed to hold a university degree, (Secretariat of Planning, 1979a). However, since the 1973 census educational attainment for women improved dramatically, the percentage of females illiterate declining from 72.7 per cent in 1973 to 60.8 per cent in 1980 to an expected 39.6 per cent in 1990 and further to less than 15 per cent by the year 2000 (Secretariat of Planning, 1979b; Tabbarah, 1982).

Attir (1985b, 329-30), by interviewing 1000 farmers, found out the prevailing attitude in rural areas which differs from those in urban areas. He also found out that for 23 per cent of the study group either some or none of their school age children were not in school; and in Libya the scapegoats are in most cases girls. When the author asked farmers if their wives attended the state compulsory adult education course he found that only 27 per cent of all wives had done so.

Furthermore, policies advocated by the state contradict each other. On the one hand, planners encourage women's integration in development activities, while on the other hand traditional images of women in the society are still upheld. For example, at the primary level the female's traditional role is overemphasized. Lesson number 51 of "Readings" for the first grade states:

- Ayesha is in the house.
- Ayesha is an active mum.
- She works in the house.
- Ayesha cleans the house,
- And cooks the food and washes the clothes.
- Ayesha cleans the carpet.
- She puts the carpet in the sun.
- Ayesha cleans the room.
- She cleans the floor of the room.

Moreover, vocational options in the educational system are limited for females and the importance of the changing role of women as mothers and workers at the same time has not yet been recognized.

Traditions and other social customs are yet other problems that hamper women from taking a more significant role in society. Even for those who may obtain some gains through workplaces find that myths, prejudice and male chauvinism in the household rule out most of what has been achieved.

Last but not least, the non-existence of economic pressures at the present time, women's unawareness of their rights and their apathy, the misinterpretations of religious beliefs, among other factors have isolated women from the labour force market and left them socially backward, economically dependent and politically not yet significantly actively participating.

In spite of all that, however, a large number of factors combining at the present time are expected to stimulate the female tendency to take more jobs in the future.

- (1) The emergence of more equality in marriages when some women, for example, request a condition in their marriage contracts to continue work or to join the labour market after they get married.
- (2) Some women have already obtained the experience of being economically employed before they make a family of their own, thus the breaking down of norms and traditions to them has started before getting involved in conjugal life, so that when they choose to go back it becomes much easier for them.
- (3) Because life expectancy has been on the increase, and with the overcoming of some traditional constraints, both the husband and

the wife will appreciate the long period of life left for married women after child bearing and rearing which might be productively exploited even under the primarily high fertility rates.

- (4) Old economic and financial values have started to be transformed by those of individualistic ones, as the tribal and family system that used to provide livelihood protection has started to break down in Libya (El-Hammali, 1982). Thus it is expected that many women, encouraged by parents, husbands and other authority figures to abandon passive seclusion, will go out to look for a job to contribute to the family welfare.
- (5) The state through its rendering of nation-wide free services in the fields of health, education, housing and its provision of salaries and allowances threatens the traditional male supremacy. The increasing role of the state serves to destroy pillars of male authority. In fact males positions have started to be not very different from those of females (Mernissi 1985).
- (6) Expansion in industrialization will force the pace of education for girls and gives them the chance to earn a decent independent living. Moreover, economic pressures resulting from the fall in oil prices, the changing taste in consumption patterns, the rising expectations for higher living standards at the time of abundance in job vacancies will probably stimulate women's employment.
- (7) It should not be forgotten furthermore, that long-distance travelling resulting from mass communication, the expansion of the state provision of public housing units, the enormous urban growth

and the expansion in the modern sector will make women as well as men less restricted in absorbing and accepting new ideas and in quickly adopting new customs in their new destinations. The usual parental domination will also wane. Expansion in the modern occupational opportunities, it should be emphasized, will serve to break many of the old social and cultural values and loosen the restricting bonds against females, who will be expected to take over new roles in society.

(8) Radical decisions and many other factors have started to evolve in society which might influence and undermine the tendency towards extreme fertility, and extra familial alternatives might emerge such as the following:

(a) The minimum age of marriage by law has been increased from 16 years to 20 years. The increase in the marriageable age is a logical step as it is expected to delay the onset of childbearing, shortens the reproduction period, produces longer intervals among generations, and with the introduction of such a piece of legislation females are expected to stay longer at schools and training institutions, and to look for a job. All in all, fertility will decrease with the application of this legislation, at least by one child.

"There is a consensus that an increase in age at marriage and proportion of never married contributed to fertility decline in those less developed countries that have experienced considerable decline during recent decades" (Jain 1986 : 1604).

(b) Middle-aged and younger women nowadays are less ready to give their husbands absolute authority. Even the voluntary

submissiveness of women to husbands demands will begin changing to depend on the extent of the reasonableness of such demands (Altorki, 1986). Indeed younger couples have begun to make joint visits to other friends, discuss the fact that many children will make the wife look older and will work as a heavy burden on the husbands income. Therefore, spouses have begun to agree on the number of children to be raised, birth control measures to be used and even for some younger couples how to share household responsibilities.

- (c) The opening of new outlets for female marital dissatisfaction, such as making male repudiation invalid and placing it within the jurisdiction of a court, the female rights for divorce founded on an incompatibility principle and the regulation of polygamy - all will serve to emancipate women and lessen male dominance and will result in the economic independence of many females who find themselves obliged to join the labour force.
- (d) The assignment of women to the armed forces, although not accepted by many parents at this stage, might serve to make women believe in themselves and learn to say we and consequently such a role might emancipate them in the future, delay their marriages and stimulate them to be more active.
- (e) The fall in oil prices, resulting in the decreased per capita income, will encourage more women to take part in facing the cost of family maintenance and might make families think twice in their preliminary preference for large families. This trend will be sustained by the fact that children's value in labour and for the old age security has declined, infant and child mortality decreased and also by the recent significant

rise in the cost of child rearing. A word of caution is necessary, however, in respect of the reduction in the number of children. The preference for large families is unlikely to change very quickly, but it will be affected.

- (f) The elite's commitment to traditions, resulting from the many years of colonial assault on the cultural integrity of the country, is starting to relax these days.
- (9) The increasing enrolments of females at all educational levels and the application of compulsory education up to the preparatory level indicates and surely will create a new generation who will accept the fact that females have the right to learn and gain new skills. "Future couples are expected to change their parents' practices and are anticipated to lengthen their daughter's schooling periods and allow them to take part in various social and economic activities. El-Waheshy (1981:118) found out that male respondents covered by his survey who are highly educated have more modern attitudes towards women's employment in politics and the labour force.

Education shapes up beliefs, customs and perception (Wedley 1973), and consequently delays marriages particularly in the case of girls, has a strong delaying effect on women to enter parenthood (Marini, 1984), and suggests a vocational career as an alternative to the female reproduction role. Improvements in education, particularly at higher levels, may also be associated with increased economic security which in turn is related to smaller families; and education, especially beyond the primary level, induces a substantial reduction in child bearing (U.N., 1973; Kadis, 1977; Zurayk, 1977; Lele, 1986).

Education, moreover, activates women's knowledge about sanitary and nutritional techniques, makes society relinquish the prevailing language cultural approach towards women, promotes personal fulfilment, arouses consciousness, minimizes sentimentalism as it increases their demand for equal opportunity (Marshall, 1984). El Huni (1978), when he studied determinants of Libyan women participation in the labour force, reached a conclusion that education is the single most determinant factor which stimulates women to the labour market.

In the prevailing cultural and social context, the integration of Libyan women will not come through the complete rejection of their domestic responsibilities when men are brought to the field of household duties or through the destruction of the male patriarchy organizations and the production system on which such organization is based. Neither will it come from making the private family work as a public one, nor will it come from women's seizure of an equal share of political power as some scholars advocate (Rosaldo, 1974; Savane, 1984; Stacey and Price, 1981; Leibowitz, 1983); rather the integration of Libyan women in the development process will come through the understanding of the significance of their familial role and the reduction of such a role through the wide-scale introduction of reasonably priced household conveniences, and from the provision of adequate social organizations at low cost and with good supervision, by their education and training and opening new work opportunities, and by patience. Farida Allaghi (1986), a Libyan female scholar, was right when she stated that planners should realize the fact that opposition to women working in Libya is not as strong as the design of their developmental programmes anticipate. Indeed, some 100,000 Libyan women are working these days, a number unimaginable a few years ago.

With the elite's commitment to female emancipation, with industrial status and with the spectacular gains in female education, one can be optimistic that in the future women in Libya will be a potential labour force resource, competing with many nationals and substituting a great many foreign workers.

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CHAPTER EIGHTCONCLUSION

In olden times there was the folk story of a poor, hard-working, beautiful girl called Cinderella who by a fluke married a prince and lived happily ever after; in many aspects this fits the case of Libya and the oil discovery. In a span of less than three decades Libya changed from a little known country which had nothing to a country possessing almost everything (at least in the material sense); from a country referred to by many as deficient to one of the most prosperous and wealthiest in the world. Such an unimaginable dramatic transformation is due mainly to oil production and exportation.

As a result of the rising oil revenues heavy investments have become possible to make up for centuries of deprivation. Because development has intensified and progressed so rapidly and concentrated on large capital intensive programmes, a problem of skilled manpower to cope with these projects has emerged. The exceptional growth of the modern sector has required skills and attitudes which Libyans have lacked. Indeed development planning in the country in the last 20 years or so has been intensified and guided by the latest and most advanced world technology at the time when the educational and training system has been left behind, incapable of preparing the indigenous population to cope with such technology. The situation was best described by Wright (1982) when he reported that the ability of Libyans to buy and possess high advanced technology formed modernized islands in a sea of extreme technological backwardness. The low productivity of the apathetic local labour force and untrained

bureaucrats necessitated the need for foreign expatriate skills; and consequently there was an influx of migrants who were not entirely suitable.

Despite the fact that the uncontrolled flow of expatriates resulted in an upward push for certain Libyans (the educated in particular) into more professional and managerial types of occupations, for the bulk of locals the story is different. They either engaged in secure types of industries or they remained in the traditional sector leaving occupations at the lowest level of prestige/wage ladder for the non-nationals resulting in a dual type of labour force. As in Saudi Arabia this duality is most obvious in the continual presence of so large a proportion of local labour force in the traditional rather unproductive sector (Birks and Sinclair 1980, Birks and Sinclair, 1983), with the rural population surviving not on a productive agricultural base but increasingly dependent on non-wage incomes (Seccombe, 1980). Moreover as in other Arab oil exporting countries, foreign workers began to perform all tasks and locals got spoiled to the extent that a bedouin forgot how to herd his cattle and the farmer forgot how to till the land (Ibrahim, 1986). Women, moreover, no longer performed their household duties, as these were done by servants from Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. The heavy dependence of Libyans on foreign workers was well described by a peasant in The Green March Newspaper (1982) when he reported the following: "my hands are soft ... I'm an educated peasant ... why should I toil when I have more than seven workers employed by me, one for herding, one for milking, etc. My only problem is that the Pakistani worker said that he can not climb palm trees because there are none in his country and he is not used to doing it ... please look for a machine or a foreign worker who can perform the task instead of me".

Governmental policies, perhaps up to 1983, have been largely short sighted and not very effective. It is only from 1983 onwards when an awakening occurred. The drastic decline in oil production and prices made policy makers become more realistic in facing facts and they then started to repair the damage done in previous years. Due to the fact that the manpower problem needs comprehensive planning its imperfections discussed in earlier chapters can not, or will not be removed easily. Throughout the discussions some important issues have emerged which are restressed, namely -

(1) Reorganizing the educational system is necessary to make it more responsive to the labour force demand signals. This would involve developing an efficient and large enough number of teachers and concentrating on adult education and education for life. Adult training should concentrate on massive campaigns against illiteracy, but more importantly it should concentrate on the creation of a polytechnic programme for dropouts and illiterates in the rural as well as the urban areas. A programme like this has to be designed to include : training in the use, maintenance and repair of agricultural and non agricultural mechanization e.g. water pumps, tractors, seeding and harvest machines, water economy and technology, carpentry, animal husbandry, crop rotation, plumbing, car maintenance, tailoring, knitting, home economics, health, hygiene and sanitation.

Related to the above there should be on the job training and continuing education for life. It is observed that there is a distinct lack of effort from the state and on the part of industry to train the indigenous population and labour force to help themselves and to understand the changing pattern of technology. Lots of talking has

taken place, but not much action. This programme of education and training should exist on a wide scale to repair former deficiencies in the education and training system.

There is an outstanding effort on the part of the state to promote formal education; the increase in student enrolment, and the concentration on female education are only examples in this respect. However, the educational system has its deficiencies, most important of which, at least until recently, was its deep-seated weakness of non-utilitarianism. In other words, the responsibility of both the school and the curricula has been for long to prepare the input on very broad terms, not specifically i.e. more technicians and engineers.

The new proposed educational system discussed when we handled literacy in the country is a step forward in the right direction. By the adoption of the new educational structure and through the preparation of a healthy environment in which it can work and succeed, the Libyan society will consciously change the value of education and training from its present prevailing value symbolism to value practicalism. The point I have in mind is that education and training should be designed for customers, not mobilize them from one social class to another; rather to increase their productivity when it produces of them a mix of skills and aptitudes needed by various economic and social sectors. Thus what is needed after the adoption and implementation of the new educational structure is to make its programmes popular among children and then parents.

(2) The low crude participation rates among Libyans discussed in Chapter 4 is suggestive of the existence of a widespread of

under-utilization of nationals in the labour force. To use the available labour force more optimally, in addition to what has already been recommended in previous discussion three important points need to be re-emphasized :

- a. The readjustment of employment policies is necessary, with the injection of the labour force with constructive incentives; the problem of how to motivate nationals to enter some types of socially undesirable occupations, for example, is still very important. Continuous exhortation with minor economic and non-economic incentives is unrealistic. The comparatively low vocational and training enrolment serves as an evidence, although the cultural functions have room in this respect, the absence of significant incentives is equally important.
- b. Female participation and integration in the labour force is ready to take off. However, the issue is still delicate and should be handled with great care. The status quo requires more education, more training, more employment opportunities; the lessening of the traditional constraints through all means and patience will help the situation. In the short term it is suggested that part-time employment for women should be made available on a large scale to lessen the brain drain of women staying at home. Part-time employment would enable them to balance their time between work and their traditional role.
- c. The existing continuous interruption of unorganized military obligations and drafting should be looked at, or else skills learned could be forgotten and the habit of work and education could be lost.

(3) At the present time labour force development research and consultancy policies are scattered and fragmented among various Secretariat and Administration bodies. Because this fragmentation and lack of coordination deter planners and those who are concerned with the employment and the improvement of productivity, the situation necessitates and requires putting labour force policies in this respect on solid, scientific and more coordinated methods. Thus the creation is proposed of one agency with appropriate regional branches, capable of performing such a task on the basis of accurate data, objective analyses and adequate long and short term planning, and it is to be called the National Labour Force Centre (NLFC). NLFC will therefore take over all scattered efforts in the field of research studies and advice and supervise the vocational and training centres with the coordination of concerned Secretariats and various other departments with a clear objective to upgrade them. However, in particular NLFC should be entitled to carry on the following.

- a. To collect information on the labour force size and characteristics - such information should include those at work and those who are waiting for jobs. Moreover, NLFC shall perform demographic studies and forecast demographic evaluations.

- b. To analyse and identify labour force problems in the country and coordinate between labour force input and output channels in a way to ensure the adoption of successful training programmes with direct links with the labour force market.

c. To seek and build relations with regional and international agencies in fields related to human resource development. The possibility of achieving manpower development on a regional perspective should not be omitted. Some vital occupations that are not hoped to be Libyanized in shorter periods of time could even be Arabized.

d. To carry out detailed research in the field of manpower. Presumably the most pertinent studies to be conducted by the Centre may include :

- i how to stimulate the interest of locals to technology and vocational training.
- ii how to instill work ethics in society.
- iii the way to accelerate female integration in development.
- iv how to reach a balance between the state defence requirements and labour force demand.
- v the existing employment of graduates and its effect on productivity.
- vi the prevailing incentives systems and where they fall short.

To make the Centre function in a proper way it should be legally empowered and organizationally linked to a high level administrative body i.e. The Peoples Popular Committee (Ministers Council) and with various secretariats represented on its board.

One may speculate that if such a Centre was created fifteen or twenty years ago bottlenecks which have occurred, and which are still taking place when many foreign expatriates left the country, might not have arisen.

To conclude the discussion of this thesis it is suggested that some lessons have to be learnt by Libyans:

(1) Although oil solved many problems, it also created others, the most important of which was the raising of aspirations of Libyans unrealistically. Indeed it has been proved that oil wealth is difficult to cope with.

(2) The pace of development from now on should be directed by the rate by which it can create and develop needed human skills (Hall, 1975).

(3) Libya should not act like other capital-rich, population-poor countries such as Kuwait or Qatar or even Saudi Arabia with high revenue and huge reserves, or like Iraq or Algeria who have other developmental potentialities. Libya should remember that the line between to famish and to be over-fed is so thin to the extent that in the long run if Libyans do not make important and wise developmental policies, famine might occur when oil slows down or disappears.

(4) The recent decline in oil prices is a lesser evil than many think, as probably it is a concealed benefit for Libya to direct policy makers to take appropriate measures, not sparing the rod (if necessary) to highly expectant spoiled locals, and to rationalize investment.

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