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A critical investigation of the impact of internal family migration on the city of Benghazi, in Libya

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A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE IMPACT OF INTERNAL FAMILY MIGRATION ON THE CITY OF BENGHAZI, IN LIBYA

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Abstract

The Impact of Internal Family Migration on the City of Benghazi, in Libya

During the last fifty years the city of Benghazi in Libya has attracted huge streams of migrants from villages and small towns. This is due to the pull factors of jobs and social services in the city and to the push factors associated with the neglect of villages and small towns. This resulted in the city quickly increasing in size, leading to rapid population growth, culminating in many economic, social and demographic problems. However, little is known about Libyan migration especially in relation to the challenges posed by internal migration. Therefore, there is a need to examine the phenomena of internal migration and its effect on Benghazi, in order to provide planners and policy makers with up-to-date and relevant information to help them make appropriate decisions.

The key aim of this study was to determine and critically evaluate the impact of internal migration on Benghazi using an interpretive approach. This was achieved by combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The empirical core of this thesis is based on field work data, including questionnaire interviews with 150 heads of household who had migrated to Benghazi; supplemented by 10 in-depth narrative studies with selected families; and semi structured interviews with key informants (policy makers) to investigate Government policy and the economic, social and demographic impact of internal migration on the city of Benghazi. The starting point of the theoretical basis of this study is based on theories developed by Ravenstein, Lee and Sjaastad.

The research shows that there has been a high rate of migration flow to Benghazi over the last fifty years, and that the economic elements (job opportunities, higher incomes and more regular work) are the most important motives for migrating, in addition to social factors namely attending education and having access to health services. The research found that migration to Benghazi involved a bulk exodus of

the whole family unit to take advantage of a better lifestyle in Benghazi. The thesis further reveals that these family streams of migrants have affected the social, economic and demographic situation of Benghazi. Despite the Libyan Government seeking to reduce streams of internal migrants, some of these policies have worked, others have not. There is thus difference between what was planned and what has actually been achieved on the ground, demonstrating the need for research such as this.

Key words: internal family migration, impact, Benghazi and government policy.

Dedication

To my beloved late Mother (stepmother) and Brother, to their purified spirit I dedicate this simple work.

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I would like to express a special thanks to my Director of Studies Professor Hazel Barrett. I am indebted to her for her guidance and high quality supervision, without which this thesis could not have been completed.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

A M F	Arab Monetary Fund
A U D I	Arab Urban Development Institute
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CDR	Crude Death Rate
D A	Doxiadis Associates
D U P	Department of Urban Planning
D U P B	Department of Urban Planning in Benghazi
E S C A P	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
G A I	General Authority for Information
G O H	General Organization for Housing
G P C A L W	General People's Committee for Agriculture, Livestock and Water
G P C E	General Popular Committee for Education
G P C H	General Popular Committee for Health
G P C P	General People's Committee for Planning
G P C G S	General People's Committee for General Security
I M L	Interior Ministry of Libya
I O M	International Organization for Migration
L G C E	Libyan General Company for Electricity
L U P A	Libya Urban Planning Agency
L Y D	Libyan Dinar
U N D P	United Nations Development Programme
U N P D	United Nations Population Division

Chapter One Introduction to the Thesis

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Since the discovery of oil and its commercial exploitation, Libya has witnessed accelerated economic and social development. Although the overall aim of economic and social plans was to attain national and regional sustainability and balanced development among the regions of Libya, these plans failed as a result of the unexpected scale and speed of development. In fact, the development plans of the 1950s and 1960s paid attention to cities while neglecting rural and remote areas. This has resulted in inequality and disparities emerging between Libyan regions. This in turn has led to Benghazi and Tripoli becoming cities that are very attractive to internal migrants.

Internal migration has played a vital role in the distribution of population between Libyan provinces; the 1964 population census indicates that more than 40 per cent of Libya's population had been counted in areas which were not their birthplace. They were mostly migrants to the main cities, yet there is a clear contrast between the country's provinces in levels of population concentration. As a result of this massive internal shift in population, Benghazi and Tripoli are now home to about 30 - 40 per cent of the Libyan population. In general, migration to these cities represents a phenomenon with many negative facets which has led to the emergence of economic and social problems.

The aim of this research is to determine the impact of the internal migration process on the population and administration of Benghazi (see justification below). This study will take an in-depth look at the impacts of internal migration upon the Benghazi region. It will discuss issues associated with the growing slums in and around Benghazi, the shortage of housing, urban expansion at the expense of surrounding agricultural land and the strain that migration puts on social services. The study will also highlight policy responses by the Libyan Government.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Urban centres in Libya, mainly Benghazi and Tripoli, have received the lion's share of income from the oil boom. Benghazi has, over the last fifty years drawn huge numbers of migrants from other regions of the country, in search of work and other opportunities, including the return of Libyan refugees and their families, who sought refuge in neighbouring countries during the Italian occupation (1911- 1945) and the Second World War. The population of the city has multiplied by almost ten times over the last five decades. Kezeiri (2003) suggests that the population of Benghazi has reached more than a million, including both internal and international inward migration.

It goes without saying, that the growth of population in Benghazi, due to migration, has created serious problems such as the need to provide housing. Thus rapid migration has created situations of urban blight, squatter settlements and the unplanned extension of the city, at the expense of surrounding agricultural land. The area covered by the city of Benghazi has increased from 1,092 hectares in 1966 to 33, 000 hectares in 2009 (D U P B 2009a). Consequences of this urban growth are numerous such as mounting land values, congestion, housing scarcity, shortages of health care services, inadequate education provision and the spread of unemployment and crime.

The spatial spread of Benghazi has had a serious impact on the agriculture sector of the region. Between 1995 and 2007, the area of planted arable land in the region shrank from 49,926 hectares to 12,574 hectares, a 74.8 per cent decline. It appears that, during the period of this shrinkage, the production of major fruit trees (olive, almond, palm, and other fruits), and animals (sheep, goats, cows, camels and poultry) significantly decreased, with the lowest decrease for the number of camels (- 56.7 per cent) and highest decrease was in the number of poultry (- 97.9 per cent). This problem is directly attributable to rural to urban migration that Benghazi has experienced over the last 50 years.

1.3. Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to determine and critically evaluate the impact of internal family migration on Benghazi city, and to analyse government response and policy. Therefore, the following practical objectives are identified:-

1- To identify and analyse the volumes, patterns and net flows of internal family migration to Benghazi over the last 50 years.

2- To undertake a critical investigation of a sample of internal family migrants to Benghazi, including an analysis of their economic, social and demographic characteristics.

3- To undertake a critical analysis of the economic, social and demographic impacts of internal family migration on Benghazi.

4- To carry out a critical evaluation of the socio-economic policy challenges of family immigration to Benghazi.

1.4. Justification for the Study

The focus on internal migration to Benghazi in this thesis was due to the following factors:-

1-This study is exploratory and will contribute to the literature and knowledge about internal migration in Libya, as few studies have been undertaken about this phenomenon in the last twenty years.

2- Benghazi has experienced huge population and urban growth because of the oil boom. Thus Benghazi has grown more rapidly than other Libyan cities. The population has jumped from 69,700 in 1954 to 608,782 in 2006 (M N E 1958; G A I 2009).

3- Benghazi city is the capital of the eastern region of Libya. It is attractive to migrants because it is a major administrative and commercial centre with a high standard of living and concentration of social services.

4-Little is known about Libyan migration, especially the impacts of family migration. The phenomenon of internal migration of families is a contemporary geographical challenge, affecting the demographic, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of

receiving communities. The consequent need for city planning and social policy based upon modern relevant data, means that the study of internal migration is imperative for planners, experts, policy makers and to be a starting point for similar studies for Libya in particular and the Middle East in general.

The originality of this study can be justified in the following terms; its first claim is the creation of original knowledge, which will be shown by the research on family migration to Benghazi. This research will provide up-to-date data on a phenomenon which has a long history in Libya but which has not previously been researched in-depth. The second dimension of the thesis is that it will contribute to understanding the process of urbanisation increase. This is deemed a fundamental issue not only in Libya, but also in North Africa and the Middle East. In addition this study will contribute to filling a gap in the literature and knowledge of internal migration in Libya. There are several benefits to be gained from undertaking this research on internal family migration in Libya, and this research will add a distinct contribution to knowledge.

This research has adopted an interpretive approach combining quantitative methods with qualitative data to investigate the importance of the phenomenon of internal migration, which affects the demographic, socio-economic and cultural characteristics of a community. The results of this research are very important for city planning and social policy to provide them with modern relevant data which means that the study of internal family migration is imperative. Libya has a long history of migration and is still in dire need of empirical studies tackling internal migration issues which should also be a base for further demographic, economic and social studies in the future.

1.5. The Structure of the Thesis

Following this first chapter, the thesis is divided into seven chapters (Figure 1.1). Chapter two gives an overview of recent literature on internal migration. This chapter contributes to a definition of internal migration, spatial patterns and the various directions of internal migration movement. Also the chapter examines the major migration theories such as economic theory, theories about the causes of migration and decision-making theory.

The final section of this chapter includes four important themes; the first describes the major causal factors of internal migration; the second focuses on the immigrant's characteristics; the third section discusses the impacts of internal migration; and the final part puts particular stress on government policy responses to immigration.

Chapter three describes and discusses the general setting and background of the city of Benghazi, including social, economic and demographic aspects, in order to determine the interaction between these important elements and internal migration.

Chapter four justifies the adoption of an interpretive approach to the research and informs the selection of study techniques which has been based on the need to gather information from primary and secondary data. The research strategy of triangulation was adopted. The research is quantitative aiming to examine statistical information on migration streams, and qualitative, in order to formulate a more in depth analysis by involving interviews with a number of decision makers and case studies using in-depth interviews with families in Benghazi to understand the reasons for migration and impacts of these migration streams on Benghazi.

 The outcomes of the field study are analysed in depth in chapters five, six and seven (comprising the empirical heart of the study). Chapter five identities and analyses the flows of internal family migration to Benghazi over the last 50 years. It presents a complex picture of major reasons for internal migration to Benghazi. Also this chapter examines the background characteristics of immigrants in the study area, in terms of their demographic, economic and social characteristics. Furthermore it presents preliminary perspectives on the migrant's adjustment to urban life and their length of stay and it continues by describing the distribution of migrants by type of housing. This chapter clearly demonstrates that family migration dominates rural to urban internal migration streams in Libya.

Chapter six presents critical analysis of the positive and negative consequences of internal family migration on the city and the community of the city and related issues. Thus demographic, economic and social impacts on the city are examined.

Chapter seven provides a critical evaluation of the role of adapted policies and their effect on internal migration in Libya. This chapter evaluates the strengths and

weaknesses of development plans, regarding internal migration. It also analyses what was planned and what has been achieved.

Finally, the thesis ends with Chapter eight which discusses key findings, conclusions and gives some suggestions for government policy and future research.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

Statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study and justification for the study

Chapter 2: Definition, spatial patterns, direction and important migration theories. Main causal factors of internal migration, the immigrant's characteristics, impacts of internal migration and policy responses to immigration.

Chapter 3: Background,

General profile of Benghazi city

Chapter 4: Methodology and research strategy for the field study, techniques used to collect data from primary and secondary sources, ethics and data analysis

Chapter 5: Streams of internal family migration (in-migration, out-migration and net migration) and key reasons for internal migration. Characteristics of immigrants to Benghazi (demographic, economic and social) and immigrant's adjustment to city life.

Chapter 6: Investigation into the impacts of internal family migration on Benghazi: demographic, economic and social impacts

Chapter 7: Evaluation of government policies regarding internal family migration in Libya

Chapter 8: Main findings of the thesis, conclusions and recommendations

Figure (1.1) Organization of the thesis

Chapter Two Internal Migration: Background

CHAPTER TWO

Internal Migration: Background

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will review existing research on internal migration, focusing on destination areas of internal migration. It starts with a brief overview of debates concerning definitions of internal migration. It then discusses some of the more familiar migration theories, spatial patterns and direction of internal migration. This is followed by discussion of the duration of internal migration. The next section outlines some of the main factors causing internal migration. The most important immigrant's characteristics are then identified. The chapter concludes by reviewing impacts of internal migration and policy responses to immigration in order to obtain a better understanding of the state of the topic area. These themes have been reviewed from a multitude of publications at the global level, including developing countries, North Africa and the Middle East. It is worth mentioning that there are no specific theories to cover internal family migration.

2.2. Migration Overview

International and internal migrations have different impacts on regions of a country, based on a blend of economic, social, environmental and political elements (Gagahe 2000). In spite of internal migration being very important with respect to the numbers of people involved, international movement has received more consideration in the literature and international policy debates. Deshingkar and Grimm (2004), for example, state that approximately 120 million people migrated between China's regions in 2001 in contrast to less than half a million persons that migrated internationally seeking employment. In India and Vietnam during the last decade several million people moved internally but only a small number of people moved internationally (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). All these statistics show how the study of internal migration is important, but has received less attention compared to international migration and hence internal migration was chosen as the focus of this thesis.

Internal population movement is more likely to increase economic activity in developing countries than international population movement (Deshingkar 2006). Some of this effect will be due to the remittances from internal migration being spread evenly over rural areas. International remittances are smaller in number and targeted towards a few recipient families in a different country. Furthermore, internal population movement is a significant driver of development in several sectors, for example, industrialisation, construction and modernisation of agriculture (Deshingkar 2006). In developing countries internal migration is intensifying because of the traditional push and pull forces that cause population movement from disadvantaged areas to wealthier regions. These pressures might be heightened through increasing population strain and worsening water and land accessibility in areas of origin. Yet several new configurations of internal migration have also appeared as the result of more consideration being given to urbanisation and industrialisation (I O M 2005). It is well known that men are expected to move more than women and young people are likely to move more than the elderly and children (Reed, Andrzejewski and White 2010; WU 2006; Saad 2003). This leads to an imbalance in the age structure and gender balance of both host and origin populations. Above all this kind of movement is responsible for the rapid increase of population in cities, which puts considerable pressure on public services in destination areas (Saad 2003).

2.3. Definitions of Migration

The word 'migration' in the Arabic language means to exit from one land to another, as well as to go away or depart; researchers have given a variety of definitions for migration, whilst geographers and population scholars consider migration as a geographic phenomenon, which refers to population movement from one geographical region to another that results in a change of place of residence of a person. At the same time sociologists believe that migration is the permanent or temporary transfer of people to places where there are livelihoods to be found (Abd Al-Kader AlGasir 1992), whereas economists are interested in the movement and the flows of labour and capital. But as Daugherty and Kammeyer (1995) state it is clearly a combination of all of these:

> Migration is one of the three processes of population change (fertility and mortality are the other two). It has an impact on population growth and

population composition. It can produce social integration as well as social conflict. It is a familiar and important part of the working of many societies, and yet it remains one of the most difficult concepts to define and measure. One reason for this difficulty is that the definition of migration can change depending on the issue being considered (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995: 109).

It should be stressed that it is important to distinguish between three terms. The first one is <u>migration</u> which refers to the process of travel and movement of people from one place to another. The second is <u>emigration</u> (departure) which refers to the movement of people who have gone outside the sender region to live in another place, and finally <u>immigration</u> (arrival) refers to the process of people who come into the place of reception to live. Kassab (2002) defines the mover as a person who moves temporarily or permanently from one place to another. Daugherty and Kammeyer (1995) further differentiate between movers and migrants:

> Demographers may distinguish between a mover (or residential mobility) and a migration (or migrant): a mover changes residence but remains in the same community, city, or county, while a migrant changes residence (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995:109-110).

Also there is a general definition that migration is the movement of people, whether voluntary or forced, from the place of previous residence to live permanently or temporarily elsewhere aiming to improve their living and social standards (Murad 1996).

2.3.1. United Nations Definition

The UN has an agreed international legal definition of migration which is:

> a move from one migration- defining area to another (or a move of some specified minimum distance) that was made during a given migration interval and that involved a change of residence. A migrant is a person who has changed his usual place of residence from one migration-defining area to another… at least once during the migration interval (U N P D1970:2).

According to the United Nations internal migration is the movement of people (individuals or groups) between different geographic regions within a country, for a year or more.

2.3.2. Libya's Definition

Libya defines the concept of migration as permanent or temporary movement to a place of considerable distance from home. In other words internal migration is a form of spatial movement between different geographic territories, aiming at permanent residency. Also the movement of individuals or groups from one region to another within one country. The definition excludes the movement of nomads, seasonal migrants, tourists, workers and employees who commute daily from their house to a place of work (Saad 2003). The Libyan definition chimes with the United Nations definition.

This study will adopt a definition of internal migration as any voluntary movement of people from one specific municipality or city within Libya's borders to live in another place changing permanently their place of residence, for a continuous period of at least one year. This definition is broadly in line with that of the U N and also the definition as adopted in all Libyan censuses which are main source of data in relation to volume, patterns and net flows of internal migration and the characteristics of immigrants.

2.4. Internal Migration

Internal migration is very strongly associated with economic and social differences that occur between different regions of a country. McDowell and de Haan (1997) argue that research into migration should not only be on movement, but should include the relationship between origin and destination areas. Moreover, internal migration is a form of population movement, and the model of this movement of people from one place to another should include those seeking a different pattern of life (Saad 2003).

Table (2.1) Classification of migration using different standards

Table 2.1 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged
version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry
University

Source Ghanim (2002:17)

It is clear that there are two important criteria for the concept of migration: a spatial criterion and a temporal criterion. As for the spatial standard, migration refers to a change of place of residence. In other words, a permanent movement from the place of residence to another place within the same country. When the residence in the place of destination is for at least one month and less than a year it is a temporary migration since residence for any period more than one year is permanent migration. The temporal standard is associated with duration of migration. This is a very important standard that distinguishes between migration and other types of spatial mobility. Ghanim (2002) also added economic factors to these criteria that the movement of a person with his companions (dependent people) from home to another place aiming to be a permanent resident with income-earning capacity or full economic dependence on the new permanent place. This definition does not include tourists and business people (see table 2.1).

In general migration includes the temporary or permanent movement of a group or an individual from a position of source to a position of host (Parnwell 1993). The new place of normal residence also includes improvement in means and increases in socio-economic opportunity (Zohry 2005).

2.5. The Duration of Internal Migration

A large proportion of the written work on internal mobility has concentrated on long term movement principally due to formal studies focusing on long-term transfer.

Generally, poor immigrants travel to the nearest places, because of a lack of resources, capabilities and information (Deshingka and Grimm 2004).

> Rural to urban migration may again take many forms, such as (a) permanent migration, (b) temporary migration, (c) seasonal migration, (d) circular migration and (c) commuting. The process ranges from short distance mobility (commuting) to long distance and long term movement or permanent migration (Mahbub 1997, cited in Islam 1999: 7).

Internal migration is the movement of people between different areas of a country. It can involve several types of migration namely: rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban, and urban-rural which takes place for diverse reasons comprising employment movement, matrimony, as well as including different families and persons. Migration might be long term, short term or cyclic (Waddington 2003). For example in Ghana, the form of Dagaaba migration has changed from rural to urban movement to rural to rural regions and in this situation people migrate straight from their villages to the region of Brong Ahafo, whereas migration from urban to rural is often travelled in stages. Over the same period in the Brong Ahafo area, the duration of migration has changed from temporary during the first half of the twentieth century to permanent migration in the last twenty years of that century (Abdul-korah 2006).

2.5. 1. Temporary Movement

Studies about temporary migration have mainly been disregarded in the social sciences because it appears between the two more regularly investigated subjects of tourism and more permanent movement (Brown and Bell 2003).Compared to the bulk of literature investigating forms of long-term migration, the importance of short-term migration has been understood for a long time, particularly in Third World countries (Bell and Brown 2005). However, Bell (2004) argues that short-term mobility is perhaps most easily described as the accessory to long-term migration; at the same time as any spatial dislodgment that does not include a continual change of residence.

Short-term migration characterises an alternative to a permanent move (Bell and Brown 2005). On the other hand, Guest (2003) notes that temporary travels in Thailand consist of both seasonal mobility and additional types of temporary

migrations have been expected to make up about one third of all migration periods lasting at least thirty days. In the same manner, I O M explained that:

> The demographic characteristics of temporary migrants may be different from longer-term migrants. Temporary migrants are more likely to be older, male, have lower levels of education, married (but who leave their families behind in the area of origin), living in poor conditions and remitting more of their income (I O M 2005: 28)

Afsar (2005) found that short-term mobility is a normal living policy for deprived people in South-East Bangladesh, although their capacity to raise the family out of poverty stays limited. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa short-term movement of agricultural labourers has been a significant resource as well as lifting the output of low level farming by means of investing capital in seeds and water management (I O M 2005).

2.5. 2. Permanent Movement

Permanent movement is a long-term migration away from a place of origin to another geographical location (Barnett and Webber 2009). Longer-term migration is the means that creates variation in human communities (Brown and Bell 2003). For example, in China over half of immigrants and intra-migrants stay long-term, and about two thirds of migrants to large urban centres are long-term migrants. In sharp contrast, long-term migrants into small towns only accounted for around 20 per cent. It is also important to point out that urban to rural migrants tended to move permanently (over 87 per cent) (Wan 1995).

2.5.3. Seasonal Movement

Seasonal migration is a useful means for migrants who are smallholders to assist them in providing the needs of the family as well as extra ways of earning (Abril and Rogaly 2001; Afsar 2005). Furthermore, migrants are typically of the age group 15 to 35 years and able to carry out physical employment (E S C A P, 2003). In the same vein, Van der Geest argues that:

> In Ghana: seasonal migration contributes to food security in five different ways. Firstly, seasonal labour migrants bring home food from southern Ghana; secondly, they bring home money to buy food; thirdly, the seasonal absence of household

members reduces the pressure on the food stock because they do not eat at home; fourthly, without seasonal migrant income, the lack of money for daily cash needs would compel people to sell food after the harvest and go hungry in the lean season; and fifthly, seasonal migration is an important coping strategy to get access to food in bad harvest years (Van der Geest 2005:12).

In the second half of the nineteen eighties, seasonal migrants made up over three quarters of migrants in China. This kind of migration was the result of several factors including the lack of a successful policy regarding people movement and a limited and underdeveloped local labour market (Wan 1995).

2.6. General Migration Theories

A diversity of theoretical perspectives has been used to explain the process of internal migration. Each one has diverse concepts and hypotheses. In other words, different theories try to analyse internal migration in terms of social, economic, and demographic aspects at both international and national level.

This study will discuss a number of migration theories to locate the prospective influential elements for the investigation of internal migration to Benghazi. This research will specifically focus on three sociological and economic theories developed by Ravenstein, Lee and Sjaastad, which have been highly influential for research on migration. These theories have highlighted the association between migration and socioeconomic development, stressing that people will constantly migrate once faced by good opportunities (Dugbazah 2007).

2.6.1. Theories about the Causes of Migration

There is an argument that there is no one theory that presents a full conceptual framework of internal migration that takes into account all the reasons for migration, but there are several integrated theories that attempt to deal with the reasons of those who choose to migrate (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995).

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century Ravenstein suggested that the decision to move is often prudent and carefully considered by persons who are keen to improve their economic opportunities. Ravenstein proposed some laws of

migration: (I) many migrants travel only short distances, indicating a negative relationship between movement volume and travel distance. (II) many of the major migration streams follow the urban hierarchy, many migrants move from farm to small villages, from villages to larger towns and then to large cities. (III) females migrate shorter distances than males, and males are more likely to migrate abroad. (IV) economic causes are the main factors of migration. (V) migrants who move long distances do not settle in smaller towns, rather, they move to urban centres. (VI) large towns grow more by in-migration than by natural population increase. (VII) rural people are more likely to move than urban inhabitants. (VIII) as long as industries, development and the means of transport improve, the volume of migration increases. (IX) migration proceeds step by step (Planea, Henrie and Perry 2005; Al-Sgour 2002; Ravenstein 1889; Grigg 1996; Skeldon 1997; Alskran and Mohammed 2004).

Ravenstein presented several significant suggestions, a number of which were very well documented at the time he published his analysis. It is worth mentioning that a number of these concepts remain used in modern-day theories. Ravenstein argues that migration flows have a tendency to comprise fewer males than females as long as the journey is short. He also observed that long distance migration is linked to people's age, and that this migration occurs at a higher rate among young people. This was emphasised by Daugherty and Kammeyer (1995):

> These "laws" were statements in the form of propositions about the nature of migration trends, streams of migration and migration differences among categories of people. For example, Ravenstein noted that migration tends to flow from rural places toward urban places (an empirical observation that was also made in the 17th century by John Graunt). He also observed that migration occurs in streams, that is, in distinct flows of people from a particular place of origin to some specific destination. When migration occurs in a stream, often there is also a counter stream of migrants moving in the opposite direction (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995: 112).

Woods (1983) argues that a common theory of migration ought to explain why migration happens. A theory is supposed to explain the various reasons involved in the decision making process. In the same way, Ravenstein believed the majority of

males wishing to develop their economic situation, was the main reason for migration (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995).

2.6.2. Decision-Making Theories

Ravenstein gives us a clear indication of migration flows; he explains these as being a response to economic factors. His work makes little effort to explain why some people migrate and others do not, when faced with the same set of factors. Clearly, it is very significant to recognise the decision making process of countryside families that move, given that the countrywide socioeconomic transformation tendencies in Third World countries, are very detrimental towards the welfare of the inhabitants of remote areas (Jong, Warland and Root, 1998). The decision to migrate is not a result of one factor, but the product of several factors which are complex and diverse. Because the migration process is selective, taking into account a migrant family's socioeconomic, educational and demographic characteristics, the impacts of economic and non-economic elements could be different, not just among countries and districts, but also inside particular regions and groups of people (Todaro 1997). Daugherty and Kammeyer (1995) support this by arguing that:

> Two assumptions must be made clear about decision-making theories… First, decision-making theories are only relevant when individuals are free to make choices. By "free," we mean primarily that individuals are not reacting to coercive government policies that force populations to migrate or keep them from doing so. The extreme example of slavery and to a more limited extent the displacement of groups of people through war, are instances in which individuals are not free to make choices about migration. Decision-making theories are only partially appropriate under these conditions. The second assumption is that there is some degree of rationality involved in making decisions to migrate. By "rationality," we mean that individuals can think about objectives or goals that they have for themselves. Next, they can make some kind of choice as to which goal or goals they wish to achieve (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995:115).

Jong, Warland and Root (1998) suggest that in migration research, imagined satisfaction with the host area, and unhappiness in the origin area are priority

arguments for moving, being significant pull - push factors in the behaviour of migrants. Willis (1974) suggests an influential factor in the decision to migrate is the characteristics of individuals namely, ethnicity, age, gender, marital status, economic status and as well as the characteristics of place of destination. Jong, Warland and Root (1998) in their study used a model which states that the behaviour of migration is directly linked to the desire and anticipation of migrating. The model additionally postulated that interaction is essential for family members when making the decision to migrate.

By contrast Lee, (1966) proposed several universal factors for all decisions to migrate which induces negative and positive elements related to the home area, also negative and positive elements related to the destination area. In addition, there are intervening difficulties as well as individual preferences (Sang 2004; Bilsborrow, 2002), i.e. whilst individuals react in many diffierent ways when confronted with the same factors he believes there were some universal truths in the migration decision. He called this the model of decision-making and stressed the role of push-pull factors as well as intervening opportunities (see figure 2.1).

Fig 2.1 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Figure (2.1) The model of decision-making theory   Source: Lee (1966; 50)

The model of decision-making theory can be clarified in figure (2.1). In the figure, Lee has used the symbols +, - and 0 at both sending and host areas. All factors

which encourage people to move to the destination area or remain in the origin area are the +'s and the factors which repel migrants from their origin, to a destination area or force migrants to leave the origin area are the set of – symbols. 0 designates elements that could be regarded as negative by some, whereas others regard them as positive, based on individual preferences (Hondagneu-Sotel1994; Todaro1976). Between the sending and receiving regions are jagged lines depicting intervening difficulties to the decision to migrate: for instance the expense of travelling between the two regions or migration legislation that limit movement. Whilst these intervening barriers might represent obstacles for some people, they would not influence all people similarly (Aldosari 2009).

Lee has presented what is a very interesting, brief and not demanding structure for investigating the internal movement process. This is because he is utilising his fundamental conceptualisation of migration (individual migration), including a number of origin and destination elements, some intervening obstacles and sequences of individual factors, to create a set of general assumptions with reference to the quantity of migrants, the growth of flow, the right of return and the categories of migrants (Todaro 1976; Haas 2007). Examples of the more significant of these assumptions are summarised in table (2.2).

Table (2.2) Volume of migration, stream and counterstream and characteristics of migrants

Volume of migration	Stream and counterstream	Characteristics of migrants
The volume of migration within a given territory varies directly in relation to the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.	Migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams (e.g. from a variety of rural regions to regional towns and then towards the major cities).	Migration is selective, i.e. migrants are not random samples of the population at the origin.
		Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be "positively" selected, i.e. they are of a higher "quality" (more educated, healthier, more ambitious, etc.) than the origin population at large
The volume of migration varies directly with the diversity of people.	For every major migration stream, a counterstream develops (i.e. there will always be return migrants who find that their initial perceptions did not accord with reality or who simply failed to achieve their objectives).	Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be "negatively" selected, e.g. most European migrants to North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were unskilled rural peasants driven off the land by economic hardship, political and religious persecution, etc.
The volume of migration is inversely related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.	The efficiency of the stream (ratio of stream to counterstream or the net redistribution of population affected by the opposite flows) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were minus factors at origin.	Taking all migrations together selection tends to be bimodal.
The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.	The efficiency of stream and counterstream tends to be low if origin and destination are similar.	The degree of "positive" selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening variables, i.e. the more educated are willing to travel longer distances to find suitable employment opportunities
Unless severe checks are imposed, both the volume and the rate of migration tend to increase with time.	The efficiency of migration stream will be high if the intervening obstacles are great.	The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migrants.
	The efficiency of migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression.	The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination.

Source: (Todaro 1976: 18-19) and (Lee 1966)

According to Butler and Kaiser (1971), the decision to migrate is established by several distinct elements related to the home region, the host region, intervening

obstacles and personal interest. Migration takes place once there are important disparities between origin areas and destination areas. For instance employees respond to the perceived unfairness in the spatial allocation of production elements namely land, employment, funds, and natural resources. Willis (1974) argues that the consequences of distance and overlapping chances on movement are actually a result of work, information, earnings, investment and supplementary factors. For the most part, there are push elements namely high taxes or poor socioeconomic opportunities which push people to migrate from origin areas, in contrast to the pull elements such as accessibility of employment or suitable weather conditions which attract poor people to a district and encourage people to stay (Haas 2007).

2.6.3. Critique of the Theory of Lee

There is much debate and critique of Lee's theory, for instance, with Lee's model of migration, which is heavily, based on individual decisions not group or family decisions. Moreover, Lee enthusiastically extracts some generalisations which make the theory less applicable. Although Lee's theory of migration is tempting as a result of its straightforwardness and enticing due to the intuitive legitimacy of several of its hypotheses, it is simplistic for strategy investigation in under developed nations owing to its high level of generalization and the interconnection of many of its assumptions. It is further significant that although many of the features seem to be correct, they do not help researchers to decide which plus elements and which minus elements, at both sending and receiving communities, are given most weight by diverse social groups, among the inhabitants. Nor does the knowledge of intervening barriers help scholars to identify which are main and which are less significant (Todaro 1979: 19).

Lee also mentions that during a period of economic recession, movement would slow down. First, during a period of recession, new investments and manufacturing may be unsuccessful, and this situation would decrease the amount of positive elements at host regions. Second, for the period of economic recession, migrants may choose the safety of their present place of habitation rather than the unfamiliar circumstances of other regions, in spite of the economic situation at their current residence being hard, they are recognized and well-known obstacles. Finally, the academic contribution of Lee to literature on migration is very important. Numerous

of his propositions have become a new series of thinking in support of other movement scholars. But it is primarily an economic approach to migration decision making, based on individual migration.

2.6.4. Economic Theories

Whilst recognising the importance of economic factors, Sjaastad (1962) recognised that other factors, such as social and psychological factors, as well as lifestyle aspirations, also impacted on migration decisions. According to Sjaastad (1962), human investment theory notes that the decision to move is an investment decision including the person's likely expenses and anticipated income for a particular period. He argues that the personal costs could be divided into money and social costs involving the higher expenses of foodstuffs, accommodation and fares, as against the expenses of an individual not moving and the psychological and social costs including leaving family and friends with whom they have strong relationships. The reasons for returning to the home area can also be divided into money, for example better income, social costs such as the nearness to relatives, and the social and psychosomatic advantages owing to the type of weather and landscape (Sjaastad 1962).

Sjaastad (1962) found a positive relationship between migration and income and often the anticipated direction would be high income linked with net in- migration, and low income with net out- migration. Also he argues that the job opportunities have significant influence on the decision to migrate. In other words, migration is mostly in response to disparities in incomes over space.

According to Riadh (1998) urban income dispersion plays an important role in the creation of pre migration potential and hence on the movement decision. In other words, the person's decision to move from the countryside to urban centres will be based on two main variables: the possibility of finding urban employment, and the real earnings disparity between the rural and the urban areas (Riadh 1998; Esp´ındola, Silveira and Penna 2006; Litchfield and Waddington 2003). Rural to urban migration is often accompanied by high levels of joblessness in urban centres when too many people migrate to areas with limited opportunities (Goldsmith, Gunjalb and Ndarishikanyec 2004).

A high proportion of migrants are young males, who are likely to be unemployed in rural areas with no family responsibilities, and so will be willing to move to search for work. Middle aged men are likely to be more settled, valued in their employment, and to have family commitments, hence they will be less likely to move. Older employees are well established in the work force and are least likely to move to make money, especially as they will have little time to recover the costs involved in migrating (Ritchey 1976; Landale and Guest 1985).

The main criticism of the theory of investment is that the decision to migrate is not in all cases considered on the basis of money (response to differences in earnings). Sometimes people migrate because of environmental conditions or the attractiveness of cities. On the other hand, many people do not have a clear idea about the costs of migration, especially rural people with a low level of education.

Generally speaking, Lee, Ravenstein and Sjaastad theories appear to have a more overall relevance in some aspects of migration in Libya but they are not static and tend to be descriptive rather than analytical.

2.7. Spatial Patterns and Direction (type) of Internal Migration Movement

Migration patterns and the nature of movement is an extremely significant question in migration studies. It is necessary to distinguish between different kinds of migration, thus making the impacts of migration on communities more clear (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995). There are several kinds of internal migration patterns, for instance (I O M 2005; Deshingkar and Grimm 2004), identified four types of migration: rural-urban, rural- rural, urban- rural and urban- urban. Commonly these can all occur in one country and occasionally even within the same locality, at the same time.

2.7.1. Rural-Urban Migration

With regards to rural-urban migration, Ravenstein's laws still present a coherent description of recent internal migration patterns, in particular rural-urban migration flows (Ravenstein 1889). Rural-urban movement has grown over the last fifty years, particularly in countries such as Bangladesh and China (I O M 2005; Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). There are a set of pull and push factors which control each case of migration from rural to urban centres. However, a number of professionals state

that, through time, pull factors have become dominant because the urban centres provide better employment opportunities and higher incomes, although nowadays push factors, such as decreasing opportunities, appear to have an increasing influence. Rural to urban migration occurs everywhere, but some areas or districts will be more prone than others (Gounder 2005). For example internal migration in Libya is mainly rural- urban movement especially to Benghazi and Tripoli (Hajjaji 1989; Ahtyosh 1994; Ali 2008). Ullah (2004) argues that rural –urban migration is caused by five reasons: the loss of agriculture land; shortage of income opportunities; seeking employment; accessibility to the informal sector; and joining family or relatives in the host areas. Ullah also highlights that the important reasons controlling rural to urban migration are likely to be the choices of greater income, more schooling opportunities, population size and social service convenience. A supplementary cause of rising rural-to-urban migration has been the development of schooling chances for rural people, and migration percentage usually expands concurrent with better education. The improved education of rural people has normally taken place without the growth of non-agricultural work chances, so this has an impact on the rise of migration from rural regions to urban centres of youth seeking work (Guest 2003).

Even if income in urban centres is similar to that in rural areas, work in urban areas might be more available and more stable than in rural areas where jobs are commonly seasonal (I O M 2005). There is no doubt that, in addition to better socio-economic opportunities, urban regions provide a higher likelihood of an improved standard of living and offer other facilities, namely piped water, electricity supply and government facilities which makes urban districts more attractive (Gounder 2005). In Asia the main group of internal migrants are the young which is a general characteristic of migrants from rural to urban areas (Guest 2003). A large proportion of migrants are seeking employment in the construction sector and urban services in the increasing informal sector (I O M 2005). Rural-urban migration has recently been seen as a process of removing poor people from rural to urban regions (Afsar 2003). For example, movements between urban and rural regions are often considered a key strategy for living of many families in Bangladesh (Ullah 2004). In China most cases of rural to urban movement are over large distances to substantial cities and industrial centres such as Guangdong. However, lesser migrations take

place, usually involving more underprivileged groups, towards smaller settlements and accumulations of non-agriculture action (I O M 2005). In the same manner, Islam (1999) argues that:

> It is mainly rural to urban migration which leads to urban growth and the difference in rate of rural population growth and urban population growth leads to urbanisation (i.e. percent of national population living in urban areas) (Islam 1999: 7).

However, in a number of nations, projects are being developed as a vital way to decrease poverty and increase economic growth in rural areas in order to stem rural to urban migration. Some governments are developing policies on movements of people to restrict rural to urban migration, for instance, China uses the Hukou system (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004).

2.7.2. Rural- Rural Migration

Guest (2003) found that migration from rural-to-rural areas remains the main form of migration streams in the majority of Asian countries since the majority of people live in rural districts. On the other hand, in Thailand the proportion of this form of movement is declining, whereas the percentage of movement from rural to urban is growing.

I O M (2005) reported similar findings in other poor areas of Asia where the movement of people from rural to rural areas is the main form of migration among employees from regions with bad conditions moving to the nearby wealthy agricultural regions which rely on irrigation systems that need extra labour. For example, in recent years India and Nepal have high rates of this kind of migration which would account for approximately two-thirds of the entire national internal movement of people.

Migration from rural to rural is in general carried out by people who have poor circumstances and little schooling. Owing to the wide spread nature of the host areas plus the isolation of the pushing areas, this is the least controlled of all migrations. There are very few accounts of this type of migration as it is typically neglected in most government studies (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004-21; I O M 2005; Rayhan, and Grote 2007). A more recent study by Abdul-korah (2006) focused on the

motivations of migrants in Ghana and argues that the reason why the Northern area has attracted a high proportion of movers is due to agricultural action (irrigation system) in the region of Damongo, which also occurred in the Brong Ahafo area that encouraged Dagaaba immigrants for many years.

2. 7. 3. Urban - Rural Migration

A greater part of migrants from urban to rural areas are people returning to their villages; this case is well-known, particularly in current studies on Africa and Southeast Asia (I O M 2005). Urban-rural migration may happen as older people retire from work and go back to the areas where they originally lived or as in some countries of Southern Africa in the second half of the last century with their structural adjustment policies, particularly in the situation of Zambia and Uganda. In the case of returning migrants the essential matter is that they might carry home a variety of skills which can advantage their rural communities (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004).

2.7. 4. Urban - Urban Migration

This kind of migration stream is regularly undertaken by those moving between urban centres as sender and receiver (I O M 2005). Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) found that urban-urban immigration is the most common type of migration in South America and it has risen steadily since the early 1980s. However, movement among urban settlements, in particular within metropolitan areas has been a significant part of internal migration with consequences on the function of cities and the spreading of the urban population (I O M 2005).

2.8. Reasons (Causes) of Internal Migration

Migration is a phenomenon of great complexity and the causes that lead to the movement of people remain dynamic (Abdul-korah 2006; Anghel and Horváth 2009). Both push and pull reasons are strongly linked; those who are pushed into movement are at the same time pulled by the hope of getting something better in a different place (Kainth 2009). Pull factors include economic elements that play an important role in encouraging the movement of people, for instance the accessibility to better working opportunities in certain areas, usually represents a major reason to migrate to these areas. So does the availability of better social infrastructure and services, for example in the case of better schools which will motivate people

seeking a better educational quality. Such reasons will motivate people to move by their own choice, unforced because they seek a better life with improved living circumstances. In contrast there are push factors which force people to move, such as natural (e.g. lack of rainfall) or non-natural disasters namely violence, political conflict, violation of human rights, poverty, development projects which cause people displacement, and even irrigation projects (Noveria 2002).

2.8.1. Demographic Reasons

Demographic factors refer to gender, age, marital status, family size, population growth and population density. Yet demographic factors are the most significant non-economic causes of migration streams (Mayda 2005). The rapid growth of population in the last century often caused mounting demographic pressure which on its own was not a reason for migration, but turns into an underlying element when it is accompanied by economic pressure, for example land, income and employment. In the case of Egypt, high population density is thought to be directly related to the area of agriculture land. Migration acts as a safety–valve when the pressure on the land increases, the excess population has to go elsewhere (Zohry 2005). Furthermore, in another study conducted by Pellegrino (2000) it was found that the main phase of population increase in the Caribbean and South America was followed by a rise in migration.

Eriksson and Klintefelt (2006) have shown that:-

> Demographic factors also have an effect – the probability of moving /migrating depends on a person's situation in life, with a 20 year old being more likely to move than an older person. It can also be seen that younger persons most commonly move from smaller to larger cities (Eriksson and Klintefelt 2006; 24).

Kaczmarczyk and Okólski (2005) argue that as a result of a sharp increase in the number of persons reaching working age was supposed to additionally increase the probability of migration from an area. According to I O M (2005) most highly populated agrarian communities with fragmented available land leave the landless with no other option but migration. In several South American nations almost all poor

young people see migration as their main livelihood option, sometimes their only option, due to inadequate access to land.

Another significant demographic cause for internal movement is marriage (e.g. in the Punjab State). Women will frequently migrate following marriage because it is a Hindu convention to take brides from a different rural community (Kainth 2009) (see section 2.8.4).

2.8.2. Economic Reasons

According to Kikhia (2003) migration motivated by economics occurs in areas where there is unemployment and low wages and in this case people are migrating in search of work and to raise the standard of living. The economic basis for migration remains in several interpretations of movement (Skeldon 1997a). Economic reasons are frequently observed as basic drivers for migration (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2005). For example, in China the fundamental cause of labour stream from middle and western to eastern provinces is often deemed to stem from local inequality. Ping and Shaohua (2005) reported that almost 85 percent of 39 million rural migrants moved to eastern provinces. In a similar study Afsar (2003) reported that migrants from rural areas were drawn to huge urban centres because of better work opportunities available in the latter areas. Nevertheless adult members in almost two out of five of the families in small and medium sized towns of Bangladesh were forced into out-migration by the lack of year-round work (Afsar 2005). In this context Zohry (2005) argues that in the case of rural areas, failing economic chances are explained in terms of the mounting figure of landless households. In addition, the increasing division of land-holdings caused by inheritance, a matter that gradually makes it more complicated for a household to remain economically viable as well as the rising rate of unemployment, encourages migration. Also, poor local incomes pressurise people to look for an opportunity to move out. Movement to urban centres seems to be a reaction to unemployment more than does migration to remote regions.

As well as surplus labour caused by a shortage of cultivatable land, uneven land allocation, low agricultural output (Amer 2003), high population density and the rural

economy's concentration almost wholly on agriculture, regularly lead to the increase of out migration. Such a blend of elements gives a push that often takes place in fragmented environments (I O M 2005).

Hiller and McCaig (2007) found that in the period between 1996-2001 the Canadian territory of Alberta had undergone a remarkable growth in population as a result of household rural migration influenced by the increasing oil-based economy. Throughout that period the number of people moving to Alberta exceeded the number of people who moved to any other Canadian territory. Similarly in southern African nations, internal migration was mainly influenced by developments in economic conditions (Mberu 2006). This is in line with Lee's hypothesis.

2.8.3. Social Reasons

Social and cultural elements are significant in the migration process, including interpersonal relationships among migrants in the sending and host regions and possible help offered to migrants of the same lineage group, for example, by giving funding for the journey, helping to get employment or suitable housing, as well as providing information about travelling (Poveda 2007; Abdelrahman1979). Undoubtedly there are other elements which influence migration from rural to urban areas including social reasons which play a major part in internal migration. Gounder (2005) summarized these as follows: at the same time as the motives for rural migration are significant, the ways of mobility are just as significant.

Ullah (2004) found that the trigger to migrate to the city in Bangladesh, for one out of five migrants, was the scarcity of amenities in rural areas, for instance educational and medical facilities. In Libya the inequalities between rural and urban opportunities and other services also are a cause of migration (El-Mehdawi1998; Kezeiri 1984). Matrimony and other personal reasons are responsible for a significant percentage of rural to urban movements. For example, Kainth (2009) found that in the Punjab State about 50 per cent of movement to urban centres was for the reason of marriage. He also points out that the convention of the female going back to her parents to have her first birth accounts for a high proportion of internal migration. Abdul-Korah (2006) argues that more than fifty percent of all migrants answered that

migration was linked to marriage issues (household disagreements and family liabilities). Despite the significant impact of social causes on the migration decision, these issues have not been emphasised by traditional theories (Lee, Ravenstein and Sjaasad).

2.8.4. Urbanisation Reasons

Urbanisation has been a significant factor in internal movement in Libya (Kikhia 1981). Rural-urban earning differences are influenced by the rate of urbanisation. The rising call for labour in urban areas may increase wages, therefore boosting migration. The difference in average wages between rural and urban regions increased in several South and East Asian nations in the 1990s, particularly in China, yet it dropped in the majority of African countries (I O M 2005).

Ravenstein observed that urbanisation is a pull or attraction element in the receiving communities, and he points out that migrants come first from farms to small villages and then towards towns and on to the cities as the centre of attraction (Velazqez 2000). In the same vein, Wahba argues that:-

> Contemporary migration in developing countries arises from the attraction of the city as compared to the rural areas from which migrants move. Migrants are attracted by better access to public services such as electricity, clinics, schools, as well as better prospects for recreation in cities. Thus, the 'bright lights' of the cities may be a pulling factor (Wahba 1996; 4).

Again in Africa, Sommers (2003) states that the urban attractions for young people is diverse and significant. Also he suggested, that there are three ways (e.g. history, culture, and romance) in which urban centres could supply African youth with a greater improvement in lifestyle than just the anticipated economic improvement. The attraction of cities as unrivalled magnets, being the major centres for health, education, employment and entertainment, has led to a growth in the housing market and a great urban renaissance in the cities, which is lacking in the rural areas. This entirely different way of life has led many rural young people to migrate to the cities.

2.9. Immigrants' Characteristics

In general, migration is more likely to be a discriminatory process leading to differentiation in some features of the migrating people from those in both the origin and destination places. All characteristics have been proven to be significant, for instance education, sex, skill, occupation, and socioeconomic status (Islam 1999). In terms of individual characteristics Sjaastad (1962) argues that immigrants tend to be younger than their non-migrant counterparts (Wouterse 2010).

2.9.1. Demographic Characteristics

Demographic characteristics refer to a number of personal characteristics like age and sex, which have a significant impact on a person's decision to migrate (Faruk and Islam 2010). In general, internal migration always makes dramatic changes in the population size, structure, sex, and unemployment in both sending and receiving areas as Islam (1999) argues that movement usually tends to be a highly selective process which results from disparities in profiles of some of the migrants from the non-migrant at both origin and destination areas.

A number of studies show that until recent years, internal movement was dominated by unmarried men (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). Consequently the figures of male migrants are slightly higher than for female migrants. This reflects females' moderately inferior mobility which is a consequence of lower education and skills, as well as their responsibility for biological reproduction (E S C A P 2003). Yet nowadays women are progressively migrating for work and not only to accompany their husbands. This is a result of an increasing demand by certain services and industries for female labour, and it is also due to the mounting societal approval of the mobility and economic independence of women. Women's migration is recognised as being high in Southeast Asia and South America by regional comparisons (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). For example Deshingkar (2006) found that all across Asia, new work opportunities in industry were due to the changing social norms relating to women's work, thereby raising the number of migrating women, either with or without their families.

Basically, internal migration occurs among young adults. In Thailand, as anywhere else, migrants are predominantly young adults. Guest (2003) proposes that migration

is more dominated by females than males especially in rural to urban movement. Whereas WU (2006) suggests that on the whole, in China, there are more male migrants than female, economically driven migrants outnumber migrants driven by cultural and social motives, and the largest numbers of migrants travel to urban centres looking for better economic opportunities. In Libya internal migration is mainly family movement because of the strength of social ties and links of kinships, where migration involves both males and females of different ages (Kikhia 1995; Kikhia 2008; Alamari1989; Alamari 1997).

2.9.2. Social Characteristics

Social characteristics point to the attitudes, orientations and ideas that individuals consider to be significant, the societal levels of personal status characteristics provide the objective criteria on the selectivity of migrants and under what conditions (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995). For example educational features are strongly linked to migration, hence the more highly the person is educated, the more likely one is to migrate, with the exclusion of those who hold postgraduate degrees who are generally less likely to move (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995).

> Early studies of migration found that relatively better educated males aged between 15-30 years with relatively more contacts or capital required for the initial transport and establishment costs had the highest propensity to migrate (I O M 2005 :27).

A number of studies from India demonstrate that there are high levels of migration in both groups of higher and lower education. The illiterate tend to be engaged in seasonal migration while the highly educated tend to migrate in search of white collar jobs or business ventures (I O M 2005). In a similar study in China, the average educational level of migrants exceeded the average educational level of natives in the Yangtze River Delta Area (YRDA), with the exception of Changzhou, Shanghai and Wuxi. As a consequence of that, migration has improved the average educational level in YRDA (Ren 2006). The countries of Middle East migrants have a higher academic ability than natives because they have on average received a better education before moving, particularly Saudi Arabia and Syria (Alskran and Mohammed 2004; Aldakhil 2001; Althmail 1990; Khawaja 2002). The statistics show that, migrants have lower rates of illiteracy and more success in primary and

secondary education than the local rural labour force (Fang 2000). An apparent relationship is found between the level of completed education and the tendency to migrate: people who have received more schooling are more likely to migrate than the less educated (Todaro 1997), because the possibilities for obtaining work for the educated migrants in destination communities are more than for the uneducated ones (Zohbi, Saleh and ELarbi 1991). Additionally, literature shows that in China married migrants who move with their families seem to have fewer movements, although 78 per cent of married migrants without their families will move more times, the mobility rate is at its peak of 95 per cent of unmarried migrants without families (W U 2006).

2.9.3. Economic Characteristics

According to Rabayah (1982) migrants often face the problem of transition from their agricultural activities before migration to the urban economy which is often based more on trade and industry. Migrants have a tendency to be more concentrated among the most economically active people predominantly in the range of 15 to 35 years old (WU 2006; Pandit and Withers1999). However the key economic status that seems to influence modern urban- manufacturing societies is the type of work available when migration is more likely to occur in young adulthood. The main reason that causes the high level of migration at this range of age is because people tend to get themselves ready for an occupation and to seek it during young adulthood (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995; Mohammed 1994).The work-related status of a migrant first expresses their ability to make an income for both themselves and their household, and secondly gives an alternative assessment of their societal status compared to city born people and to other migrants. Migration is often associated with a discerning population channelling into precise work-related and social groups (Findlay 1980). In many cases, movement of the labour force has been primarily dominated by males, but in some developing countries the recent rising participation of females, has resulted in certain streams changing to be women dominated (Skeldon 1997a).

2.10. Impacts (Consequences) of Internal Migration

The effects of internal migration continue to be uncertain. They are driven by a wide range of factors (Afsar 2003). Waddington (2003) argues that the large influx of

migrants from rural areas, causes a rise in unemployment in urban centres, along with overcrowded accommodation, limited electricity and water supply, lack of sanitation, lack of transport and other services, and in general a declining quality of urban life. In the same way, migration to the cities imposes a significant negative effect on rural regions. In Libya internal migration is the significant mechanism of demographic change and a motivation to reaction in other demographic and economic situations (Hartley 1972). Migration is both the outcome and the affiliated progression of provincial industrial development. It is a vital matter of provincial competitiveness. The build up of labour supply and human assets are basic requirements for economic success, and they enhance urbanisation and reform the urban structure. At the same time it is necessary to recognise that migration also pressurises the environment, resources and the safety of the public and the situation of social welfare. Furthermore Skeldon (1997a) argues that migration can be observed as negative and at the same time can be seen as positive. For instance, the remittances sent back by migrants can be a significant source of money for development in the sending areas.

However, in Germany, the selectiveness of internal migration patterns accentuates some difficulties in intra-urban movement, because highly educated, high earning city inhabitants tend to hire or buy accommodation in the renovated and improved 19th century inner city housing districts, while a growing number of lower earning inhabitants must go to the neglected quarters of the conventional working class areas looking for cheaper rents. This kind of selective intra-urban movement is causing a high level of housing isolation and leads to the increase of poor quality neighbourhoods where population is in social crisis (e.g. relationship breakdown), owing to a build up of negative consequences (Farwick 2009).

2.10.1. Impacts of Internal Migration on the Growth of Cities

Urbanisation involves important changes in the distribution of the people from rural to urban. The course of urbanisation is a governing characteristic of the demographic conversion of nearly all countries. During the twentieth century there was a rise from roughly 10 per cent of the world population occupying urban places to nearly 30 per cent in 1950 to around 50 per cent in 2001 (Guest 2003). The escalating population of urban regions driven by rural-urban migration has significantly impacted on towns

and cities (Gounder 2005). Migration has an impact on the distribution of population in cities, as it also manipulates the relative status of different cities in YRDA (Ren 2006). In Libya spatial duality has been sharply intensified by large movement from rural areas to urban centres as well as by a rise in interregional movement (Lawless1989; El-Mehdawi and Clarke 1981; Lawless and Kezeiri 1983).

There are strong relationships between migration and urbanisation, between development and urbanisation and between migration and development, which are all well documented (Islam1999). Not only that but also these relationships work in both directions when a particular variable can be the cause in one of a pair and at the same time be the effect on the other (Islam1999).

> The role of migration in urbanisation is obvious in all societies and at almost all times, since urbanisation and urban growth take place through a combination of three components, such as (a) natural increase of the native urban population, (b) area redefinition or reclassification or annexation and (c) rural-urban or other forms of internal migration. In a condition of developing urbanization, the role of migration is even more pronounced while in the state of advanced urbanization, where urban growth is almost stagnant or even declining, internal migration plays a minor or almost no role (Islam1999:6).

The number of mega-cities in Asia reflects the pace of urban growth (Gagahe 2000). For instance, migration contributes massively to urban growth in Bangladesh. In addition, a close interaction between significant demographic change and rapid urbanisation is present. Furthermore a positive relationship between the high percentage of male to female among migrants and high urban expansion exists for all metropolitan centres (Afsar 2003). In the period between1971-81 migration has contributed about 40 per cent to Bangladesh urban growth. Approximately the same percentage applied during 1981-91. The share could be higher in some large cities; it may reach up to 70 per cent, as in the situation of Dhaka suburb (Islam1999). One of the biggest challenges that policy planners in Bangladesh face is managing the high growth of urban population in general, with reference to Dhaka in particular, along with minimising the undesirable side affects of the expanding economy, mainly from the perspective of the environment. Urban and rural relations involve both collaboration and competition, especially at the urban area in terms of natural resources (Afsar 2005). There are many cases of insecure and overloaded shanty

settlements, which are exposed to infections, diseases and pollution. Rural-urban migration has an assorted and profound impact on both the rural origin and the urban destination, mainly economically and socially (Islam 1999).

Recently a population census in Fiji (Gounder 2005) indicated that rural to urban migration has taken place at previously unregistered levels. Around half of Fiji's residents live in urban districts. This equates to a 1.3 per cent growth in urban population compared to the census statistics in 1996. Gounder (2005) also states that population growth influences industry, commerce, vehicles, energy consumption spatial concentration, use of water, waste generation and any other environmental anxiety. It is certain that the rising number of people adds pressure on the statutory services. Educational and health services in particular have been hampered with enormous demand, resulting in over filled classrooms in urban centres.

Migration turns out to be the main factor of population dynamics in YRDA (China). YRDA will maintain its rate of population growth, which will have a long term effect on the development of its urban structure. To push forward the regional development (Ren 2006) implies that YRDA should concentrate on matters that are due to rapid migration and urbanisation.

2.10.1.1. Internal Migration and Urban Slums

The clearest effect of increasing urban population is almost certainly the rising numbers of slum dwellings in major urban areas. The slums are populated by poor urban people because the mass of the city's lowest income group of inhabitants live in squatter towns (Gounder 2005). Mberu (2006) points to the helplessness of migrants in poor living conditions at their urban destinations. The swift urbanisation in Africa, the extraordinary growth rate of young people, and the descending performance of African economies is concurrent with poverty, with a considerable percentage of the people living beneath the poverty line in over-populated slums and rambling shanty towns orientated around a large metropolis (Mberu 2006). Nowadays slum areas account for over a third of the urban people in developing states, and in several cases they make up around 60 per cent of the urban total or even more as indicated in table (2.3) In the late 1980s, 72 of each 100 new domestic homes built in urban areas of under developed countries, were to be found in slums,

while in Africa the number was as high as 92 out of every 100 (Todaro 1997). In Libya some studies suggest that the slums have emerged in Benghazi and Tripoli since the 1950s as a result of several factors, and the most important of these is the huge number of migrants from the countryside to major cities (Alzenan 2006; Faour 2004; Amura 1998).

Table (2.3) Residents of slums and squatter settlements as a percentage of urban population, by region and city

Table 2.3 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Source: Todaro (1997: 8)

The unfavourable outcome of migration has been apparent in Dhaka, in which around 40 per cent of its population inhabit slum districts. Slums are highly inhibited areas with extreme room densities (at least three people in one room), with poor

shelter and insufficient access to basic services. Shanty towns in Dhaka are regularly built on unregistered land. Residents find themselves renting from influential people who illegally possess unoccupied public land (Ullah 2004). Furthermore, this way of urban living is accompanied by underemployment and unemployment, lawlessness, poverty, unsafe behaviour of reproduction, a normally weakening environment and resulting poor health (Mberu 2006). In addition low-income urban residential zones or communes (shantytowns, favelas, zongos) inhabited by migrants are traditionally viewed as detrimental or problematical in the eyes of policy makers and a sign of overly rapid growth in numbers of people and unrestrained urbanisation (White et al. 2005).

Ullah (2004) argues that nearly all migrants who come from poor households find themselves in slums, due to ease of access, excessive time taken to distribute leases, lack of enforcement and management by the pertinent local authority, too much disintegration of present groups of squatter dwellings by the wider family and friends of sitting squatters all hoping that the state will issue them a lease at a later date (Gounder 2005).

Since it has been evident to statisticians that most of Asia's people (56 per cent) are going to be living in urban areas by the year 2020, the relationship between slums and migration has been a concern for development planners.

2.10.1.2. Impacts of Internal Migration on Infrastructure and Housing

Khakbaz, Gopalkrishnan and Babacan (2004) argue that infrastructure is critical to the distribution of people and is one element among many to take into account in towns receiving migrants. Movement of large numbers of people can cause provincial, language and ethnic problems. In addition, migration to urban centres causes city planners and administrators a wide range of challenges. In nearly all the major cities the slum problem is usually thought to be related to the increasing pressure of in-migration on urban resources, with house shortages, decreasing quality of life and dreadful conditions of the urban environment being other problems linked to migration (Ram 1993). For example, in Benghazi city due to internal migration and illegal migration from neighbouring countries, health care services, transport services, housing and sewage are not sufficient (Zuhri 1978; Salem 1995; Salem and Ali 2004: Amor 2007).

Rapid urbanisation results in tremendous pressure on accommodation, slum growth, and increases pressure on urban services such as recreation, water, transportation, rubbish, energy, power, health and educational services, especially in a situation of a weak economy (Islam 1999). The majority of settlements suffer from safe water shortages, and poor sewage and electricity systems. For instance, metropolitan Cairo is striving to deal with 10 million inhabitants with a water sanitation system with a capacity of serving only two million inhabitants. A third of Abidjan's people live with no piped water and two thirds with no sewage systems (Todaro 1997). In Jordan, the houses of migrants (Palestinian camps) are below the national standard and suffer from several problems, such as bad living conditions, congestion, unacceptable levels of infrastructure, interruption of water, electricity and sewage supplies, the lack of recreational spaces and the loss of cultural institutions (Khawaja and Tiltnes 2005).

2.10.1.3. Internal Migration and Encroachments on Agricultural Land

The increase of population in certain sections, with the lack of development control and planning, results in swift alteration of viable agricultural land to urban use. Speculators in fringe locations leave a significant degree of land idle even within urban centres (Islam 1999). For example, a study in environmental deprivation in the Jakarta metropolitan area in the 1980s points out numerous harsh problems from water pollution and loss of cultivatable land caused by urban expansion, through to erosion, encroachment on the remaining forest, and damaged ecosystems from other things, such as uncontrolled toxic waste disposal (Afsar 2005).

2.10.2. Demographic Impact

Migration profoundly changes the demographic characteristics of the people of the sending and destination areas. Immigration has a direct demographic impact, not only by the rise in the number of people, but will also affect the population composition, because of the selectivity of migration (Pandit and Withers1999). A similar study conducted by Yina and Yuan (2007) found that migration has a significant impact on the distribution of population, population structure, and demographic characteristics in Yangtze River Delta Area.

2.10.2.1. Population Growth

From the demographic viewpoint, migration is one of the three fundamental components (fertility, mortality and migration) of population increase of any region. But while both mortality and fertility work within the natural framework, movement is often more controlled by outside influences, and it affects size, distribution and structure of a population. More significantly, migration affects the political, social and economic life of the community (Lusome and Bhagat 2006). For example, in China migration from city to city is the major determinant of the population increase in the region of the Yangtze River Delta (Ren 2006).

Migration was shown to have a large impact on the structure of population and the distribution of population, along with many other demographic features in YRAD (Ren 2006). For example, the large rate of growth in the number of urban people in most Asian nations could be correlated to the methods used to determine urban growth i.e. the natural increase plus migration, which influence the urban population's structure. The majority of in-migration is from the young adult group. The effect of this urban in-migration on the population is that the urban population is much younger compared to people in rural regions. This leads to moderately high rates of natural increase in urban centres, where the young inhabitants of the urban settlements exert growing pressure upon the birth rate as well as putting downward pressure on death rates (Guest 2003). As birth rates are as a rule higher in rural regions than in urban regions, natural population growth as well tends to be higher in relative terms in rural regions, this leads to a higher rural to urban movement which creates the rapid growth of the urban population relative to that of the countryside (U N P D 2008).

2.10.2.2. Rate of Birth and Family Size

Birth rates and family size of migrants, are frequently higher than for the natives, which means that the migrants have potentially more requirements for social services for instance health, education, and housing (Solimano 2008). The birth rate of migrants contributes to the urban growth even a long time after they had migrated (Guest 2003). During the 1980s, migration accounted for a little above half of the Asian urban growth. The large part that migration has played in urban growth of

Asian nations for the duration of the 1970s and 1980s comes as a consequence of the economic drive of the region which is mainly centred on the cities of the area (Gagahe 2000). Equally, around half of Norway's cities during the period between 1984 and 1994 had lost population. The cities that lost people were mainly in the centre-North and interior of southern Norway. Evidence is present that the communities that do not have high densities, and have the least centrality, are experiencing losses of their populations by means of internal migration. The losses were caused by internal migration and subjugated by the outflows of the younger generations, between 15-29 years old. Nevertheless, there is a slight increase of retired and elderly people in these rural towns (Rees *et al* 1998).

The most significant consequence of migration is the division of the extended family into numerous households, which will inexorably have a negative affect on the functioning of the family (Wahyuni 2005).

2.10.2.3. Distribution of Population in different countries

According to Kupiszewski *et al*. (2000) internal migration has played a major part in the shaping of the distribution of population in Finland since the beginning of the twentieth century. Ren (2006) implies that it is of great importance to undertake a strategy that is led by migration development in YRDA, bearing in mind the redistribution of the national population and regional development. YRDA's internal migration could be looked at from the context of redistribution of the whole nation's people. This redistribution has the tendency of moving people from the middle and western parts of China to the eastern coastal area where it has a relatively large capacity to create and provide employment opportunities, as well as generate more resources to harmonize ecological situations. In the same manner, Rogers (1996) argues that people movement inevitably influences the distribution and increase of the population of local regions. Consequently, any national distribution strategy will, to some level, attempt to intervene in the movement procedure by encouraging population to migrate to specific areas or not to migrate at all.

2.10.2.4. Age Structure and Gender Ratio

The gender and age selectivity of movement have significant implications for both rural and urban communities (Gultiano and Xenos 2004). According to Kupiszewski

et al. (2001), the net migration stream gives the outcome of significant changes to the population's structure, sex and age, predominantly in sending areas. The influence of migrations upon age groups can be realized by the comparison between the migrant's median age at arrival to that of the native population (Beaujot 2003). Internal migration is an activity that primarily young adults undertake all over the world, for example Ethiopian migrants are predominantly male and under 30 years old (I O M 2005). The demographic condition in regional states has a massive impact upon the level of migration. This is due to the high levels of migration of young adults (Guest 2003). It is clear that the younger the movers, the more likely that they are tempted to leave home. It is fairly logical to anticipate that younger persons are more likely to be attracted to the urban environment, not only driven by economic temptations but also due to the attraction of entertainment and a sense of adventure (Wan 1995).

In Libya, traditions and culture do not favour female migration: practically almost all decisions which concern the family or its members are taken by the mature male household members. Females are frequently not authorised to travel long distances without the company of a relative, so would certainly not be allowed to migrate on their own (Khalfallah 1984). Females have been linked to housework for many years together with taking care of children, washing, cooking and particularly looking after the aged (Wan 1995).

Traditionally research about migration has neglected gender issues. Female migration has either been taken out of consideration completely or it has been assumed that it is explained by females normally migrating as part of a family group. Researchers justify this method as a result of the majority of family or marriage related factors which determine the migration of females in many areas around the world (Guest 2003). On the other hand, women are becoming more involved in migration with temporary migration being a key component of migration streams (Skeldon1997). Skeldon also added that, most female migration in rural to urban movement is young and un-married. This leads to the huge number of young and single female migrants in urban populations, who usually live far away from their households. Guest (2003) has found that, women in Thailand are more likely to send goods or money to their households of origin than men do. She also found that, in comparison to male migrants, female migrants have sent a larger proportion of their

wages to their families of origin, despite the fact that on average they earned less than male migrants. During the 1960s and 1970s in India, female migrants represented 69 per cent of internal migration. This percentage had increased to 70.5 per cent by the year 1981 (Wan 1995).

2.10.3. Economic Impact

Mberu (2006) believes that due to the selective nature of migration, the educated, the young, energetic and the innovative are drawn to rural to urban migration, which leaves behind, in the rural regions, the very young, the listless, the infirm, the illiterate, the tired and the retired. This leads to the loss of those who will stimulate the local rural economy, which exaggerates rural poverty. Migration also becomes a vital feature of regional dynamics and strongly influences urban agglomeration and industrial development (Ren 2006). Due to spatial characteristics, internal migration may not lead to the rebalancing of wage levels or the most favourable distribution of labour amongst sectors. Internal migration could possibly strengthen the rural to urban migration inequalities which may enhance the concentrating of population and resources in huge cities (Waddington 2003).

2.10.3.1. Unemployment Rate and Remittances

According to Skeldon (1997) the economic and employment influences on movement has a more direct effect than the long-term implications for development. He also argues that these could be subdivided into two broad areas, with the first linked to the work force and the second to flows of remittances. In Norway with high levels of unemployment, a steep gradient of increasing net outflows exists (Rees *et al* 1998). According to Kupiszewski *et al*. (2001) the migration pattern of the Swedish people is greatly dependent on the unemployment level. A low level of unemployment attracts migrants and areas of high levels of unemployment lose them. Following the neoclassical theory of migration, the rate of losses and gains depend on the unemployment level. However, it should be borne in mind that the unemployment level can not be separated from all other aspects that determine the streams direction (Kupiszewski *et al*. 2001). Another scholar, Mberu (2006), reported that African migration is basically a household issue, rather than being an individual activity, and migrants sending remittances are being pointed out as the most

pervasive and strongest phenomena in the migration system of Africa. In view of that, individual migration makes it possible for the family to maximize its survival chances by diversifying its income sources. Also Ping and Shaohua (2005) have revealed the important role that remittances sent by migrants have played in promoting local development and reducing poverty in China. Guest (2003) notes that those temporary migrants support their rural households with cash incomes, by sending remittances, which could be utilized to protect their rural way of life.

Nowadays, internal migration is a main element adding to the phenomenon of the surplus workforce within cities, a force that persists in worsening the already serious urban redundancy difficulties caused by the rising economic and structural inequities among African rural and urban regions (Todaro 1997). Yet movement aggravates those rural and urban structural disparities through two direct approaches:-

> First, on the supply side, internal migration disproportionately increases the growth rate of urban job seekers relative to urban population growth... [by adding a] high proportion of well-educated young people in the migrant system. Their presence tends to swell the urban labour supply. Second, on the demand side, urban job creation is generally more difficult to accomplish than rural job creation because of the need for substantial complementary resource inputs for most jobs in the industrial sector (Todaro 1997: 24-25).

2.10.3.2. Poverty Rate

According to I O M (2005), physical movement and poverty are interrelated; they have also found that migration has become an important income strategy for a large number of poor families around the world.

> There is a strong positive and negative poverty-migration nexus, poverty induces migration as much as migration contributes to the eradication of poverty…. The relationship between migration and poverty is ambivalent. On the one hand, migration is both a cause and effect of poverty; on the other, poverty can be reduced or induced by population movement (Afsar 2005:4-5).

Many studies have pointed out the significance of internal movement as a way to break out of poverty and limit local economic inequality (Zohry 2005). Whilst migration literature has often discussed poverty as one of migration's determinants,

the role of migration in reducing poverty has not been properly discussed in policy documents and studies (Afsar 2005). Guest (2003) argues that rural-urban migration is most useful in terms of lessening poverty in rural regions. However, Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) have reported that deprived villages in Southeast Asia mainly isolated and without a good water supply, have the tendency to become the sending regions, conversely the more affluent villages which are irrigated and well-linked have the tendency to be host regions.

In Libya less-developed areas have also experienced a high rate of out migration (Sassi 1991; Kezeiri 1984; Toboli 1976). In many under developed countries, rural to urban disparities in poverty encourage migrants, where levels of poverty are expected to be much lower in the urban than the rural regions (Guest 2003). From another perspective, urban poverty grows to be a major and critical concern to deal with. The occurrence of poverty fluctuates from 47 per cent to 61 per cent in official sources in Bangladesh. Urban poverty, as a consequence of rapid urban growth, is visibly shown by the growth of slum and squatter settlements, particularly in urban centres. In most of the slums, the housing and health care conditions are inferior to those in rural regions (Islam 1999).

2.10.3.3. Occupations

Labour markets are affected by the double-sided consequences of labour migration. On one hand, migration might supply employees for low wage unpopular jobs along with highly skilled employees, but on the other hand, it also introduces rivalry for jobs with the native workers (Ren 2006). Moreover, in Bangladesh migration and the labour force transition towards the non-farm jobs, produced shortages in rural labour, which have stimulated mechanisation, created scope for more innovations and increased rural productivity (Afsar 2005). A high proportion of migrants in China (97 per cent) moved from agricultural to other activities such as construction, industrial activities, building, and service sector (Wan 1995).

2.10.4. Social Impact

Migration has not only affected the economic and demographic aspects, but also has a significant social impact on both sending and receiving communities (Al Mwmen 2006). For example, migration gives population sectors that do not share socio-

economic conditions, the opportunity to be exposed to one another and interact with each other (Ram 1993).

2.10.4.1. Migration and Rate of Crime

There is a widespread perception that migration produces violence and crime (Ousey and Kubrin 2009). This assumption is the source of the idea that either each migrant has more inclination for violent criminal activities than local people or that a stream of migrants interrupts existing methods of social rule (Ousey and Kubrin 2009). Urbanisation has many negative social effects; some of these consequences are the increased frequency of crime and violence, drug addiction and trafficking, prostitution and bribery. Some consequences are associated with affluence, while others are associated with deprivation, poor discipline and frustration (Islam 1999). Hence, the permanent state of a floating population has led to all types of social problems: crime, redundancy, prostitution and low grade human resources due to the levels of education of migrant labour tending to be low (Ng 2008). In Libya, Al Zwai (2009) argues that there is a strong positive relationship between immigration streams and the spread of crime in the city of AL Kofra.

On the other hand, it is believed that in some cases crime could be a prevention for internal migration, in the same vein Bouare (2002) points out that:-

> Internal migration, however, is elastic with respect the relative number of reported crimes wherever the elasticity is estimated. This suggests that the increase in the number of reported crimes of one province with respect to another is a deterrent for internal migration (Bouare 2002; 27).

2.10.4.2. Levels of Education

According to Kupiszewski *et al.* (2001) gaining educational certificates is one path towards improving social position, which in most cases correlates with a geographical move. Seeking education is also a choice of life style; this choice involves the liberation from an undersized origin community and moving towards a larger community, which is more thrilling and more challenging. Beaujot (2003) argues that immigrant's socioeconomic status has the ability to affect people's characteristics by means of the labour force status and education.

Ren (2006) believes that migrants hold relatively higher educational degrees than the people in sending regions. Wan (1995) did not agree with this view, he provided a different view that education does not have a significant influence on increased migration in China during the mid- 1980s. He also concludes that education is positively related to migration. Such conclusions are justified by the reasoning that those who enjoy a better education are better informed in relation to the opportunities of employment.

In general Golini *et al* (2001) argue that education plays a vital part in the decision to move. In Sweden it is evident that young adults tend to migrate to metropolitan centres and university regions more than any other municipality types. Medium sized towns, with the exception of university cities, are attracting family units (Kupiszewski *et al.* 2001).

With regard to education, Al Hasnawi (1994) stressed the relationship between the education of a migrant and ability to adapt, and he found that migrants with higher qualifications had the ability to adapt to urban life more than the lower qualified migrants in Sebha of Libya.

2.11. Policy Responses to Immigration

A policy can be defined as

> A programme or a definite course of action or a set of rules framed at some social, administrative or political level to solve some problems, to achieve some objectives or to streamline an existing phenomenon (Ram 1993:67).

Policymakers largely tend to treat migration as a problem, which poses a threat to economic and social stability. Therefore, they have made efforts to control it, instead of looking at it as an important source of income for the poor (I O M 2005). On the other hand, in terms of a policy point of view Yifu states that:-

> first, it is impossible to stop rural-urban labour migration; second, that the government should not continue to earn resources from rural areas and rural people for urban capital accumulation, as it has been the case for decades and third, that it may be too early and risky to provide full subsidies and welfare to rural residents from urban sectors (Yifu 2003 cited in Ping and Shaohua 2005: 16).

According to Ping and Shaohua (2005) there is a policy gap which is of great importance in terms of poverty reduction and rural-urban migration. Afsar (2005) found that there is a significant neglect of the requirements and needs of the urban poor generally, and poor migrants particularly, who are basically living in tenancies or other temporary accommodation. These migrants also often endure relative scarcities as a result of the discriminatory distribution of wages and other resources, in addition to difficulties in gaining access to services that already exist, for instance, health, socioeconomic safety nets and education, particularly schemes to encourage girls into education and training.

Government policies which result in migration could be classified into two main categories in respect of direct or indirect effects. The direct polices that are clearly aimed to alter the streams of migration, include interdicts on urban in-migration travel limitations, restrictions on settlement and transmigration programmes. On the other hand, indirect policies think of impacts of migration as secondary targets of the policy. These are executed for some other purpose rather than migration but are more likely to have some kind of effect upon migration patterns (Anh 2003).

Overall, the policies that are undertaken with the aim of influencing migration are identified and well known and have become a standard element of national policies. Even so, there are numerous policies of migration that have often not considered the many empirical studies carried out on migration processes and have not undergone detailed examination (Anh 2003).

2.11.1. Labour Market Policy

Afsar (2003) argues that small and periurban towns must be developed as a prerequisite for investment business, which will consequently create job opportunities and improve the rural peasants' economic mobility. For example, Bangladesh's existing policy related to migration proposes that the government ought to promote and sponsor economic activities in rural regions, in addition to the adoption of a balanced strategy for development in order to encourage migrants to settle in small and medium cities (Ullah 2004). Current policies taken by the government of Thailand mainly aim to improve rural income and extend public services all around the country, in addition to extra financing for measures, such as occupational training programmes and supplying information on employment

opportunities outside the capital, Bangkok (Anh 2003).The local governments in China make use of numerous tools to hinder rural-urban migration, and one of these appears in the form of restrictions on labour mobility, when local governments of cities have implemented policies that seek to reduce competition produced by migrating rural workers, by issuing a series of discriminatory policies which include:-

> (1) Charging various fees to increase the costs for rural labourers to migrate into cities. One of these tools is to require migrants to apply for various permissions to move and find a job in the city. (2) Setting constraints on urban enterprises for hiring migrant workers for many types of jobs. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Labour issues a list of jobs that migrants are not allowed to occupy. (3) Inducing enterprises to use local unemployed workers instead of migrant workers by imposing penalties or giving out various rewards. Therefore, to change the government's attitude towards migration is to confirm that there are more advantages of migration than disadvantages (Fang 2000:13).

2.11.2. Infrastructure Policy

As stated by Waddington (2003) the fast growth of urban centres creates both problems and opportunities at both the national and local level. The integration of immigrants into urban centres is the main factor that ensures their access to services in an equitable manner. He reported that:-

> several policy measures directed at raising the living conditions of poor urban people and the assimilation of urban migrants, '(a) recognition and legitimisation of tenure of migrants, squatters, slum-dwellers; b) reception centres; c) upgrading of slums and squatter communities; d) site and service projects; e) low cost housing; f) employment for migrants and the urban poor (Waddington 2003:5).

The Libyan government has sought, through national spatial policies, to develop infrastructure and economic activities in major urban centres such as Benghazi and Tripoli (Dampo Consultancy 2008; D U P 2008; D U P B 2008; L U P A 1996). According to Gounder (2005) efforts are now focused on urban developments that construct the indispensable infrastructure to minimize the impacts of migration. Existing difficulties in urban settlements comprise traffic congestion, urban sprawl, housing shortages, increasing shortage of land, unplanned development, disparity in

the provision of facilities and amenities and the scarcity of employment opportunities. It will be desirable to adopt a planned urban growth in the future (Gounder 2005).

Even though the rapid rural to urban migration and the consequent rapid population growth mainly account for the expansion of urban shantytowns, this expansion is more apparent in less-developed countries. In Nairobi their misdirected policies regarding urban planning and their out-of-date building codes result in 80-90 per cent of new urban housing being illegal (Todaro 1997). It is supposed that the expansion of urban squatter areas has more to do with defective urban planning than migration. Therefore, in terms of the urban part of the policy, it is important that great efforts should be made to prevent and ban new slums from developing in the future and improve the planning of cities and their suburbs to achieve new aims and objectives (Ram 1993).

2.11.3. Rural Resettlement Policies

With the aim of reinforcing rural-urban linkages, and reaching a better balance and equally reinforced network of development centres, urban decentralisation and dispersion strategies have been sponsored and promoted in Bangladesh. These aim to decentralise industrial activities, infrastructure, administrative functions, and public services in addition to changing investment from cities towards villages and small towns (Waddington 2003). In Libya Kezeiri and Yousfe (2003) suggested a strategy of raising the living standards of rural and remote areas, in order to stop rural migration streams, create counterstreams of migration, as well as reducing the growth of large cities, provided that it does not lead to a change from the pattern of rural life. Governments can also encourage activities on the basis of agricultural produce in rural regions (Ram 1993). For example, one of the most important characteristics of China's reform is the introduction of the newly established sectors (NESs) namely private enterprises, collective enterprises, self-employment, joint, foreign and cooperation ventures. For long periods of time, large numbers of labourers have been surplus to the needs of the rural regions (Fang 2000). Similarly, no official policy has been laid out, but the Cambodian government indirectly discourages rural to urban movement, in particular to the municipality of Phnom Penh. The city has a lack of infrastructure, which is only meant for half a million people, whilst the present numbers are more than a million. Those in authority

consider migrants as eyesores as they impinge on public spaces and ruin the city's attractiveness (Social Commission and Economic for Asia and the Pacific 2003). Most governments have attempted to control rural to urban migration by use of a combination of anti-slum drives, limited admission to urban centres and the creation of rural employment programmes. Some governments have recently reduced some restrictions while others are still designing programmes and policies that aim to discourage the movement of people (Deshingkar 2006). On the other hand, many governments made laws that restrict city size and foster a more even spread of urbanisation by relocating resources to secondary cities and the hinterland (Waddington 2003).

However analysts report that such schemes ought to be consistently financed over long periods and therefore it may be costly but they argue that it is the best way to ensure the success of such schemes (Waddington 2003). The Government of Thailand has undertaken measures such as zoning regulations, land use, industrial dispersal, taxation and lately has developed the eastern seaboard as an industrial zone to make room for migration (Anh 2003).

2.11.4. Rural Social Policy (Public Services-Health – Education) can be Influential on the Decision to Migrate.

Regarding the improving human capital in rural regions, Fang (2000) states that the importance of the quality of human capital to migration's success is not the only thing that is observed in the process of labour force mobility, but the improvement in quality and human capital level of the labourers is also observed in the process. One method of increasing the value of human capital is by obtaining more occupational training or further education. Many related surveys have found that a positive interrelation exists between the level of education of migrants and their urban income. In many cases the development of rural regions is viewed as a way of minimizing rural to urban migration. In contrast, not all schemes have the required effect on internal migration. Under consideration here are numerous main policy arenas, systems of land tenure, ownership of land (capital, access to credit technology and land), delivery of public services (education, health), and infrastructure (irrigation, public transport, and roads),

(Waddington 2003), in addition he suggests that the development of health, social care services and physical structure is of great importance in boosting people's choice of either migrating or staying. In Sri Lanka the development of a convenient subsidised transport system seems to be a factor that has slowed down rural to urban migration, making it easier for rural dwellers to gain access to employment opportunities, without being forced to migrate to cities permanently. In the same way raising economic opportunities in rural areas by promoting minor public works, and small labour intensive industries. Rural off-farm development not only plays a key role in satisfying the rural resident's needs but also their practical ambitions. This type of rural development also plays a vital role in minimizing problems of underemployment, unemployment and poverty, at the same time stimulating economic development (Waddington 2003).

Gounder (2005) argues that the lack of job opportunities, services and infrastructure in rural regions will result in the continuous escalation of rural to urban migration. Therefore, it is essential that any government should primarily address these issues urgently. Even though the previously mentioned governments have their own rural development plans, it appears that they were insufficient in providing the rural poor with the opportunities they need. Alternatively it is shown in the research of Waddington (2003) that policies must be realistic in terms of providing substitutes to migration, especially where the patterns of migration have existed for a long time, and have been central to incomes, even if simultaneously they have shaped identities and been exploitative.

African governments over the past decades have instituted several policies to slow down rural to urban migration. Such measures have incorporated efforts in improving rural infrastructure and services, to attempt to reduce the encouragement of moving away from rural areas. They have also made efforts in encouraging the development of medium- size and small towns to distract rural-urban movements from larger cities, which normally attract migrants (White *et al.* 2005).

However Anh (2003) suggests that the Government of Thailand must take into consideration policy measures that aim to work in conjunction with market forces. Eliminating urban subsidies which act as an indirect inducement of rural to urban migration would be helpful.

To overcome separating urban planning from rural planning will be a crucial factor for better coherence of rural and urban development in a way that is beneficial for rural regions. Successful policies in promoting rural social services and off-farm employment would have an important role in the reduction of the pressure that the rural population feels to migrate to cities. Overall, rural residents should have access to the amenities provided in cities, for example better education, proper health care and medicine, bio-fuel for cooking, sanitation, telephones, etc. Even though this policy is closer to being a rural development policy, it is most certainly going to limit migration from rural regions hence the proposed infrastructure enjoys the potential of absorbing the educated as well as the less academically able. It will avoid the rush to urban centres and improve the rural population's socioeconomic status (Ram 1993).

2.11.5. Control Population Movements

The non-existence of any restriction or restrictive policy on people's migration within the political boundaries of a country indicates that people have the liberty to decide to move to anywhere in the country and this is considered a fundamental right (Ram 1993). According to Anh (2003) the population and labour relocation policy made by the Governments of China, Indonesia and Viet Nam was designed to have a direct effect on the movement of people and urban growth. It focused on smoothing the progress of rural-rural and urban-rural movement rather than promoting rural-urban movement. Migration flows which involve alteration of residence to urban places, particularly to the biggest cities, were controlled by means of rigorous migration policies and the system of household registration (ho khau) in Viet Nam. In a similar study in Nigeria, there have been many government initiatives to address problems of rural to urban migration, but they appear to have gained little success in stemming such population movements. Also policies on the distribution of industries have not succeeded in changing these industries' locations, while a policy of minimum wages actually increased the pressure to leave rural regions. The Federal Authorities of

Nigeria have largely ignored the internal displacement of Nigerians (Black, *et al* 2004). In China the residence registration system was established (Hukou) as an institutional barrier to stop rural to urban movement (Ping and Shaohua 2005). The Libyan government in the 1980s tried, by encouraging reverse migration, to direct the expected increase in the population of major cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli to medium-sized towns (Al Ghariani 2006; Ministry of Planning 1980; Ministry of Planning 1985).

2.12. Summary

This chapter has outlined general definitions of internal migration and from these definitions it is clear that there are two important criteria for the concept of migration: spatial and temporal criteria. This chapter has described the classification of migration as it is very important to distinguish between the different types of migration. This classification will make it easier to understand the effects of migration. In the final section of the chapter the narrative provided key theories of migration and found that despite the number of migration theories, there are no remarkable contributions made to understand the processes of family migration. Thus these theories have concentrated on the migration of individuals yet at the same time no theory explored aspects of family migration. As a result of this it is difficult to identify a theory that fits most closely with this research.

In the majority of the reviewed research, based on the above debate of the existing literature on internal migration, attention has been largely focused on the causes of migration, streams of migrants and social impacts. The existing academic research on migration in Libya, until recently, also has been mostly focused on migration reasons, socioeconomic transformation, adaption of migrants and movement of the labour force. However, as far as the researcher can see, there is no study that explicitly focuses on the impacts of internal migration and the Government policies in North Africa, the Middle East and Libya. Therefore, this study will take an in-depth look at the potential for the significant effects of migration on population and urbanisation in Benghazi and the policy responses to these.

Even though the numbers of movers are quickly growing in many countries in the world, family migration is more visible than individuals in this process, especially in Muslim oil-producing countries (Libya and Arab Gulf countries) (Saad 2003). Hence this movement is largely rural to urban migration seeking a better life in cities causing deep positive and negative impacts on both origin and destination communities.

Generally speaking, the appropriate policy should have two main components: the rural component and the urban component. Under the rural component of the policy efforts should be made at all levels to neutralize the rural regions' push factors which can diminish the inequality between rural and urban regions, helping to reduce the degree of the migration tides (Ram 1993).

Usually, migration studies have sought to examine who is moving, what are the directions and patterns of movement and what are the consequences of migration. It is appropriate that a geographical study must put specific emphasis on the analysis of the impacts of migration (Findlay 1980). The literature on family migration is not widely developed. There are few migration studies which have been done in developing countries such as Libya, North Africa and the Middle East. Most of these studies put their stress on the causes of migration, without very significant or conclusive results. On the other hand, despite the number of migration theorists (Lee, Ravenstein and Sjaastad), there are no remarkable contributions made to the understanding of the processes of family migration. Thus these theories have concentrated on the migration of individuals, at the same time no theory explored aspects of family migration. As a result of this it is difficult to identify a theory that fits most closely with this research.

Chapter Three Benghazi: an Overview

CHAPER THREE

Benghazi: an overview

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to Benghazi and the present demographic, economic and social setting in which internal rural to urban migration occurs. It starts with the pertinent geographical and historical data on the city in order to know the present by understanding the past. It also provides brief information about the present trends of population growth, including social and demographic aspects of the city, which are important elements in studying the impact of migration. The chapter concludes with summarizing the major public services in the city.

3.2. Position and Administrative Divisions

3.2.1. Geographical Site

Benghazi is located in the North East of Libya bordering the Mediterranean Sea with a coastline of about 18 km, strategically positioned in the eastern part of the state. It is surrounded from the Southeast by Sidi Khalifa and from the northwest by Ganfouda, with a sectoral easterly expansion encircling the zone of Bu Atni alongside the airport road (Dampo 2008). The city is located between longitudes 20º and 21º East, and latitudes 31º and 32º 5´ North. The city occupies an area of approximately 976 square kilometres (see figures 3.1 and 4.2).

Benghazi has the second highest population in Libya after Tripoli and is the main urban centre in the eastern region with 608,782 inhabitants in 2006 (G A I 2009). It is also the largest administrative and commercial centre in the eastern region. Owing to its location and its deep-rooted trading links, the city has played a major role in business and has been known as an important trading centre for a long time. It began with the salt trade followed by the trade in Sub-Saharan African commodities oriented towards Europe, with European goods being brought to Africa (Kezeiri 2006), making Benghazi an important port. The dominance of Benghazi in its region is as a service centre to AL Kofra, Jallow, and Ajkhara to the south, to Tubruq, Darna, Al Bayda and Al Marj to the east, and to Ajdabia to the west (Kezeiri 2006).

3.2.2. Administrative Divisions

The changing and unstable administrative borders have a negative impact on the study of human geography in general and derived internal migration indicators in particular. Over five decades the administrative boundaries of Libyan territories have been redrawn numerous times to reflect direct or indirect social, political and economic needs.

Since independence in 1951 the Libyan kingdom followed the federal system of administrative division. It was amalgamated into three large provinces, namely the eastern province called Cyrenaica, the western province called Tripoli and the southern province called Fazzan. The area of study was within the Cyrenaica province.

One year before the 1964 census, the kingdom was divided into ten counties, including the county of Benghazi. The 1973 population census was based on an administrative subdivision of ten provinces as follows Misurata, Algebal ALkhdar, El-Khalig, Alkumas, Derna, Tripoli, Gharian, ALzawia, Sebha and Benghazi (figure 3.1).

The 1984 population census contained a number of changes in the regional structure. The number of provinces increased to 24 municipalities, themselves divided into135 sub-municipalities and subdivided into smaller units termed *Mahalla*. The 1995 census adopted the administrative divisions that existed at the time of the 1984 census, for two main reasons:-

1- A study of internal migration based on comparison between the current and former place of residence, according to the administrative borders which should be unified and certified for each of the two censuses.

2- It was not possible to define the administrative borders of the counting areas, to maintain data for comparison between the results of the two censuses.

Therefore, regional boundaries, based on the 1973 population census, when Libya was divided into 10 provinces, are used as the basic study unit in this thesis. Thus to compare internal migration data between these censuses, it is important to use a common spatial unit. Under this circumstance it is essential to aggregate migration

statistics of some municipalities in 1984, 1995 and 2006 to a common set of the administrative borders of the 1973 population census.

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Figure (3.1) Census districts in Libya in 1973   Source: Khalfallah (1984)

3.3. Historical Introduction

Historic studies have shown that the city of Benghazi, known as a settlement since ancient times, was established by the Greeks in 515 B.C., (Amor 2007) when they were seeking an appropriate stable home. It was called Euseperides, a reference to

its beautiful gardens. During the third century B.C., it was subjected to the rule of Ptolemy III, King of Egypt, and he renamed it Berenice, after his wife. After that the name was changed to Barneek under the Romans. Since the seventh century A.D the city came under the rule of a succession of Arab dynasties (El- Mehdawi1998).

The current name of the city can be traced to the second half of the sixteenth century with the emergence of the name Marsa (harbour) Ibn Ghazi, which for the first time referred to the name of a patron saint that came from Morocco, called Ghazi, who was buried in Akhraybeesh cemetery in the city of Benghazi (El- Mehdawi1998).

> It was not until 1638, however, when a Turkish military mission, blown by an ill wind into the inadequate harbour, established Ottoman control over Cyrenaica. From this time, the city of Ibn Ghazi was chosen as the regional religious and administrative centre (Salem 1995:42).

In 1911 the city was under Italian occupation. It was completely destroyed during World War II. In 1949 the city became the capital of the Cyrenaica region under the rule of the British administration. Following this, in 1951, Libya was declared independent. Since then the growth in the city's prosperity has been remarkable. Today it is the second largest city in Libya.

3.4. Population of Benghazi

3.4.1. Birth Rate in Benghazi

The crude birth rate is an influential factor driving population growth because population growth is totally determined by two factors, natural population increase and net migration. Birth rates in Libya are generally higher in rural regions than in urban centres. In Benghazi in the 1980s the birth rate was comparatively high, even though the total birth rate in Libya was low. However, over the past 30 years the crude birth rate in Benghazi has been declining rapidly, from 46.9 per thousand to 25.8 per thousand respectively between 1973 and 2006 (see table 3.1).

The crude birth rate in Benghazi continued to be very high over the decade from 1973 to 1984, in contrast to many nations in the Middle East and North Africa with analogous socioeconomic and demographic features (Ali 2008). The high average in this period may be due to the demand for the registration of new born citizens, by the civil law enacted in 1968 (I M L 1969), which punishes anyone who fails to register

vital facts such as births, deaths, marriage and migration. There were also children registered that were born prior to 1968. The increase also reflects improvements in the health-care services and declining rates of poverty and improved life expectancies.

Libya has pro-natalist policies encouraging a higher birth rate. The Libyan government grants a marriage allowance of four LYD per month for the wife and two LYD per month for each child of Libyan heads of household. With additional free education and health services and the granting to mothers (female employees) maternity leave for three months. To the same end the government gives priority to married couples with large families in obtaining loans, housing and other facilities (El- Mehdawi 1992). Libya does not adopt a population policy for family planning and money is not spent on reducing birth rates and family planning as it has spent on health to reduce mortality rates.

Since the 1970s the reduction of birth rates has continued due to several factors, including a direct effect, such as the higher educational level of mothers, namely that there is an inverse relationship between education and birth rate (Saad 2003). In other words, mothers of higher educational level are likely to have fewer children than others who are illiterate. Education leads to delayed marriage and then encourages women to participate in the work force, after securing a certain level of education. Also, education played a major role in the spread of contraception (Saad 2003). Furthermore, low birth rates can be linked to the lack of marriage at an early age because of the implementation of the law of minimum marriage age (Law No. 10 of 1984), which sets the age of marriage for women at eighteen years. This is a highly significant factor affecting birth rates in Libya. Early marriage gives women more chances of pregnancy. It prolongs the period of married life and therefore provides greater opportunities for reproduction, than those women who postpone marriage. There are also indirect factors such as the participation rates of Libyan females in the labour force, as working women tend to have lower fertility rates due to their inability to reconcile work with the upbringing of their children.

Table (3.1) Crude birth, death and natural increase (per thousand) in Benghazi during 1970- 2006

Year	CBR per thousand people	CDR per thousand people	Rate of natural increase per thousand people
1973	46.9	8.7	38.2
1984	46.1	6.1	40.0
1995	28.6	4.8	23.8
2006	25.8	4.4	21.4

Source: General Authority for Information, Vital statistics from 1973 to 2006

3.4.2. Death Rates in Benghazi

It is useless to study population of any region, without identifying the rates of mortality. Death is the second most significant element affecting the population, which increases naturally by births, and decreases naturally by deaths (Abdulhakim and Galab1998).

It should be noted that crude death rates in the study area have seen a clear decline over past three decades from 8.7 per thousand in 1973 to reach its lowest level, 4.4 per thousand in 2006 (see Table 3.1)

Mortality rates in Benghazi are declining owing to improved health services, which have had a significant impact in reducing mortality and improving the conditions of the people. Resulting in more than 95 per cent of the people of Libya receiving health services during 1990 – 1998 (G A I 1999). There are, in the area of study, ten central hospitals and six complex clinics, with three thousand two hundred and forty-five beds (G A I 2007a).

Perhaps more importantly, what has occurred is a remarkable decline in the rate of infant mortality during the past decades, which made the Libyan experience, in the standard of healthy food and immunization against diseases, unique in developing countries. The rate has fallen from 118 per thousand in 1973 to 18 per thousand in 2005, making it one of the lowest rates of Arab and African countries (A M F 2007). This is due to compulsory vaccination of children and the high quality of health

services and an increase in the number of school health and mother and child centres (G A I 2007a).

Obviously, a higher level of education and awareness among mothers is an indirect factor reducing mortality rates in general and infant mortality rates in particular. Education leads to more awareness of the health of the mothers, including instructions about health during pregnancy. This in turn enables mothers to care more properly for their children after birth, by following the system of vaccinations, supplying adequate food and an increase in frequency of visiting mother and child centres. In other words, there is a direct correlation between levels of education and the frequency of mothers attending mother and child health centres (Saad 2003).

3.4.3. Natural Increase

All official vital statistics reveal that the rate of natural increase of the Libyan population was high but has dropped sharply, from a high of 38.2 per thousand in 1973 to just 21.4 per thousand in 2006 (See Table 3.1).

Although high birth rates and low death rates were a part of the positive rate of natural population increase in general, migrant family childbearing has played a major role in the overall birth rate in Benghazi, as the researcher has seen through the field work that migrant families tend to have more births than native ones.

3.4.4. Population Growth

Population growth in Benghazi can be examined in two main demographic periods as follows:-

The first phase (1911- 1953)

This phase starts with the Italian occupation. Although there are no accurate and comprehensive statistics before 1954, there are some studies that refer to statistical estimates, which could be taken as a starting point to track the temporal evolution of population growth rates of the city.

During this period, population growth rates remained very high, but were not stable. According to the first estimate of 1911, the total population of Benghazi was 16,500. Eleven years later, had the figure increased to 19,110, an increase of 15.8 per cent.

At the first Italian census in1931, the total population had risen to 36,212 persons, an increase of 89.5 per cent. By the second Italian census in1936, the figure had grown to 40,000 inhabitants, an increase of 10.4 per cent (See Table 3.2).

Overall, population growth at this stage was low and unstable, as the population did not exceed more than twenty-four thousand people over the next twenty-five years, due to the death of a large number of Libyans during the war against the Italian occupation, to the recruitment of many more to fight with the Italian army in Ethiopia, as well as to the migration of a large number of people to escape from the violence of the Italian military (Amer 2003).

The second phase (1954- onwards)

This stage started with the first official population census of independent Libya (1954). Three years after independence in 1951. Thus Benghazi has witnessed a demographic trend in which population grew rapidly over several decades, when population has increased over nine times in such a short period between 1954 and 2006.

Table (3.2) shows that the total population in the 1954 census was 69,718 inhabitants. By the 1964 census the figure has doubled to 137,295, an average per annum of 9.6 per cent. According to the 1973 population census the figure had risen to 266,192 persons, when the average annual growth exceeds 10.4 per cent. In the 1984 population census the number has grown to 399,158 people. An average annual growth over 4.2 per cent. It had increased to 506,375 inhabitants by the 1995 population census, giving an average annual growth of 2.45 per cent, reaching 608,782 persons the by the 2006 population census, and representing an average annual growth rate of 1.8 per cent.

Speaking generally, during this stage the population of Benghazi continued to increase rapidly at one of the highest rates in the North Africa and Middle East regions. This increase was due to reasons such as the discovery and exploitation of petroleum (1959), which resulted in new economic and social projects, and to urban development which expanded the social services and infrastructure. However, the discovery of oil has shifted Libya from being amongst the poorest countries in the world to among the relative rich, and this impacted on internal movements in Libya

(Toboli 1976). In addition, the population growth rate has been influenced by in-migration from other regions. After 1954, Benghazi received over ten thousand immigrants (Bulugma 1964), which added to the high rate of natural increase which had risen considerably from 26 per thousand in 1964 to 47 per thousand in 1984 (Salem 1995). These factors have led to important changes in population growth rates.

Table (3.2) Population size in Libya and Benghazi 1931- 2006

Year	Libya's population	Benghazi's population	Proportion of people of Benghazi to Libya
1931	654,716	36,212	5.5
1936	732,973	40,000	5.5
1954	1,088,889	69,718	6.4
1964	1,564,369	137,295	8.8
1973	2,249,237	266,196	11.8
1984	3,642,576	411,682	11.3
1995	4,799,065	506,375	10.6
2006	5,673,031	608,782	10.7

Source: Compiled from: 1- Bulugma (1964). 2- Zuhri (1978).

3- General Authority for Information, Population censuses (1954-1964-1973-1984-1995-2006).

Table (3.2) also shows that the proportion of people in Benghazi has more than doubled from 5.5 per cent in 1931 to 11.8 per cent in 1973 of the total Libyan population. This confirms that the city of Benghazi attracts the highest proportion of migrants in Libya (Ahtyosh 1994). However, this percentage decreased slightly in 2006 to 10.7 per cent of the total of Libyan population.

Obviously, the fact that the population of Benghazi has doubled, means that the city grew considerably in a short time. This high growth rate has caused pressure on services, most importantly, the problem of water scarcity and salinity. The average water consumption in the city rose from about 46,700 cubic meters per day in 1969 to 155,000 cubic metres per day in 1981 (Alhlaq1994).

However, this uncontrolled growth of what appeared to be a medieval town rather than a modern city has led to an urban expansion at the expense of neighbouring agricultural areas. Therefore, the rate of urbanisation rose dramatically around the city of Benghazi from 26.4 per cent of the total regional population in 1970 to 88.5 per cent in 1984.This has consequently increased the built up area of the city, with the built area in Benghazi increasing substantially from 1,092.7 hectares to 122,000 hectares between 1966 and 2000. The city has been suffering from the problem of poor sanitation, where drainage systems have not kept pace with the high population growth, and many neighbourhoods of the city are not connected to the main sewerage system.

3.5. The Benghazi Economy

Although the level of income in Libya is one of the highest in the world, Libya is still a developing country. Rapid economic growth is the result of the proceeds of oil. Half a century ago Libya was one of poorest countries in the world, and it relied on traditional activities such as agriculture and grazing, in addition to international aid and donations.

The exploitation of large oil revenues has brought the country to the stage of economic prosperity, but its economy remains unbalanced because is mainly based on oil production. The reliance on the oil sector is almost total, and this leads to a dominance of the public sector in economic activity to the neglect of the private sector.

3.5.1. Industrial sector

Manufacturing and the industrial sector is considered a key activity in terms of a contributory factor to the Benghazi economy; it is more vital than the agriculture sector. The Libyan government has consistently endeavoured to improve the industrial sector within the scheme of improving the economic and social welfare of society. For this target the development plans have indicated that there is considerable interest in expanding the industrial sector. Industry's share of the national budget rose from 4 per cent or about 14.7 millions LYD in the first five-year development plan (1963-1968) to 10.8 per cent of the total development plan of 1970-1973 and then jumped to 15.4 per cent or 455 millions LYD in the third plan

1973-1975 (El- Mehdawi 1998), then to 1506.7 million LYD in the five-year plan 1976-1980 (Mohammed 2005). Moreover in 2006 industrial investment passed two hundred million LYD only on manufacturing industry (D U P B 2008).

Industrial activity in Libya is concentrated in large cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli. These two cities involve about 62 per cent of total employment in the industrial sector (Mohammed 2005). In other words, Benghazi is the second city in terms of the number of factories. For example, the number of food factories employing five or more workers is about 91; this represents more than 13 per cent of the total food factories in Libya. Also, there are 243 small-scale food factories of fewer than five workers (Mohammed 2005).

However, the number of employees in Benghazi has increased from 8,333 in the 1973 population census to 27,000 workers, or 20 per cent of the total labour force in the Libyan industrial sector in 2006, which is the second highest sector after the services sector. In the context of the ownership of industry, the Government has tried to denationalize some industries and transfer ownership to workers, hence there are now 24 denationalized factories, 53 industries are part of the Government sector and 2068 private factories (D U P B 2008).

Table (3.3) Distribution of number and percentage of small industries by the type of industry in the region of Benghazi in 2001

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Source: G A I (2001)

Table (3.3) shows the distribution of industrial activities in the Benghazi region with maintenance and repairs in first position at 53.6 per cent of the total, followed by engineering industries at 16.6 per cent with food industries at 7.8 per cent. The most likely reason is that these industries are directly linked to consumers daily lives.

3.5.2. Agricultural Sector

Libyan people have worked in agriculture since ancient times, and before the discovery of petroleum, the population of Libya were living in a conventional subsistence economy which was mostly rural, cultivating farmland and looking after animals (El- Mehdawi 1998).

However, within the development plans, the Libyan Government has put in place many mechanisms to rapidly improve and increase agricultural production. It has adopted a plan to promote agricultural and livestock production since the first five-year development plan (1963- 1968), and increased the amount of support to 4647.3

million Dinars during the period 1970-1987. Moreover, financial allocations for the agriculture sector in the region of Benghazi have reached 103,133,000 million Dinars for the period of 1982-1992 (Haddad and Salem 2002).

Despite the interest of the State in the development of the agricultural sector and huge budgets having been spent on the sector, it has faced many challenges in Libya in general and in Benghazi region in particular, owing to poor agricultural production and the risks of urban sprawl at the expense of farmland (Haddad and Salem 2002). Thus, the agricultural sector is still losing labour through migration to major cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli. For example in the Benghazi region the number of families who possess farms have decreased from 6564 to 2364 between censuses 1974-2001, as a result of high income in the non-agricultural sectors. In 1960 the average per capita income of agricultural workers was about 19 LYD per month, while the average per capita income outside the agricultural sector was double that amount (Al Ghariani 2006).

3.6. Public Services

3.6. 1. Educational Services

The education sector in Libya has witnessed great development in general, which reflected on the evolution of education in Benghazi. Until 1960, the number of schools was six, hence over the last four decades there has been continued construction of schools, bringing the number to 278 in 2007 (G A I 2007a). Due to the efforts made by the State for the dissemination of educational services, the illiteracy level has decreased in Benghazi from 59.6 per cent of the population in 1964 to 16.2 per cent in 1995.

Table (3.4) Number and proportion of pupils by the different levels of education from 1964 to 2007 in Benghazi

Educational phase	1964		2007	
	Number of students	Percentage of students	Number of students	Percentage of students
Primary	5,913	60.5	76,671	41.7
Preparatory	2,594	26.6	47,108	25.7
Secondary	1,018	10.4	25,232	13.7
University	246	2.5	34,778*	18.9
Total	9,771	100	183,789	100

Source: 1- Population census of 1964

2- G A I (2007a).

* This figure includes some students from outside the city of Benghazi.

Table (3.4) shows the distribution of students in Benghazi by the different levels of education, showing the total number of pupils increasing from 9,771 students in 1964 to 183,789 students in 2007, an increase of about 19 times over the last four decades. One reason for this rapid increase is the migration of a large number of families to Benghazi seeking good schools for their children. This significant increase in the number of students has led to the high student density in the classroom and this has placed pressure on the educational services in the city. Education played an important role in attracting people because of the concentration of many educational institutions in the city of Benghazi, such as the University of Garyounis, higher education colleges and institutes such as the Higher Institute of Electricity, the Higher Institute of Social Work and the Higher Institute of Administration in addition to the technical institutes, prompting people to move from the small cities and villages to live in the vicinity of Benghazi to access such educational institutions (Alamari 1997).

3.6. 2. Health Services

Public health is one of the social services that are provided mostly by the state. Undoubtedly the performance of the Libyan state in the health sector is good

compared to other African and Middle Eastern countries. In general, the phenomena of change in the population have reflected the improvement of health indicators, where the rate of average life expectancy for a Libyan has jumped from 52.1 years in 1970 to 78 years for a female and to 74 years for a male in 2008, furthermore, the infant mortality rate dropped from 122.2 per thousand in 1970, to 18 per thousand in 2005 (G A I 2007). The number of hospitals in the country has increased from 8 in 1970 to 96 in 2007, while the number of health centres has increased from 5 centres in the early sixties to 535 health centres in 2007. Moreover, the number of basic health units has risen from three units in the mid-fifties to 39 combined clinics in 2007; the number of beds, and doctors and nurses has grown from 1,862 beds , 213 doctors and 932 nurses at the beginning of the sixties to 20,289 , 9,416 and 32,358 respectively in 2007 (Amor 2007, G A I 2007)

The Libyan health system is based on the principle of primary health care for everyone and to be accessible to all individuals in the society. Due to a vast area and the uneven geographical distribution of the population, the state has focused its policies, plans and health programmes on horizontal expansion in order to provide health care to all segments of society in all areas (G A I 1999).

Table (3.5) Numbers of public sector health care centres in Benghazi and Libya in 2007

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Source: G A I (2007).

Table (3.5) reveals that there were a total of 12 hospitals in Benghazi in 2007, which constituted 12.5 percent of the total hospitals in Libya. Also, there were 49 complex clinics, health centres, health care units and isolation wards for epidemic diseases which made up about 3.3 per cent of the total of these centres in Libya. Moreover, there were 3,245 beds or 16 per cent of the total of beds in the state. Furthermore, the number of doctors, nurses / midwives and health technicians were 17.3 per cent, 6.5 per cent and 18.7 per cent respectively of the total of these practitioners in Libya.

As far as private health services are concerned, according to a recent field survey carried out by G A I the number of private health services were, 2,194 facilities in 2007, including 67 health centres, 414 clinics, 166 laboratories, 1543 pharmacies and 4 diagnostic centres. The highest number of clinics was focused in Tripoli which represented 32.8 per cent of the total health clinics, followed by Benghazi at 17.9 per

cent, with a higher proportion of the clinics in Tripoli at 17.1 per cent, and Benghazi at 11.1 per cent. Tripoli also has the highest number of laboratories being 22.3 per cent, followed by Benghazi at 12.7 per cent. While the highest proportion of pharmacies were also concentrated in Tripoli at 22.2 per cent, followed by Misurata 9.7 per cent, Aljufara 9.3 per cent, and Benghazi 8.9 per cent (D U P B 2009).

3.7. Summary

This chapter has summarised the background information on Benghazi needed for a study of internal migration. Benghazi is the second biggest urban centre in Libya; it is placed in the North East of Libya bordering the Mediterranean Sea. It was established and named Euseperides by the Greeks about 515 B.C, and since that time it has been settled by people. In 2006 Benghazi had a population of 608,782 persons and currently is undergoing the second demographic transition (continued mortality decline with a drop in birth rates leading to the population growth oriented towards a decline). Furthermore Benghazi has a strong economic base compared to surrounding provinces; therefore the level of income in Benghazi is one of the highest in Libya. In addition Benghazi also had the first university in Libya plus a network of public services. As has been shown, these features have made Benghazi extremely attractive to successive streams of migrants from different regions, and as a result of this the ethnic composition of the population of Benghazi is made up of different Libyan Tribes. It is significant to first examine the impact of internal migration on the city of Benghazi, and the subsequent chapter sets out the methodology employed to achieve this aim.

Chapter Four Research Methodology

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The data for this study comes from both primary and secondary sources to achieve the research aim and objectives. The chapter comprises a comprehensive discussion of the methodology of the thesis and methods of data collection such as: census data, key informant interviews (policy makers); questionnaires of migrant families and in-depth case studies of selected families; and field observations recorded during the fieldwork period. The final part of this chapter provides an explanation of the analysis methods, which combined a quantitative method with qualitative data, in order to formulate a more in-depth analysis.

The main purpose of the primary research is to gain information in relation to the demographic, economic and social characteristics of migrant families and the impact of internal migration on the Benghazi community, by way of a survey of heads of household of migrant families. Due to the large number of migrant families living in Benghazi, it was difficult to carry out a comprehensive survey due to restrictions on time, money and effort. The researcher also conducted a questionnaire using samples of families who had migrated to Benghazi, as well as conducting in-depth interviewees' case studies with large families. The researcher examined policy responses to family migration through a series of interviews and discussions with decision makers in Benghazi and discussed some issues with members of academic staff of universities who had interests in this area of research.

Firstly, it is important to define the term "methodology" in relation to research. According to Kitchin and Tate methodology is:

> a coherent set of rules and procedures which can be used to investigate
> a phenomenon or situation (within the framework dictated by
> epistemological and ontological ideas) (Kitchin and Tate 2000: 6).

Undoubtedly, the type of methodology employed is an essential part in social science research. The significance of this has been defined generally in social science, drawing a difference between methodology and method by Brunskell as follows:

> Within social science research the choice of which aspects of the social world to research, the method for collecting the data, and then the ways to interpret those data is informed by broad theoretically informed framework within which the research is carried out (Brunskell 2002 :37).

4.2. Research Design

According to Anderson (2004), research design is turning research ideas into a project. It is engaged on the fixed overall research plan trying to present ultimate answers to the research questions, and by implementing a strategy of the study, a research methodology has been developed and designed. In this context, it is useful to point out what the research design means. According to Vogt research design is defined as:-

> The science (and art) of planning procedures for conducting studies so as to get the most valid findings.......when designing a research study, one draws up a set of instructions for gathering evidence and for interpreting it (Vogt 1993:196 -197).

Research is the procedure of enquiry and discovery. According to Anderson (2004: 6) research can be finding out things in a systematic way in order to increase knowledge. Sekaran (1992) argues that every research project has two major purposes. Firstly, to resolve a presently existing problem in the work setting. Secondly, to put in or contribute to the broad body of world knowledge in an exacting area of concern to the scholar.

In order to adopt an appropriate methodology the research process onion has been used. The research process onion (Figure 4.1) includes different layers which begin from the outside of adopting a research philosophy, moving to the internal layer of data collection and data analysis. In the subsequent steps, the research philosophy,

research approach, research strategy, and the methods of data collection are demonstrated in accordance with the research process onion.

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Fig 4.1 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged
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Figure (4.1) the Research Process Onion. Source: Saunders *et al* (2009:108)

4.3. Research Philosophy

According to Saunders *et al* (2009) there are four major philosophical trends which dominate the research procedure: (Positivism, Realism, Pragmatism and Interpretivism), The attributes of these philosophies are considered in this study in order to demonstrate how selection of study problem, study strategy and study standards are managed significantly by selection of philosophy (Mitchell 1989).
Positivism is commonly utilised interchangeably with the scientific method and has been a main force in structuring what is judged a satisfactory study. This philosophy is distinguished by such conceptions as order, systems, hypotheses, regularities, models and laws. Moreover the crucial purpose of this philosophy is the creation of

theories to describe and predict the correlation between phenomenons. However, the researcher's rejection of this philosophy is because it represents a broad thought of philosophy, and simplifications about it are difficult. Nevertheless, the positivist's philosophy has problems. Geographers are usually unable to measure and isolate each of the elements that may influence a specific relationship (Mitchell 1989).

Realism is a philosophical position which is associated with scientific analysis. The real meaning of realism is that the senses show the researcher that reality is the truth. Furthermore this philosophy is similar to positivism in that it supposes a scientific approach to the development of knowledge (Saunders et al 2009). On the other hand, the position of the critical realist is that the social world is continually shifting and is much more in line with the purpose of population studies which is too often to recognise the cause for these phenomena as a precursor to recommending movement (Saunders et al 2009).

Pragmatism is instinctively appealing, mainly because it evades the author engaging in what they observe to be rather meaningless arguments with reference to concepts such as reality and truth (Saunders et al 2007; Saunders et al 2009). In this manner Buchholz and Rosenthal argue:-

> That pragmatism offers a fruitful way to view the corporation and its relationship to society. They dispute the relevance of traditional economic models based on atomistic individualism (Buchholz and Rosenthal 1997, cited in Jacobs 2004; 218).

In contrast, pragmatism needs a broader awareness of social consequences. (Jacobs 2004).

The interpretivistic approach stresses that the assumptions of these philosophies are uncalled-for. According to Rubin and Babbie (2001):

> Interpretive researchers …. attempt to gain an empathic understanding of how people feel inside, seeking to interpret individuals' everyday experience, deeper meanings and feelings, and idiosyncratic reasons for their behaviours (Rubin and Babbie 2001: 34).

Based on the above stated school of thought, this study can be classified as interpretive. Interpretivism can be informed by, and contribute to, disciplines namely, sociology, economics, psychology (Anderson 2004). The main concern of interpretative philosophy is to understand human experiences at a holistic level (Seganti 2010), and the researcher valued narrative case studies and interviewed policy makers as an appropriate tool for accomplishing the aim of this research focusing on the impact of family migration. In this manner, Iordan argues that an:-

> interpretive approach assumes that people create and associate their own subjective and inter-subjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. The foundation assumption for interpretive research is that knowledge is gained through social constructions such as language, consciousness, and shared meanings (Iordan 2008; 5).

The philosophy that underpins this thesis is the research philosophy of interpretivism. This philosophy is selected to be the philosophical framework of this research, because the Interpretivism approach better depends on the research problem, research design, research strategy and data pattern required, also it is suitable for the nature and the aim of this study.

In addition, this research is trying to build a common ground by combining a quantitative method with qualitative data. xtIn this conte, Amaratunga *et al* (2002), have identified these two kinds in the following words:

> ..(Qualitative)... Concentrates on words and observations to express reality and attempts to describe people in natural situations. In contrast, the quantitative approach grows out of a strong academic tradition that places considerable trust in numbers that represent opinion or concepts. (Amaratunga *et al* 2002: 19).

Table (4.1) The characteristics of quantitative and qualitative methodologies

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Source: Kitchin and Tate (2000:40)

Quantitative evidence essential to begin to answer this vital of all questions is almost non-existent in both the econometric studies and descriptive literature (Todaro1997). According to Lynch *et al.* (2007) the majority of human geographers use quantitative methods for statistical analysis and empirical facts. By contrast, qualitative methods are the traditional techniques of geographical study (Lee 1992). Qualitative data can be generally classified as encompassing information in the form of word and

language from observation, participation, one to one interviews and focus groups (Anderson 2004). However, both the qualitative and quantitative techniques have strengths and weaknesses. According to Saukko:

> Traditional social and cultural inquiry usually refers to techniques of combining different theories, methods, sources and material, in terms of triangulation (Saukko 2003:23)

In this study quantitative and qualitative approaches were combined, in order to corroborate each other and attain inclusive understanding of the research aim and objectives. Combining both quantitative and qualitative techniques are helpful to permit data triangulation from documents, surveys, interviews and observations (Robson 2002) (see table 4.1). According to Rubin and Babbie:

> The term description is used differently in quantitative and qualitative studies. In quantitative studies, description typically refers to the characteristics of a population; it is based on quantitative data obtained from a sample of people that is thought to be representative of population. The data being described in quantitative studies are likely to refer to surface attributes that can be easily quantified such as age, income, size of family and so on (Rubin and Babbie 2001 :124)

4.4. Research Approach

There are two major research approaches, deduction and induction. According to Vogt that:

> [Inductive] research procedures and methods of reasoning that being with (or put most emphasis on) observation and then move from observation of particulars to the development of general hypotheses. Often used to describe ethnographic research [while deductive]...conclusions derived by reasoning rather than by data gathering; or, research methods using such reasoning (Vogt 1993:64 -111).

Table (4.2) The characteristics of Deductive and Inductive Research

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Source: Saunders *et al.* (2003:89)

However, the major purpose of this research is to examine the phenomena based on
information- data analysis to show the impact of internal migration on Benghazi.
Interpreting the meaning given by the informants (policy makers and narrative case
studies) to their experiences as undocumented family migration in Libya enables the
inductive approach to be adopted (see table 4.2).

4.5. Research Strategy

Research strategy is a very important step in the research process in order to
choose a specific approach to perform the study. The selection of a research
strategy should be based on the type of research questions employed in the
particular phenomena (Yin 1994). In this context, there are three questions required
when determining research strategy:

> First, what is the form of the research question-is it exploratory? Does it
> seek to describe the incidence or distribution of some phenomenon or
> does it try to explain some social phenomenon? Second, does the
> research require control over behaviour, or does it seek to describe
> naturally occurring events? And third, is the phenomenon under study
> contemporary or historical? (Yin (1984) Cited in Marshall and
> Rossman.1995:40)

However, there are a number of strategies including experiment, namely survey, case study, archival analyses, ethnographies, histories, in-depth interview studies and field studies (Saunders *et al* 2007; Marshall and Rossman 1995). As the main aim of this study is to determine and analyse the impact of internal migration on the Benghazi urban region, therefore the research strategies of in-depth interviews, questionnaire surveys, and case studies have been adopted.

4.6. Data Collection Methods

This study is built on a set of comprehensive data from two sources: primary and secondary.

4.6.1. The First Stage

In the course of this stage the researcher began with reviewing and examining existing literature on the phenomenon of internal migration (Secondary data). Also at the end of this stage, a decision was made about the philosophy for the fieldwork (interpretive approach). This informed the methods to be used during the fieldwork in July 2008, having obtained the official clearance of the Coventry University Ethics Committee to undertake the field study in Benghazi.

Secondary data is the data that has been previously obtained by someone else and for a different purpose (White 2008). Secondary data information is helpful to improve studies that scholars want to use as a background for their own applied studies to build broader overviews, based on results of investigations of micro-scale questionnaires and interviews (Findlay 2006).The source of secondary data in this study was based on (1) research papers, (2) studies of Libya relating to education, employment and families, (3) online reports, (4) published material of government sources such as the social and economic development plans, survey of domestic spending levels and Economic and Social Conditions, as well as statistics from registry offices.

4.6.1.1 Population Census

Population census can be defined as the processes of the collection, classification and dissemination of demographic, social and economic data and information, for all individuals in a particular place and time. It is important to point out that the

population censuses in Libya are usually conducted once each decade and always include some questions on migration, such as place of birth and place of previous residence, which provides useful information about numbers of family members who are temporarily not present at home.

The 1964 population census was the first census in Libya to collect data about migration, asking people about their place of birth and place of previous residence. Libyan censuses have many advantages such as: (1) data organised by the smallest administrative units in the state Mahlat (Quarters) (2) personal enumeration, this means that the data is recorded separately on each individual within the family (3) they are comprehensive, i.e., the census covered all administrative units in Libya.

Despite the population census being the major source of demographic statistics, it is only conducted (in summer months) once every ten years in Libya, which gives poor information because many migrants come to a city and stay a short period and then leave the same city between censuses. Adding to this, the field study observed that some houses were empty, despite the researcher's frequent visits to these houses. Further enquiries found that their owners have farms outside Benghazi, where they go for three months during the summer for holidays and harvest seasons. As a result they did not attend the census process in Benghazi, but they return to the city for school term time, which is usually September to May. Hence the population census data is not very useful in identifying the characteristics of migrants, especially out-migrants.

4.6.1.2. Registration Office

The Registration Office is the major source of vital statistics. According to the requirements of the law, people are required to register every vital fact that happens within the family, such as births, deaths, marriages, divorces and mobility, to the nearest Registration Office which is available in every city, town and village in Libya. Normally people in Libya have to register their change of place of residence at the registry office.

4.6.2. The Second Stage (Primary Data Collection)

This phase of data collection (Primary data) took place from July 2008 to October 2008. During this period the researcher sought advice from academic staff in both

Omar Al-Mukhtar University and Gar-Younis University who were familiar with migration studies. Also, the author carried out (1) In-depth interviews with key informants; the data of those interviews are the subject-matter of objectives three and four (2) followed by pilot study- family questionnaires. When the pilot study was finished, the formal questionnaire began (3) and a total of 150 households were interviewed in the study area. The details of this stage were in relation to the objectives in numbers two and three. (4) 10 narrative case studies were conducted, with large-sized families. Hence the fieldwork was divided into four separate phases for practical purposes.

It should be noted that questions in the questionnaire and for the interviews were edited in English, afterwards translated into Arabic by the author and the accuracy of languages were confirmed and approved by the academic staff in both Arabic and English departments at Omar Al- Mukhtar University.

4.6.2.1. In-depth Interviews with key Informants

Interviews undertaken for study purposes are often used as the method for collecting data, perhaps in part because the interview seems to be a relatively easy and an uncomplicated way to determine results (Robson 2002). During the period from July to October 2008, the researcher carried out interviews with prominent policy makers in relevant Government Committees in Benghazi (Appendix A1). These interviews were conducted in Arabic at the key informant's place of work, Interviews were recorded on tape, then transcribed and translated into English. Included in this group were 7 Ministers from the Departments of Health; Education; Housing, Agriculture, Electricity, Water and Gas, Transportation and Manpower. Those elements were selected according to judgemental sample, which is identified as a purposing sample. The selection of sampling units was based on the informants experience in that they are expected to give the required data (Kitchin and Tate 2000). The researcher took this opportunity to obtain data in relation to the objective 3, which is the impact of internal migration on the demographic, economic and social conditions of the city, and objective 4, which is the State's plans and policies for family migration. Amongst the questions asked and discussed within this category are shown in table (4.3).

Table (4.3) Interview questions for experienced personnel

No	questions
01	What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?
02	Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?
03	Do you think that migration puts pressure on public services in the city?
04	Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be restricted?
05	What are the economic, social and demographic effects of internal migration on Benghazi?
06	Does Libya have a policy for internal migration?
07	Does Libya need a policy for internal migration?
08	In your opinion, what is the best policy regarding family migration to Benghazi?

Source: Author.

4.6.2.2. Pilot Study- Family Questionnaires

A pilot study has been defined as:

> A small- scale trial before the main investigation, intended to assess the
> adequacy of the research design and the instruments to be used for data
> collection; piloting the data-collection instruments is essential (Wilson
> 1996:103).

A pilot study is a means for enquiring if the designed tool is suitable for the target results (Hoggart, Lees, and Davies 2002). The pilot survey for this study was carried out with 15 heads of household in Al-Sabri Quarter, which was not one of the three quarters which had been selected for the main survey. These interviews were aimed to check the integrity of the questions and survey design, such as (1) to test and develop questions which could be understood by people of varying levels of education (2) to ensure that the interview could be completed in a reasonable time for the researcher and the participants (3) to delete or re-write some of the questions that may be difficult for the participants to understand or answer (4) to determine the appropriate time of day for interviews (5) to reduce the time and effort that will be

wasted (Parfitt 1997) (6) to identify missing response categories (7) to assess any difficulties. Vaus (2002) argues that this phase aims to reassess every question to ensure that the participants understand them, and also to determine which questions were relevant and which ones were not answered . Finally, when the pilot study was finished and any problems were addressed, the formal survey began.

Once the pilot study had been completed, the researcher found that the questions of the survey were clear and unambiguous to the participants. It used consistent wording and the sequence of the questions was sensible. It started with a brief introduction considering what the objectives of the study were followed by simple questions (demographic questions) relating to age, gender and socio-economic background, and ending with the open questions. Overall all survey questions were not difficult to answer, but some questions were dropped. The first question concerned using contraception. This was deleted because it was not direct related to the subject. Two further questions were deleted because they were included in other questions within the survey.

The pilot study found that the best time and place to interview heads of households was between 5:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M in the family house. This time was appropriate for people because work hours in summer time are 7:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. and working time during the fasting month starts at 9:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. Day time is extremely important especially when conducting interviews at family houses. Evening and weekends are the best time to carry out interviews with people who may be working during the day (Parfitt 1997).

4.6.2.3. Questionnaire Survey

A survey is often conducted by using a proportion from a group instead of contacting every member (Parfitt1997). A questionnaire is the general technique to collect this type of study information (Vaus 2002). A simple definition of a questionnaire is:

> A device or tool for collecting information to describe, compare, understand and/ or explain knowledge, attitudes, behaviour and/ or social-demographic characteristics of a particular population (Simon 2006:164).

Human geography researchers have been using questionnaire surveys as part of their standard procedure; it has been a major method of collecting quantitative

information (Cloke *et al.* 2004). It should be stressed at the outset that the questionnaire, which was the main instrument of this study and provided the study with the fundamental source of primary data, was administered face-to-face by means of an interview, which took about 40–60 minutes. The interview was deliberately not too long. Any interview taking over sixty minutes might create difficulties for the interviewees, and can have the negative consequences of decreasing the number of people prepared to take part, and this would lessen the objectivity of the sample (Robson 2002).

This method provided an opportunity to clarify ambiguous questions rather than other types of standard questionnaire allocation such as phone, postal, email, drop-pick and so on, which are not normally used in Libya, even among educated people. In many developing countries interviews by telephone or mail are not adopted because the outcome is often doubtful (Overton and Diermen 2003). Though on the one hand the personal questionnaire usually obtains a higher response, more than a phone or postal questionnaire, it also takes more time (Hoggart, Lees, and Davies 2002).

A total of 150 households were interviewed in the city using a systematic random sampling method based on the number of households in each block of the selected neighbourhoods. It is a straightforward and simple method of choosing a probability sample that contains certain statistical idiosyncrasies while the initial opportunity of choice of any element is equal (Robson 2002), which means all migrants having an equal chance of appearing in the sample. In order to reach a fairly good representation of the population in question, every fifth household was selected in each block of the chosen neighbourhoods. Occasionally the selected family was not accessible at the time of the survey; therefore the researcher had to go to the next family.

The questionnaires were undertaken by the researcher and three research assistants who were born and bred in Benghazi and were therefore familiar with the situation in the city, had good experience of working in field studies, and had expressed their readiness to carry out the questionnaire and to conduct the interviews. We worked together as one team throughout the pilot study as preliminary training to develop the assistants' general interviewing abilities in

relation to contacting participants and recruiting cooperation, how to deal with educated and uneducated heads of families in terms of handing the questionnaires and recording the responses, also confidentiality issues. In other words, to ensure that all members of the team mastered the field work. Then, we divided into three groups and worked separately. Thus, our team was very well organised, which enabled the author to complete the field work earlier than anticipated.

The questionnaires (Appendix B) were conducted in three quarters of Benghazi, defined as migrant-receiving quarters, each of which contained a high proportion of migrants in varying conditions in terms of socio-economic strata, housing and background. In selecting these three quarters based on population censuses, the available studies were examined, and the economic and social factors considered. Also account was taken of advice given by policy makers from relevant government authorities in Benghazi and academic staff in the geography and sociology departments at Gar-Younis University.

The first quarter, the Al Mokhtar quarter (figure 4.2), was the most socially deprived area surveyed and its inhabitants reflected the lowest socio-economic class of the city, measured by population censuses. A total of 56 families were interviewed in this quarter. The Western Al-Selmaani quarter, near central Benghazi, reflected the medium socio-economic class. The number of households interviewed in this quarter was 33. The quarter of New Benghazi represented the upper social-economic strata in Benghazi, where 61 households were interviewed. The number in the sample taken from each quarter was based on the proportion of population in each quarter to the total population in the three quarters.

From the outset, it was explained to the questionnaire respondents that the purpose of the research was for a PhD thesis, to assure them that we were not government employees and that this was not an official survey for local authorities (Council Tax, Department of Statistics, Committee of Financial Inspection and Social Security). This allowed them to feel free to express their views and ideas and to answer the questions truthfully. The participants were also provided with an information sheet which explained the purpose of the study, reasons why they have been chosen, that their participation would remain confidential, and that their participation in the study was voluntary that they were free to withdraw at anytime and without giving an

explanation. Furthermore, they were not required to provide their name. Also, informed consent was obtained (the original was retained by the researcher with a copy given to the participant). Finally, they were asked to answer all the questions honestly. It is perhaps, important to point out that the researcher had had experience of carrying out questionnaires during his study for a Masters degree, and therefore he knew how to establish a good rapport with the respondents. In any case, people in Benghazi have become familiar with such surveys on different aspects of living standards. For instance, two studies were carried out by the Department of Statistics, the first one in 1992 which was designed to survey domestic spending levels and a second study in 2002 regarding the economic and social conditions in Libya.

Figure (4.2) Administrative Divisions of Benghazi, indicating districts (New Benghazi, Al Mokhtar and Western Al-Selmaani quarters) where the questionnaire survey was undertaken. Source: Doxiadis Associates (1989)

The questionnaire consisted of a list of questions covering the basic process of internal family migration to Benghazi. There were two types of questions (1) open questions (2) closed questions. The selection of closed and open questions is based on several elements (see table 4.4), in terms of the substance of the questions, the participant stimulus, and the means of selection of the participants, the right

encoders of open-ended answers, and also the total available time to build up a high-quality group of answers. There is no correct or incorrect method as nowadays there are arguments on any approach that may be preferred (Vaus 2002).

Table (4.4) Advantages and disadvantages of open and closed questions

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Source: Parfitt (1997: 91)

The questionnaire was designed to collect information regarding the following areas:

I. The first section was designed to obtain general information from the head of the household: age, sex, place of birth, marital status, educational status and number of family members, etc.

II. The second section focused on general issues about the period before migration: age at the time of arrival, educational status, marital status, income, employment, type of accommodation, ownership of agricultural land, reasons for leaving their last place of residence and the reasons for moving to Benghazi, etc.

III. Third section was designed to examine the migrant's relationship with the place of origin after migration: the relationship with the place of origin after migration in terms of visits there, sending remittances, ways of sending money back home, etc.

IV. The fourth section concerned information about housing and living conditions in Benghazi: ownership and type of housing, numbers of people living in the house, access to piped drinking water, sewage disposal and electricity, Ownership of goods such as: a cooker, radio, television, fridge, video, washing machine, TV, satellite

dish, current jobs, income, basis of employment now, standard of living, level of education, and how long the respondents intended to stay in Benghazi.

V. The fifth section included questions aimed at collecting information regarding the views and opinions of the respondents toward the impact of migrant families:

What were the respondents thoughts about the level of public services in Benghazi, their satisfaction with the public services in Benghazi, the adequacy of current services such as drinking water, electricity and houses, the rate of crime and difficulties with which respondents are suffering post-migration.

4.6.2.4. In-depth Interviews (Case Studies)

After the general questionnaire had been completed, a series of case studies were conducted, with 10 case histories of families (see table 4.5). The researcher carried out in-depth qualitative narrative work with them through informal conversations (See Appendix A2). These households were selected according to the cluster sampling method, which is usually done in social work research because it can be utilized when it is complicated to obtain a sampling frame, yet it is still a kind of probability sampling (Marlow 2001). In this context, Hoggart, Lees and Davies have explained that:

> A variant of this approach is to use key informants to identify relevant people, as Huw Jones and associates (1986) employed to identify recent in-migrants to villages. More commonly it has been employed to identify people who share the same characteristic, as with Byron's identification (1994) of people from the Island of Nevis living in Leicester (Hoggart, Lees and Davies 2002:185-186).

This was based on the first contacts who were asked to give the names and addresses of any other persons who may meet the requirements of the sampling (Kitchin and Tate 2000). In other words, each head of family was asked for the name and address of the next sample element who had migrated to Benghazi in period between from one to thirty- five years and had a big family (8+ members) living in the same area and might be willing to take part. However, the size of family and location and length of time in Benghazi were considered. It is useful to choose large households because these extended families on the one hand, have problems in housing and place a great pressure on utilities and social services, but on the other

hand have more needs. They all lived in the same three quarters of the city which had been selected for the main sample. The researcher believed that interviewing these families gave a real picture of family migration in Benghazi. This process identified who the migrants were, where they come from, and gave a short memorandum on their motivations, backgrounds, characteristics, problems and aspirations for the future.

 The researcher managed the dialogue with the participants in colloquial Arabic. However, some the heads of families refused to be tape recorded therefore, the data was taken down literally by an assistant under the supervision of the researcher.

Table (4.5) Characteristics of sample of the case studies

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Source: Interviews with heads of household in the fieldwork, conducted in Benghazi, July 2008 - October 2008

* Names of participants listed in alphabetical order.

4.6.2.5. Field Observations

Field observation is still one of the most important data collection tools for researchers (Overton and Diermen 2003). Taking notes is very important to help the researcher understand situations which they might otherwise find confusing (Laurier

2008). Observations were used in this study to obtain data that could not be obtained by other means of data collection (questionnaire or interview) which included drawing, hand written notes, mapping and so on. Field notes must be taken to help the researcher to remember enough of what has occurred or what participants have said throughout a long conversation with them (Laurier 2008). This data was collected during the period of fieldwork from July 2008 to October 2008.

It is significant to acknowledge at this point that there were no insurmountable difficulties which occurred during this fieldwork, except the absence of documents or official records included in the community of study. There are no official institutions interested in migrant affairs in Benghazi, to the extent that there are no basic records in relation to places of residence, length of stay and names of migrants to the city. Furthermore, some heads of household refused to take part in the survey as they saw no benefit in it for themselves. However, these were limited to five cases.

Nonetheless, it must be stated that, undertaking research in the Third World is very sensitive, for example in Libya there were political sensitivities and difficulties in obtaining detailed maps and taking photographs.

4.7. Data Analysis

As previously indicated, the aim of this study was to determine and analyse the impact of internal migration to the Benghazi urban region, and to examine the region's policy responses. The study has used both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data included questionnaires and interviews. Once the field survey was completed and the required numbers of questionnaires collected, there was the process of coding. This data was analysed using SPSS software package.

1- Chi-square tests for independence measures whether there is dissimilarity between two associated variables (Pallant 2005). In the case of the current study this test is used to explore the relationship between two categorical variables regarding age group / date of arrival and employed / unemployed migrants.

> It is common practice to compare the characteristics of a sample population
> (age and sex distribution, income, religion, etc.) with census data to see if the

profile of your sample matches that of a wider population (Overton and Diermen 2003:42).

2- T-test was used to compare the mean scores of migrants in two different circumstances (before migration and after migration).

3- Correlation analysis is included here to explore the relationship between distance travelled and the number of migrants.

Frequency tables and percentages as descriptive statistics are primarily used to demonstrate the data where suitable.

3- Analysis of interviews with policy makers and case study families (qualitative analysis) was performed manually. This procedure consisted of the researcher reviewing the information from policy maker's interviews, in-depth narrative studies and field notes and describing and classifying the results according to key themes in line with the aim and objectives of the thesis. This included underlining data and texts in different colours in relation to the broad themes used in the study and identifying new themes that came evident from the interviews and field notes. The author undertook the final checking of analytical ideas and writing about these themes. The author further investigated these ideas and managed the outcomes in a way that assisted the exploration and examination of the impact of internal family migration on Benghazi city, and government responses and policy.

Stage One: - Transcribing and translating research material from Arabic to English.

Stage Two: - Rapid appraisal of all the research material to identify general themes.

Stage Three: - Research material organised under general themes, with sub-themes identified.

Stage Four: - Relate general and sub-themes to the aim and objectives of the thesis.

Stage Five: - To draw out relevant and interesting examples and case studies as evidence to support themes and sub-themes.

4.8. Research Confidentiality and Ethics

Ethical permission is very important and a matter of priority for all studies related to human subjects. As an ethical human geographer it is essential to protect people who take part, and also to guarantee that the researchers will be able to carry on to socially and environmentally valuable research (Hay 2008). However, anonymity and confidentiality are very significant matters for the participants

> Participants need to be assured that all the data collected will remain secure under lock or on a computer database accessible by password only, that the information supplied will remain confidential and participants will remain anonymous and that participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without explanation. (Longhurst 2008:127).

Confidentiality is required in the course of the data collection stage, as well as the researchers must be required protect confidentiality while writing and publishing the projects (Marlow 2001).

> Confidentiality is a broader term which recognises that a researcher may be entrusted with private information. Thus the researcher has the responsibility for ensuring that any field notes, tapes or transcripts will be stored in a safe place and that information contained in them is used only for the purposes of the research (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens 2003:146)

On the other hand, anonymity needs to be appropriate to the identities of persons who supply information (Thomas 2004). According to Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, anonymity:

> Refers to the researcher's responsibility to keep the identity of participants private, if they so wish, so they will not be personally identifiable in any outputs (for example, thesis, journal articles) produced by the researcher (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens 2003:146)

The researcher conducted the questionnaire without the use of names or other private information and the paper questionnaires have been stored in a secure location.

4.9. Researcher Positionality in the Collection of Data

The positionality of the researcher as cultural insider or cultural outsider appears to be one of the significant aspects to the structure of sociological knowledge; Velayati (2003) argues that cultural insider means the researcher belongs to the cultural group under investigation. The researcher in this study is a cultural insider because he shares cultural similarities with the Benghazi community (language, ethnicity, religion and way of life). The researcher is a Libyan male and his mother tongue is Arabic, this facilitated the interview process with male heads of households who made up 88 per cent of the total of the sample. He lives in a city in eastern Libya (North East Region of Libya), of which Benghazi is the administrative capital. Also, he regularly visits relatives and friends in Benghazi. His positionality, as a cultural insider, gave him many advantages such as familiarity with the culture of participants, awareness of the traditions, structure and situation of Benghazi and understanding of family structures meant interviews could be undertaken in Arabic. Being a Libyan citizen the researcher had good access to policy makers and heads of households (encouraging participants to give the required information). It should be noted that all interviewees were aged over 18 years.

4.10. Critical Evaluation of the Methodology

This section provides a brief review of the limitations of the research methodology. Without exception, all human work is limited in some ways. To achieve the main aim of this thesis, the researcher used multiple data sources, namely primary and secondary, both of which have some limitations (census data, key informant interviews, questionnaires of migrant families and in-depth case studies of selected families; and field observations).

In this study, the main limitation of the Primary data is the small size of the study; the sample of 150 responses from three districts of Benghazi limits the generalisation of the findings. If the researcher had time he would have included a control sample of 150 families from the non -migrants. Furthermore, five heads of families refused to take part in the survey as they saw no benefit in it for themselves. However, a few of

the heads of households refused to be tape recorded; therefore the data was written down manually.

In Libya the secondary data also has some limitations, due to the data being old and out of date. Also the researcher had to check the source of the information, therefore a significant amount of time and effort was spent in carefully examining the data to make sure the data and information are precise. On the other hand, data from the Libyan Census was not very helpful in identifying the characteristics of migrants, especially out-migrants. It is only conducted once every ten years in Libya, which gives poor information because many internal family migrations come to Benghazi, stay a short period and then leave between censuses. For instance, no data was available to track rural to urban migration. In this case, registry office and questionnaires were used as indicators of rural to urban migration. Also for political reasons the researcher could not obtain photographs. In addition not all data is available at city level with regard to policy responses.

The researcher considered interpretivism was the most useful philosophy for this thesis to achieve its aim, even though the empiricists said that interpretive research is subjective, biased, and unable to be generalised (Chen 2005).

4.11. Summary

The major purpose of this chapter was to discuss and describe the methodology of the theses, being a two stage process to produce the essential data. The interpretivism approach was adopted in this study because it is the most suitable approach for the research problem, research design, research strategy and data pattern required. The study techniques incorporated both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect primary and secondary data. The field work continued over four months from July to October 2008 including interviews with a purposive, non-randomly chosen sample of 7 key informants, various migrant families, and ten in-depth case studies with large migrant families in the city.

The subsequent chapters explain and discuss the study results with more information regarding the analysis of data.

Chapter Five Patterns of Internal Migration and Characteristics of Migrants to Benghazi

CHAPTER FIVE

Patterns of Internal Migration and Characteristics of Migrants to Benghazi

5.1. Introduction

Chapter Three was concerned with examining and assessing Benghazi's present demographic, economic, social setting and background. The main characteristic of this chapter was the high population growth rates in Benghazi due to the successive flows of migrants from other Libyan regions. The debate that follows from that chapter focuses on these migration streams. The present chapter aims to fulfil the first and second objectives of this thesis, and will describe the streams of internal migration, by comparing the current place of residence with the place of birth, in order to give a clear idea of the volume of internal migration in Benghazi, secondly, to critically evaluate the major reasons for internal migration to Benghazi. Moreover, this chapter analyses the characteristics of these immigrants (objective 2) in terms of their demographic, economic and social characteristics.

5.2. Background to Internal Migration in Libya

Before the discovery of oil in 1959, most of Libya's population were itinerant in seasonal rural areas, in search of water and pasture. Often they were working in animal husbandry and agriculture, and this kind of life continued until the discovery of oil (D U P B 2008). After this date people started to migrate to the cities, with the emergence of new job opportunities being developed by investment in the industry (D U P B 2008). As a result of giving especial attention to cities and neglecting rural areas, inequality and disparities have emerged between Libyan regions since the late 1950s, and this in turn led to the deterioration of economic and living conditions in rural areas. Faced with this situation, a large proportion of the rural proletariat started to look to cities for a source of living. Some regions acquired a strong attraction to the population, namely Tripoli and Benghazi, which now represent the highest concentration of population on the map of geographical population

distribution (Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003). As a result of this, the countryside has become depopulated.

The trend of migration in Libya is from the countryside to urban areas and from the South towards the cities of the North where economic activities and resources are most concentrated. Thus the trend of migration is to Tripoli and Benghazi rather than to other cities. Benghazi is the second largest city in Libya with strong pull factors such as housing, entertainment, transportation, social services, a concentration of factories resulting in employment opportunities, and is the main port in Eastern Libya. This concentration has made Benghazi a magnet for many of Libya's internal migrants from both nearby towns and the countryside. Most Libyan censuses illustrate rural to urban and urban to rural movements between regions, with the majority of migration being rural to urban, and with the Benghazi region usually hosting rural migrants. For example, between the 1954 and 1964 population censuses, the total number of internal migrants in Libya was more than 600,000 people. Practically 40 per cent of the total population in Libya were internal migrants, and the three urban centres of Tripoli, Benghazi and Al-Beida received more than three-quarters of the total internal migration. After this phase, (1954-1964) and following the discovery of oil, the percentage of internal migration in Libya has declined, which could be as a result of the government policy responses to migration (to be detailed in chapter 7). Yet in the period between the 1964 and 1973 population censuses, the proportion of internal migration within Libya decreased to 279,198 migrants or 13.6 per cent of the total Libyan population, with about 72.4 per cent of these migrants moving to Benghazi and Tripoli. Internal movements continued, but declined during the period 1973 - 1984, to reach 198,308 migrants or 6.1 per cent of the population total, but at the same time the two main Libyan cities received more than two thirds of the total migrants in Libya. Between 1984-1995 the number slightly increased to 229,717 movers, that is nearly 5.2 per cent of Libyan population, and 56.1 per cent of them came to Benghazi and Tripoli.

It is interesting to observe from data given above, that the majority of internal movement in the country is rural to urban migration. In addition the pattern of this movement has been permanent rather than temporary or seasonal in nature. Moreover the Benghazi region appears to be the most significant region for receiving

migrants from other Libyan regions. Therefore it is very important to study in-migration trends to Benghazi in the next section.

5.3. In-Migration Trends to Benghazi 1964-2006

It should be pointed out that migration data is analysed by comparing the place of birth with present residence in all censuses, as any person who was born outside Benghazi and resident at the time of the study is an immigrant.

Unfortunately, the 1954 population census did not provide any data on internal migration; it only mentioned numbers of foreign immigrants. In this census the total number of foreign immigrants to Benghazi was 2,660 of which about 1,689 were male (or 63.5 per cent) due to the entry of foreign companies operating in the field of oil exploration. As of that time the number of non-Libyan labour was increasing. Until the 1973 population census the municipality of Benghazi was ranked first in the country for attracting non-Libyan labour, which confirms the large number of development projects and availability of job opportunities in this municipality (Alamari 1997).

5.3.1. The Period Between 1954-1964

Figure (5.1) reports the numbers and percentage of in-migration flows to Benghazi. For the period between 1954 and 1964 Benghazi received about 43,913 people representing 32 per cent of the region's population. In fact, around 25,736 immigrants (or 58.6 per cent of the total) were males, while females numbered 18,177 (or 41.4 per cent of the total). This value was very high due to several reasons, among which was the existence of urban economic opportunities as well as urbanisation growth in Benghazi. The most significant motivation for movement in this phase was the discovery of oil. The exploration for petrol stimulated economic activities in the city which, in turn, strengthened the in-migration streams.

> After 1955, the oil companies and the contractors working for them
> provided employment opportunities in the main cities. Migration was
> intensified by the growth of employment opportunities in construction
> and the service sectors. Since they grew as a result of the exploration
> production of oil and of public investment (after 1961), the petroleum
> sector was also an indirect cause of migration (Toboli 1976:16).

It is remarkable that in spite of the small Libyan population total (1,564,369 in 1964), the volume of internal migration was of paramount importance. Between the 1954 and 1964 population censuses more than 600,000 people or 40 per cent of the total Libyan population, had changed their place of residence. More than half of this stream was towards Tripoli and Benghazi (Hartley 1972)

From figure (5.1) it can be seen that trends and direction of internal migration in Libya has usually been from the south (desert) to north (coastal) provinces. In fact, major migration occurred during the period 1954 and 1964 from Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, Alkumas and Derna, these provinces were the top four provinces for migration and account for three-quarters of in-migration, while the rest of the provinces make up only 25.4 per cent of all Benghazi immigrants. However, the high proportion of immigrants from these regions was due to several factors. Firstly, Algebal Alkhdar and Derna are adjacent provinces to Benghazi. Secondly, because of the social relations between families and tribal affiliations there was a similarity between the tribal structure in Benghazi and people living in these provinces. Thirdly, Misurata's people are known as traders in Libya, where people born in Misurata own the majority of the shops in the city of Benghazi, in particular gold and silk shops and wholesale stores. Finally, during the period 1954-1964 Alkumas was a depressed governorate, with the second lowest per capita income and it had the second highest figure of out - migrations in Libya (Toboli 1976), due to people looking for economic opportunities.

At this point, it is helpful to classify two groups of Governorates (Muhafadah); those higher than, and those lower than the arithmetic average of immigrants based on the data of internal migration trends to Benghazi in the 1964 population census, which was 5,489[1] migrants. Accordingly, each of Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar and Alkumas governorates were above the average, which means that those areas pushed more of their residents toward Benghazi. Whilst Derna, Tripoli, Gharian, Alzawia and Sebha governorates were below the average which means those regions pushed fewer of their people toward Benghazi.

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[1] The formula is : $\dfrac{Number\ of\ migrants\ to\ Benghazi}{Number\ of\ regions}$ = average of immigrants

Legend

Governorat, 1964 , number

Benghazi		
Algebal Alkhdar -	7288
Alkumas -	6135
Alzawia -	2071
Dema -	4710
El-Khalig -	0
Giharian -	1888
Misurata -	14587
Sebha -	1959
Tripoli -	5275
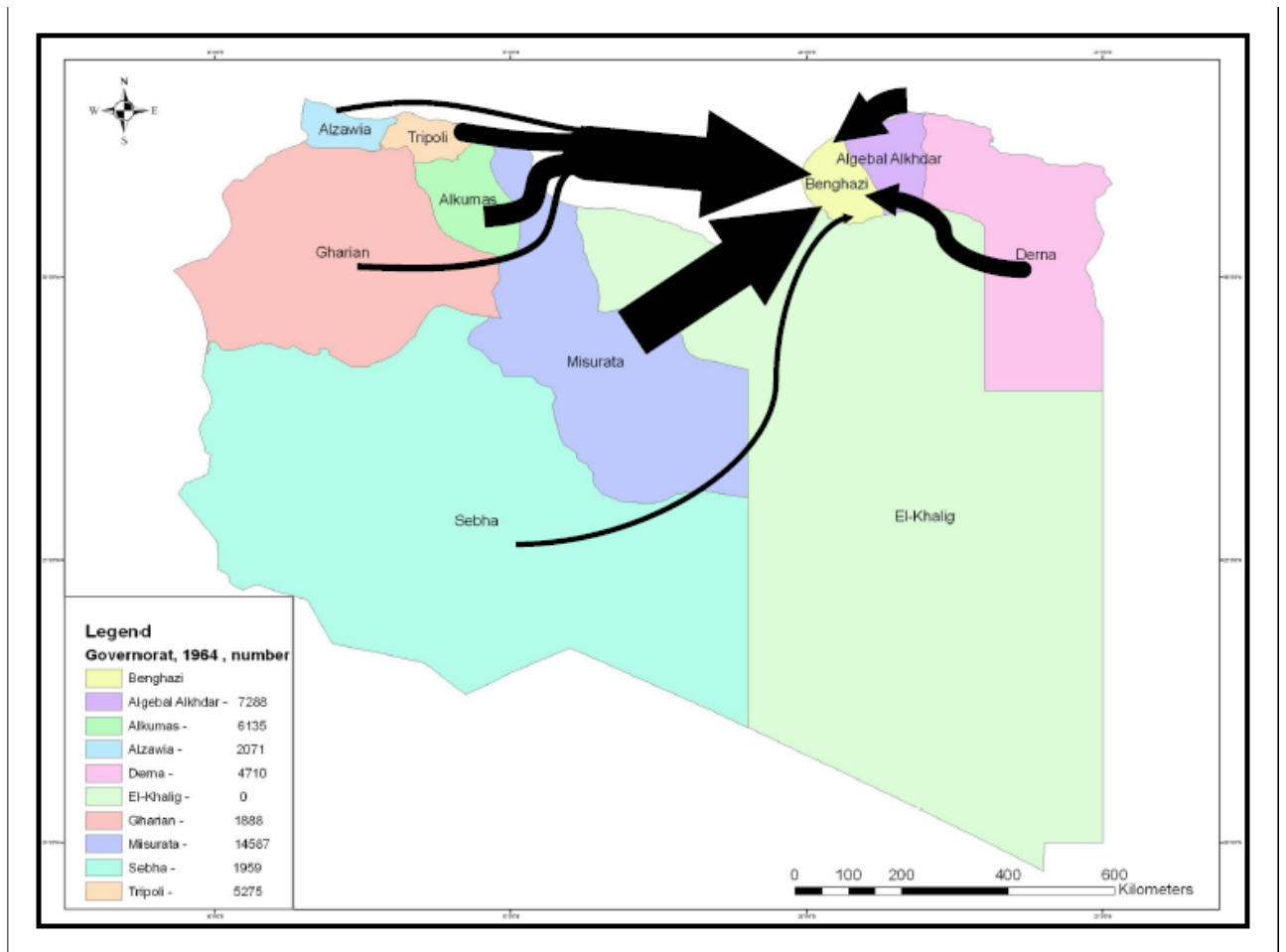
Figure (5.1) In-migration flows to Benghazi between 1954-1964.

Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1954 and1964 census data (G A I 1958 and1966); basic map structure Khalfallh (1984).

5.3.2. The Period Between 1964-1973

It is worth noting that the period between 1964 and1973 was significant for the reason that the number of internal migrants increased from 43,913 between 1954 and 1964 to over 60,610 immigrants or 22.8 per cent of the region total when the population were moved to the Benghazi (Muhafadah). Slightly fewer females than males moved to Benghazi. Females represented 45.1 per cent of immigrants and males represented 54.9 per cent. However, this rapid growth was mainly due to the direct influence of oil and its economic effects, which led to increased industrial and trade activity in major cities. As a result of this, wages in these cities rose rapidly. On the other hand, rural settlements remained without attention and did not receive

sufficient social and economic development. This led to a variation in the different spheres of life between these settlements and main cities which generated flows of internal migration towards urban centres. In the same way, government policies before 1970 played a great role in encouraging movement from the interior and rural areas to Tripoli and Benghazi (Toboli 1976).

The highest rate of out-migration to Benghazi governorate was recorded in Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig, Alkumas and Derna, whose regions were over the arithmetic average, which is 6,734 immigrants (see figure 5.2). Together the five governorates supplied Benghazi with 50,383 immigrants or 83.1 per cent. At the same time the remaining four governorates supplied less than the average and comprised only 16.9 per cent of all Benghazi immigrants in 1973.
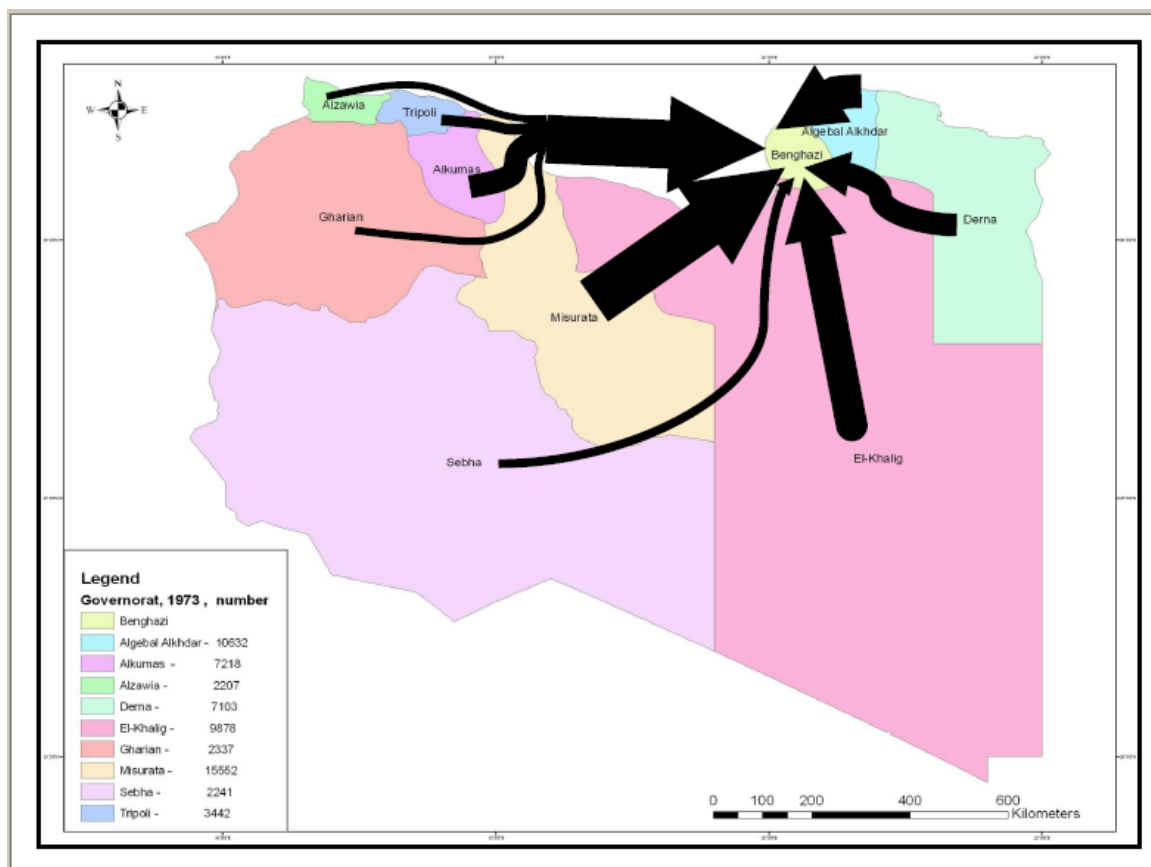
Figure (5.2) In-migration flows to Benghazi between1964-1973.

Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1964 and1973 census data (G A I 1966 and1979); basic map structure Khalfallh (1984).

5.3.3. The Period Between 1973-1984

Between 1973 and 1984 the number of immigrants decreased by nearly a third. Up to 34,178 immigrants arrived from other Libyan provinces, accounting for 8.3 per cent of the population in the Benghazi region. Though, males represented 54.9 per cent whereas females represented 45.1 per cent the of immigrant population.

The reason for decreased numbers of immigrants was due to the equitable distribution of development projects and almost equal services among the various regions of the country in this period which led to considerable stability in movement of people from one region to another (Saad 2003).

In view of the direction of immigration flows to the study area, the main sources of migrants to Benghazi were Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig and Derna. People who came from those governorates made up the biggest proportion of immigrants to the Benghazi governorate between 1973 and 1984 of 27,580 immigrants or 80.7 per cent (see figure 5.3). Those regions were in this census, and all previous censuses, higher than the arithmetic average which was in that time 3,798 immigrants. On the other hand, Alkumas, Tripoli, Gharian, Alzawia and Sebha were under the general average and underrepresented amongst the governorates immigrant groups given their almost 6,598 immigrants or 19.3 per cent share of the overall Benghazi population migration between the 1973 and1984 population censuses.
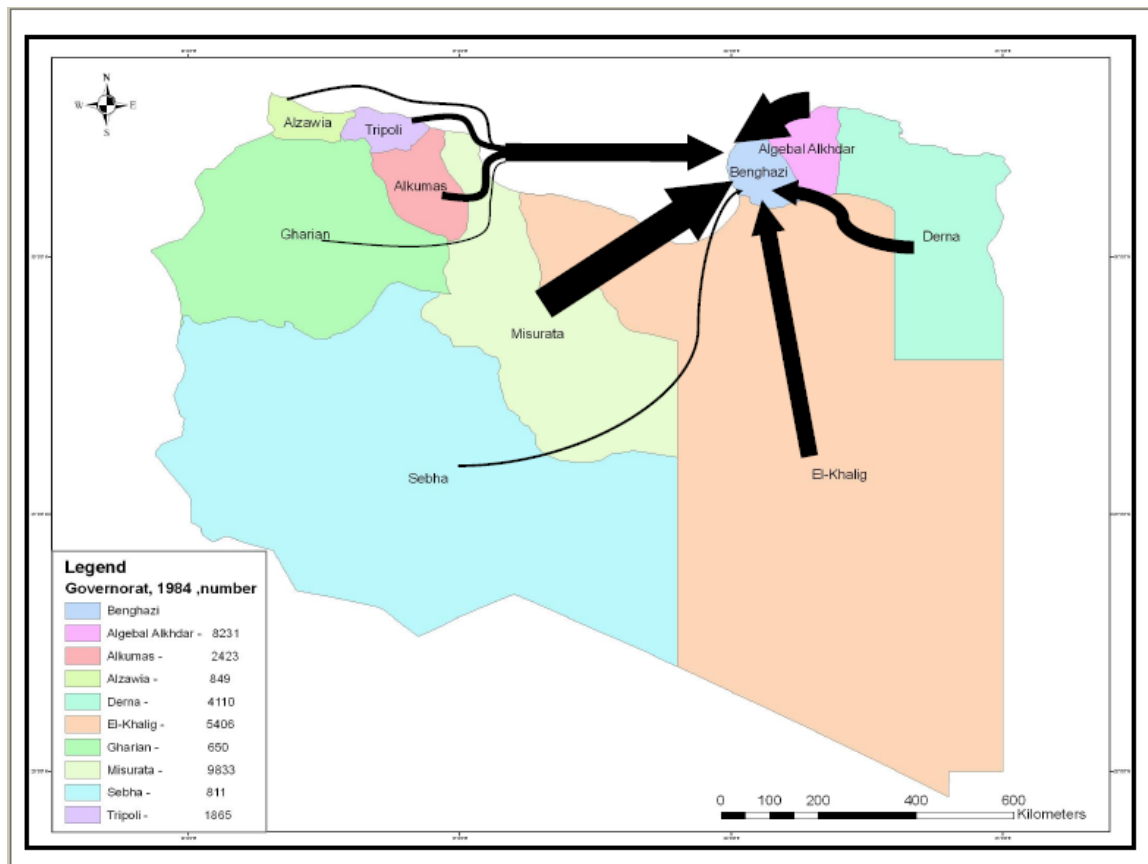
Figure (5.3) In-migration flows to Benghazi between 1973-1984.

Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1973 and 1984 census data (G A I 1979 and1988); basic map structure Khalfallh (1984).

5.3.4. The Period Between 1984-1995

Between the 1984 and1995 population censuses 34,300 immigrants or 6.8 per cent of Benghazi's population were not Benghazi - born. Males constituted 53.2 per cent, with females accounting for 46.8 per cent of the total population living in Benghazi. However, the slowing economy and international economic blockade during the 1980s, and 1990s had a negative impact in that population movement dwindled in Libya, hence, the study area affected by the blockade, its subsequent crisis and economic recession is consistent with Lee's (1966) argument that the stream of immigration is affected by economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and declining in times of hardship (Lee 1966).

During the period between 1984 and 1995 population censuses, the study area experienced a large population movement outward from four governorates 27,587 immigrants or 80.4 per cent of the total of Benghazi immigrant population were born

in Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig and Derna governorates. The remainder of the 34,300 came from the five governorates of Tripoli, (with a 7.1 per cent share, followed by people born in Alkumas (6.3 per cent), Sebha (2.6 per cent), Alzawia (2.1 per cent) and Gharian (1.4 per cent) (see figure 5.4).
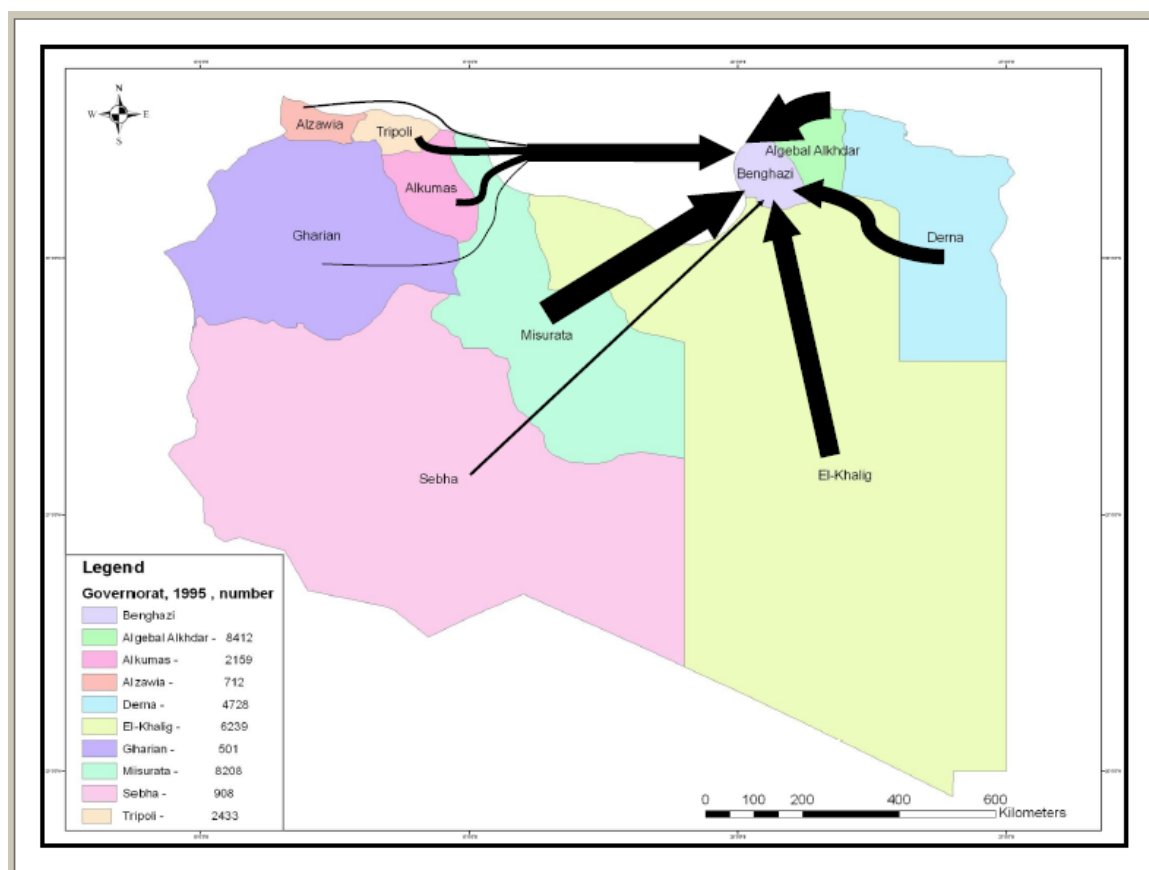
Figure (5.4) In-migration flows to Benghazi between1984-1995.

Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1984 and 1995 census data (G A I 1988 and1998); basic map structure Khalfallh (1984).

5.3.5. The Period Between 1995-2008[2]

Between the period 1995 and 2008 the number of immigrants was 58,605 or 7.9 per cent of total Benghazi-born population, with a 49.6 per cent share being males,

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[2] This data obtained from the registry office in Benghazi does not have further details, for example the characteristics and place of birth of migrants and migration directions. Unfortunately the 2006 census did not contain any information on internal migration. According to the Head of the Department of Statistics and Census in the General Authority for Information in Tripoli, due to the importance of internal migration data in the process of the development in Libya, the Government has decided to undertake a separate census on internal migration in 2011.

compared to 50.4 per cent females, this is first time female immigration exceeds male as a piece of evidence of internal family migration. The number of migrants in this period is higher than the two previous periods, which could be due to many reasons; first according to the head of the registry office in Benghazi (personal communication, 2008) a huge number of migrant families were living in Benghazi and they were registered in their previous places. In the last ten years the majority of them have transferred their family record to Benghazi to meet the requirements of obtaining a job, a government house and a mortgage. Second during this period Libya has solved the main problem with the West (Lockerbie case) as a result of this Libya has witnessed a boom in business and new housing projects which in turn has affected population movement in Libya. Third this stage covers a period of 13 years which is a little bit longer than the previous stages which were around 10 years.
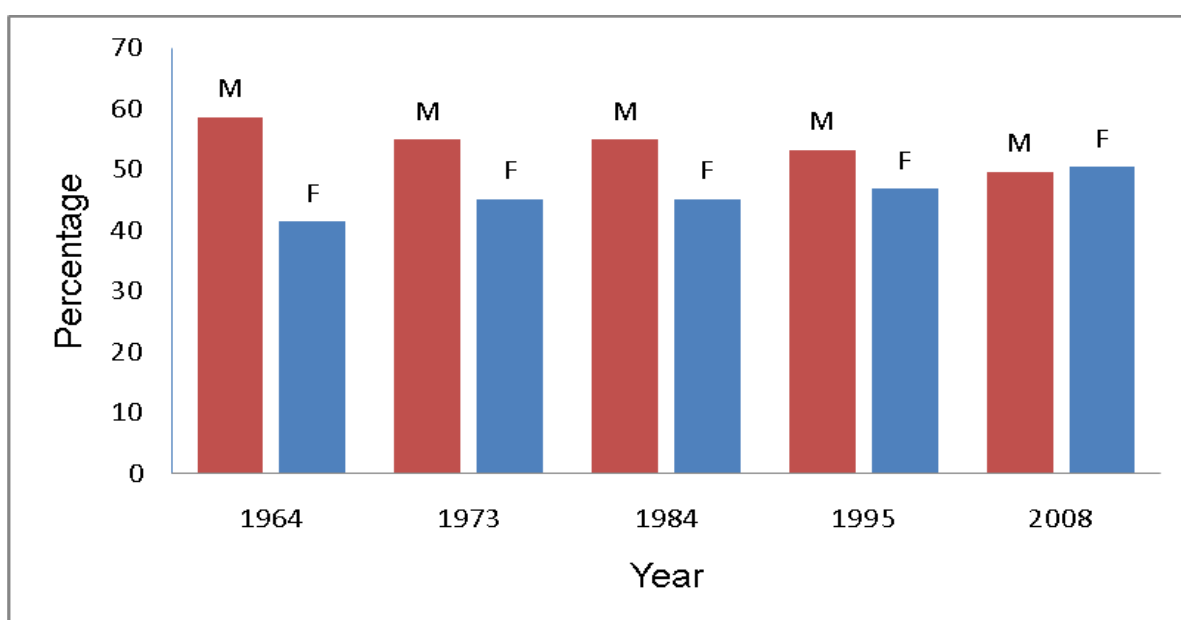
Figure (5.5) Percentage of male and female migrants 1964-2008

As can be seen from figure (5.5) the high proportion of females who moved to the study area rose continuously from 41.4 per cent in 1964 to 45.1 per cent in 1984 and then to 46.8 per cent in the 1995, owing to population movement in the movement of families because of the strength of family ties and social and kinship relations. As was often the case, the wife moved to the residence of her husband and the family moved to the place of the business head of household.

This result seems to suggest that there has been a strong immigration stream to Benghazi over the last fifty years. The number of immigrants to the study area has continued to decline over the period 1954 to 1995, which was due to the social and economic stability in the country, also the expansion in the construction of public housing projects and the granting of loans for the purpose of building houses and employment opportunities in addition to the equitable distribution of agricultural and industrial projects in various parts of the country. In addition came the establishment of regional universities. This decline was also as a result of being located near the city of Albayda, the second largest city in the eastern region after Benghazi, where the focus of economic and administrative activities was making it a destination for a lot of immigrants.

5.4. Causal Factors of Internal Migration to Benghazi

Internal migration is influenced by a number of elements. These are underpinned by ecological, social, economic concerns and the internal politics of the State. Which all together have affected internal migration by means of actions and individual awareness. Yet, those elements hardly ever act in isolation (Barrett 1992, Hamad 2003). Benghazi city is the most important centre attracting internal migrants, for many reasons, including industrial and trade activities and the availability of employment opportunities as well as the accessibility to services and infrastructure. On the other hand, no other town in Libya supplied a comparable range of employment, medical and educational services except Tripoli (Hartley 1972).

5.4.1. Transport

A network of good roads and means of transport are considered very important factors that facilitate migration and travel. Due to the major development of roadways and means of transportation and communication between interior and rural areas and the study area, the heavy movements of migrants from those deprived provinces such as Gherian with its chronic problems of difficult terrain and water shortages were facilitated (Kezeiri 1984). Except for oil, all exports of nearby provinces (El-Khalig, Algabal Alkhdar and Darna) leave from Benghazi. All imports to these same regions also come through the Benghazi seaport and airport (Kikhia 1981), and supported by the development in transport links (McGibbon 2004), the extra economic activity presented larger employment chances for migrants. There are

relatively high-quality road links between the city of Benghazi and other cities which gives Benghazi a good position to trade with these cities. The city of Benghazi is a major market for local goods and products. Despite the existence of the two ports of Tobruk and Darna, the Algabal Alkhdar and the Plain of Benghazi cities are heavily dependent on commercial imports through the port of Benghazi (El- Mehdawi 1998).

5.4.2. Climate

Owing to Benghazi's location on the Mediterranean coast, faraway from green mountain ranges to the east and at huge distance from the Sahara Desert to the south, its climate is typically Mediterranean. This is characterized by hot dry summers and mild and damp winters, these two principal climatic features generate a favourable climate in Benghazi throughout the majority of the year (D A 1989).

It should be noted that the average yearly temperature in Benghazi reaches its highest level of 28°C between the months of June and August, while the lowest daily temperature reaches 13°C in January. December and January are the rainiest months in the year in Benghazi, while the lowest rainfall is in the months of July and August (Kezeiri 2006; D A 1989). The average annual rainfall is 270 mm. Although, the average number of rainy days in Benghazi is 53 days per year and more than 66 per cent of the rain falls in the winter season, the share of the summer and spring season rainfall is 13 per cent for each (Kezeiri 2006). The city of Benghazi has a healthy and comfortable climate for peoples' stability and attracts migration from dry areas.

5.4.3. Size of Population, Distance Travelled (model polarization) and the Volume of Migration

In many cases the size of migration movements are linked to the distance and size of the population in these cities. Benghazi is the second largest city in Libya after Tripoli. However, with the exception of Misrata's case, all in-migration trends to Benghazi support Ravenstein's laws that the bulk of migrants move short journeys, indicating an inverse relationship between migration size and distance (Ravenstein 1889). There is a strong correlation (0, 93) between migration size and the distances travelled. In other words, the shorter distance travelled led to an increase in the volume of migration and vice versa. For example more than 50 per cent of the total

in-migration stream came from an area within a radius of 250 km namely, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig and Derna Governorates.

The degree and size of isolation of a community of origin can be important in influencing the decision to move (Salt and Clout, 1976). Although the attraction of the bright lights of the urban centre is not an economic reason to move, it has been commonly utilized to describe the rural to urban movement in developing countries (Parnwell 1993). Also Pacione (2005) stated that the bright lights can influence a migrant's choice to select a specific destination. For instance, when asked "why did you come to Benghazi city in particular?", 45.3 per cent of the sample answered "because Benghazi is the largest city in eastern Libya." For instance a migrant said:-

> I came specifically to Benghazi as I was impressed by the desirability of the huge city.

5.4.4. Social Factors and Family Cohesion

The Libyan people have a very strong family cohesion and are tribal, and population movements are affected by this coherence. This explains the exchange of movement trends between places of origin and the new place of residence. Thus, new immigrants are more likely to move to areas which have some of their relatives (Alamari 1997). For example, the distance between Misrata and the study area (800 km) is much longer than the distance between Tripoli and Misrata (200 km), and the city of Tripoli is politically more significant than Benghazi. However, the major proportion of Misrata out-migrants chose to move to Benghazi. The 1973 population census showed that 41 per cent of the total number of Misrata out- migrants during the period 1964 and 1973 moved to Benghazi against 35 per cent of them migrated to Tripoli. This was due to the historical background of the social relationships between both provinces (Muhafadah) of Benghazi and Misrata. It was well known that the bulk of traditional ethnic groups and families of the city of Benghazi originated in the province of Misrata. In other words; there is a strong feeling of solidarity which has its roots deeply embedded in the social composition of the two provinces (Kikhia 1981). Overall, the percentage of people that cited 'getting married' and 'family affairs' as a reason for migration was 10.6 per cent for Benghazi which is considered a low percentage compared to the 37 per cent for Syria (Khawaja 2002). According to the migrant's own words in describing reasons for their migration:-

> The reason why I chose to relocate to Benghazi was because I already had relatives and friends in Benghazi.

In addition another migrant stated:-

> I came to Benghazi via my relative to start my life. I worked for a number of years and built a house with the aid of a Government loan, after which I brought my extended family over.

And a migrant added:-

> I had family and friends already living in Benghazi and who also helped me find accommodation.

In addition, the movement of State employees, companies and members of the armed forces to Benghazi are one of the main reasons and motivations to change residence and these workers often transfer their extended families with them. It is also found the family cohesion encourages young people to choose their wives from their relatives and acquaintances, even if they living in different regions.

5.4.5. Economic Factors

Economic factors are the most influential element of the migration decision. They are on a regular basis considered as the main motivation for movement (Barrett 1992). This view has been supported by Saad Mohammed (1994), who argues that the economic factor is one of the most important reasons for the displacement of a large number of the population of Souhag Governorate in Egypt between 1904- 1986 with more than three-quarters of migrants moving for economic reasons. In Saudi Arabia searching for a job and high income were the main causes of migration from the desert and countryside to the large cities and urban centres (Alskran and Mohammed 2004), for example about 72 per cent of immigrants come from the villages to the Al-Taif city due to the availability of employment opportunities (Althmali1990).

The researcher found that about 65 per cent of the population sample was motivated by economic reasons. In fact, economic criteria can be divided into different groups such as better employment opportunities, high and regular income and job transfer.

The economic factors vary in their impact on migration to Benghazi, high and regular income comes first with 77 per cent of those that gave economic factors as their main reason to move, because of the difference between the levels of wages among Libyan regions. As has been stated by Peters and Larkin (1993) high income levels motivate migrants to move from relatively low-wage regions to relatively high-wage regions. Benghazi province[3] has high achievement in local income generation, therefore the high level of income in Benghazi attracts migrants from the provinces of low per capita income, which have common features such as a general pattern of pastoral production, dispersion of population, a high rate of illiteracy among the population, the lack of service centres, and often a reliance on the neighbouring large provinces (G A I 2002). Also there is a positive correlation between the in-migration to Benghazi and the average income in Libyan provinces, which was (0.46). This means that the provinces with lower income have provided Benghazi with more migrants.

Table (5.1) Economic Reasons for moving to Benghazi

Table 5.1 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

* Some respondents stated more than one reason for moving.

As well as the data contained in the table (5.1) refers to a high proportion (14.1 per cent of economic reasons) of in-migration to Benghazi sought better employment opportunities owing to the concentration of many various factories in the city, such as food, chemicals, textiles, fruit canning and cement, in addition, to numerous

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3) Benghazi is ranked fourth in terms of average per capita income between the Libyan provinces. Also the average income per capita in the province of Benghazi is higher than the national average by 15 per cent.

workshops such as blacksmiths and plumbers. Furthermore, there are many popular markets such as Arab, garden and darkness markets, as well as thousands of small shops scattered in the streets and residential areas. Thus these factories, workshops and markets have played an important role in providing job opportunities for in-migration to Benghazi. One migrant commented,

> In my hometown I found it difficult to secure employment for my children and I saw my village backward, socially, culturally and economically.

One of the interviewees said,

> The reason behind my move was to find a job. Also, I came to Benghazi in particular, and not to other cities in Libya, because the availability of employment opportunities, as I had family and relatives in Benghazi.

Another mentioned that:-

> I left my hometown because I could not cultivate my agricultural land (ten hectares) owning to the lack of rainfall. In an attempt at improving my standard of living I moved to Benghazi.

5.4.6. Education

Education level is considered one of the characteristic variables which determine the migration decision. A higher level of education in places of origin is expected to decrease the significance of traditions and family ties, whereas higher level of education in destination places is expected to raise employment opportunities and increase the rate of return on migration. Hence, the level of education is likely to have a positive impact on migration flows in both sending and host communities (Aldakhil 2001).

Education has played an important role in attracting residents to Benghazi, particularly with the focus of many educational institutions in Benghazi, such as the second biggest university in Libya, the University of Garyounis and its various colleges, which were established in 1955. There is also the Arab Medical University, the Academy of Higher Studies, the African University and the Open University, in addition to, institutes of higher education namely, the Higher Institute of Electricity,

the Higher Institute of Social Service and the Higher Institute of Management, in addition to medium sized technical institutes. This has led to people being attracted from villages and small towns seeking education and living in Benghazi after graduation (Amor 2007). Reed, Andrzejewski and White (2005) proposed higher educational achievement is significantly linked with higher migration within Ghana. Moreover, in Australia young people were attracted to migrate to Sydney as a consequence of differences in access to education facilities (Mukherjee 2000). In line with this Fleischer argues that:

> [In Cameroon]…There are specific hopes and expectations connected
> with the possible migration of a family member. …., they want to
> improve the educational status of their children and provide them with
> more employment and career opportunities (Fleischer 2007: 424)

In this context, through the field study in Benghazi the researcher found that 22 per cent of the population sample moved to the city for the education of their children. In other words education has affected the migration decision for almost a quarter of families. Furthermore the curricula used to educate the villagers qualify them for administrative, technical and service occupations, which are common professions of urban life (Kikhia 1995).

5.4.7. Rural- Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration has rapidly grown in the second half of the twentieth century in Libya, as a result of the discovery of oil which has led to Libya being transformed from a very poor country which was dependent on aid and grants provided by foreign countries and international organizations, to a very rich country. This increased wealth has influenced economic and social development plans, especially in key cities. These developments have attracted immigrants from rural areas towards Benghazi and Tripoli (Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003). As these two cities are so successful, the majority of the other settlements of Libya have experienced either a decline or stagnation in population numbers (Toboli 1976). Under those circumstances, Hartley argued that:

> No other town in Libya provides a similar gamut of employment,
> educational and medical facilities. Thus, rural to urban movement has
> developed as the significant migration pattern (Hartley 1972:332)

Unfortunately, there is no data available on migration between small administrative units (Mahala) either from rural to urban or from urban to rural, the data available being only for larger administrative units. Even then it is extremely difficult to follow and assess accurately the population distribution to urban and rural areas, because of the differences in the definitions of urban and rural in Libyan population censuses. Hence, it is very complicated to measure precisely the quantity of rural migration to Benghazi city. Nonetheless, Benghazi city obtained 6,159 net immigrants between 1964-1967 of which at least 60 per cent were from the countryside of the Benghazi plain (Hajjaji 1989). Also Salem (1995) estimated that more than half of the population growth in Benghazi city has been provided by migration from rural areas. In this context, El- Mehdawi (1998) argues that the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli had attracted the largest number of rural residents. However, the total resident population of both cities have increased from 20 per cent in the 1954 population census to 30.7 per cent of total Libyan population in 2006. Meanwhile, the proportion of the urban population has increased from 25 per cent to 88.2 per cent in the same period (Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003; G A I 2009).

Table (5.2) Type of birth settlement of the heads of household

Table 5.2 has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

According to the 2006 population census, the pace of Libyan urbanisation shows no sign of decreasing because the main cities still dominate economic and political life. As table (5.2) indicates 76 per cent of heads of household interviewed for this research were born in rural areas, this movement has a negative effect on the sending areas and Benghazi, as various population and agricultural censuses show that migration from remote and rural regions to the city of Benghazi has in several places upset farming production and generated a farm labour shortage, at the same time increasing the shanty residences in and around Benghazi. The table also shows the proportion of people born in urban settlements was 24 per cent of the total of the sample population.

5.5. Out-Migration Trends from Benghazi 1964-2006

Studying the pattern of out-migration from Benghazi governorate to other areas is important to understand the net migration to show whether the population of the city of Benghazi is reducing. As shown in table (5.3) between the period 1954 and 1964 Benghazi had lost about 11,434 people, representing 8.3 per cent of the overall study area population. While in the period between 1964 and 1973 the emigration flows had increased to 16, 244 people or 6.1 per cent of Benghazi population total. Whereas between the 1973 -1984 and 1984 - 1995 population censuses the number of people leaving Benghazi was 15,623 and 20,008 emigrants or 3.8 and 3.9 per cent respectively of the population of Benghazi. Although the Benghazi governorate during the period 1995 and 2008 had the highest number of emigrants, at 23,708, if the number is taken as a percentage it appears low at about 3.7 per cent of Benghazi's population.

As regards the gender ratio of emigrants from Benghazi, it is clear from the above that the number of female emigrants increased from 5,509 (or 48.2 per cent of the total) between 1954 and 1964 to 13,618 (or 57.4 per cent of the total) between the period 1995 and 2008. On the other hand, the proportion of male migrants declined from 51.8 per cent to 42.6 per cent of emigrant totals in the same period. This indicates two things: first, that Libyan migration is a family movement, second that a high proportion of the Benghazian women tend to marry young men from outside the area and migrate, with their husbands, because of family ties and the strong relations between Benghazi and the surrounding regions (Kikhia 2008).

Figures above indicate that migration phenomenon is a double dualism between Libyan regions, or to be more precise each migration stream to a region has a counter-current. Furthermore, the dominant pattern of mobility in Libya is family migration.

Table (5.3) Numbers and percentage of out-migration streams from Benghazi to other Libyan Governorates, 1954-1964 to 1995-2008

Governorate of birth	1954-1964		1964-1973		1973-1984		1984-1995		1995-2008
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Misurata	2618	22.9	600	14.7	2174	13.9	4048	20.2	
Algebal Alkhdar	3568	31.2	5445	33.5	3833	24.5	2732	13.7	
El-Khalig	*	00	1973	12.1	2730	17.5	5545	27.7	
Alkumas	177	1.6	292	3.7	639	4.1	880	4.4	
Derna	1891	16.5	2385	1.8	1305	8.3	1767	8.8	
Tripoli	2384	20.9	4465	27.5	3430	22	3091	15.5	
Gharian	132	1.1	189	3.3	308	2	295	1.5	
Alzawia	476	4.2	538	1.2	582	3.7	670	3.3	
Sebha	188	1.6	357	2.2	622	4	980	4.9	
Total	11434	100	16244	100	15623	100	20008	100	23708**

Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1964,1973,1984,1995 and 2006 census data (G A I 1966, 1979, 1988, 1998 and 2009).

* El-Khalig Governorate did not exist at the time of the 1964 census.

** This number obtained from registry office in Benghazi without migration direction.

In examining the governorates receiving the highest number of emigrants from Benghazi, the table shows that the majority of flows of out-migration are towards Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig and Tripoli regions. In general:

> Out-migration from Benghazi to other regions has been influenced by
> its centrality on the main coastal road which joins the eastern and the
> western parts of the country, as well as by its participation in regional
> and national changes in contemporary Libya (Kikhia 1981:38).

However, obviously social and economic relations have played a vital role in determining the volume of the stream of migrants from Misurata to Benghazi. The large numbers of migrants to Misurata region are in fact, older immigrants who have

already come from that area and then returned after the situation has improved in Misurata city or for retirement (Kikhia 2008). In this context, Ravenstein argues that every main stream creates a weaker contraflow (Bilsborrow, Oberai and Standing 1984).

Nevertheless, the Algebal Alkhdar governorate contains Al Bayda city which was in the 1960s the most important administrative centre in the country, and a big workshop which attracted a high proportion of workers from other regions. The government decision to transfer the capital from Tripoli to Al Bayda in 1959 (Kikhia 1981), and issued a law that gave rewards to those who worked from the outside (known as Al Bayda prize). Also many families moved to the city in order to give their children access to the University in Al Bayda.

El-Khalig (Sirte) has a high proportion of out-migration from Benghazi due to several reasons. Firstly, the Libyan government encourages migration from other regions to Sirte[4] to fill the geopolitical vacuum in Sirte (as an important political site) by granting housing loans and the expansion of public housing in the suburbs, to settle the bedouin population. Secondly, El-Khalig attracts families including a large number of people from the study area to work in the Secretariats and the General People's Committees at the upper level of government. Finally, the Sirte Basin area is the most important area of Libyan oil production which includes the major Libyan oil-fields plus four of the five Libyan oil export harbours (El- Mehdawi 1998).

In the case of Tripoli, the national capital of Libya, it is an important centre for most economic and administrative activities in the country. Therefore, El- Mehdawi (1998) argues that Tripoli has many advantages as a place of destination continuing to attract many residents from internal and neighbouring areas such as Gharian, Alkumas, Sebha, Benghazi, and the returnees from outside Libya. Hence, it is the most popular city and obtains the biggest figure of migrants. In Tripoli there are excellent employment opportunities available in both public and private sectors and there are more chances of work than any other area in the country (Kikhia 2008).

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[4] This town is located in the centre of the country on the Gulf of Sirte.

5.6. Net Internal Migration Between Benghazi and Libyan Governorates 1964-2006

Net migration refers to the difference between the total of in-migration and out-migration of an area (Alshlgani 1985). From Table (5.4), it is clear that net migration has decreased over time from 23.7 per cent in 1964 to 2.8 per cent in 1995 of the total of study population. However it is still positive for the Benghazi Governorate.

Net migration between the 1954-1964 population censuses was 32,479 people, more than half the net migration came chiefly from two regions, namely the Misurata and Alkumas Governorates. Whilst the 1973 population census confirmed that the net migration was some 44,366 persons or almost 16.7 per cent of the 1973 Benghazi population, as the largest gross migration to Benghazi, and this number was the largest in all Libyan censuses. During the following phases, 1973-1984 and 1984-1995, the pattern of gross movement was in general not as high as the net migration volumes in the period of 1960s and 1970s; it involved 18,555 and 14,292 persons respectively in the same time period. Finally the net of migration increased to 34,897 migrants during the period 1995 and 2008.

Table (5.4) Net migration in Benghazi Governorate, 1954-1964 to 1995-2008

Governorate of birth	1954-1964	1964-1973	1973-1984	1984-1995	1995-2008
	No	No	No	No	No
Misurata	11969	14952	7659	4160	
Algebal Alkhdar	3720	5187	4398	5680	
El-Khalig	*	7905	2676	694	
Alkumas	5958	6926	1784	1279	
Derna	2819	4718	2805	2961	
Tripoli	2891	1023-	1565-	658-	
Gharian	1756	2148	342	206	
Alzawia	1595	1669	267	42	
Sebha	1771	1884	189	72-	
Total	32479	44366	18555	14292	34897**

Source: Source: Author's calculations compiled from the 1964,1973,1984,1995 and 2006 census data (G A I 1966, 1979, 1988, 1998 and 2009)

* El-Khalig Governorate did not exist at the time of the 1964 census.

** This number obtained from registry office in Benghazi without migration direction.

Overall, since the mid-1950s, the flow of migrants has always been positive for Benghazi, which gives a sign of the main role of migration in the rate of growth. In other words, the study area has been an area of net immigration and the pattern of Benghazi's net migration has undoubtedly been dominated by outward migration from the Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, Alkumas and Derna Governorates. Also this chapter indicates that the role of internal migration in population growth was positive in all the previous censuses.

5.7. Characteristics of Migrants to Benghazi

Population structure is very important for this study; and it is helpful to understand the social and economic characteristics of migrants, as well as the association with other demographic aspects, such as births and deaths. The composition of the

population is divided into several types of structures, but the most important are demographic, economic, and social structures, using data derived from both the population censuses and field work.

5.7.1. Demographic Characteristics

This section of the immigrants' demographic characteristics is concerned with a number of personal characteristics such as age and sex.

5.7.1.1. Age Composition

The population age structure is significant for many reasons. The percentage of children has a lot to do with the equilibrium of state expenditure on childcare, schools, reproductive health and vaccination programmes.

First of all, it should be noted that the majority of Libyan people, in terms of demographics, are under 65. In Benghazi the percentage of people who are under the age of 15 was 52.7 per cent in 1973 and declined to 28.6 per cent of the population total in 2006. While the proportion of people in the age group 15-64 years old ranged between 45.1 in 1973 and 68.2 per cent of the population total in 2006. On the other hand, the proportion of the elderly population was 2.2 and 3.2 per cent of the population total respectively.

There is a big difference in age structure of migrants between the 1973, 1984 and 1995 censuses. According to the 1973 census data, more than four out of ten migrants were under 15 years of age, with 30.6 percent aged under 10 years, this a significant sign that the pattern of migration in Libya occurs mainly among families rather than individuals, and mainly among the households from rural origins, as a result of the high birth rate in rural areas. Though, the proportion of young migrants (less than 15 years old) has continued decreasing from 41.1 per cent in 1973 to register the lowest percentage at 6.1 per cent of the migrants total in 1995 due to a decline in the rates of birth in Libya from 47.7 to 24.8 per thousand in the same period.

From Table (5.5), it is clear that the proportion of the economically active group (between 15-64 years), was the bulk of migrants in all the censuses and it has

increased from 53.1 in 1973 to 81 per cent in 1995. Of course, any increase in this category results in three indicators. First, the increase in the middle category, is often associated with a decrease in the groups of young people, in other words, there is an inverse relationship between these groups. Second, any rise in this category means a decrease in the total dependency ratio. Finally, any increase in this category, is accompanied by an increase in the number of entrants to the labour force (Saad 2003).

Table (5.5) Distribution of migrants by age and sex 1973 -1995

Age	1973			1984			1995		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14	41.1	44.9	42.9	6.6	7.2	6.9	5.9	6.4	6.1
15-64	55.0	51.1	53.1	84.4	84.4	84.4	80.2	81.8	81.0
65+	3.9	4.0	4.0	9.0	8.4	8.7	13.9	11.8	12.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author's calculations compiled from the 1973, 1984 and 1995 census data (G A I 1979, 1988 and 1998)

Also table (5.5) shows that the lowest percentage of migrants was among the category 65 years and over, the proportion of this group has increased more than three times in 22 years, because they are joining their families.

Table (5.6) Shows that there is a huge difference in the age structure of migrants before and after migration with, before migration, a great proportion (80 per cent of the migrants total) being adults (15-64 years). With the focus of 36.7 per cent for the age between 20 and 30 years. The mean age of migrants was 22.6 years old. The main reasons for this high share of this category of migrants are that people at this age migrate to prepare themselves for and to obtain employment (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995).

On the other hand, the percentage of those less than 15 years old was 20 per cent. This might be for two reasons: first, due to the high proportion of young people in Libya as a whole; second, big and extended families are features of the rural population. However, migration to Benghazi was a mass exodus of the family to take advantage of educational services, as well as the availability of employment opportunities in the city at that time (Ali 2008).

Table (5.6) Age groups of heads of households interviewed in Benghazi

Age	Age at migration		Age at date of survey	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-14	30	20.0	0.0	0.0
15-64	120	80.0	115	76.7
65+	0.0	0.0	35	23.3
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Mean age at migration = 22.6 years

 Mean age at date of survey   = 52.8 years

Comparing before and after migration the age structure of heads of households after migration, it can be observed from the table (5.6) that over three quarters of the heads of households were in the age category of 15-64 years old and 23.3 per cent in the older groups (over 65 years old). The mean age of heads of households after migration is 52.8 years old.

Conversely, in order to explain these differences in age structure of heads of household it is necessary to investigate the relationship between the age of heads of families and the date of their arrival in Benghazi.

Table (5.7) Cross-tabulation of age and date of arrival to Benghazi

Age group	Date of Arrival						
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	After 1999	Total
<=10	6	4	6	6	0	0	22
	42.9%	19.0%	17.6%	20.6%	.0%	.0%	14.7%
11-19	6	5	9	8	7	1	36
	42.9%	23.8%	26.5%	22.2%	23.3%	6.7%	24.0%
20-29	2	10	13	15	10	5	55
	14.3%	47.6%	38.2%	41.7%	33.3%	33.3%	36.7%
30-39	0	2	3	4	6	5	20
	.0%	9.5%	8.8%	11.1%	20.0%	33.3%	13.3%
40-49	0	0	3	4	7	3	17
	.0%	.0%	8.8%	11.1%	23.3%	20.0%	11.3%
Total	14	21	34	36	30	15	150
	9.3%	14.0%	22.7%	24.0%	20.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	DF= 20		Chi-Square = 37.442			P ≤.010	

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

In table (5.7) it can be observed that the relationship between the age of heads of household and their date of arrival to Benghazi proved to be significant (P ≤.010), one can say that about a half of migrants were under 20 years old when they arrived in Benghazi between 1970 and 1989. On the other hand, there is a tendency for the latest migrants (those arriving after 1990) to be older than those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s. It is clear from the above table that over 66.7 per cent of migrants arrived at Benghazi between 1970 and 1999.

5.7.1.2. Sex Composition

The sex ratio refers to the number of males per 100 females. However, the sex ratio is considered as standard for the social and economic conditions which prevail in the region.

Commonly the proportion of males in cities is higher than of females, particularly in cities in developing countries, because of the migration of rural males who are seeking work. In Libya the level was 103.2 males per 100 females in 2006 (G A I 2009), yet in the Benghazi case the data from censuses determines that the sex ratio ranged between 109.2 in 1973 and 106.4 in 2006.

Figure (5.6) illustrates that migrant males exceeded migrant females during the 1973, 1984 and1995 intercensal periods, with overall sex ratios of 111.4, 121.8 and 114.1 males per 100 females, respectively. However, this characteristic of high male predominance is a feature of Libyan city populations as a whole, which comprised 60 per cent of the total in the 1973 population census, when there were 115 males per 100 females in the urban area compared with 109 in the countryside (El Mehdawi and Clarke 1981).
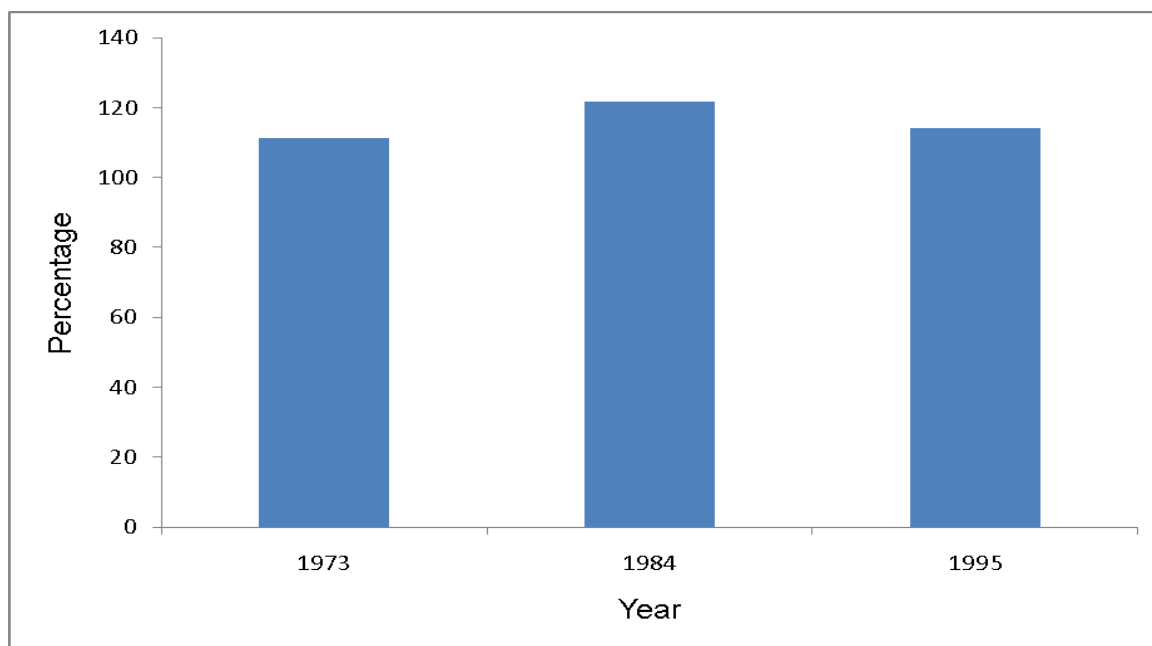
Figure (5.6) Ratio of male to female migrants 1973-1995 in Benghazi (female = 100)

These findings disagree with Ravenstein's seventh law that rural-urban movements in general tend to be a sex-selective process, with men being less likely to move than women (Docquier *et al* 2008).

To summarise, the analysis of the demographic characteristics of migrants, indicates that the number of male migrants exceeds the number of females, where the male prevalence (103.2) is a feature of Libyan society as a whole. Migration to Benghazi has not been selective in terms of age and sex composition, because those who moved to the city were family migration. Migration to Benghazi has a tendency to be a combination of females, males, old people and children.

5.7.2. Economic Characteristics

Examining the economic and professional structure of the population is one of the most important indicators of employment and unemployment.

5.7.2.1. Economic Activities in Benghazi

Economic activity refers to the scope of a person's livelihood. In this study the economic activities have been classified in Libyan censuses into three major economic sectors, namely (1) primary sector which includes agriculture and hunting activities (2) secondary sector which includes mining and quarrying - manufacturing -

construction- electricity, gas and water activities (3) tertiary sector which includes wholesale, retail trade, hotels and restaurants - transport, communication and storage - financing, insurance and real estate activities - community social and personal related service activities.

Table (5.8), shows as would be expected in a city, that the agricultural and hunting sector is marginal in terms of its contribution to the absorption of labour. In other words, the proportion of workers in this activity in Benghazi has decreased from 16.4 per cent in 1973 to 3.6 per cent of the total workers in 1984. The percentage of female workers in this sector has shown an especially noticeable decline from 31.6 per cent to 2.2 per cent of total female workers in the same time. As can be seen from table (5.8) there is a significant shift from the primary sector to the services sector, Kezeiri (1984) found that subsistence agriculture and nomadism as traditions of living have been deserted for service employment in urban centres and mainly for public service jobs which incorporate more than half of Libyan employees. This could be due to several reasons. First, in the past women were helping their families in farming, nevertheless, recently the level of female education has increased which has enabled them to enter the labour market, especially the service sector. Second, the study area is an urban centre while agricultural activity is mainly associated with rural areas. Finally, the fluctuation of rainfall from year to year, as well as the extensive use of mechanization in agriculture, has reduced the number of employees.

Table (5.8) Distribution of migrants by economic activities and sex in Benghazi 1973 -1984*

Economic Activities	1973			1984		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
primary sector	15.3	31.6	16.4	3.8	2.2	3.6
secondary sector	17.5	4.2	16.7	14	6.2	13.3
tertiary sector	67.2	64.2	66.9	82.2	91.6	83.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author's calculations compiled from the 1973 and 1984 census data (G A I 1979 and 1988)

(*) There is no data on the migrants by sector of economic activities in the 1995 census.

On the other hand, the tertiary sector comprises the primary source of living in Benghazi; the proportion of workers in this sector has increased from 66.9 per cent

in 1973 to 83.1 per cent in 1984. The reason behind this increase is the reduction in physical effort required for this work (especially service sector), which is the reason that many female workers are attracted to this activity. Moreover, the education sector is receiving the major share of graduates in the recent times. In addition, the site of the study area, Benghazi, is an important trading centre in Libya; this increases the opportunities in the tertiary sector.

With regard to the secondary sector, there is no significant change in this sector, despite the concentration of factories in the city, but the proportion of workers in this sector decreased slightly from 16.7 per cent in 1973 to 13.3 per cent in 1984, because workers prefer to work in the service sector which is not so physical.

Table (5.9) Migrants' economic activities before and after moving to Benghazi

Economic activities before moving			Economic activities now	
Economic activities	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
primary sector	21	30	3	2.3
secondary sector	7	10	18	13.8
tertiary sector	42	60	109	83.9
Total	70*	100	130**	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

(*) 80 migrants were unemployed   (**) 20 migrants are unemployed

Nevertheless, the field study has shown that around 30 per cent of the migrants were engaged in agricultural activities before migration, and that three quarters of these did not own agricultural land, with the percentage of migrants in this sector shrinking to 2.3 per cent of total workers in 2008. In contrast it seems that the tertiary sector has absorbed a high proportion of migrants from the agricultural sector, thus the tertiary sector has increased from 60 to 83.9 per cent. In addition, the expansion of the city at the expense of agricultural land, leads to the deterioration of this sector. Also the data from the field research points to high levels of unemployment among immigrants, with more than half being without a job. Therefore, they have spread the fringe employment (informal sector) in the city after migration, since some of them are engaged in non-technical jobs, such as street vendors, night guards and porters.

However, the proportion of unemployment has decreased to 13.3 per cent of total heads of household currently, which indicated a significant improvement in the situation of migrants at the working level after the migration.

5.7.2.2. Occupation

In the study of migration occupation should be taken into account as one of the important variables, which has a significant impact in determining the social position of migrants, in addition to its relationship to income and educational levels. Occupation has been divided into seven major groups, based on the population census division. Among those between of 15 - 64 years as follows:-

I. Professional technical and related workers. It is clear from the table (5.10) the proportion of workers in this group is continuously increasing from 8.7 per cent of the total working migrants in 1973 to 10.6 per cent in the 1984 census up to 18.0 per cent in the 1995 census. The reason for this is that most workers in these occupations are employed in the education sector due to the dramatic expansion of this sector in the recent period, where the number of students in basic and intermediate was 149,011 in the academic year 2007. To service this large number of students, the number of instructors was 18,260 people in the same year (G A I 2007).

II. The share of administrative managerial workers is very small compared to other professions in all censuses, it amounted to about 1.2 per cent of the total migrants working in 1973 and then decreased to 0.4 per cent in the 1984 census, and in the 1995 census it has slightly risen to 0.5 per cent. The low proportion in this group could be due to the small number of careers in this category compared to other functions, in addition , these leading positions are by nature very few.

III. The percentage of clerical and related workers, has continued to increase during the last three censuses from 11.1 per cent in the 1973 census, to 13.9 per cent in 1984 and then to 14.4 per cent in the 1995 census, caused by the high educational level of migrants (which will be addressed in detail later in

this chapter), also many workers tend to work in those professions which require less physical effort.

IV. The proportion of sales and purchase workers was 8.9 per cent in the 1973 census, then declined to 5.1 per cent in the 1984 census, then went up to 5.4 per cent of the total working migrants in 1995. However, the increased share of this group in the last census might be due to two reasons. Firstly, the formation of cooperatives of the public markets has allowed more workers to join the market. Secondly, to an expansion in the area of trade, after opening the border with Egypt and Tunisia in 1988.

V. The proportion of service workers (hotels, restaurants, cafes and security services and other services similar) is characterized by variability as it was 22.4 per cent of the total working migrants in 1973 rising to 37.4 per cent in the 1984 census, then declining to 33.9 per cent in the 1995 census of total employed migrants, thus the increase in the 1984 census was as a result of the decline in the proportion of workers in the agricultural group in the same period. The decline in the 1995 census was owing to an increased proportion of clerical workers and professional, technical and related workers during that time.

Table (5.10) Occupation by migration status, percentage and sex in Benghazi 1973 - 1995

Occupational Major Groups	1973			1984			1995		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional technical and related workers	7.4	28.1	8.7	7.5	38.8	10.6	15.0	39.3	18.0
Administrative managerial workers	1.3	0.1	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5
Clerical and related workers	11.8	2.0	11.1	14.0	13.3	13.9	14.6	11.7	14.4
Sales workers	9.5	0.6	8.9	5.5	2.1	5.1	6.8	0.5	5.4
Service workers	21.5	34.9	22.4	36.9	41.9	37.4	32.2	43.8	33.9
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry workers and hunters	13.3	30.6	14.5	3.2	0.9	3.0	4.9	2.1	3.0
Machines and equipments operators	35.2	3.7	33.2	32.5	3.0	29.6	26.0	2.2	24.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author's calculations compiled from the 1973, 1984 and 1995 census data (G A I 1979, 1988 and 1998)

VI. As for the professionals in agricultural and animal husbandry, forestry and fishing have decreased from 14.5 per cent of the total employed migrants in 1973 to 3 per cent in both 1984 and 1995 censuses; it seems that the reason for the decline is that workers leave those occupations to go to other occupations, especially to the service industries. It is axiomatic that the proportion of workers in those occupations was low as Benghazi is an urban centre where there is relatively little farming.

VII. The proportion of machine and equipment operators was ranked in the first place among occupational groups during the 1973 census at 33.2 per cent, then dropped to 29.6 per cent in the 1984 census and down to 24.8 per cent in the 1995 census of the total migrant workers. This reduction was because of the growing proportion of workers in other professions.

5.7.2.3. Income

Needless to say, the increased level of per capita income reflects the extent of people's ability to obtain goods and services and their ability to save; it also reflects the volume of domestic spending on consumer goods and services (G A I 1999). On the other hand, low income weakens the ability of people to secure their needs. This is driving some of them to emigrate, especially if it is accompanied by rising   prices. In Libya the average per capita income has risen from 656 dinars in 1970 to about 11573 Libyan dinars[5] in 2007(G A I 1999; A M F 2007). The per capita income is high, plus free goods and services such as health, education and support for basic commodities. In addition electricity, gas, water and gasoline are highly subsidised by the government (G A I 1999). After the discovery of oil per capita income has increased significantly everywhere and Tripoli and Benghazi provinces have the highest per capita income in Libya. Each of these regions is higher than the national average by 19 per cent and 15 percent respectively (G A I 2002; Khalfallah 1984).

Table (5.11) Migrants' income in Benghazi

Libyan dinar per month	Frequency	Percent
< 250	44	29.3
251-350	28	18.7
351-450	22	14.7
> 451	56	37.3
Total	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (5.11) shows that household migration income in Benghazi ranged from 250 dinars a month per household to over 450, which is not very different from the income average for non-migrants. It goes without saying, the nature of the work of migrants has an effect on their income average and standard of livelihood, however, in Benghazi craft workers are occupying the highest income bracket, followed by workers in trade then by workers in service activities, while pensioners were among the lowest paid (Ali 2008). Also the average income of people working in the private

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[5] One British Pound = 1.926 Libyan dinars, based on the pricing of the central bank of Libya (17. 05.2009)

sector is more than three times the income of those working in the public sector, furthermore, average income of married people are more than the average incomes of single people.

The above discussion and analysis of the economic characteristics indicates that the percentage of workers in the agricultural and hunting sector (primary sector) has reduced from 21 per cent before moving to 2.3 per cent after moving to Benghazi, when they were absorbed by the service sector (tertiary sector) which is the main employment sector, comprising of about 84 per cent of the migrants.

It was also found that the occupation of migrants was affected by the availability and the demand of the civil service in Benghazi as an urban centre. The percentage of service workers has increased from 22.4 per cent of the total working migrants in 1973 to 33.9 per cent in the 1995 census. On the other hand, the proportion of agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing workers has declined from 14.5 per cent of the total working migrants in 1973 to 3 per cent in 1995 census.

5.7.3 Social Characteristics

The term 'social characteristics' refers to personal status such as educational and marital status and the ability of the migrant to adjust to the new life. These characteristics are closely linked to migration. Nevertheless, there are individuals in the same economic circumstances with similar individual status, where some migrate and others do not.

5.7.3.1. Educational Status

Education is a means to enable people to obtain a better standard of living and higher income. Nonetheless, Libya's educational system has four stages, namely, primary (age 6-11 years), preparatory (age 12-14 years), secondary (age 15-17 years) and University stage which starts at 18 years.

It should be noted that the illiteracy rate has decreased in Benghazi from 59.6 per cent in the 1964 census to 8.6 per cent of the total population aged 10 years and above in the 2006, and in turn the percentage of educated population has increased from 40.4 per cent to 91.4 per cent in the same period, thanks to compulsory and

free education and literacy programmes for adults, additionally people are eager to educate their children.

It is worthwhile to compare the results of migrants with non-migrants, as shown in table (5.12) migrants had lower average literacy rates and levels of first education stages than non-migrants, though, migrants that are illiterate make up 27.5 per cent of the total, despite the fact that the proportion of the native population at the same levels was 29.3 per cent, also the native population had a higher rate of primary and preparatory education which accounted for 24.8 and 24.5 per cent respectively, whereas for the migrants at the same levels of education accounted for 14.1 and 16.7 per cent respectively. The high rate of illiteracy among immigrants is due to the fact that a large proportion of the migrants came from rural areas where there were no educational institutions and schools, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Also it is clear that the high illiteracy rate among females, both immigrant and non-immigrant is higher than for males as a result of the Libyan society, until the beginning of the seventies, undergoing a phase of poverty, ignorance and economic backwardness, which led to a lack of interest in female education. Nevertheless, most recently this situation has been changed by compulsory education[6] and increased awareness among the population of the importance of female education. Furthermore Sassi (1999) explains the high female illiteracy rate in Libya is as a result of the large proportion of dropouts from education being females. Hence this finding does not agree with the data of Khalfallah's study (1984) that migrants in Libya emerge to be comparatively more educated than non-migrants.

In contrast, the percentage of those with secondary education of 22.5 and higher education of 5.5 of all migrants were higher than those of non-migrants of 16.8 and 4.6 respectively. This may be as a result of the fact that most of migrants who come to work in Benghazi are well educated, due to the probabilities for finding employment for the educated migrants in urban centres are more than for the uneducated ones.

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[6] Compulsory education is at primary and preparatory levels since 1975

Table (5.12) Education level of migrants and non-migrants by sex 1995

Educational Level	Migrants			Non-migrants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	16.5	39.3	27.5	7.4	18.9	13.0
Can read and write	15.7	11.5	13.7	17.6	15.0	16.3
Primary	15.2	12.9	14.1	26.4	23.0	24.8
Preparatory	18.4	14.8	16.7	25.4	23.6	24.5
Secondary	25.6	19.3	22.5	17.5	16.1	16.8
University or higher	8.6	2.2	5.5	5.7	3.4	4.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author's calculations compiled from the 1995 census data (G A I 1998)

The 1973 and 1984 population censuses did not provide data on the educational status of migrants

It should be noted, that as shown in table (5.12) the percentage of females at a particular level of education is lower than for males. The reasons for this inequality are mainly social and cultural. In Libya, especially in the countryside, females tended to leave school because of early marriage, pregnancies, looking after children and housework.

Table (5.12) illustrates the educational qualifications of the heads of households and shows a distinct disparity between the migrants' educational level achieved before and after movement. The educational achievement before migration has improved by migration. Also the table shows about 40 per cent of all migrants had no formal education; of these about 30 per cent are illiterate, people with lower standards of education, are less likely to migrate than those with secondary school, or higher education. A large proportion of movers seem to have had secondary qualifications, 22.7 per cent of all migrants. This could due to two reasons; firstly, occupation transfers of some people to the city of Benghazi. Secondly, the significance of education as an attraction factor for the migrants to Benghazi, for example the University of Garyounis was one of the two universities, which were in Libya before 1985. Likewise Toboli (1976) argues that before 1969 secondary schools were restricted to the main cities in Libya, consequently people who wanted to acquire secondary education had to obtain it in these centres. This implies that the study area offers superior educational facilities for people who come and live in Benghazi, for instance in 2008 the proportion of those who had attained a university

education was 28 per cent as a result of the availability of employment opportunities for such qualifications in the city at that time.

Table (5.13) Migrants' education level before and after moving to Benghazi

Educational Level	Education Level before moving		Education Level now	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	45	30.0	25	16.7
Can read and write	15	10.0	14	9.3
Primary	14	9.3	6	4.0
Preparatory	17	11.3	24	16.0
Secondary	34	22.7	24	16.0
Undergraduate	25	16.7	42	28.0
Post-graduate	00	0.0	15	10.0
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

It can be observed from the above examination of the educational status that the migrants tend to be of fairly similar educational status to the native population in Benghazi. It is of interest to note that migrants have improved their education after movement, and that the illiteracy rate has dropped to about half of the pre-movement level. Also the share of undergraduates and post-graduates has increased to 67.7 per cent and 100 per cent respectively between before and after movement. This shows that the immigrants took advantage of chances to continue their schooling in the study area, where the percentage of those who carried on with their education was 6.7 of total heads of households.

5.7.3.2. Marital Status

The marital status of people aged 15 years and over, including both sexes (male and female) are divided into four groups, namely never married, married, divorced and widowers. The importance of examining the marital status of migrants is to determine its effects on the decision of migration and it is well known that the movement of families places a greater burden on public facilities and services (housing, schools, hospitals and so on) in the city, unlike the case with single people.

Table (5.14) Marital status of migrants 1973 -1995

Marital Status	1973			1984			1995		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Single	28.5	12.6	21.2	17.3	13.3	15.5	39.2	32.7	36.0
Married	68.5	69.5	69.0	80.4	70.0	75.7	59.6	56.6	58.1
Divorced	1.9	5.0	3.3	1.2	3.7	2.3	0.4	1.8	1.1
Widowed	1.1	12.9	6.5	1.1	13.0	6.5	0.8	8.9	4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author's calculations compiled from the 1973, 1984 and 1995 census data (G A I 1979, 1988 and 1998)

As expected table (5.14) illustrates that the percentage of married migrants, whether male or female, was ranked first during the study period. This is an indication that most of the internal migration to Benghazi is family migration. In spite of this proportion being unstable from one census to another, it did not fall below 56.6 per cent of all migrants, although the percentage dropped in the 1995 population census mainly due to the circumstances of the economic blockade which was imposed on Libya at that time. A further reason for this decrease was the delayed age of marriage due to the spread of education and the increase in the expenses associated with marriage (Alamari1997). There is no doubt that the rise in the proportion of married couples among migrants accompanied by their families is increasing population pressure on the city of Benghazi, which results in the city being unable to provide appropriate social services and basic facilities to the population.

The proportion of unmarried reached its highest level in the 1995 census at 36 per cent of all migrants although it was much lower among females than males. Men in Libyan society are responsible for providing a house for the family and pay all the expenses of marriage (El- Mehdawi 1998) and this has to be after finishing his education, military service and finding employment.

As one would expect the lowest proportion observed was for divorced migrants, it has decreased from 3.3 per cent of all migrants in 1973 to 1.1 per cent in 1995, this being due the increased awareness among the population as a result of the high educational level and high cost of dowries. Though, unsurprisingly, the percentage of

divorced females remaining divorced was higher than males. Hence, signalling that many men get married for a second time after divorce, but this is more difficult for females to do as a consequence of social and cultural constraints.

The percentage of widowed has declined during the period of study; the status of widowed is different by sex. Female migrants were more likely than males to be widowed and this could be attributable to the high death rate among males and because the life expectancy for females is higher than for males. Also males often get married again after widowhood, while the female prefers to remain a widow, especially if they have children.

Table (5.15) Migrants' marital status before and after moving to Benghazi

Marital Status	marital status before moving		marital status now	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Single	93	62.0	7	4.7
Married	57	38.0	132	88.0
Widowed	0.0	0.0	11	7.3
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

The result of the survey suggests that the majority of migrants before migration, about 62 per cent of all migrants, were unmarried as table (5.15) Illustrates. It seems that the migrants to the city are initially male and thereafter they bring their families. The survey in Benghazi suggests that 40 per cent of all migrants come alone to the city that is they arrive at Benghazi without their families. A further observation was that almost three quarters of heads of families brought their wives and children to the city within one year, once they settled down in Benghazi, However, family composition in Libya is very close-knit, which has a significant consequence on family migration. When a member of the family obtains a job and settles in the city, his family will often accompany him or at least follow as soon as they can, as shown in table (5.15) Conversely, a relatively lower proportion of migrants were married at the time of moving, about 38 per cent.

Table (5.16) Provides information in relation to time lapse of families joining their heads of household

Time of joining	Frequency	Percent
Less than one year	43	71.7
2- 4 years	11	18.3
5- 7 yeas	4	6.7
More than 7 years	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Number of respondents is 60

The above data about the marital status of heads of household after migration indicates that, the bulk of all interviewed heads of families were married (about 88 per cent). The increase in the proportion of married persons after the migration was due to the improvement of the economic situation and reaching a stage of stability, which encouraged the migrants to bring their families, although, some of the migrants came as part of their families when they were young and married later. A further 7.3 per cent were widowed. Only 4.7 per cent of all migrants were never married.

5.7.3.3. Family Size

The family is the smallest unit of human groups, and it is the basis of social structure in all human societies (Kikhia 2003). In Libya the family unit[7] is composed of a husband, a wife living together in the family and their children, whether this family has children who had been married or not. Whereas the household is composed of one person or more living together in one house and sharing the food, whether they are relatives or not (G A I 2009; Kikhia 2003). Yet the head of the household is one of the family's adult members, who is living with them and manages the family's

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[7] It is important to distinguish between two types of families in Libya, namely the nuclear family which contains the husband, wife and their children, and the other being the extended family which contains other relatives in addition to the components of the nuclear family.

affairs. A child less than 18 years may, in any case, not be the head of household, nor may a woman be the head of the household if her husband is staying with her even if he does not contribute to the household's income (G A I 2002). Family size has an important implication in the understanding of social, economic and demographic conditions of mass population, and it also has a significant impact on the living standard of the family. Family size is influenced by such factors as customs, traditions, fertility, income, education, age at marriage and marital life, but in Libya it remains a matter of choice determined by the parents.

According to the census of population, family size in Libya, has changed during the last fifty years from 4.5 members in 1954 to 6.9 people in 1995 then it has dropped slowly to 6.0 persons in 2006 as illustrated in table (5.17) This apparent increase in the average family size is a result of the interdependence of family and clan and high birth rates (Kikhia 1995). In contrast to the family size in Benghazi was higher than the state during the period of study and revealed that the average family size is large and continued to rise during the period 1954-2006. The rate has risen from 4.7 people in the census of 1954, to 6.9 members in 1995; finally family size began to slightly decline in the 2006 census to 5.9 members. This is due to the low rates of natural increase in this period. This disparity between Benghazi and Libya is related to family size due to the high rates of family migration from rural areas: it should be noted that the majority of the city's people are coming from rural roots. Rural families in general have more children than urban families because in the rural areas children are seen as income resources. In the same way, a respondent who came from a village reported that

> I am Sixty-three. My family consists of fourteen people including my wife, four sons, six daughters and two grandchildren, sharing five rooms. I came from a farming village in Almarj in 2000 which is around a hundred kilometres away from Benghazi.

Another migrant mentioned the following,

> I am Sixty-six, years old; and live with fifteen people including wife, five sons, five daughters and four grandchildren.

One of the interviewees said,

I am from Al Haniya village in Algebal Alkhdar municipality, which is 200 kilometres to east of Benghazi. I am 71 years old. I have a large family of 20 persons consisting of my wife, six sons, six daughters and seven grandchildren.

Table (5.17) Family size in Libya and Benghazi during 1954- 2006

year	Libya	Benghazi
1954	4.5	4.7
1964	4.7	4.9
1973	5.8	5.9
1984	6.5	6.7
1995	6.9	6.9
2006	6.0	5.9

General Authority for Information, Population censuses (1954-1964-1973-1984-1995-2006)

Kikhia (2003) classified families into several levels according to the family size; small family which consists of three members or less, and the medium family consisting of 4 to 5 members, and the large one has 6 to 9 members. If the family reaches ten members or more then it is classified as a very large family. Nevertheless, the survey suggests that the average of migrant families was high at 7.7 people, which is bigger than the native family. As listed in Table (5.18) the size of migrant families appears to be very large. The small families represented 10.6 per cent of migrant families, despite the fact that large families accounted almost half of family types. Interestingly the proportion of families that reached ten people or more is 16.7 per cent. The reason behind this increase in the size of the migrant families is that additionally to married children continuing living with their parents; those families received some of their relatives who come to Benghazi to study, which is a heavy burden on the head of household and a resulting decline in the standard of living of this household.

Table (5.18) Average of family size for migrants in Benghazi

Family size (persons per family)	Frequency	Percent
< 3	16	10.6
3-5	36	24.0
6-10	73	48.7
>10	25	16.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Further observation in the field study shows that the nuclear family was predominant in Benghazi at 91.4 per cent. At the same time extended families were nearly 8.6 per cent of the migrant families, because of the desire of the married children to live in their parents house for social reasons or because of the lack of housing in the city. Or vice versa, as the father and mother age or at the death of one of them often they will live in their children's house, where the children in the Libyan society are social security for parents; this enables the Libyan Government to reduce the amount of money for special care of the elderly.

It can be seen from the above that the size of migrant families tends to be larger than the size of the destination families. About 66 per cent of the migrant families composed more than six members. This is a significant piece of evidence that migration to Benghazi was family unit migration from rural areas, as rural families are larger than urban ones, due to the high birth rate in the countryside.

5.7.3.4. Adjustment of Migrant and Length of Stay

The length of stay gives an indication of the evolution of migration from and to Benghazi; also it refers to the degree of adaptation of migrants to the new residence. Despite the fact that there are similarities between local residents and migrants in terms of colour, language and race, many of the migrants are facing difficulty in adapting to their new urban life. However, the population of immigrants from the rural area have cultural and social characteristics different from the characteristics of the urban population. The process of adjustment and coping with the pattern of urban life

is very difficult because they are not ready for cultural integration into a new urban life. In other words, in the urban community life is very complex, in contrast to life in the rural areas which is simple, the sociocultural background being very diverse from that of the urban. For example a migrant said:

> Yes I got a house, job and my children are educated, at the same time I find it very difficult to stay in Benghazi due to the large size of my family and my children are growing up plus life is difficult in cities. Also I used to obtain a lot of things for free from the family farm namely eggs, fruit, vegetables, meat and so on. But now I have to pay for such things.

In the same way, a respondent reported that

> As I grow older I feel unhappy in the city and I am considering returning to my village where it is quieter. Also I feel that I have achieved all my objectives in Benghazi.

One more migrant commented,

> I think that my standard of living is low and I do not like living in Benghazi and think that life now is worse than it was previously. Family ties are the only reason which stops me from going back to my village.

Another migrant mentioned the following,

> I feel unhappy about my life and about my small flat, inconsiderate neighbours and lack of a garden. I am thinking to leave Benghazi when I get an appropriate house in order to escape the overcrowding of the city.

On the other hand, some migrants are more satisfied with the new community. One of the interviewees said,

> I have spent many years here and adapted to the city. Furthermore, I need to remain here to look after my business.

One more migrant mentioned,

> I am happy here and all my children are at school. I have no plan to move elsewhere and would like to keep my life as it is.

Family or friends is an additional factor that might have an influence on the adjustment of migrants to their new home. Hence, the survey demonstrates that the selection of direction was affected by kin or family already living in Benghazi, with about 73.3 per cent of interviewed heads of households already knew somebody in Benghazi before their migration, when 87.3 per cent of those known were family , while 12.7 per cent were friends. This is a significant indicator of the relatively high value placed on family ties. Migrants in Benghazi were also given help in tackling the difficulties of accommodation (22.7 per cent), fiscal support (1.3 per cent) and job opportunities (9.3 per cent of all migrants).

Another important point is that the proportion of migrants who had visited Benghazi before moving was 64 per cent of all migrants, and these visits have helped migrants to form a good impression on the city. People may migrate if they already know it and feel that their condition will improve in the new environment.

Table (5.19) Length of stay of migrants in Benghazi in 2008

Length of stay (years)	2008 (%)
<9	10.0
10-19	20.0
20-29	24.0
> 30	46.0
Total	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

The length of stay in the Benghazi was measured in order to obtain an indicator of migrant's adjustments to the city ways of living. As revealed in table (5.19) the length of living of migrants in Benghazi was 10.0 per cent of the total migrants for immigrants who have lived in the city for less than nine years, it was thus the lowest proportion, while those staying in the study area more than thirty years is the highest percentage at 46.0 per cent of all migrants. Also it is particularly interesting to note from the table (5.19) that there is an inverse relationship between length of stay and the number of immigrants, which shows that the proportion of migrants to Benghazi is declining over time.

In brief, according to the field study, some 14 per cent of heads of household were complaining about difficulties in the city, such as the complexity of urban life, lack of gardens, lack of social services and infrastructure and the high cost of living, and

they are thinking of returning. Despite these difficulties, the majority of heads of household (86 per cent) who were interviewed are happy in Benghazi and have adapted to city life.

5.7.3.5. Distribution of Migrants by Type of Housing

Examining the type of migrant accommodation at both previous and present residence is very important in order to assess the effectiveness of the new environment on their well being. The survey designates that about 59.4 per cent of all migrants were living in inadequate and unhealthy housing before moving. Interestingly the majority of migrants now are occupying modern accommodation namely modern houses, flats and villas. In other words, about 98 per cent of all migrants were able to change their old dwellings for contemporary ones after migration as a result of the increase in their economic status and the availability of housing. As a consequence of that housing projects were mainly located in Benghazi and Tripoli, in addition to the absence of any actually effectual policies in the rural areas. According to Zuhri:

> The availability of housing in Benghazi for the newcomers varied from period to period ……. Originally the lower income migrants were permitted to have huts on the outskirts of the city but they are now no longer permitted to do so. Instead the government intends to build housing for this lower income group. These government houses, which can accommodate the migrants who are already in the city, do not however have room for the newcomers, and there is a housing problem for the new arrivals (Zuhri, 1978:465).

Thus, the situation of the housing sector has deteriorated in spite of Government efforts, mainly in the large urban centres such as Benghazi and Tripoli, to which a large numbers of Libyan people moved (Mukhtar1997).

Table (5.20) Type of accommodation of migrants before and after moving to Benghazi

	Accommodation before moving		Accommodation Now	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Tent	15	10.0	0.0	0.0
Shanty	12	8.0	0.0	0.0
Old House*	62	41.4	3	2.0
Modern House	35	23.3	71	47.3
Flat	8	5.3	50	33.4
Villa	12	8.0	26	17.3
Other	6	4.0	0.0	0.0
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

* Old House before migration means houses built of mud, stone, wood and dried palm trunks, this kind of house is still inhabited in some places in the countryside.

* Old House after migration means houses built more than seventy years ago and it is typically one floor.

5.7.3.6. Distribution of Migrants by Place of Birth

This section will look at the distribution of migrants by place of birth to determine the pattern of migration to Benghazi; Table (5.21) demonstrates that the rural population provides three quarters of total sum of migrants to the city of Benghazi, despite the fact that, the share of migrants who were born in the urban areas was 24 per cent.

Table (5.21) Type of settlement of migrants before and after moving to Benghazi

Type of settlement	Born settlement		Settlement at migration	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Village or farm	53	35.3	29	19.3
Town	61	40.7	72	48.0
City	36	24.0	49	32.7
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (5.20) and (5.21) show that the movement of the majority of migrants was not immediately to Benghazi city from their place of birth. There are intervening stops throughout the migration from the place of birth until a final migration to Benghazi. In other words, the migration is in phases, as most migrants move from rural areas to small towns and then to Benghazi. This is in accordance with the laws of Ravenstein that migration is by steps, i.e. the movement streams into the commercial and industrial centres tends to be migration first from farms or small villages towards close by settlements then ultimately gravitate towards the largest cities (Alskran and Mohammed 2004; Ravenstein 1889), because of the lack of economic opportunities available in most small settlements in Libya. On the other hand, this confirms the strength of the influence of Benghazi as a magnet for migrants. For example 66.6 per cent of all migrants had changed their residence at least once in their life before moving to Benghazi.

Table (5.22) Number of places of residence before migration

Number	Frequency	Percent
None	50	33.4
Once	66	44.0
Twice	17	11.3
Three times	5	3.3
More than three times	12	8.0
Total	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

5.8. Summary

Over fifty years ago population movement was a common feature among the Libyan population, where the population was moving between different rural areas with their livestock, for water and pasture, especially in drought years. After the discovery of oil in 1959 and the exploitation of its revenues, Libya witnessed a great development boom, which led to an increased demand for labour in public services. Although the development of spatial justice was always a target for development plans, what has occurred is the emergence of disparities between urban and rural areas in terms of the level of work opportunities, public services and trade improvements. Nowadays, migration is seen as a result of contrasting development between urban and rural economies, and in this context in Libya there is development differential between rural areas and huge cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli.

As a result of an imbalance between the economic resources in the city and the labour force available, Benghazi needed a larger population in order to exploit these resources, which led to an increased flow of internal migration towards Benghazi from the rural areas. The population censuses confirmed that the city of Benghazi is a magnet for attracting immigrants and continues to be a main region of attraction for migrants in Libya over the last fifty years. The economic reasons are the most significant motives for migrating to Benghazi, followed by social causes such as higher education and health care.

Indeed, all Libyan regions maintain strong relations with Benghazi. These relations reflect the important role played by this city at the regional and national levels, but its relationship with the eastern regions are more important because they are not restricted to the economic sphere, but are related also to the social, political and cultural structures of the other regions (Kikhia1981).

The findings of the analysis have showed that migration to Benghazi is not a gender selective process. Migration tends to have a certain pattern, which is family unit migration, with the majority coming from rural areas. It was found that nearly 76 per cent of the migrants were born in villages. This confirms, in general, the rising significance of the rural migrants to the city of Benghazi. Also, results from this research indicate the migrants' household size are fairly large family units compared to the non-migrants, which in turn has placed extra pressure on the city's infrastructure, social services and housing; a condition that needs more analysis, and is investigated further in the following chapter, which will consider the impacts of internal migration on Benghazi.

Chapter Six Impacts of Internal Migration on Benghazi

CHAPTER SIX

Impacts of Internal Migration on Benghazi

6.1. Introduction

Chapter five was concerned with migration patterns which are dominated by family unit movement, with the majority coming from the countryside. This chapter analyses the positive and negative consequences of this family migration on the city and the community of Benghazi, such as demographic, economic and social impacts (objective 3). Also this chapter will discuss the relationship between internal migration and urbanisation in terms of increased squatters in and around Benghazi, shortage of housing, urban expansion at the expense of surrounding agricultural land and the strain on social services. It presents an analysis of the positive effect of the internal migration experience on Benghazi and the migrants. The final section of this chapter reviews the problems faced by immigrants when they settle in the city.

All the policy makers the researcher talked with confirmed that until the beginning of the 1980s Benghazi was clean and had adequate services, and there were no complaints about the lack of housing, narrow roads, overcrowding and the deterioration in services, as there is now. Since the mid-eighties, as a result of the growing numbers of migrants, the city's policy makers were stunned, and they had no effective planning policy, which strained the housing sector and led to a lack of basic services and as a result informal housing (squatter) emerged, where people built their houses illegally on spaces inside and agricultural land outside the city.

The effects of rural to urban migration in Libya are dual. In the long run, movement will contribute to the erosion of Libyan traditional economic systems (rural), through both expanding the contemporary economic sector (urban) while reducing the core of rural employees which is one of the foundations of this traditional economic system. Also growing internal movements must tend to dilute the local characteristics which are such a feature of Libya. In the short run though, the reallocation of the population between the ages of 15 and 65 has created both economic and social upheaval. Neither the societies of the destinations or origins, nor the migrants themselves being capable of dealing with the haste or size of movement (Hartley 1972). In the origin regions, the reduction of the huge strain on scanty resources

became counterbalanced by the shortage of a young workforce. In destination areas, stress on the housing sector has, produced shantytowns, at the same time as health care, educational and transportation services have been extended to their current critical levels. Thus there have been small instantaneous advantages from the recent resource of urban employment, and there is a risk that real urban unemployment as well as under-employment will rise. However, the reasons and consequences of those issues form a key factor in the change of the demographic and economic systems in Libyan (Hartley 1972).

6.2. Demographic Impacts.

The phenomenon of migration causes an imbalance in the composition, distribution and characteristics of the population in both the areas of origin and destination. Although male migration is common in many countries of the world, internal migration in Libya is mainly family migration, as a migrant moves with their family to the new place of residence (see Chapter 5).

Census figures show that during the past half century rural migration has supplied more than 50 per cent of the population increase in Benghazi. People in rural areas see the cities as a more attractive place to live. The size and direction of migration to Benghazi has been stimulated by several factors including the discovery of oil and the expansion of its exploitation, which has attracted thousands of workers seeking economic opportunities and a better life, rather than the attractiveness of the city, in the form of the city providing health, education and entertainment, as well as accessibility owing to new roads and the development of transportation.

6.2.1. The Changes in the Population (Population Growth).

The implications of increasing population growth has impacts at different levels of the economy, society and culture which is a major challenge for the social and economic development plans of the destination area. Also population growth has a negative impact on the components and elements of environmental and natural resources.

Libya in general, and Benghazi and Tripoli in particular have witnessed an unexpected rapid growth in population over the past fifty years, as a result of the high natural increase of population and the net migration which was encouraged by political and economic factors. The declaration of Libyan independence in 1951 was

one of the strongest factors to stop the currents of migration out of the country. In addition to a very important economic factor which was the discovery of oil, that has transformed Libya from one of the poorest countries of the world to one of the wealthiest countries in the world (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983).

Chapter five showed that the stream of migrants has always been positive for Benghazi, which gives an indication of the key role of migration in the rate of growth. As table (6.1) shows, the rate of population growth in Benghazi during the period from 1954 to 2006 were higher than it was in Libya and the capital (Tripoli). Population growth in Benghazi can be analysed in four demographic periods as follows:-

I.   The Period Between 1954 and 1964

During the period 1954 to 1964 the population of Benghazi increased from 69,718 to 137,295 persons, with an average growth rate of 6.5 per cent annually. This was caused by several reasons. Firstly, there were problems with the 1954 census in terms of accuracy and comprehensiveness, because of lack of funds, insufficient experience and poor awareness of people of the importance of the census (Kikhia 2003). Secondly, to the high rate of natural population growth. Finally, the role of high migration to the cities after the country's independence and increased political stability. Bulugma (1964) argues that the growth rate for Benghazi in the period was bound to be greatly influenced by migration from the other districts. For example, the city received many people from El Merj which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1963 (Doxiadis Associates 1964). Overall, Al-Khayat (1971) argues that the contribution of natural increase was not very clear in population growth for 1954-1964, however, the high growth rate has resulted from internal migration and migration of Libyans returning to Libya after they had left the country and sought refuge in other countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, Jordan and Sudan in the period of the occupation by Italy (1911- 1945).

II.   The Period Between 1964 and 1973

It is significant to note that the period between 1964 and 1973 showed the largest population growth rates in Benghazi at around 7.1 per cent annually. This was due to high birth rates and low mortality and the high rate of migration inflows to Libya due

to economic developments, where the number of returnees to Libya in 1969 alone was 59 thousand people. This stream of returnees has undoubtedly affected the rate of population growth (Fayad 1982; Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003), that followed the discovery of oil, especially because the study area is near the centre of oil activity in the centre and east of the country, which was a pull factor for the population to work with foreign companies.

III. The Period Between 1973 and 1984

The period between 1973 - 1984 witnessed a decline in population growth rates to 3.9 per cent per annum, due to lower birth rates and the introduction of the Citizenship Act (1980) which made procedures for obtaining Libyan citizenship more difficult (Alzagny 1976). Yet in this period internal migration contributed about 8.3 per cent of the total population in the city.

IV. The Period Between 1984 and 2006

Between 1984 -1995 and between1995 - 2006 the population growth rate has dropped to 1.9 and 1.7 per cent annually because of the low birth rate and low rate of immigration (6.8 per cent of Benghazi's population), due to an economic recession in the country as a result of the international economic blockade imposed on Libya in that period. Despite the decline in net immigration, it was and still is a positive factor in population growth and indicates that the region still represents a magnet for migrants as well as gains part of its population through the currents of internal migration (D U P B 2008).

Table (6.1) Population growth rate in Libya, Tripoli and Benghazi during 1954- 2006

Year	Libya		Tripoli		Benghazi	
	Population number	Growth rate	Population number	Growth rate	Population number	Growth rate
1954	1,088,889	-------------	240,150	------	69,718	------------
1964	1,564,369	3.6	379,925	4.5	137,295	6.5
1973	2,249,237	4.0	481,295	2.6	266,196	7.1
1984	3,642,576	4.2	779,648	4.3	411,682	3.9
1995	4,799,065	2.5	860,099	0.9	506,375	1.9
2006	5,673,031	1.5	890,519	0.3	608,782	1.7

Source: General Authority for Information, Population Censuses (1954-1964-1973-1984-1995-2006)

How significant is the impact of internal migration on population growth? Table (6.1) shows that the population of Benghazi has multiplied by more than nine times during the last 52 years so that the total population increased from 69,718 people in the 1954 census to 608,782 persons in the 2006 census with a high annual growth rate of 3.1 per cent. Kezeiri (2003) argues that the population of the city may have actually increased more than twenty times in the same period and he estimated the population in Benghazi probably reached more than a million taking into account Arab and African employment, especially as the city is receiving large numbers of immigrants, who do not appear in the official records (Lamah 2003), as the Libyan censuses do not include illegal immigration. However, the total growth in Benghazi was higher than it was in Tripoli and Libya. This was without doubt a result of the large migration to the city, which resulted in an increase in urbanisation in the city (this will be examined in some detail later in this chapter).

6.2. 2. Increase in the Population Density in the City (Congestion).

Population density refers to the number of people per square kilometre as an average for the total area. Table (6.2) demonstrates that the population density in the study area has increased about nine times over five decades from 812.4 inhabitants per sq km in 1954, to 7,093.7 people per sq km in 2006, while the overall density in

Libya was 0.6 and 3.2 persons per sq km respectively over the same period. This is due to the increased population in Benghazi being more than 9 times during the period between 1954 to 2006, which has been primarily the result of migration.

Table (6.2) Population density in Libya and Benghazi during 1954- 2006

Year	Benghazi (People per sq km)	Libya (People per sq km)
1954	812.4	0.6
1964	1599.8	0.9
1973	3101.8	1.3
1984	4797	2.1
1995	5900.4	2.7
2006	7093.7	3.2

Source: General Authority for Information, Population Censuses (1954-1964-1973-1984-1995-2006)

The increased population in Benghazi over this time means that there is a concentration of population in the city. The concentration of population has led to rapid growth of Benghazi, increasing its size, which created many problems in the city because of lack of parity between the rapid growth of the city's population and the availability of public services and housing. For example, some medium sized districts in the city of Benghazi have been crowded areas, which have put severe pressure on facilities and services, which do not meet the requirements of the large population who moved into these districts (Amura 1998).

6.3. Economic Impacts.

6.3.1. Shift in Labour Force.

Before the discovery of oil, the agriculture sector was the backbone of the national economy in Libya, and this sector was ranked first employing about 70 per cent of the total workforce (Farley 1971). However this percentage has diminished significantly since 1960 with people deserting agricultural work in search of new high

income job opportunities created by the oil industry (Amer 2003a). For example, in Arab countries, the average per capita income in the agricultural sector is about a quarter of the per capita income in other sectors (A M F 2009).

There is a difference in the quality of professions and jobs between urban and rural communities. Occupations in rural areas, in general, require more physical effort, while occupations in urban areas are linked to education level (Zohbi, Saleh and ELarbi 1991). The survey suggests that there is an occupational mobility among immigrants, where a high proportion of them, after settling in Benghazi, have practised certain professions and jobs which were not familiar to them in their original community, such as taxi driving and running a small business after working hours   which may have led to a relative rise in the income of migrants.

Table (6.3) Professions of migrants before and after moving to Benghazi

Type of activities	before moving		after moving	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agricultural sector	35	23.3	3	2.0
Industry sector	7	4.7	18	12.0
Services sector	22	14.7	86	57.3
Unemployment	86	57.3	43	28.7
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (6.3) shows that in the change in the profession of workers after migration agricultural occupations have suffered a great loss compared with other professions, as is expected. In general, Libyan people are avoiding work in agriculture and industry sectors and they prefer to work in the service sector which offers higher income with less physical effort (Amer 2003a). Yet internal migration and concentration of population in major cities is due to the concentration of development programmes in these centres. The negative effect of these development programmes was to increase the proportion of workers in the services sector to first place, after it was originally ranked second, which transformed the community to a

consumption pattern, based on systems from abroad (imported food and meat from outside the country) when it was previously self-sufficient (Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003).

On the other hand, migration contributes to the damage of agricultural land by leaving it without cultivation, as well as urbanisation at the expense of agricultural land. Migration also leads to increased pressure on the labour market in the cities and the spread of marginal activities and the illegal exploitation of labour.

6.3.2. Unemployment Rate.

The labour force is divided into employed people in addition to the unemployed. However, unemployment refers to all inhabitants in the working-age group who are not in paid employment or an entrepreneur, but are willing to work and have taken particular actions to look for paid employment or to start a business (U N D P 2007). This definition excludes from the labour force people who are not available for or are unable to work, such as pensioners, students, housewives and some disabled.

Table (6.4) Unemployment rate in Benghazi and Libya 1973 - 2006

Year	Benghazi			Libya		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1973	2.2	0.1	1.3	2.2	0.1	1.3
2006	17.8	4.2	11.1	14.0	4.9	9.5

Source: Calculated by the researcher based on 1973 and 2006 censuses

Unemployment is the main source of economic insecurity in the majority of Arab states. Up until 2005 the average rate of unemployment for the Arab world was approximately 14.5 per cent of the total workforce while the world average was 6.3 per cent (U N D P 2009). From the table (6.4) it can be seen that the rate of unemployment in both Libya and Benghazi was very low at 1.3 per cent in 1973, which could be due to the massive social and economic development programmes, funded by increasing oil production (as indicated earlier in chapter five). The boom in this industry has a great demand for labour which the Libyan labour force has been unable to satisfy (Lawless 1989). Furthermore the state was obliged to secure jobs for all graduates from universities; this policy had been effective in the sixties and seventies, which were periods characterized by the expanding role of the state in

managing economic activity and the heavy reliance on the public sector as a crucial sector for development plans in the economic and social development. Conversely, in the 2006 census, the unemployment rate was high at 9.5 and 11.1 per cent for Libya and Benghazi respectively. This is due to the adoption by Libya of the policy of "Libya: a land for all Arabs" which entailed the opening of all borders and the dispensing of visas for Arab immigrants and resulted in a rise in the labour force (G A I 1999). However, the national economy was unable to generate enough jobs to absorb new entrants into the labour force. In addition, there was a lack of co-ordination between the education policy on the one hand and the labour market policy on the other. For example, the majority of graduates of higher education were in the literature and humanities, about 60 per cent of the total, while the percentage of graduates of science and technology did not exceed 20 per cent (G A I 2002).

Table (6.4) clearly demonstrates that the unemployment rate of Libyan females was lower than males during the period of study; this may be due to the low school drop-out rate among females and that many married women prefer to look after their children. This is not consistent with the data from Human Development Reports, that the female unemployment rate is higher than for men, as women commonly are the first to be fired in an economic recession and this rate among Arab females is higher than it is for Arab males, and amongst the uppermost in the world (U N D P 2009; U N D P 1995).

It should be noted that the low productivity of agricultural workers in rural areas, leads them to seek secure jobs by internal migration to cities. In 1973 migrants represented approximately half of the workforce in Benghazi and Tripoli, due to the attraction of migrants to both metropolises (Lawless 1989). Hence, rural to urban migration contributes to huge urban redundancy, to marginalization of an increasing percentage of the urban migrant people (Zourkaléini and Piché 2007:503). Todaro's model deems the primary reason of great rural to urban movement and unceasing urban unemployment to be the city's predisposition (Lees 2009). However, underdeveloped nations face poverty and urban unemployment mostly as a result of high rates of rural to urban migration (Ullah 2004).

In the light of the above, rapid urbanisation and increase in urban population, combined with considerable migration from rural to urban centres and declining agricultural production, led to an increase in urban underemployment and unemployment as labour markets were unable to supply modern sector jobs as visualised by supporters of modernisation (Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998). In actual fact, a low level of wages for factory workers adversely affects the standard of living of the population which in turn leads to frustration and low levels of production and pushes them to look for other job opportunities that give them higher income or do more than work and this will exacerbate the unemployment problem and reduce job opportunities for new entrants to the labour market annually. The short-time of daily work hours (8AM - 2PM) in the government sector helped to spread the phenomenon of short time working. Hence, unemployment rates and low incomes, lead some families to accept that their children leave education and careers to join the workforce, or the unregulated economy in this age group (such as car wash, sale of cigarettes in the streets and traffic signals), in the attempt by those households to increase their income. Moreover, unemployment is a fertile and conducive environment for the growth the crime and violence.

The Assistant of Head of the General Popular Committee for Manpower in Benghazi was asked why are there people unemployed in Benghazi, he said:-

'Despite the availability of projects and jobs, there is a large proportion of Libyans out of work ....There are social reasons affecting unemployment is the reluctance of the Libyan population to work in jobs that are not clean and require effort such as cleaning, sewage, mechanics and waiters in restaurants and hotels. In other words, they are jobs that have a very low or no social status. On the other hand in Libyan society there is an appetite to the written administrative occupations..... Internal migration has a negative impact on the unemployment rate because many migrants come from rural areas where they worked in agriculture and grazing, and therefore they have no skills for jobs in the city... Also we have educated unemployment in Benghazi; it has risen in recent years. Some university degrees have no relevance in the labour market due to the lack of coordination between the General Popular Committee for Manpower and universities and educational institutions regarding the labour market needs of each discipline.... there is pressure on the labour market by those who came to study, and they are happy to stay in Benghazi after

graduation because of the attraction of the city' (personal communication with the Assistant Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

The researcher pointed out to the Assistant Head of the General Popular Committee for Manpower that it has been noticed through the field study the spread of some marginal jobs carried out by children such as roving vendors, hand car wash, selling of cigarettes and tissues at traffic lights and carrying vegetables and fruit from inside the vegetable market to customers' cars outside by trolleys. It was asked why people do informal kind of labour activities for example selling things in the streets, the Assistant Head said:-

> 'May be the main reason for child labour (marginal works) is the unemployment of their parents and thus children have to leave schools at an early stage to work... This, in my opinion, will have serious consequences in the future, as in addition to being a major reason for leaving school, this phenomenon is the result of unemployment now and the cause of unemployment in the future, these children will not have the required skills to work in the future... Also children are vulnerable to delinquency' (personal communication with the Assistant Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

6.4. Social Impacts.

6.4.1. Crime Rate.

The city of Benghazi attracts migrants from other Libyan regions (see chapter five). Urban growth in the city is mostly due to internal migration. Rural to urban migration is often associated with higher urban violence and crime (Zourkaléini and Piché 2007). In this way, Ali and Toran explain that:-

> Migration not only involves these environmental, socio -economic and other problems but it is also largely responsible for urban crime which is again a facet of the urban microenvironment (Ali and Toran 2004:3).

Al-Sgour (2002) argues that many of the migrants may face various problems in the early days, most notably the lack of access to jobs, thus the consequent spread of poverty, delinquency and moral crimes such as theft, swindling, fraud and alcohol consumption. It can be clearly seen in table (6.6) that the crime rates in Benghazi

have risen dramatically from 2.4 to 3.8 crimes per one hundred people during the period 1972 to 2005. In this respect, Brennan said that:-

> Urban crime and violence in the world's large cities is generally not a spontaneous occurrence, but rather the product of inequality and social exclusion. Although rapid urbanisation and poverty partly explain the scale and extent of urban violence and crime, other factors such as the political and economic climate, local traditions and values, and the degree of social cohesion and solidarity among urban communities also play a role (Brennan 1999:17).

Table (6.5) Distribution of police stations and policemen in Benghazi 1973- 2006

Year Type	1973		2006	
	Number	Security rate *	Number	Security rate
Police station	6	44366 people per station	8	76098 people per station
Policemen	1055	4 to 1000 persons	2966	4.9 to 1000 persons

Source: Calculated by the researcher based on Al-Agori (2007)

 * The security rate of the population is on the basis of the population in a given area to the number of workers in the field of security in the same year.

Yet again, as table (6.6) reveals the rate of crime in the study area has increased by 234.8 per cent during the period 1972 to 2005. According to the field study about 82 per cent of total sample think that the rate of crime has increased dramatically recently in Benghazi, this could be due to several reasons; first to high population growth caused by internal migration, this is consistent with results of Al-Agori and El-Mehdawi (2007) that immigration played a major role in high rates of crime in the city of Benghazi, second to the lack of police stations and policemen in Benghazi, there were 8 police stations and 2,966 policemen in 2006 servicing 608,782 people. In other words, the service demand on each police station has increased from 44,366 inhabitants in 1973 to 76,098 people in 2006; while every 4.9 policemen service 1000 people in 2006 (this means each policeman is responsible to provide security for 204 people). Also Al-Agori (2007) argues that the spatial distribution of police

stations in the city of Benghazi is random and is not compatible with population density. Finally, the spread of squatter settlements with the consequent spread of violence and social ills such as crime, theft and juvenile delinquency, especially among the poor and those with limited income. According to crime statistics in the city of Benghazi in 2005 the old neighbourhoods and squatter settlements recorded the highest rates of crime and these areas are black points on the map of the spread of crime in Benghazi.

Table (6.6) Reported crimes and the rate of increase in Benghazi 1972-2006

Year	Number of crimes	Rate of increase per cent	Proportion of crimes in Benghazi to Libya	Rate of crimes per one hundred people *
1972	6037	------------	16.9	2.4
2005	20210	234.8	20.3	3.8

Source: Calculated by the researcher based on the G P C G S and I M L annual reports of crime for 1972 and 2005

* The overall rate of crimes is the rate which is calculated on the basis of the number of crimes that occurred in a year to the number of inhabitants in the area where these crimes occurred.

Table (6.6) identifies that the crime rate in Benghazi has increased considerably over the last 30 years. The number of crimes has increased more than three times during the period between 1972 and 2005, that is to say the rate of increase was 234.8 per cent for the same period. Table (6.6) tells us that the rate of crimes has reached 3.8 crimes per one hundred people in 2005. Also the proportion of crimes in Benghazi to Libya has risen from 16.9 per cent in 1972 to 20.3 per cent in 2005 in spite of the fact that the percentage of population increase in Benghazi to Libya is much lower. This higher crime rate is due to the reasons mentioned earlier in this section and because Benghazi is the second biggest urban centre in Libya it has attracted people from different places, such as foreign infiltrators (illegal migrants from Africa) and ex-offenders.

6.4.2. Spread of Rural Life in the City. (Ruralisation of the City)

Ruralisation of the city refers to the impression and the social implications of the extent of the transmission of ideas and behaviour patterns of rural life and the spread of this within the city (AlGasir 1992). Changes in the demographic and social aspects which are reflected in the increased population in cities are determined by people tending to keep their rural customs and traditions. This leads to particular economic characteristics for example, the fragility of the urban economy, an increase in street vendors and the spread of some rural activities such as livestock rearing. In Libya, the ruralisation of cities is a result of poor migrants from rural areas moving to cities (Kezeiri 2007 b), when whole families leave farm land and move to Benghazi in search of a livelihood. These farmers then create a new phenomenon called ruralisation of the city rather than being affected by the urban life; they transfer their countryside habits to the city. In the field study it was observed that some migrants brought their tools that were used in the countryside, like bread ovens, and still retained barn animals, either within the home or attached (poultry, goats, sheep and cows), because villagers would have been used to living with livestock and agricultural tools in their houses (AlGasir 1992).This is consistent with Al-Sgour's saying that:-

> You can take the villager out of the heart of the countryside, but you can
> not take the countryside out of the heart of the villager (Al-Sgour
> 2002:259).

A particular characteristic of collectivist modernization was the ruralisation of urban centres. When village dwellers were moved from their rural community they did not become urbanites easily. Clearly, whether employees, medical doctors or university lecturers they keep in touch with the rural area intensively: they kept their courtyards, folk artefacts and hamlet identity (Buzalka 2004).

> The increased migration from villages to cities leads to the existence of
> new and weird social problems within the city structure. One of these
> problems is the transfer of behaviour, traditions and the way of living of
> the rural areas to the cities which gave the urban areas a rural look and
> with its expansion it is more common than the traditional urban pattern
> (El-Hefnawi 2004:7).

Faour (2004) believes that the process of urbanisation is a conflict between two strengths, the urbanisation of rural migrants by the city and ruralisation of the city by rural migrants: the result of the conflict is defined by three factors: the relative density of the flow of migrants, the degree of adaptation to urban life and the absorptive capacity of the city to urbanise migrants. However, the continuance of migration weakens the harmonised nature of society and becomes an incongruous mix of population, because the process of fusion of new immigrants in the community takes a long time (Al-Agori 2007). Thus the city of Benghazi is unable to absorb the flow of newcomers from the countryside over time and urbanise them. On the contrary, some places in the city have been ruralised, especially in poor neighbourhoods of the city and squatter settlements.

This result appears to suggest that the ruralisation of the city of Benghazi was as a result of the non-adjustment migrating family unit who are poor and come from the countryside, and these families keep to their rural lives rather than integrating into city life.

6.5. The Negative Impacts on the City.

6.5.1. Urbanisation Rate.

Preston (1988) has defined the urbanisation rate as yearly change in the proportion of inhabitants living in urban regions. Urban population growth occurs by one of two factors: an excess of births over deaths (natural urban population increase), or an excess in-flow above out- flow of migration (migrational increase) (Bradnock 1989). In addition to this the U N D P (2003) has provided a third process of city population growth which is reclassification of rural places as urban places. In this respect the UN explained the reclassification of rural areas in the following paragraph:-

> Reclassification occurs in two instances: (a) the extension of urban areas into the rural hinterland and (b) the upgrading of rural into urban settlements. As the population of a city or town expands, it spills over the municipal boundaries into the surrounding rural areas and eventually these become part of the municipal area. In addition, population growth and particularly economic development create the

need for urban infrastructure and services in rural settlements. Increasingly, rural settlements across the region become urban settlements and assume an urban form of local government. It makes urbanisation a partly administrative rather than a purely demographic process (U N D P 2003:141).

Recent forms of redistribution, principally gross rural to urban area migration, are a product of regional distortions in patterns of development, with functions of migration from rural to urban being a sign of these distortions (Preston 1988).

During the Second World War the city of Benghazi was subjected to almost complete destruction and devastation, suffering more than other Libyan cities. In fact, the city did not start to grow and evolve again until the independence of Libya and the discovery of oil with the resulting economic boom that was accompanied by accelerated growth of the city to the point when the growth became difficult to control (Doxiadis Associates 1989a). For example throughout the period 1954 - 1966 Libya underwent a noticeable change in the level of urbanisation, and the main cities, Benghazi and Tripoli, have dominated the state's economic and political life (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983). Nonetheless the two main cities of Tripoli and Benghazi had absorbed four-fifths of the increase of the total urban population of Libya by 1966 (Ahtyosh 1994) .Table (6.7) and figures 6.1 to 6.7 illustrate that the city of Benghazi has spread from 1,092 hectares in 1966 to 4,088 hectares in 1980 and to 16,000 hectares in 2000. Kezeiri (2007) argues that perhaps the area of the city at the present time has already reached more than this figure, if we take into account the extension of the city outside the boundaries which is in violation of the scheme, laws and legislation of planning and the preservation of agricultural land. According to the D U P B (2009a) the city area had reached about 33,000 hectares in 2009. It is worth mentioning that urban expansion has been at an annual rate of about 11.8 per cent during the last nine years, which is the same period that has witnessed the growth of squatter settlements and expansion at the expense of agricultural land.

Table (6.7) Urban extension of the city of Benghazi 1966 - 2009

Table 6.7 has been removed due to third party copyright. The
unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester
Library, Coventry University

Source: 1- Kezeiri (2003)

2- D U P B (2009a)

Like several other Arabic nations, Libya has been subject to fast urban increase, the rate of which has been very rapid since the 1960s (Kezeiri 1994). This notable change in urban growth in Libya is as a result of two factors; first the very low point from which Libyan urbanisation started, and second, the detection of oil and the exploitation of petroleum. The high level of urbanisation might also be a feature of the inhospitable environment which favours a focus of people in the main urban centres alongside the Mediterranean shoreline (Lawless and Kezeiri 1983). Furthermore, Kezeiri and Yousfe (2003) argue that the percentage of urban people is as much as 95 per cent of the total population in Libya. Hence Libya is one of the most urbanised countries in the world, but this is a normal phenomenon of economic and social development programmes due to increased income from oil. This attracted the population from desert and countryside to the cities because they provide a better livelihood. However the attraction of Libyan cities for population is unequal. This means that Tripoli and Benghazi attracted a very large number of migrants, which has resulted the concentration of population in these two cities.

The primacy exercised by the Libyan capital Tripoli is not as well defined as in other Arabic countries, as a consequence of there being another significant urban centre, Benghazi, (Mclachlan, 1989) whose inhabitants rose from 69,718 in 1954 to 608,782 in 2006. The increase of urban population was because of the growing attraction of Benghazi and the forced evictions in rural areas (see chapter 5). Analysing the results of Libyan censuses has shown that the proportion of urban population in the region of Benghazi has increased from one census to another, from 23.0 per cent in

1973 to 94.9 per cent in 2006 of the total population, and the proportion of rural people has decreased from 77.0 per cent to 5.1 per cent of the total population of the region in the same period. This could be attributable to migration from rural to urban because of the attraction of the city, the decline of agriculture in the countryside (migration at the expense of the rural areas), the return of large numbers of those who abandoned the city during the Italian occupation and the Second World War, and the rapid natural increase in the city. The increase in the proportion of urban population at the expense of the countryside is reflected in the impact on the labour force with the consequent change of occupations of the inhabitants in some rural areas from agriculture to the services sector. Alamari (1989) argues that there is a relationship between the intensity and distribution of workers and the intensity and distribution of the population, in addition to the transfer of population from the agricultural sector to the industrial and service sectors, as well as adding new burdens on public facilities, housing and transportation in the city.

In brief, migration from the countryside to the city still represents an important role in urban growth during the last fifty years. The city of Benghazi is experiencing, similar to other major cities, the phenomenon of rapid urbanisation which was a boom that exceeded all economic expectations but resulted in difficulties in the social plans and urban schemes (Kezeiri 2003). Without doubt the level of urbanisation will carry on increasing in the future. Certainly Libya seems to be experiencing a change toward the urbanisation of the complete community (Kezeiri 1994). However, this result in some problems such as the problem of pressure on public services, housing, transportation and the encroachment on farmland surrounding the city.

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University

Figure (6.1) Urban area of Benghazi city before 1827   Source: EL-Shareaf (2008)

Figs 6.2 and 6.3 have been removed due to third party copyright. The
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Figure (6.2 and 6.3) Urban growth of Benghazi city between 1927- 1954

Source: EL-Shareaf (2008)

Figs 6.4 and 6.5 have been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Figure (6.4 and 6.5) Urban growth of Benghazi city between 1962- 1966. Source: EL-Shareaf (2008)

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Figure (6.6 and 6.7) Urban growth of Benghazi city between 1973- 2000.   Source: EL-Shareaf (2008)

6.5.2. Expansion at the Expense of Agricultural Land.

There is no doubt that the continued growth of urban population will lead to rapid growth in the number of housing units, which doubled from about 46,105 in 1973 to 78,160 house units in 2006, with a consequent demand for land for urban expansion (Haddad 2002; D U P B 2008). Population growth, increase of income of specific social classes of people, lack of planning and development control is affecting a fast shift of agricultural production land to urban utilization (Islam1999). The report from the General Popular Committee of Agriculture in Benghazi (2008) states that there is encroachment on large tracts of agricultural land surrounding the city to establish housing. When the Head of the General Popular Committee for Agriculture in Benghazi was asked if he thought that the expansion of the city had been at the expense of surrounding agricultural land over the past fifty years , he replied:-

> 'Yes, migration has had a negative impact on farmland surrounding the city; the infringement on agricultural land is a serious threat to agricultural production in this region..... The city of Benghazi is expanding onto the surrounding agricultural land and farms, especially towards the south and south-east (Al Kwefiya, Banina and Bu Atni). This expansion occurs at random without taking into account the laws and regulations on the protection of agricultural land, which is one of the most fertile areas, ... continuing encroachment into this area represents a real threat for agricultural land and increasing desertification...... expansion of the city at the expense of farming land led to a displacement of both the cultivation and the pastoral areas, which in turn creeps into marginal land, leading to increased risk of drought and desertification, and as a result, there is a major threat to food security' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Next the researcher asked the Head of the General Popular Committee for Agriculture, why people intruded on agricultural lands the answer was:-

> 'Because of the increase in the price of land inside the city, and with no new housing schemes, the expansion of the city is random and contrary to laws and legislation in the absence of control and supervision of the competent authorities to the construction process. The state has distributed farms according to the law no. 123 with reference to self-sufficiency, to people who are not qualified and not experienced in agriculture, which led to the failure of

many of those farms. Many of the owners of agricultural land surrounding the city have divided and sold their land for residential use or left it without cultivation. On the other hand, there is no supervision and follow-up for the farmers by the relevant authorities' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Regarding the protection of agricultural lands surrounding the city, he mentioned that there are strong laws for the protection of agricultural land, but that they are not applied correctly......... the laws being:-

   I.   Law No (33) for the year 1970 is related to the protection of agricultural land - issued by the Revolutionary Command Council

   II.   Law No. (15) for the year 1989 concerning the protection of animals and trees - issued by the Secretariat of the General Congress

   III.   Law No. (151) for the year 1991 regarding the construction requirements outside the schemes - issued by the General People's Committee

   IV.   Law No. (15) for the year 1992 about the protection of agricultural lands - issued by the Secretariat of the General Congress

The Head of the General Popular Committee for Agriculture also stated, that

'all Libyan legislation and laws prohibit the construction and the expansion of cities at the expense of agricultural land including the agricultural land within the city plans, although in exceptional cases those laws allowed the farm owner to build a house on agricultural land not to exceed 250 square meters, this allowed some to exploit a gap in this legislation...... in the last eight years many of the landowners surrounding the city of Benghazi, began to divide up and sell their agricultural land to people who then build houses, because of land price rises in the original city area .... On the other hand, the government resorts to compensate this loss by reclaiming desert and less productive land, the reclamation is very expensive and some doubt about the economic feasibility' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Benghazi sub-region's valuable agricultural land surrounds Benghazi metropolitan area including an extension to the east towards Banina. Continuation of current development of Benghazi would threaten the fertile

agricultural land and such a policy would conflict with the national policy of "self-contained food supply". Therefore the protection of limited and valuable land suitable for agricultural production is vital (Dampo Consultancy 2008:15).

Table (6.8) The size of productive agriculture land, number of animals and fruit trees between 1995 and 2007 in the Benghazi region

Productive land	1995	2007	decrease per cent
Number of farms	7,016	1,081	- 84.6
Number of owners of agricultural land	6,969	1529	- 78.1
Total area of productive land (hectares)	49,926	12,574	- 74.8
Number of sheep and goats, cows, camels and poultry (thousands)			
Sheep and goats	671,443	156,897	- 76.6
Cows	13,415	1,835	- 86.3
Camels	5,518	2,392	- 56.7
Poultry	1,168,467	23,920	- 97.9
Number of olive, almond and palm trees (thousands)			
Olive	92,582	19,734	- 78.7
Almond	193,895	3,262	- 93.3
Palm	30,111	4,967	- 83.5
Other fruits	552,112	77,672	- 85.9

Source: compiled from:-

1- G A I (2007) the 2007 Agriculture Census.

2- G A I (1995) the 1995 Agriculture Census.

In table (6.8) it can be observed that during the period 1995 to 2007 there was a sharp decline in the area of productive agricultural land and agricultural production between the lowest decrease (- 56.7 per cent) for the number of camels and highest

decrease (- 97.9 per cent) for the number of poultry. This is a consequence of several reasons, such as many people leaving agriculture, for instance the number of agricultural land holders was reduced from 6,969 in 1995 to 1,529 in 2007. Additionally there was urbanisation at the expense of agricultural land, when the process of the urban expansion of the city began towards the south, south-east and north. As previously mentioned earlier in this chapter, the city area has increased more than eleven times over three decades to 16,000 hectares in 2000 (Haddad 2002; Kezeiri 2003). Nevertheless, Kezeiri (2003) argues that the area of the city may now be more than this figure, if we take into account the random sprawl of the city outside the planned area and the encroachment on agricultural land. Finally, the lack of and deterioration of the water supply for the city of Benghazi was attributed to the increase in population, which increased the consumption of groundwater from around 220,000 cubic metres per day in 1985 to about 285,000 cubic meters per day in 1990. Also the estimated requirements of water in 2014 could be about 420,000 cubic metres per day. However, this increase has led to several risks; first the continued decrease of the groundwater level at a rate between 0.5 to 2 metres per year, the deterioration of water quality and increase in salinity in water from wells in the region at 1500- 2500 parts per million (El- Mehdawi 1998; Haddad 2002). Therefore, all these problems have had a negative impact on agricultural production. At a time when there is an urgent need to increase agricultural production to meet increasing demand for food.

Population growth in the city of Benghazi has been deeply affected by internal migration. This in turn has had a negative impact on the agricultural sector in the province of Benghazi, because of the expansion of the city at the expense of agricultural land, the reduction of agricultural and livestock production, population migration of this sector due to the low per capita income and the selling of agricultural land for housing construction.

6.5.3. The explosion of Squatter Settlements.

Squatter settlements (defined in Libya as houses built without permission from the government), usually begin outside the scope of the state services and do not have public services and facilities because of non-recognition by the state (G O H 2007). However, in many cases, the population has illegal access to services (electricity

and water). A study, conducted by the A U D I in 1997 showed that about 60 per cent of the squatter settlements in Arab countries had been built on the outskirts of cities and 70 per cent of these slums were built by individuals. Also the study showed that most of the slums in the Arab states have no sewage services or clean drinking water and have a high rate of unemployment, crime and drug addiction (A U D I 1997).

Al-Naimi (2004) argues that the increasing number of squatter settlements in Arab countries is due to several factors, principally the growing migration to the cities and urban centres, resulting from uneven development and the lack of attention to rural areas in terms of better wages and improved services. The high rents and rise in the value of land in cities has resulted in the exodus of some poor families to the outskirts of the cities where they stay in the slums. This is in addition to non-application of the laws of land ownership and licensing of premises. Yet the phenomenon of squatter settlements emerged in many cities in the developing world wherever they experienced a rapid migration from rural areas to cities (Amura 1998). Libyan cities have been going through this phase since the 1950s, especially at the beginning of the oil production and its associated concentration of economic and administration activities in major cities such as Tripoli and Benghazi, where squatter settlements covered large areas in and around those cities (Amura 1998). Libya in the past gave more attention to some cities (Tripoli and Benghazi) which resulted in vast differences between the conditions of life in these cities and the conditions of life in rural areas, this in turn led to a continuous flow of the rural population to these cities, to live in or around them, whether in huts made of tin often built on the ruins of buildings or resorting to the poor and cheap rent areas (Amura 1998).

The phenomenon of illegal housing is a response to multiple factors, including economic, political and demographic, which encourage rural people to migrate into cities and live illegally on the outskirts, without being constrained by regulations and urban planning (Al-Naimi 2004). Migration from rural to urban areas has resulted in the emergence of squatter settlements and shanty towns on the outskirts of cities, which have become a big concern for security, urban planners and environmental protection. On the other hand those slums have cost the cities a lot of money, because the institutions of the state and decision-makers have not developed and improved the cities, which has led to the deterioration of health care, education

services, transportation and public utilities such as water, electricity, roads and so on (Nour 2003). In the case of Benghazi, internal migration has contributed to the expansion of squatter settlements, because when migrants cannot secure housing in the city for their families, they build their own homes on the outskirts of the city in four squatter blocks. In December 2007 these blocks totalled about 8269 squatter houses, in areas such as Ganfouda, Al Guarsha, Au Atni and Al Hwary (figure 6.8) with a population of 56,606 with an average family size of 6.85 persons (G O H 2007). Now these places are suffering from a lack of infrastructure and public services, for example, schools and hospitals, and are characterized by poor architectural and aesthetic appearance which is called visual pollution (Alzenan 2006). In this regard, the Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning (Housing) in Benghazi was asked about the phenomenon of growth of squatter settlements in and around the city, he said;-

> 'The city is still receiving new migrants .... the state is giving uncontrolled loans for building houses, but because of the increase in land prices in downtown Benghazi people found the outside land of the city cheaper........ using some of the law gaps, for instance, removing the agricultural character (take away the legal nature of agricultural) to build houses on agricultural land (250 square meters) for farm owners...... due to the state agencies being slow to deal with this problem at the beginning, also to the lenient penalties for infringement on farmland .... the majority of houses have been built on agriculture land in violation of the laws and legislation, where these blocks are almost surrounding the city of Benghazi in all directions' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

As far as the proposed solutions to resolve this problem, he declared that

> 'At present, these areas are growing in breach of legislation and, unfortunately are uncontrolled by the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning or any other competent authority...... the phenomenon of squatters is a major problem in the city of Benghazi....... these camps have two key effects on the city. In the short term, they constitute a significant burden on the city, in terms of integration into the city and providing them with basic services which are almost non-existent......In the long term squatters will place significant obstacles to development of new schemes for the city..... there are two options to address this issue both of them have disadvantages and difficulties. first is

to demolish these houses and then develop new schemes....... application of this alternative results in a high proportion of the population not having housing for some time.... also the price of land and houses will increase dramatically because of the demolition....... second option to integrate these areas to Benghazi and supplying them with basic services and public utilities.....this decision is not easy to apply because these areas are not designed and are unplanned, therefore have no basic standards of urban planning..... at the end of the day, each one of these solutions will cost the state budget a very large amount of money, even more than if it builds new zones elsewhere' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

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Figure (6.8) Squatter blocks in Benghazi in 2007   Source: - G O H (2007)

Table (6.9) highlights the reasons for squatters in Benghazi, and it is clear that migration has played a major part in the growth of squatter settlements around the city. Roughly 43 per cent gave their reasons for living in squatter settlements as 'moving from the countryside' and 'lack of houses in Benghazi'. This could also be

due to the background of the population as some of them, coming from the desert, prefer to stay on the outskirts of the city as a similar environment to their Bedouin environment.

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Source: G O H (2007)

Approximately a third of those living in squats gave the reason as small houses in Benghazi (32.6 per cent), because people in Benghazi do not like to live in flats, as their prices are very high, ranging between 20,000 to 50,000 LYD, also they prefer houses with gardens and yards (Haddad 2002). Moreover the large size of the family has led these people to move outside Benghazi to build big houses, about 61.8 per cent of families in squatter settlements consist of more then 6 members (G O H 2007). While the third highest reason given was the availability and low-priced land outside Benghazi (at 18.2 per cent) as well as the high price of land in the city centre which is the commercial heart of the city with prices between 200 to about 500 LYD per square metre, as a result of competing institutions, agencies, offices and shops . These prices force residents to the suburbs, where there is relatively low-priced land (Haddad 2002). According to the Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning in Benghazi, the price of land outside Benghazi (outside the city's scheme) ranges between 20 and 40 LYD per square metre (personal communication, over the period of July to October, 2008).

The problem of squatter settlements is the most important issue which faces and will face some cities in Libya (Amura 1998). In Benghazi the squatter phenomenon has constituted a serious hindrance to development. Hence, the continued and irrational internal migration has bequeathed Benghazi a deteriorating urban environment with squatter blocks such as Ganfouda, Al Guarsha, Abu Atni, Al Hwary, Al Kwefiwa and Banina, an inconsistent and fragmented urban system and dilapidated social services. However this is a difficult situation which poses significant challenges to the development plans of the city, because the solution is not easy and will cost the state large sums of money to address the problem and integrate these squatter settlements into the urban fabric.

6.5.4. Housing Problems (Shortage of Housing Units).

The majority of the world's countries suffer from housing problems, especially those which have witnessed high streams of internal migration to cities, which leads to the heavy concentration of population in urban centres that, at the time are not ready to receive these migrations and these centres then suffer from the phenomenon of lack of housing units in addition to other urban problems (Shamia and Kaaiba 1996).

Although the actual spending on the housing sector in Libya has increased from its lowest level of 37.5 million Libyan dinars in 1970 to its highest level of 296.3 million Libyan dinars in 1981 and then reducing to 146.2 million Libyan dinars for the period 1993 -1996, the construction of some 382,450 housing units during the period 1970 to 1996 (Shamia and Kaaiba 1996), still resulted in a deficit in housing units. During the period 1985 to 2000 the deficit in housing in Libya was about 860,000 housing units with the annual deficit being about 56,000 units (Amura 1998). This phenomenon is clearly reflected in the large cities of Benghazi and Tripoli because of the high number of migrants being received. For example, in Benghazi in 2002 there were some 13,000 families (or about 11 per cent of the population total) living in very low quality housing (G A I 2002a).

Table (6.10) Distribution of families and dwellings in Benghazi during the period 1973 -2006

Year	Number of families	Number of houses	Houses per 100/ families
1973	47,216	49,220	104.2
1984	66,015	67,957	102.9
2006	103,953	78,160	75.2

Source: General Authority for Information, Population censuses (1973-1984-1995-2006)

Table (6.10) shows that the number of families in Benghazi has increased from 47,216 to 103,953 during the period of 1973 to 2006 the rate of growth during this period was 120.2 per cent. Libya is in a process of social and economic transformation with rapid population growth which has increased the need for new housing units. Additionally a new housing programme is still essential to supply replacement of low quality and old housing (L U P A 1996). Moreover Libyan society is undergoing the transition from nomadic society to a stable urban community, and therefore during the second half of last century has passed through a phase of rapid urbanization, both in terms of stability of the transient population or migration to urban centres and reducing the percentage of rural population (Amura 1989). On the other hand, the number of houses has increased from 49,220 in 1973 to 78,160 in 2006 at a rate of growth of 58.8 per cent. As listed in table (6.10) in 1973 the number of housing units was 104.2 houses per one hundred families. This period (1969 - 1977) was more stable with regard to the administrative structure of the housing ministry (Almogherby and Almkirhi 2002). Perhaps the decrease in the number of housing units after 1978 is due to various reasons besides the demand of houses by the increasing number of families; first to the issuance of Law No. 4 with regard to the ownership of property, halted the process of building new housing units with a view to sale or lease. Second to stop the implementation of development plans after the last plan of 1981-1985, leaving a gap until the development of the housing programme tripartite of 1996-1998. Third, to the cancellation of the administrative apparatus of housing from 1986 to 1994 (Almogherby and Almkirhi 2002).

Table (6.11) Government loans, suitability, shortage of houses in Benghazi

Do you now live in a government house	Frequency	Percent
Yes	33	22.0
No	117	78.0
Total	150	100.0
Do you think that your house is suitable for your family		
Yes	65	43.3
No	85	56.7
Total	150	100.0
Did you receive a loan from Government		
Yes	36	24.0
No	114	76.0
Total	150	100.0
Do you think that there is a shortage of houses		
Yes	110	73.3
No	40	26.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

The vast bulk of migrant households live in private housing at 78 per cent as table (6.11) shows. This confirms the reduced role of the public sector to build housing as indicated earlier in this section. Given the fact that more than half of households (56.7 per cent) are not satisfied with their accommodation and the main reason is due to the house being too small at 71.4 per cent followed by old houses at 17.1 per cent and the other reason at 11.5 per cent such as nuisance neighbours, does not include a garden and high rent. Also table (6.11) illustrates that more than three quarters of migrants to Benghazi have not received loans from Government. From this, Shamia and Kaaiba (1996) argue that Libya declined loans to the population to build houses during the period 1982 - 1995.

Also from table (6.11), about three quarters of families migrating to Benghazi believe that there is a shortage of houses. The amount of the housing deficit is being made worse by the lack of constructed housing units. In other words, the housing deficit is the difference between the number of families and number of housing units available and as table (6.10) shows the housing deficit in Benghazi was 25,793 units according to the census 2006, representing 24.8 per cent of all families in Benghazi. Amura (1989) has estimated the requirement of housing in Benghazi during the

period 1985 to 2000 at about 208,000 house units with an average of 13,866 units per year. It is worth mentioning that the shortage of housing has health, economic and social consequences on Libyan society. At the same time the increasing cost of housing for a family has risen from 16 per cent in 1992 to 25-35 per cent of the total family expenditure in 1996 (L U P A 1996). A social consequence of the issue of housing shows in the difficulty for a high proportion of newly married couples to meet their housing needs, which has contributed to the rise in age and significantly lower rates of marriage, as well as 50 per cent of divorce cases were caused by the absence of an independent house for the family (G A I 1999). There is no doubt that the problem of housing leads to increased density of housing, the average number of persons per room, according to data collected in the field study 2008 was about 2.4 people per room. Despite the fact that the number of people in the house unit was 7.7 people, occasionally there are houses containing more than one family (extended families). Perhaps the overcrowding in both dwelling units and rooms is an obvious indicator of a lack of housing.

According to the migrant's own words in describing their accommodation condition:-

> Currently, my family is living in a rented house where they share five rooms between fifteen of them. I complain about the small size of the house, limited number of rooms and the disintegration of social relations in the city.

The researcher met the Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning (Housing) in Benghazi to discuss the problem of housing in Benghazi, the Head started with:-

> Without a doubt, the problem of housing is one of the most important issues facing the state due to its social, psychological and economic effects on population ....so the housing problem in Benghazi concerns both policy makers and people.... I believe that there is a very serious lack of housing in Benghazi, and this problem is expected to be bigger in the future unless the government resolves to accelerate a programme to reduce the housing crisis in Libya in general, and Benghazi in particular ....plus the rate of housing degradation (spoilage) in Libya is very high and may exceed 2 per cent (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

About the question "does the State provide housing in line with the growth of population?"

> he said 'yes and no; Yes because the state in the past built many houses and currently is launching schemes to implement of 25,800 housing units in Benghazi region which in my opinion will help to reduce this problem; the first project will be 20,000 housing units in Ganfouda. Second project 5,000 housing units in Bu Fakhra and 800 housing units in Al Guarsha. No because so far there is a lack of houses in the city..... On the other hand, there is a huge number of dwellings built by people leading to growth of squatter settlements in and around the city... this type of housing often spreads around the city at the expense of agricultural land, because of shortage of land and high prices in the downtown' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

> For the question "the price of housing is continuously increasing?" he said 'well there is population pressure in Benghazi against the scarcity in supply of house units... the increasing pressure on housing is due to population increase associated with growth population and internal migration........ both the high demand for housing in the city and the increasing housing deficit have led to rising house prices which are significantly higher than before 2005. For example, the price of housing has doubled in three years between 2005 and 2008, due to, as I mentioned, the family migration, increased cost of basic construction materials used in building and salaries of workers... added to this the large atonements that were granted to the families of AIDS victims in the city of Benghazi which had a role in increasing the capacity for purchasing houses....I think even the amount of rent has risen considerably recently ... the average monthly rent for housing in Benghazi would be 350 dinars' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

The Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning was asked " in your opinion what is the best solution regarding this problem?" he said:-

> 'There are some solutions that we believe contribute to solving the housing problem.... the state must encourage the private sector to invest in real estate construction and housing.... Expansion of new housing and the granting of loans, particularly to low-income categories..... Government should develop proposals for long-term plans to solve the housing problem taking into account the population growth rates and internal migration to large cities... In addition

to building new houses for the deficit there must be added 2 per cent to meet the replacement housing for those not viable and ramshackle......plus the construction of new housing units should be proportionate to the population increase, that is the number of housing units built ought be linked to the number of households in the city' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

6.5.5. Pressure on Public Services.

The volume of services provided to communities and the quality and comprehensiveness of these services is one of the factors which affects positively or negatively on the stability and movement of populations among regions (Zohbi, Saleh and ELarbi 1991). This in turn leads to the concentration of population in some specific regions rather than others.

6.5.5. 1.Education Services

The education service is one of the most basic services to be provided to the population everywhere. It is as important as the health service, and supports economic and social development by providing an efficient workforce. As well there is an inverse relationship between the level of education and drug abuse. Therefore, the development and dissemination of education and the fight against illiteracy, is the greatest priority for the Libyan government. Although, since the mid-fifties the development of educational services in Libya in general, and Benghazi particularly has effected and been affected by family migration. In other words, this development in educational services has attracted large numbers of immigrants to Benghazi but at the same time, this population density has affected the level of services as shown in table (6.12). It seems obvious, however, that large families have more problems with social services, as the relationship between household size and level of public services in Benghazi proved to be statistically significant (p=.038, table 2 appendix C). This Chi-square value confirms that large and extended households place a great pressure on public services.

In general, the number of pupils in a classroom indicates the efficiency of educational services, and its ability to meet the needs of the population. It also highlights the relationship between the number of pupils and the number of classes in various levels of education. High classroom figures are themselves caused by an increased demand for educational services which is a result of high rates of population growth. The rise in the classroom population had a negative effect on the quality and efficiency of educational services.

Table (6.12) Numbers of pupils in the classroom, schools and per teacher in Libya and Benghazi in 2007

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Source: 1- Amor (2007)

  2- G P C E (2008)

In table (6.12) it can be observed that the classroom density in Benghazi is higher than in other areas of Libya in all levels of education. At primary school level it stands at 32.0 pupils per classroom, 37.1 pupils per classroom in preparatory schools and 37.6 students per classroom in secondary schools. Meanwhile, the classroom density in Libya was 24.7 students per class in primary school , 24.7 students per class in the preparatory school and 27 students per class in secondary education (field work 2008; Amor 2007; and G A I 2007a). The reason for the high

density in Benghazi, which is the administrative centre of the governorate, is the high population compared to other cities, which in turn puts pressure on the service provided to the population. Adding to this, the state has reduced school building, especially in the period 1991 - 2003, due to two factors namely; the economic siege which was imposed on the country by the United Nations Security Council, and Libya began to encourage the private sector to invest in the field of educational services in order to eliminate the huge financial expenditure in the education sector because of high population growth, especially in major cities (Amor 2007).

The average number of students per school in the city of Benghazi for the academic year 2007-2008 was very high compared to the rest of Libya that is in secondary and primary schools amounted to 795.6 and 551 pupils / school respectively, at the same time the average number was 232.6 and 337.8 pupils / schools in Libya. It is therefore concluded that the city of Benghazi is experiencing a rise in the average number of pupils / school putting pressure on the schools because of lack of capacity, which is impacting on the educational process. This is mainly due to the high levels of migration to Benghazi rather than to other regions in Libya in 2008. Amor (2007) argues that only the new Benghazi quarter is experiencing a serious shortage of primary and secondary schools, where it is in need of 27 primary and 4 secondary schools. The reason for this situation is the extreme concentration of population in the district, in addition to the difficulty of establishing new schools due to the fact that most land is used for residential developments. According to the field work, most schools in Benghazi, at all levels, have suffered from many problems, especially the ability of schools to accommodate students. Sometimes the number of students reaches 35 students per class whereas it should not exceed 25 students. Furthermore, there is a lack of maintenance of many of the schools, with more than three - quarters of primary schools and around two thirds of preparatory schools working a double shift a day (morning and evening), and this highlights the urgent need for the city to build new schools. The consensus of experts in the education field agree that morning study is the most appropriate for young people as their concentration is stronger and they can learn and pay better attention to the teacher and the lesson (Elzalitni 1996). Also, the increase in the number of pupils adversely affects the students and their educational attainment.

Overall, all these indicators confirm the low level of educational services at the moment in Benghazi compared to Libya as a whole , showing the urgent need for the new schools in the study area. The researcher had met the Head of the General Popular Committee for Education in Benghazi to discussion this issues. The Head said:-

> 'As a result of the increase of families in Benghazi, the number of students has increased and this has led to the lack of adequate school buildings in some neighbourhoods in Benghazi, namely the new Benghazi quarter and squatter settlements........ Well, currently there is a shortage of schools and classrooms, but in the near future we hope that number will be enough after the Government increase the number of schools..... ..... there are some schools which operate on the basis of two sessions, morning and evening, because of the number and density of students is too large.......... this system has the major drawback which is the lack of focus of students as well as teachers in the of the afternoon session because it is nap time........... there are some other problems such as lack of teachers in some science subjects and linguistics and in some schools the classroom density reaches up to 59 students, in particular in squatter settlements (Abu Atni) or as a result of the difficulty of building new schools in some areas around the city centre because there are no available land, the Ministry of Education adopted a plan which was to increase the number of classrooms in existing schools, in order for the school to accommodate a larger number of students and more than one level of education in one school. ...... Yes, this plan has provided a temporary solution to the problem, but there is still increased pressure on the facilities of the school, for instance, bathrooms, playgrounds, laboratories and so on' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

It could be concluded from the analysis above, that currently Benghazi is suffering from insufficient educational services, in terms of a shortage of schools and classrooms and a lack of teachers in some science subjects.

6.5.5. 2. Health Services

The health sector is one of the vitally important sectors that the state gives special attention to and sets an annual budget, plans and strategies in order to improve its services, performance and achieving its goal of health for everyone. Despite the

efforts being made, health services in Benghazi have suffered a period of decline caused by non-application of the best set plans (G P C H 2008). This has generated a lack of confidence in the public health system with the result that people go to private health services or travel abroad to get treatment (D U P B 2008).

Table (6.13) Distribution and density of health care services in Libya and Benghazi in 2006

Type	Benghazi	Number of people / Health service/ Benghazi	Libya	Number of people / Health service/ Libya
Complex clinics	6	101,463.7	37	153325.2
Health centres	23	26,468.8	535	10,603.8
General hospitals	2	304,391	21	270,144.3
Specialist hospitals	10	608782 / hospital	25	226,921.2
Number of beds	3245	187.6	20289	279.6
Number of ambulances	36	16,910.1	425	13,348.3
Department of Epidemic Diseases	1	608,782	22	257,865
Some indicators of health services in Libya and Benghazi in 2006				
Indicator	Benghazi		Libya	
Doctors / 10,000 people	26.8		17	
Nurses / 10,000 people	34.6		50	

Source: 1- G P C H (2008)

2- G A I (2007)

The data in table (6.13) reveals the low indices of health services in Benghazi in particular and Libya in general. There is considerable disparity in the distribution of health services in Benghazi. Amor (2007) in his study on services in Benghazi found that a large proportion of the population of Benghazi are suffering from many problems, due to a lack of health services. The health services in Benghazi are concentrated in the city centre and 42.2 per cent of the population total receives only 20.7 per cent of these health services. Also poor public transport forces many residents to travel long distances to clinics and health centres, far a way from their place of residence, which increases the suffering of the sick and increases costs (Salem 2002). On the other hand, the rapid urban growth of the city has increased pressure on the existing health services and in this regard Salem argues:-

> Regrettably ...urban growth and other... {Factors}... were not given special attention in the planning policies. For example, the 3-5 Km radius suggested for the catchment areas by the Secretariat of Health about 20 years ago needs to be re-evaluated as this radius is no longer appropriate for serving the population of the city (Salem 1996:115)

In Benghazi there are 6 complex clinics, theoretically every one of these complex clinics supplies services to 60,000 people (Salem 1996), in total servicing about 360,000 persons. In fact each one of these polyclinics services about 101,464 inhabitants in this case each clinic serves about 41,464 inhabitants over its capacity, which affects the quality of service. In other words approximately 248,782 dwellers in the city have no access to polyclinics; this leaves 40.9 per cent of the city's population in urgent need for this service. It seems that the number of patients is too high for the capacity of the hospitals and health centres. Salem (2002) argues that in 1996 more than a million appointments had been made in complex clinics. He explains this excessive use by one of two reasons: either to poor distribution of health services or the predated health status of most of the city's population.

From table (6.13) it can also be seen that there are 12 hospitals in the study area. Two of them are general hospitals and ten specialist hospitals such as an eye hospital, children's hospital, hospital of ophthalmology, hospital of ear, nose and throat, chest hospital and mental health hospital with a total of 3,245 beds. It is worth noting that these hospitals are the only specialised hospitals in the north east of

Libya, therefore these hospitals are a reason to attract migrants to the city. For instance a migrant said:-

A further reason for my migration was to get treatment for my daughter who was suffering from a chronic illness.

Another mentioned that:-

I came here for two reasons firstly, as a result of transfer of my job to Benghazi secondly; I sought health care for my sister.

Not only do these hospitals provide services to the residents of Benghazi but also the surrounding areas. In fact, this situation applies to all health centres which in theory were designed to service a maximum of about 7,000 inhabitants, but the reality tells otherwise because every one of them offers services to about 26,468.8 residents and this number is high compared to health centres in Libya which each provide services for 10,603.8 people. Furthermore, table (6.13) shows that there is extra pressure on some health care services such as the number of ambulances, the centre of epidemic diseases, doctors and nurses in Benghazi when compared to Libya.

Table (6.14) Evaluation of health services in Benghazi in 2008

Do you think that medicines are available	Frequency	Percent
Yes	14	9.3
No	136	90.7
Total	150	100
Do you think that the number of hospitals and clinics is currently commensurate with the number of people		
Yes	34	22.7
No	116	77.3
Total	150	100
Do you think that surgical operations are conducted on time for patients		
Yes	9	6.0
No	141	94.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

It is important that health care is evaluated from the other side by the service users to ensure that the inhabitants receive equal access to health services as well as to discover the actual level of service. The relationship between a migrants education level and their evaluation of health services is statistically significant (p=.067, table1 appendix C). From table (6.14) it goes without saying that current services are not appropriate when more than three quarters of heads of households answered that the service is not commensurate with the number of people. Also most heads of households said that medication is not available and there is a delay in the surgical operations conducted for patients. This means that, rapid urban growth is not being taken into account by policy planners.

From the above it is clear that the health services in Benghazi provide services to a wide sector of the health service seekers and this could be attributable to three reasons; First, to the rapid urban growth of Benghazi because of the high inflow of migrants and natural increase as noted earlier in this chapter. Second to the high number of people seeking health services from outside the city of Benghazi, for example, Al Marj and Ajdabia. Finally to the non-establishment of new health facilities. Since the mid-eighties the government has reduced construction of new hospitals, and has adopted a strategy of expanding old hospitals, as a result of falling oil prices, which is the main supplier for the state budget. In addition, the economic blockade at the beginning of the nineties negatively affected the establishment of new hospitals (Amor 2007).

The Head of the General Popular Committee for Health in Benghazi has been asked for his view about this subject and said:-

> 'The health sector in Benghazi, is suffering from overcrowding in the city from rural areas and the surrounding towns, for example we have six polyclinics which are concentrated in the city centre and this leaves many neighbourhoods, principally squatter settlements and newly built areas in the suburbs of Benghazi, without services. Therefore, there is an urgent need to build five new facilities in these areas of the city, in particular, in Ganfouda, Al Guarsha, Abu Atni, Al Hwary and Banina, because the current clinic services in Benghazi are not sufficient in number to serve the city centre and outskirts of the city... another consequence of the shortage of hospitals and the large number of health service seekers of Benghazi's population and the

neighbouring cities such as Ajdabia, Al Marj, El Beida and Derna is that in many cases, any accompanying person is not allowed with the patient due to the lack of beds' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Next, the researcher asked the Head of the General Popular Committee for Health "does the state build hospitals and clinics in line with the growth of population in the city" and the head said:-

'Oh... in fact, most hospitals and health clinics in the city were built a long times ago, for example, Al-Jalaa hospital and the hospital of medicine and surgery for children were built in 1968 and Al-Jamahyria hospital in 1918 and 7th October hospital in 1947. In general the latest hospital to be built in Benghazi was the River Hospital of Ophthalmology in 1994. However, the state has adopt a budget for a number of major projects and most important of these giant project aims to develop the health sector ... the Benghazi medical centre (hospital of 1200 beds) is going to open next year, which was started in the beginning of the seventies of the last century, with its completion in 2006. It is the largest hospital in the city of Benghazi.... this hospital will provide medical services to a wide geographical area of the land mass extending from the central Libyan city of Sirt in the north and east to Al Batnan area and south to the town of Al Kofra and this great medical centre is equipped with the latest medical technology and global human experience in treating many conditions previously requiring treatment abroad.... Plus, the Ministry of Health in Benghazi is working to alleviate the pressure of migration to the cities by providing health centres in rural areas to supply all primary health care services including maternity and child care' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

This result appears to suggest that, in spite of achieving meaningful progress in the health sector, the number of beds, doctors, nurses, other technical staff and the supply of medical equipment are not sufficient to provide the required levels of services to cope with the rapid growth of population in the city.

6.5. 6. Deterioration in the Level of Public Facilities in the City (Water, Sewerage and Electricity).

Tripoli and Benghazi have been the largest recipients of internal migration from other areas, which led to high population pressure on facilities and services. The Libyan government has realized this fact and has worked to achieve regional balance among the regions (Ministry of Planning 1980; L U P A1996).

6.5. 6.1. Water Supply

Water supply problems take serious dimensions in Libya because of the dominance of the dry arid climate, which limits water resources. On the other hand, the consumption and demand for water is rising steadily on account of a combination of many factors such as population growth, concentration of population in urban centres, urban industrial development and rising living standards (Kezeiri 2006).

Before Benghazi connected to the artificial river, fields of groundwater wells were considered the most important source of water in Benghazi, where they met 97 per cent of the needs of the city. Also sea water desalination plants north of Benghazi and Azwitina (plus sewage treatment plant) were contributing 3 per cent of the city's needs (Lamah 2003). These fields were providing the city with about 51 million cubic metres per year, while the actual requirement of the city was up to 73 million cubic metres annually (G P C A L W 2006). Rapid population growth and urbanisation in Benghazi since the sixties has increased water demand and consumption, from about 15,000 to about 285,000 cubic metres per day in 1990. This resulted in the inability of traditional sources of ground water to meet the needs of the city (Kezeiri 2006), However, Alhlaq (1994) estimated the water deficit in Benghazi at about 30,000-70,000 cubic metres per day in the period 1990 - 1995. According to the Chair of the Environmental Protection Agency in Benghazi, people would often resort to buying water, especially during the period before connection to the artificial river (personal communication, over the period of July to October, 2008).

In contrast, the underground reservoir of water in Benghazi in recent years has been exposed to three problems: the lowering of groundwater level, increased salinity rates and sewage pollution (Lamah 2003). The Banina well field is most impacted by salinity. The proportion of dissolved salts was 500 parts per million in 1960, then

rose to 3,100 in 1977 to reach 4,300 parts per million in 2000 (Lamah 2000). Also the groundwater sources in Benghazi have been affected by the problem of pollution from sewage. Al-Arfai (2001) has analysed water in some wells of the Banina field and found that there are clear indications that sewage has reached water in these wells. In general, the city of Benghazi was suffering from the problem of drinking water, because of the availability and potability, until recently, with the arrival of the high quality water from the artificial river (Salem 2002).

Since 1991 Benghazi has been linked to the artificial river network, supplying water of high quality, and although it is supposed to provide Benghazi with 280,000 cubic metres per day, as of 2003 the actual amount that reached the city is only about 140,000 cubic metres per day, or about half of the allocated amount (Lamah 2003). Although the city of Benghazi has witnessed significant population growth and dramatic urbanisation, the water of the artificial river will attract a higher concentration of population and this will increase the demand for water to the extent that the amount of water available from the river will not meet growing demand (Kezeiri 2006; Kezeiri 2003). Besides that, the water from the artificial river is based on fossil water, subject to depletion, that means it will not continue to flow for a long time, because of there are no feed sources to the aquifers (Lamah 2000).

Table (6.15) Percentage of houses with piped water, availability and source of drinking water in Benghazi

Does your house have piped water	Frequency	Percent
Yes	145	96.7
No	5	3.3
Total	150	100.0
Do you think there is a shortage of drinking water		
Yes	31	20.7
No	119	79.3
Total	150	100.0
What is the source of drinking water in your house		
Artificial river	135	90.0
Groundwater wells	9	6.0
Via trucks and private wells	6	4.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (6.15) indicates that about 97 per cent of migrants' houses have piped water. Also it appears that there is no shortage of drinking water at the moment in Benghazi after the city has been provided with artificial river water, which supplies 90 per cent of houses in the study area (see table 6.15).

With regard to water, the researcher directed several questions to the Chair of the Environmental Protection Agency in Benghazi. He said:-

> 'Despite the fact, that the water network in areas of the city was created more than forty years ago, all houses in Benghazi are linked to the water network with the exception of squatter settlements......... the greater consumption of water is attributable to the continuing increase in population in Benghazi........and the high population growth rate and dramatic urbanisation

in the city will put a strain on both the resources of water from local fields and the manmade river which will not be able to meet the demand, unless the government develops a strong water policy on rationalization of water consumption................ another reason for the high consumption of water is that water is provided free of charge also, a large number of the population are supplied with water from the main network illegally in squatter settlements ....people dig wells in the garden of the house with depths ranging between 8-25 meters without the consent of the competent authorities, especially in on the outskirts of the city.......... In many cases, these wells have high rates of contamination, placing the health of the population at risk of many diseases' (personal communication with the Chair, over the period of July to October, 2008).

6.5. 6.2. Sewerage System

The process of sewage collection and disposal in Benghazi relies on two systems. First the main sewerage system (sewer pipes) which covers less than 35 per cent of the total area of the city, and processes about 110,000 cubic metres of sewage a day. In many cases, this sewage ends in the sea and lakes, which causes serious environmental hazards, so that in the summer of 2003 holidaymakers could not go swimming in the sea, because sewage pollution had reached the beaches of Benghazi, especially at the Al-Nairoz and Tourist resorts (Kezeiri 2006). The second system is by septic tanks (known as black wells), black wells are common in areas of 65 per cent of Benghazi, for domestic purposes and are made by digging deep drainage under the ground in the house's yard for sewerage collection and are supposed to be pumped out from time to time. Yet in the field study the researcher observed that many of these tanks became filled with sewage and if it was not pumped in time, the sewage was leaking and overflowing into the streets, creating unpleasant and harmful odours, also collecting microbes and insects of disease vectors. When discussing the issue of overflowing septic tanks, sewage running in some of the streets, sewage ending in the sea near the coast, with the Head of the Environmental Protection Agency in Benghazi, he said:-

'The process of disposal of sewage is a big problem in Benghazi because of the population pressure.......... in recent years there is an increased flows of sewage, especially during summer months in the areas with network pipes, by reason of the lack of sufficient gradients in the topography of Benghazi,

particularly in areas close to the beach, therefore, a number of sewage pumping facilities have been used to reduce sewage flooding on the main streets and keep sewage away from the sea. ..... in neighbourhoods which have no sewage pipes (black wells) especially in the Al-Salam neighbourhood where there is leaking from black wells to the groundwater .... there is also a overflowing of tanks on the streets, causing a clear pollution in the lakes used for tourism (Almaqarin , Alhmera and Almajdoubeh) in Rhabt Al-Ajeelat area in the eastern Benghazi..... Another problem we have is the disruption of sewage treatment plant which would result in the flow of sewage to the sea ....so the sea and groundwater in Benghazi are threatened by sewage pollution..........On the other hand, there is a sewage project in the Al-Slaoui district to link a large part of the (Mahallas) where there is no sewerage network' (personal communication the chair, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Table (6.16) Percentage of sewage disposal in Benghazi

Sewage disposal	Frequency	Percent
General network	60	40.0
Septic tank	77	51.3
In the street	13	8.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

In table (6.16) it can be observed that 60 per cent of interviewed households have no safe sewage system, this confirms that the study areas suffer from a serious problem, which is that large residential areas such as Al Wehaishi, Bu Fakhra, Alhaddaq, Buhedima and so on are not connected to the main network of sewage and based on the septic tank system which is supposed to be pumped out on a regular basis. However, these wells often are not discharged so that sewage is flowing into the streets and roads; the problem gets worse in rainy periods, hindering the process of walking on the streets and between houses, causing a great danger to people's health by a combination of insects that may transmit diseases to the children in these neighbourhoods. Moreover this sewage discharge results in

contamination of groundwater, the beach and tourism lakes in the east of the city.

6.5. 6.3. Electricity Service

The Libyan General Company for Electricity is the only company that provides electricity in Libya. Electricity in Benghazi was generated at Al Kuwayfiyah station (steam power station) in the north of Benghazi which was established in 1979 in the company of four production units with capacity of 160 megawatts. However, this station is almost defunct except for one of the units, which has been updated to generate about 40 megawatts. A gas turbine power station was opened in 1995 with four production units and capacity is estimated at 615 megawatts, three units × 150 megawatts and a unit with 165 megawatts. As a result of an increase in the city's power requirements from 335 MW in 1975 to 900 MW in 2000, and the electric power generated in a gas power station during the period 1988 - 2004 was only about 61 per cent of the total energy required in the city (D U P 2008), the electricity supply does suffer interruptions.

Table (6.17) indicates that more than two thirds of households' answers were yes, the electricity is interrupted for our house, and almost half of them said that interruption occurred once a week while the other half mentioned that the interruption took place between 2-4 times a week principally in the winter season because of the expansion in the use of heating (electricity heating). This was due to increased population density plus industrial activities in the city. Therefore, the L G C E in Benghazi opened the dual power station in 2007 with two production units estimated at 300 megawatts. In September 2009, a new power plant was opened with a total capacity of 750 megawatts in order to increase the capacity of electric power to meet the growing demand for energy and to improve the quality of electrical services (L G C E 2008).

Table (6.17) Percentage and number of electricity interrupted a week in Benghazi 2008

Electricity interrupted	Frequency	Percent
Yes	105	70.0
No	45	30.0
Total	150	100.0
If yes how many times a week is electricity interrupted		
Once	58	55.2
Twice	24	22.9
Three times	7	6.7
Four	4	3.8
More than four times	12	11.4
Total	105*	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

* Number of respondents is 105

Nowadays, the production of electricity in Benghazi is estimated at about 1,690 megawatts, and connected to the public electricity network in Libya[8]. In general the supply of electricity services in Benghazi is good compared to other services.

6.5. 7. Transport and Communications.

Transportation is a key element in the process of economic and social development. All sectors of the economy and trade depend on the transport systems and communications, which can influence the productive and service sectors (D U P B 2008). In fact, the transport network was relatively good in the city of Benghazi compared with other regions and this was one of the important factors which has enabled the city to be a major urban centre in the eastern region of Libya which made it a trading centre servicing a huge area from Ajdabia in the west, Sebha in the south and Tubruq in the east (El- Mehdawi 1998).

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[8] It should be noted, that Libya has no gas network at all, and people use gas cylinders, which are available in petrol stations and are subsidised.

The city of Benghazi has witnessed a huge urban expansion since the beginning of the 1960s leading to the extension on several axis, due to the remarkable increase in the population of the city, which was not accompanied by the development of the transport network and increase space required for urban transport such as roads, footpaths, and parking, and resulted in great difficulties in the field of urban transport. It is useful to highlight the problems of transport in Benghazi through three perspectives as follows:-

I.   Public Transport in Benghazi

Libya has no rail network and depends on other forms of transport. The main public transport system in service in Benghazi is the bus service yet the bus service is substandard and unacceptable. For example, Salem (2002) found that the bus services in Benghazi suffer from a lack of vehicles, an acute shortage of maintenance workshops and spare parts, in addition to the low spending on this vital sector. Also there is a lack of bus stops and the bus routes are inadequate, not covering the city's neighbourhoods. In other words, there is a clear decrease in public bus routes from 24 routes at the end of the seventies to ten routes in 1990 (Salem and Ali 2004). Public transport in Benghazi is losing a big market portion as a result of inadequate service quantity and with poor service quality. Unhappy public transport travellers are progressively turning to private vehicles (Pucher, Korattyswaroopam and Ittyerah 2004). In most cities increases in income and car ownership have produced substantial declines in the public transport's share of the travel market, and in absolute passenger numbers (Mees 2000:32).

II.   Increase in the Number of Vehicles in Benghazi

Libya has witnessed an economic resurgence, because of oil revenues, impacting on all economic sectors which contributed to the availability of cash for many segments of the population to buy cars (Elazzabi1991). There is a relationship between the size of the city and traffic density (El- Mehdawi 1998). Hence the signs of city congestion with various vehicles have emerged since the early sixties (Salem and Ali 2004). The increase in private car ownership for use in going to work is a result of poor quality public transport (Faour 2004). In Benghazi, increasing car ownership is one of the main reasons leading to traffic congestion and the occurrence of bottlenecks, especially at Garyounis University and at the vegetable market in the

city centre, and the effect of this congestion is wasted time during the daily journey to work. According to the field work the average time taken for people to reach their work place within the city is 26.6 minutes. Yet the car ownership index in the study area in 2009 was about 434.9 vehicles per 1000 people, in the same way vehicle ownership has risen significantly during the period of 1999 - 2009 by an increase rate of 398.3 per cent (table 6.18). To be more precise, this period followed the end of the economic embargo on Libya and the easing of the Lockerbie case, which helped Libya to establish economic relations with the United States and the European Union. In addition to these facts there was the increase in the oil price throughout the 1980s. The large increase in car ownership has added to the volume of traffic on the roads, which in turn led to a higher accident rates, especially at peak hours, and at the entrances to the major cities of Tripoli and Benghazi (Elazzabi1991).

Table (6.18) Number of vehicles in Benghazi in 1999 and 2009

Year	1999	2009	Increase per cent
Number of vehicles	55576	276924	398.3

Unpublished data prepared by Statistics Unit, Department of Traffic and Licensing in Benghazi 2009

During the field study it was noted that the phenomenon of congestion on the internal roads of Benghazi became more obvious, perhaps because of the increase in population density, the increase in the number of vehicles and limited expansion in road construction especially at peak hour demand around the towndown.

III.   Existing Transportation Infrastructure (Road Network System) and Traffic Accidents

According to the researcher's observations during the field study period, the existing transportation infrastructure is relatively inadequate; also it has been found that its operations were lagging in almost all transport activities (Doxiadis Associates 1984). Furthermore the bulk of local streets are unsealed (Doxiadis Associates 1989a), particularly within the residential neighbourhoods. Naji (1992) has evaluated the infrastructure of transport facilities in Benghazi, and he found them particularly poor due to the high rate of accidents, the poor design of routes, few securities and

surveillance measures and the lack of roadside services. In addition it has been found that:-

> Off-street parking facilities do not seem to be sufficient for the demand generated by work trips, shopping and miscellaneous commercial activities. Extensive... and uncontrolled... on-street parking is also observed in the city (Doxiadis Associates 1989:60)

This 1980s situation still continued throughout the 1990s, and according to Al-jrm (1992) the city of Benghazi suffered from a lack of parking and he suggested that there should be established at least 5,390 car parking places to resolve the problem of parking within the city which would have only satisfied demand until the year 2000. Thus, the poor transport infrastructure (safety, efficiency, deficient bridges, speed cameras and parking) and the increased amount of vehicles have an influence on the accident rates in the city of Benghazi. The growing number of incidents can not be construed as limited to the technical conditions of roads, but should be added to the urban transformation of society. For instance, the ratio of accidents is about 2.8 persons / 1000 people in 2008, to be more precise in Benghazi there are 9.2 deaths / 100 accidents in 2008.The total volume of car accidents increased in the period 1980-2008 by an average growth rate of 19.8 per cent (table 6.19). This high proportion can be attributed to high car ownership, a large volume of movement and a desire to travel (Haddad and Alajwad 1991). According to the report of the Statistics Unit in the Department of Traffic and Licensing in Benghazi (2006) the quarters of Al-Uroba and New Benghazi have the highest traffic accident rate in the city, due to the high density of population, the lack of speed cameras and traffic lights as well as the massive damage along the roads and the lack of pedestrian bridges or tunnels. On the other hand, Shembesh (1991) estimated the financial resources lost because of vehicle accidents in Libya to be about 100 million Libyan dinars per year, which includes the cost of medical services, police services and the cost of damaged vehicles. As listed in table (6.19) the number of vehicles damaged in crashes has increased about two and a half times in the period 1980 to 2008.

Table (6.19) Number of deaths, injuries and damage by car accidents within the city of Benghazi 1980 and 2008

Year	Death		Severe injury*		Minor injury**		Damaged Vehicles
	Accidents	people	Accidents	people	Accidents	people	
1980	122	150	604	682	733	871	2042
2008	161	198	765	987	822	1383	5282

Unpublished data prepared by Statistics Unit, Department of Traffic and Licensing in Benghazi 2009

* Severe injury hampers a person for a period of time or causes a permanent total disability.

** Minor injury often disappears after a short period.

The Head of the General Popular Committee for Transportation in Benghazi has been asked "what is your opinion of migration to Benghazi" and he said:-

'As I can see internal migration is not helpful to the city in the city's inability to accommodate new residents in terms of roads, transport and housing schemes and other social services such as education and health ... Again in general the problems of transport in Benghazi are due to the rapid population growth which has put massive pressure on the entire transport systems ... continuation of the present situation will inevitably lead to serious adverse effects' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Next the researcher has asked the Head "Does the state build new roads in line with the increasing number of cars" and he said:-

'Yes, there are five-year plans to cope with the population growth, but they are not implemented due to lack of resources and therefore the delivery of transportation projects are on the recommendations of the People's Congresses, not according to plans developed by the Transportation Ministry or the number of cars and settlement sizes' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

About the reason why roads get jammed in the city, the Head thought that:-

Because of the high traffic density on the roads caused by the rise in car ownership leading to serious traffic congestion, parking problems and air pollution in the city... as well as the difficulty of the expansion of roads and lack

of implementation of new schemes to accommodate population growth... Of course, that the number and size of roads in Benghazi are not commensurate with the number of vehicles, because of the very quick expansion of the city without taking into account the standards of planning for transport ,especially in squatter blocks where these criteria, which require the allocation of an area of about 30 per cent for roads and streets of the total built-up area have been neglected... these problems related to urban transport, require urgent intervention by the state ... certainly, the transport sector in Benghazi faces serious problems, calling for government intervention... once again that the unregulated expansion of the city and the increased number of vehicles have had a dire effect on the journey to work inside the city which now takes much longer than few years ago, as well as it has increased the rate of accidents in the city with other factors such as careless driving, lack of traffic signs , narrow roads and reckless speed (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

At the end of the interview the researcher asked the Head about his opinion of this problem, he thought that:-

'I have no quick solutions to the transport problems, but will recommend some proposals that would open the doors to new actions in the future. Because the transport sector is affected by several changeable factors such as population growth, urban growth, budgets and the policy of the State' (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

In view of the inability of public transport to meet the demand and the cheap price of fuel transportation in the city is relying primarily on the private car owned by individuals which leads to the problem of congestion. To reduce this problem which results in many traffic accidents the process must be to expand public transport (buses), especially in transport to schools and universities, and also to provide transport for community groups that do not have vehicles, principally those who cannot drive and some disabled... by increasing the bus routes in the city and establishing more stations for buses, because at the moment the majority of the buses stop on the roadside or in public squares... also we should encourage the use of bicycles to decrease traffic congestion in the city and reduce air pollution .... give more attention to the main route signage, such as traffic signs, markings, traffic lights and flexible barriers... in addition establish off road parking in the city centre and prevent parking on the

main roads... should take into account the population growth and the traffic expansion in the design and implementation of the road building in the city ... finally, implementation of traffic law (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

The field work data indicates that transport systems in Benghazi are suffering from three main problems. First, public transport is unsatisfactory and unacceptable in terms of the quantity and quality of service. Second, the city is experiencing high levels of traffic congestion and the existence of bottlenecks, especially at public places around the city centre, due to increasing car ownership, with the car ownership index in Benghazi at about 434.9 vehicles per 1000 people in 2009. Third, the existing transportation infrastructure is not good enough and causes a high rate of road accidents; in 2008 the accident rate was about 2.8 / 1000 people.

Furthermore, the field work data also shows that, most the internal family immigrants to Benghazi are not happy with the level of services in the city. In this respect, a migrant declared that:-

The level of the infrastructure and social services in Benghazi is forever falling and the crime level has risen recently. In addition there is encroachment on the surrounding agricultural land.

Another migrant believed:-

That there is lack of facilities and services in Benghazi and migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited to stabilise the population in rural areas. Furthermore, better facilities should be provided in the city in terms of public services, routes, housing, health care and sewage.

One more migrant mentioned,

I am complaining about the bad infrastructure and social services in particular relating to roads, sewage and health care.

Another informant says:-

The level of public services in Benghazi is very low in terms of roads and sewers especially in winter as a result of subpopulation.

In addition another migrant stated:-

> I am thinking seriously of going back home in the near future as the city has become noisier, over crowded and boring, in addition to having a poor infrastructure.

And a migrant added that:-

> Even though Benghazi has poor services, too much noise and high crime rate, I could not move elsewhere.

Another case study explained his situation:-

> I have not achieved anything by coming to Benghazi. Also, I am think that my life is not better now than it was previously for several reasons namely the city is very crowded, small and inadequate housing, lack of sewage and sense of alienation.

Another migrant believed:-

> The level of public services in Benghazi is very poor and the government must provide employment opportunities to decrease unemployment and crime rates. Furthermore, the roadway and housing need to increase commensurately with the population.

6.6. Positive Impacts.

Migration has some positive benefits (Black *et al*, 2004); in the same manner, Ram (1993) argues that:-

> Migration is a desirable phenomenon which helps in minimizing the regional or social- economic and cultural disparities. It is considered an integral part of the development process and also acts as a media to defuse development, technology and innovations from more developed areas or cities to the rural or backward areas (Ram 1993: 70).

It goes without saying that migration has several advantageous effects on providing an adequate labour force for the industrialization and lowering the average age (Yina and Yuan 2007). The Assistant Head of the General Popular Committee for Manpower in Benghazi believes that in the past Benghazi was based on foreign labour, especially in certain sectors, such as petroleum, medicine and engineering. Nowadays Benghazi is an area in Libya with a surplus labour force as a result of the

high rate of in-migration streams, natural population increase, and because of the concentration of the majority of graduates from colleges and universities of the Benghazi region coming to the city of Benghazi (Personal Communication, over the period of July to October, 2008).

6.6.1. Income

Chapter five has showed that improved and increased income is one of the strongest causes of migration to Benghazi. Although, the higher income accumulating to the migrants from better opportunities in the city has positive implications for Benghazi, it has negative effects on the sending areas.

Table (6.20) Migrants' income before and after moving to Benghazi

income before moving			income now		
Libyan dinar per month	Frequency	Percent	Libyan dinar per month	Frequency	Percent
< = 100	102	68.0	< 250	44	29.3
101-200	26	17.4	251-350	28	18.7
201-300	11	7.3	351-450	22	14.7
> 300	11	7.3	> 451	56	37.3
Total	150	100	Total	150	100

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Mean income before migration =   185.11 dinars
Mean income after migration   =   491.47 dinars

Table (6.20) provides information in relation to the income of migrants before and after migration. With regard to migrants income before movement, it is clear that 68 per cent of households in the sample had a monthly salary of less than 100 dinars, and 24.7 per cent of households had a monthly salary ranging between 100 to 300 dinars, while only 7.3 per cent of families had income exceeding 300 dinars per month. Income of migrants has increased considerably since migration, for example the mean income increased from 185.11 dinars before migration to 491.47 dinars per month after migration, which was almost three times higher than it was before migration. This difference was statistically significant, $t(65) = 11.313$, $p < .05$, and confirms that the differences in income are the most important factor for stimulating migration to the city. About half of households have a monthly salary of more than

350 dinars, at the same time as 18.7 per cent have pay of between 251 to 350 dinars, despite the fact that the lowest income less than 250 dinars per month was for 29.3 per cent of the households which was nearly similar to the highest pay before migration. For instance, a migrant said:-

> 'I believe that my standard of living is better now than it was previously and my income was two hundred and fifty LYD per month and has risen to three hundred and fifty LYD'.

Another migrant believed:-

> 'I consider that my standard of life is good now and my salary has been increased after moving to Benghazi from thirty LYD per month to two hundred and ninety-five LYD. I obtained a mortgage from a bank to build a house which has five bedrooms'.

In this respect, a migrant declared that:-

> 'I was living in a tent in my village, and had very low wage of only 15 LYD per month. I came to Benghazi as a result of the transfer of my job. Nowadays my salary is 250 LYD and I have built a house in Benghazi with the help of a mortgage from a bank'.

Another mentioned that:-

> 'When I first came to Benghazi, I was very poor and seeking a job. ...... never worked for the government but rather began a small business with my sons. .... now own a transport company of four large trucks, transferring goods from Benghazi to the AL-kofra and thereafter to Sudan....... my standard of living is good, and the income is about 10,000-12,000 LYD a month'.

And a migrant added:-

> 'Before I started migrating I was illiterate...... I had an average monthly income of twenty-six LYD, and had no house. .... I came to Benghazi only to seek a job. Once I got to Benghazi, I began earning more....... recently I built a house by getting a bank mortgage of 25,000 LYD'.

In addition another migrant stated:-

> 'When I was in Aljagbob I used to work in the social services sector and had monthly salary of one hundred and eighty-one LYD.....now I am working as a legal consultant earning 700 LYD per month'.

6.6.2. Access to Health and Education Services

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, until the beginning of the 1980s Benghazi had adequate social services and so many migrants came to Benghazi to have easy access to these services. According to the migrant's own words in describing their migration:-

> I moved to Benghazi to get treatment for my daughter who was suffered from a chronic sickness. Also in Benghazi I continued my post graduate studies whilst working.

Another case study explained his situation:-

> I am sixty-three and I came from a farming village in Almarj in 2000 which is around a hundred kilometres away from Benghazi. I obtained a bachelors degree in law after moving to Benghazi and I am now a postgraduate student.

Another informant says:-

> The motives behind my move from my village were to provide employment for me and education for my children in Benghazi.

Another migrant believed:-

> I have a low level of education and I used to live in a tent. I came to Benghazi to take advantage of available services, and it provides more opportunities for business than other cities.

A migrant described his reasons for moving to Benghazi. He says:-

> I ran away from my former residence due to family disagreements and come to Benghazi, not only because it was the largest city closest to my previous residence, but also to seek a good education for my children. I work as a social researcher in social security in Benghazi for five hundred LYD monthly.

And a migrant said:-

> I am thirty- eight and I came from Al Bayda town. I have migrated to Benghazi as a result of the transfer of my job and to seek health care for my sister.

6.7. Difficulties Faced by Immigrants.

According to Deshingkar (2005), usually migrants travel and survive under very harsh conditions. Poor migrants commonly live in slums or even less secure housing. Furthermore migrants could be faced with various problems upon their arrival at their destination, Table (6.21) indicates that the proportion of those who faced difficulties upon their arrival in Benghazi ranged from 12.7 per cent of the interviewed heads of households who faced housing associated problems, through 12 per cent who had problems adapting to the new urban life, down to 4.7 per cent who faced dropping out of the family. As expected the relationship between employment status of migrants and housing problems is statistically highly significant (p=0.006, table 3 appendix C).

Table (6.21) Identified difficulties encountered post-migration

Types of problems	Frequency	Percent
None	76	50.7
Housing	19	12.7
Adapting to new Life	18	12.0
Poor service	16	10.7
Job	14	9.3
Dropping out of the family	7	4.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

On the other hand, the field study suggests that many migrants have benefited from their migration to the city. More than half of migrants have become happier than they

were before the migration, they have faced no problems and they have better employment opportunities and improved access to social services.

6.8. Summary

Over recent years rapid in-migration and the city's uncontrolled growth have created situations of urban blight, leading to areas of informal development around the outskirts of Benghazi. Uncontrolled growth has also led to problems of housing, sanitation and shortages of water supply. This in turn is creating unemployment, crime, social disruption and progressive shrinkage of the neighbouring cultivable lands which the city depends on for its daily fresh food produce. Consequences of this urban growth are numerous, and include mounting land values, congestion, housing scarcity, shortages of government services and the spread of crime. The government responses to these problems are evaluated in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven Internal Migration and Government Policies

CHAPTER SEVEN

Internal Migration and Government Policies

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that internal migration has a serious impact on the city and society of Benghazi. This leads to very important questions, such as does the Libyan Government have policies and programmes for internal migration? if so what are they? Have these policies and programmes achieved their goals? Therefore this chapter aims to fulfil the final objective of this research, which is to critically evaluate the socio-economic challenges to policy with respect to family migration to Benghazi. Also this chapter will focus on family migration policy challenges to Benghazi. Because internal family migration has been the main cause of population growth in the city, it has more impact on social services and housing than international migration.

There is considerable variation among Libyan regions, which was the reason for the large influx of rural migrants to urban areas, such as Benghazi and Tripoli, and this migration has resulted in many problems in these urban centres, with the most significant being the serious lack of services including education, health, housing and transportation, and at the same time leaving neglected farmland in the countryside, which has reduced agricultural and livestock production (see chapter 6). However, the main goal of economic and social development in Libya is to reduce the large income disparities between regions, raising the living standards of the population and the development of all regions equally to ensure every citizen receives the same share of education, health and other services (Ministry of Planning 1975). Therefore the Libyan Government has adopted a welfare policy based on oil revenues to provide housing, free health services and free education (to achieve the principle of equal opportunities) for all social strata within Libya, also to achieve the development of parallel spatial and demographic policies to reduce internal migration to the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli (D U P 2008; Ministry of Planning 1975). According to Anh (2003) there are two kinds of policies:

Direct policies, explicitly aimed at altering migration flows, include bans on urban in-migration, travel restrictions, resettlement and transmigration programmes. In contrast, indirect policies consider the impacts on migration to be secondary goals of the policy. They are implemented for some other reason than migration but are likely to have an impact on patterns of migration (Anh 2003:28).

Libya has passed two planning phases[9]; the first planning phase was 1968 - 1988, the second planning phase was 1980 - 2000 and currently is undergoing the third planning phase 2000-2025 (third generation). The aim of this chapter is to understand the effect of these polices on internal migration.

7.2. Government Policy with Regard to People Movements and Re-distribution of the Population.

Unlike some countries such as China and Vietnam, in Libya there is freedom of movement between regions, to be more precise the Government of Libya has no strict migration policies. Urban to rural movements are clearly encouraged through State policies to avoid uneven urban growth (which will be addressed in detail later in this chapter).

However, there is urban population concentration in major Libyan cities, due to the influx of migration from rural and desert areas. This growing stream of internal migration has produced economic and social problems in both origin and destination communities (see chapter six). To address these problems in the first phase plan, the state did give great importance to the issue of people movement, through the following policies (Ministry of Planning 1975:378) :-

I) To reduce the stream of internal migration from rural areas to cities and urban centres by improving the conditions of life, and increase the standard of living economically, physically and culturally in rural regions, first by providing services to the population, alleviating seasonal unemployment and underemployment and

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[9] It is worth noting that often development plans are set at the national level and not at the city level, and so as Benghazi is a part of Libya, the situation in Benghazi should be similar to the state's situation.

establishing projects that provided new job opportunities in rural regions. Second, by establishing agricultural projects to create attractive settlements for nomadic and semi-nomadic people, and distributing reclaimed agricultural land to those with training in farming and to give their lives some stability. Third, to take advantage of educated people from villages and the desert areas to play an active role in the development of these communities. Furthermore to encourage and motivate educated people to work and reside in areas where they grew up.

II) Assisting individuals and families who migrated from the rural and desert areas to cities and urban centres in the social adjustment to city life, and helping them to integrate into these communities as well as addressing the obstacles they face in their new lives.

III) Providing jobs and a decent quality of life for the nomads and semi-nomadic (about 22 per cent of the population total in 1972) while assisting some to become accustomed to a stable lifestyle.

According to Anh (2003) governments could have a key impact on the relative attractiveness of a specific region and might encourage out-migration from other areas, by determining the availability of diverse opportunities and the supply of social services in that region. From this point the Libyan Government has worked through the plan of 1976 -1980, to reduce disparities in living standards and created a balance in services and employment opportunities (spatial development) among the regions of Libya. To this end the plan has included the establishment of numerous projects in all Libyan regions in various aspects of development as follows (Ministry of Planning 1980):-

I.   First direction: is located on the areas of Gharian Misdah, Al Quriyat, and Jufrah until Jalu, which planned to strengthen the economic base in these areas through the surfacing of roads, such as the road from Gharian to Alchuirv via Misdah and Alchuirv Muradh road, as well as the establishment of integrated villages with full public utilities and social services in Bir Al Ghani, Alshgegh, Nismah, Tabghh, Al Quriyat and Alchuirv. In addition to implementing in these areas many agricultural projects such as the Jufrah

which has a total area of 1,200 hectares and the Zallah project with an area of 1,000 hectares. Plus many industrial and housing projects.

II. Second direction: is located from Bu Kammash in the west to Msaid in the east including a number of cities which where planned to be the future major economic centres. This direction was supplied at the beginning with basic utilities such as seaports, road transportation as well as industrial complexes such as the industrial complex in Bu Kammash and iron and steel complex in Misurata and cement plants in the Al khumas, Suq Al Khamis, Benghazi and power plants in the Derna, Tubruq and Al khumas.

III. Third direction: is positioned between Misurata in the north and Sabha in the south to Ghat in the south-west, due to the availability of groundwater in this sector many agricultural projects where planned to be established, for example, the Wadi Al Shati project, which covers an area of 5,195 hectares, Wadi Al jall project, which covers an area of 4,230 hectares, the Murzuq project of 2,325 hectares and the 2,925 hectares project Ghat in addition to establishing some 607 agricultural houses and many housing projects and basic facilities.

IV. Fourth direction: is located between Ajdabia and Al Kufra including the Alsrer area and a paved road was planned to be built in this direction from Jalu to Al Kufra, (to establish agricultural productivity) and the endemic agricultural projects, namely the Al Kufra production project on an area of 500 hectares , the Al Kufra Endemic project on an area of 1,500 hectares and also the Alsrer production project to be established with about 1,840 agricultural dwellings, a centre for agricultural training and the expansion of Al Kufra hospital .

V. Fifth direction: included areas of Tarhunah, Bani Walid and Sof Algene, in this direction the planned surfacing of the Tarhunah / Bani Walid road, Bani Walid / Misurata road and Bani Walid / Nismah road to link these towns to each other and to facilitate movement between them. Furthermore, a suburb with all facilities was planned to be built in Bani Walid and to establish an agricultural project in Sof Algene covering an area of 6,500 hectares and the 5,500 hectares project in Zamzam which was to be divided into 450 farms.

It is of interest to note that government policy has sought to alleviate the concentration of population, and the dominance of Benghazi and Tripoli cities, at the same time has sought to stop the streams of migration to the cities. At the end of the seventies and during the early eighties the government set up many successful agricultural projects in rural and desert areas (stable human settlement). These projects have contributed to some extent in the geographical redistribution of the native population throughout Libya. However after the mid-eighties these projects suffered from many environmental and human problems including soil salinity, the scarcity of water resources, neglect by the government, and the sprawl of urban centres over large areas of agricultural land, particularly in the coastal area. This led to degradation and the end of many of these projects and to the return of many households to urban centres.

The national plan for 1981-2000 has given more attention to the pattern of unevenness in the distribution of urban and rural settlements, focusing on the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli, and the disparity in living standards and the level of availability of services and facilities between residential areas. It should have been possible for the Government to reduce the migration from south to north (from rural areas and small towns to big cities) through the creation of incentives for continued development of new economic activities (concentration of development) in the south of the country, especially in the cities of Sabha, Al Jouf and their suburbs. These Government incentives may also have encouraged the re-distribution of natural population growth and direction of internal migration away from large coastal cities, specifically the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli, and worked to strengthen the near settlements of other cities to attract migrants (D U P 2008). Also in the case of the Benghazi region the scheme of third-generation suggested a balanced distribution of housing and new job opportunities to reduce emigration from less developed centres and rural areas to major urban centres, and in this way the plan aimed to provide about 65,000 housing units and 200,000 employment opportunities in the subsidiary provinces of Benghazi, otherwise the population would continue to migrate from their places of origin to the city of Benghazi (D U P B 2008).

7.2.1. Government Policy with regard to Establishing New Industrial and Oil Cities

At the national level the principles of sustainable development are to reduce internal migration (from the desert to the coast, from rural areas and small towns to large cities) through investment in a sustainable strategy (D U P 2008). By establishing industrial and oil cities which aim to achieve two goals. First is to create attraction points, other than major cities, for the population from poor areas, to relieve pressure on cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli; second is to supply industrial centres requiring labour for example the Al Gebel El Akhdar area can provide the labour intensive chemical complex in Al Braygah, as well as the Al Jabal Al Gharbi area could supply labour to the aluminium industry in Zuwarah, to the chemical complex in Bu Kammash and to the iron and steel compound in Misurata (Ministry of Planning 1980). For instance, the development of the new towns such as Sirt, Ras Lanuf and Al Braygah in the undeveloped region on the Mediterranean shoreline between Benghazi and Tripoli, has already had and is having a major influence on national settlement development aims in terms of (I) general functional integration of Libyan settlements to be one national network, as these settlements have become linked with the major cities in the west, east and south by highways (II) the reduction of the extreme concentration of people in Benghazi and Tripoli, and then to decrease the urban sprawl on the surrounding farmland (III) the development of sustainable and economically viable medium and small-sized new settlements where new employment opportunities are supplied through the oil industry and other linked industries. On the other hand, further development of tourism in these areas will create further job opportunities, (IV) also the researcher considers that the development of these towns was to fill a geopolitical vacuum (change the pattern of population distribution) in Libya at the Gulf of Sirt which has a strategic location in the middle of the country on the Mediterranean coast, as a result of this policy the population of Sirt has risen from 21,929 in 1954 to 141,495 people in 2006.

7.2.2. Government Policy with regard to Establishing Agricultural Villages

Al Ghariani (2006) suggested that the expected increase in the population of the city of Benghazi should be directed to rural areas and especially to the Al Gebel El Akhdar area, according to the resolutions of the People's Congresses in the third

session in 1982 in relation to the encouragement of reverse migration from urban to rural areas. In other words, to encourage people who had migrated to the cities to return to their rural areas. Therefore, during the 1970s and 1980s the State created large agricultural projects and integrated agricultural villages in the Alsrer and Al Kufra to achieve two goals; first was to attract people from the surrounding desert areas such as Tazrbo. For example, the 1976-1980 plan aimed to create 9 new villages, each village having 1,000 houses namely Alchuirv, Nismah, Tabghh, Al Quriyat, Alshgegh, Bir Al Ghani, Bani Walid, Wadi Shaba and Al Foakhar. This programme proposed developing these villages in different regions including two shoreline areas of Sahel Jafara and Al Gebel El Akhdar in addition to two interior desert areas of Al Kufra and Alsrer plus Al Salol Al Khder region in the centre of the country. A further 2,661 dwellings were completed in the 1973-1975 plan, and the programme of the1981-1985 plan included the establishment of new settlements, for example, 1,000 dwellings in Alzentan, 500 houses in Alwast and another 500 housing units in new Al Gwarshah. The aim of all of these plans was to create new attractive areas beside the existing attraction centres represented in Benghazi and Tripoli (Ministry of Planning 1980; Ministry of Planning 1985).

In brief, the researcher has observed that some of these projects failed as a result of several natural and human factors. However the researcher believes that if these projects had continued to receive government support they would still play an important role in reducing internal migration to urban centres.

However, these plans were aimed at spatial development through creating industrial complexes, new integrated villages and agricultural projects in rural areas and small towns to keep people in these areas and prevent migration to the big attraction centres of Benghazi and Tripoli. During the last twenty-five years the Libyan government has achieved great success in the implementation of recommendations for the network of settlements, including the outline of national long-term aim of 1981 - 2000, where the population distribution of geographical areas has improved (for example Sirt city), especially in the period 1973-1995 (D U P 2008).

The above analysis of national policies shows that the Libyan government has sought to reduce the rates of internal migration and urbanisation. Of this research sample, about 78 per cent answered 'yes' to the question ''do you think migration

from other regions to Benghazi should be limited", giving several reasons including (A) the city gets crowded, (B) the lack of housing, jobs and public services (C) to encourage developing rural areas. Despite the fact that 22 per cent of migrants believe that migration from other regions to Benghazi should not be limited, as they think that it is a personal freedom and it is a good opportunity for people from undeveloped rural areas to get a better life. In this context, all prominent policy makers in relevant Government committees in Benghazi said that they would like to prevent migration from the rural areas to the city. These policies to discourage rural to urban migration are compromised by Libya having a policy, adopted since the late eighties, of being a land for all Arabs and borders have been opened, requiring no entry visas for Arab citizens, and this has led to an increase in the proportion of the non-Libyan Arab population (see chapter six) (G A I 1999), thereby the city has received a large number of Arab migrants, who do not appear in the official records.

7.3. Employment Policy.

There is no doubt that the unequal distribution of the population has a major impact on local development opportunities in the provinces and deprives many of them from the likelihood of future development. This requires the existence of a national long-term plan for redeployment of the labour force between neighbouring provinces and establishing mechanisms for adverse migration within the framework of the physical plan 2000-2025 (G A I 2002). For example, since the 1973-1975 plan Libya has aimed to make the best use of the labour force including (I) increasing the contribution of segments of society that stayed away from the labour market, notably women, nomadic people and people with disabilities, (II) re-distribution of the population taking into account the diverse resources of the country (III) creating jobs in economically backward regions (IV) encouraging the young towards the required professions of the labour market. Also the state focused on technical education, believing education to be the main source of production of a technical labour force. This has been done by directing and encouraging students who complete a secondary education to attend technical schools and institutes, and motivate them to continue in this field in order to reach up to 50 per cent of total number of students in general secondary education. It was also policy to link these schools and institutes with farms, factories, companies, banks and production centres and determine a period of practical training for students at these sites. This improved the expertise of

skilled and semi-skilled workers, such that the expected increase in the share of the graduated work force from these centres was three-fold between 1973-1975, however it still left a great proportion of the work force not obtaining skills through these training centres (Ministry of Planning 1975). Therefore the Ministry of Education has been merged with the Ministry of Training and Labour Force to achieve a closer association between labour force policy and labour market requirements (G A I 1999).

In the early seventies, in order to speed up the process of development, exploitation of the country's natural resources and expansion in educational and health services, the country needed to continue to hire a number of foreigners. This was the result of increased demand for skilled labour required for the implementation of various projects and because there was no Libyan labour force available in some fields, as well as to take advantage of foreign employees in the training of national workers (Ministry of Planning 1975; Ghanous 1989). In general, the number of non-Libyans in the workforce increased from 50,000 in 1970 to 562,100 workers in 1983 (Ghanous1989). Also in this phase the State adopted an open-door policy to ensure employment for all people with all levels of skill, to eliminate unemployment and develop labour markets. This led to the enormous rise of workers in the social services sector, where the proportion reached 84.6 per cent of total workers in the 1984 census (G A I 1999). In general, there is a clear distortion in the distribution of labour force by economic sectors, which is most evident in the sectors of social and public services (about 56 per cent of the total workforce at the national level) particularly in health and education sectors, which is in fact a higher rate than other Arab countries (G A I 2002).

Since the mid-eighties, the economic and social policy of Libya, was seeking to reduce the level of employment in the public sector, at the same time trying to achieve the national policy goal which was to increase the number of permanent jobs while attempting to reduce the proportion of non Libyan workers in the labour market (D U P 2008; L U P A 1996). The number of non Libyan workers decreased after 1983 due to the procedures taken by the State to promote Libyanisation of the labour force, and to the drop in oil prices (Ghanous1989). Also part of this plan was to move workers towards the manufacturing sector and provide new job opportunities away from the social service sector (G A I 2002), at the same time as trying to support and

facilitate sustainable employment opportunities in economically vital and viable regions, and to accommodate the expected increase in the labour force of about 1.6 million people by 2020 (L U P A 1996).

The Assistant Head of the General Popular Committee for Workforce in Benghazi was asked about the committee's policies in Benghazi and he said:-

The committee has four types of policies as follows;-

First the replacement policy (Libyanisation of the workforce policy) which is to place Libyan workers in the foreign workers occupations, because according to the Commission's policy that any function occupied by a foreign worker is a vacancy as long as there is a national worker who is qualified for this employment... Second the policy of pro-rata, by forcing foreign companies to hire at a ratio ranging from 30 to 100 per cent from the Libyan employees, based on the type of function... Third the policy of training unskilled Libyan labour during work and taking advantage of foreign workers in the training process... fourth the employment policy, which states that graduates from universities and colleges must apply for jobs in the place of birth to redistribute population and encourage migrants to go back to their original places... because more than 95 per cent of the total of the graduates from universities and colleges in the Benghazi region are concentrated in the city of Benghazi.... also the committee is working to make a balance between economic sectors where more than three-quarters of the workforce in the public sector has led to a large part of the workforce suffering from disguised unemployment. On the other hand, the Government is strengthening coordination between the requirements of the labour market with universities and institutes of higher education (personal communication with the Assistant Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

7.3. 1. Failures of Development Plans in Terms of Employment

The State's old plans worked on the accumulation of national employment in the public sector (G A I 1999) which made the unemployment figures lower than they would have been if relying more on the private sector. Although Libya is seeking to Libyanise employment and develop human resource in terms of quantity and quality to implement development programmes, the state is continuing to rely on foreign

expertise (Mahmoud 2005), even in the health sector and education, and this is a great challenge to development plans in Libya.

The above mentioned gives the impression that the new employment policy for the work force is trying to avoid the conventional policies, which, when used in the past, led to an accumulation of national employment in the government sector, and to focus instead on new approaches linking workforce planning with the expansion of opportunities in the private sector including cooperative work[10]. According to the field work for this research the economic incentive was one of the main reasons and motivations for the movement to Benghazi of around 65 per cent of the population sample (see chapter five). In fact the unemployment rate in Benghazi is high at 11.1 per cent of the total population and 17.8 per cent for males. When asked the question "if you were the Head of the General Popular Committee of Benghazi Popularity what actions would you take?" approximately 25 per cent of the sample answered "provide more job opportunities". This confirms that state polices on employment have not yet achieved the desired goals.

7.4. Urbanisation Policy.

In Libya in the 1980s, about 50 per cent of settlements had fewer than 500 people in each of which there were about 334 settlements with a population of between 200-500 people, and a further 251 settlements with fewer than 200 inhabitants in each (Ministry of Planning 1980). As mentioned in table (7.1), in the Benghazi region, with the exception of the city of Benghazi, there are more than 50 settlements with population ranging between a few hundred in some villages up to more than 26,000 people in the city of Al Byar (D U P B 2008). Thus Libya in the 1973 -1975 plan classified settlements in the light of specific criteria and by resources and capabilities available and some very limited settlements were advised to limit their growth and the government encouraged the population to emigrate to more viable settlements that could accommodate a larger number of people. Some new settlements were proposed, such as Al Braygah, Ras Lanuf and the city of Sirt, in areas where there was potential and resources to receive the appropriate numbers of people from poorer settlements and encouraged these people to migrate to these new

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(10) That means that two people or more establish and run their own company or business

settlements (Ministry of Planning 1975: 378). In this context, Anh (2003) argues that the mechanisms employed by Governments to delay the rate of urban growth should take into account the adoption of three types of strategies, (a) rural retention strategies aimed at changing the countryside economy and thus slowing the pace of outmigration, (b) strategies to control the urbanisation in large urban centres through migration restrictions, (c) strategies that attempt to redirect migration streams to outer rural regions and small towns. However, to achieve these goals the national policy for spatial development in Libya has a set of principles of national and regional sustainability and balanced development including (I) reducing internal migration from the desert to the coast and from small towns to large cities, through a sustainable strategy investment, (II) the development of primary and secondary settlements in order to accommodate the expected population increase, (III) raise the effectiveness of the coastal cities, (IV) creating a buffer zone around the major cities of Benghazi and Tripoli to reduce the expansion of squatter settlements, (V) the conservation of urban heritage, (VI) developing the urban transport networks, (VII) the development of small towns in the region of the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli (D U P B 2008). Yet again among the general objectives which were identified in studies of natural planning was the development of secondary settlements within each region (province) by directing many economic activities to these settlements to produce a balance between urban areas and help small settlements to grow and develop to attract the surplus population of the surrounding agricultural areas and discourage migration to the large urban centres by creating mid-sized cities providing specialized services to be competitive to Benghazi and Tripoli. Part of this strategy is the protection of agricultural areas surrounding major cities (Amura 1989).

Table (7.1) The settlement hierarchy in the Benghazi region

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University

Source: Dampo Consultancy (2008)

Amer (2003) argues that the recent decrease in urbanisation may be indicative of Government efforts to limit the displacement of rural populations to cities, as a result of paying attention to the care of the rural population economically, socially and culturally, through ambitious development projects in the field of land reclamation. Since 1976, Libya has distributed financial investments to the regions according to the density of the population, with priority given to remote and strategic areas (such as Wadi Al Hayat, Khalij-Sirt, Murzuq, Al Jabal Al Gharbi and Sabha) to develop small and medium-sized towns located in the Al Gebel El Akhdar. These small cities need to improve education and health services, utilities and housing and to support and enhance economic activities such as agriculture, services and industries as well as to limit the dominance of the large cities of Benghazi and Tripoli (L U P A 1996; D U P 2008).

In conversation with the Head of the General Popular Committee of Spatial Planning for the Government about recent policies regarding urbanisation issues in Benghazi city he said:-

> In the current years the Ministry's policy has started to move in three directions; first of all, regarding the squatter construction where, as is known there have been several attempts in the last ten years to curb this phenomenon, but its size and type was the reasons for failing to stop or eradicate it, for example, the squatter construction was often by official consent although in some cases still contrary to the laws and in addition many squatter constructions have been carried out using loans from the

Government ..... Some of these random buildings in the city are luxury houses and known as slum palaces ... However the eventual elimination of this cancer is almost impossible, but the reduction of spread and expansion of it remains our main goal... In this regard, and pursuant to the resolutions of the General People's Committee we have applied action including (I) Suspending granting of housing loans outside the approved schemes, (II) Stopped granting licenses to build houses outside the approved schemes, (III) Create an urban monitoring centre for monitoring the urban land and the growth of cites, (IV) Worked to implement the policy of parallel development to encourage reverse migration and work on the development of areas which are expelling the population to reduce the internal migration to major cities, (V) Prepared a strong housing policy to keep pace with population growth in the large cities... The second direction of policy is the project to establish a Green Belt around the city of Benghazi for many purposes including as an outer boundary to the city, to curb the expansion of the city so as not to allow integration between Benghazi and nearby cities, as well as being useful in terms of aesthetic and health... The third direction is to encourage vertical expansion by building apartment blocks, because any horizontal expansion will be at the expense of surrounding farmland (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Although the State has adopted several plans (Development of Spatial Parallel) to develop the areas which are expelling population, these plans have not achieved their objectives to reduce the phenomenon of internal migration and the growing proportion of population in urban centres with the consequential loss of agricultural land (Kezeiri and Yousfe 2003). Clearly the high rate of urbanisation in the Benghazi region is not only due to natural population growth, but also to the influence of internal migration. This results in obstacles to development plans, forcing the government to direct funds to solve the problems of public services such as schools, hospitals, roads and housing construction, rather than directing these funds to build a strong economic base and develop the community to a more advanced stage. For instance, the demand for housing and services and concentration of population in a limited area leads, in the short term, to such problems as traffic congestion resulting from the increased number of cars and in the long term to urban expansion at the expense of neighbouring agricultural areas. As a result of this there has been a decline in agricultural and livestock production which is transforming the country from

an exporter to an importer of food. Furthermore the Department of Urban Planning is expecting that Libya will face a number of major challenges in the near future. For example, by 2030 Libya's population will be about 9 million people, plus a significant number of non-Libyan people, and these people will need adequate housing, food, clean drinking water, health care, education, and transportation, with all of these requirements having a direct impact on physical planning (D U P 2008).

The above data indicates that the Libyan government has tried through a number of strategies to diminish the growth of squatter blocks by way of making a buffer zone around the city of Benghazi, also to control the urbanisation in Benghazi through reducing internal migration. However the Libyan censuses show that Benghazi is still a significant area for attracting migrants and that the urbanisation rate is increasing over time. Moreover according to the researcher's observations during the field work the process of construction in squatter blocks around the city continued rapidly at the expense of agricultural land. These facts indicate that government policy regarding urbanisation has not achieved its aim and the government should take urgent action before it is too late.

7.5. Reclamation of the Countryside and Strengthening the Role of Rural Areas (Rural Development).

Libya has paid great attention to rural development and social development through the establishment of numerous educational and training programmes such as, in the area of agricultural projects, the establishment of universities and institutes specialising in agricultural sciences, for example Omar Al Mukhtar University of Agricultural sciences in the Al Gebel El Akhdar, institute of rain-fed agriculture in the Derna and the Agrarian Institute in Al Marj. Moreover, the Government has established rural development centres to train farmers' families from agricultural projects in modern methods of agriculture (Ghanous1989). In the mid-eighties the Libyan government created some programmes in relation to providing loans and grants for the establishment of farms and land reclamation, also to purchase the surplus of agricultural production, to achieve two goals: first, to reduce urban growth to prevent it from becoming beyond the capacity of the labour market and the housing potential of cities; and second, to raise the country's agricultural capacity by encouraging small farms (Ahtyosh 1994).

Development programme plans have given the agricultural sector great attention to achieve self-sufficiency in agricultural products and food, and to reach a balanced population development by establishing endemic and productive projects in the remote desert areas (agricultural Al Salol Al khder project in the central region of Sirt[11] - agricultural Fezzan project[12] - agricultural Al Kufra projects[13]). Also the programmes have created stable human settlements in the new agricultural areas by the rehabilitation of the agricultural sector and the establishment of villages and integrated projects to reduce migration from rural to urban areas (Ghanous 1989). In this respect, Ben Khial (1995) agrees that the agricultural policy of the early seventies, was aimed at increasing agricultural production through agricultural projects in the region of the Al Kufra and Alsrer to achieve several objectives and the most important of these was the resettlement of scattered oases' residents and regroup them in the endemic project which has health and education services, as well as the regional development for the Al Kufra (in the south) to reduce migration to coastal areas . To achieve these national goals it has been allocated huge sums of money about 4,647.3 million dinars on the agricultural development during the period 1970-1987 (Ghanous1989).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, internal migration was the result of economic and social disparities between regions and the development programme plans were used to reduce the disparity between the provinces of Libya and create balanced economic and social development in all areas of the country. Therefore the 1973-1975 plan represented a new development policy in the implementation and development of many industrial and agricultural projects, the manufacturing programme included the location of a number of new factories in each of the areas of Al Braygah, Misurata, Al Khumas, El Beida, Tubruq, Derna, Gharian and Al Zawia. In the agricultural sector there was the implementation of agricultural projects in each of the areas of Tawargha, Sahel Jafara, Al Kufra, Al Sarer and Al Joufra, where the agricultural development in this plan (1973-1975) had the lion's share of investments however, the total amount invested in agricultural development projects until the end

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(11) This project aimed to cultivate about 469,240 hectares of grain and pasture and establish 2,788 farms
(12) This project aimed to cultivate 61,952 hectares and establish 312 farms
(13) The Alkufra productive project is the most important project which aimed to cultivate 32,350 hectares for grain production and raise sheep. In addition to the Alkufra Endemic project on 5,400 hectares, this aimed to set up 864 farms with full equipment grouped in 54 villages.

of 1975 was 526.7 million or about of 93 per cent of the total allocated to this sector, which was 566.1 million. So that among the achievements of 1973 -1975 plan was the reclamation of about 35,000 hectares, when the total allocation for agricultural development in the plan of 1976 – 1980 was about 781,300,000 dinars (Ministry of Planning 1980). In the field of agriculture, loans were granted to encourage farmers to remain in agricultural work, and to help them to settle in agricultural areas, and there were a number of different types of loans granted to farmers for example long term, short-term and seasonal which increased from 12,593 loans in 1966 to 59,514 loans in 1973, and the value of these loans increased from about 3.5 million to about 21 million dinars during the same period (Ministry of Planning 1975). During the period of the 1981 - 1985 plan, the total amount of loans granted to farmers were 51 million and the number of beneficiaries of these loans were about 42,292 farms (G P C P1981), which was to encourage these farmers to settle on their farms and work full-time in agriculture.

It is obvious from the above that the Libyan Government, through previous plans, has tried to achieve a spatial balance in the field of agricultural development by the establishment of stable settlements in the new agricultural areas and encouraging the stability of the farmers on their land by increasing their incomes from agricultural production and by increasing service facilities, so as to reduce the disparities between population in rural areas and cities to discourage the migration of farmers to urban centres (G P C P 1981). To deal with the problem of rural migration it is important to stop urban inflation through creating an integrated and sustainable rural improvement plan able to develop rural areas and provide employment opportunities, in addition to expanding industries that rely on agriculture, and the development and improvement of the infrastructure, facilities and services (A M F 2007).

In Libya since the late eighties and early nineties the agricultural development plans have witnessed a significant change in the strategy from the expansion of agricultural projects in the southern regions, which were established in the seventies, to the strategy of moving water by the artificial river from the south to coastal areas in the north, to establish new agricultural projects (productive and endemic projects) and to develop already existing projects. The plan to invest in the construction of the artificial river aimed to achieve several goals, including (I) reclamation of vast tracts of neglected land, for example in areas of Al Nokiah and Soloug, (II) encourage rural

people to settle in the agricultural areas and to reduce migration to major cities such as Benghazi, (III) to achieve the greatest degree of self-sufficiency in food such as meat and cereals (IV) create new job opportunities for people to raise the quality of their life (V) to provide potable water to the coastal regions (D U P B 2008). In the same way, a respondent who came from the countryside reported that:-

> I think that should the same economic opportunities, services and privileges arise in my place of origin, I would go back there as I own agricultural land there, my family is there and I take pride in my village.

One more migrant commented,

> That immigration to Benghazi should be limited, as otherwise life would be harder and I would have to go back to my former residence when I retire.

Another mentioned that:-

> The Government should give the rural population housing and financial incentives to stay in their villages.

One of the interviewees said,

> I consider moving back home if good services and privileges become available and to fix my agriculture land which had been unfit for cultivation.

Since the early seventies the Benghazi region has witnessed a number of agricultural development programmes and plans (1973-1975, 1976-1980 and 1981-1985 plans) aimed to establish many agricultural projects such as Sahel Benghazi project on an area of 58,200 hectares - Al Gatarh Valley project on an area of 4,000 hectares - Got Al Sultan project with an area of 11,125 hectares and Al Bab Valley project with total area of 150,000 hectares (D U P B 2008).

7.5.1. Failures of Development Plans in the Agricultural Sector

The projects, which have been created since 1970 in Libya in general and Benghazi in particular are suffering from limited water resources and urban expansion at the expense of agricultural land, also there is a lack of planning, balanced implementation and control over agricultural projects (D U P B 2008). It is clear that agricultural policy as a whole needs to be evaluated and modified for the long term,

in other words, how to manage and develop agriculture to continue to meet the needs of future generations must be discussed (D U P 2008). Also despite all the measures for providing urban agglomerations with a view to encouraging people to return to their original place and to limit internal migration, the goal of counterstreams of migration has not been achieved (Al-Hattab 1994), this could be due to discontinuing state agricultural subsidies and the provision of loans (G A I 2002).

7.6. Housing Policy.

The great objective of development is not just simply to raise productivity or provide the largest amount of goods and services to the community, but also to improve the living conditions of the individual in various aspects of life including housing (Ministry of Planning 1975), as housing is one of the cornerstones of sustainable development (G A I 1999). To achieve improved housing Libya has removed shacks and shanty towns by using housing policies in the long successive plans and development programmes which have been able to eliminate inappropriate houses, and led to the disappearance of the phenomenon of marginal housing in the urban centres and reduced it to a minimum (2.8 per cent of the total housing in the 1995 census) occurring in the rural areas. On the other hand, the Government worked to increase the number of housing units in Libya from 283,000 in 1973 to 989,398 housing units in 2006 (G A I 2002; G A I 2006), through the following phases:-

First Phase 1970 – 1985

In this period the housing sector had a top priority in development policies compared to other service sectors, when its proportion was about 23 per cent in the first development plan 1973 - 1975 (G A I 2002). The applied housing policies eliminated shanty towns and slums which covered vast areas of Benghazi and Tripoli from the fifties until the mid-seventies (Amura 1998). Also during this stage the State implemented three development plans namely the three-year plan 1973 -1975 and two five-year plans 1976-1980, and 1981-1985. During these three development plans, the housing policy has succeeded in completing half of the houses which are available currently, but no doubt that this was the result of increased oil revenues (G A I 1999). For example in the 1973-1975 plan aimed at establishing about 90,000 housing units, while the plan of 1976-1980 aimed to build 150,000 houses, plus 146,200 houses in the 1981-1985 plan to settle the scattered nomadic population in

villages and towns, through the public sector participation in housing construction, in order for the state to provide services to this population (Ministry of Planning 1980).

Furthermore, early in this stage the Government adopted its housing policy relying on a set of laws and legislation to enable families to acquire housing and support them according to their income levels, when perhaps the first issue in this regard was the regulation for rental housing owned by the State in 1970. In relation to this law only low income families should have rented these houses from the Government especially families who depended for their livelihood on subsidies from the state (more than 30 dinars per month). On the other hand, families with annual income below 500 dinars were exempt from 90 per cent of the price of housing when they purchase a government house (G A I 1999).

Second Phase 1986 - 1996

This period witnessed the decline and delay in the implementation of new housing projects as a result of several factors, including the abolition of the General Agency for Housing, which was responsible for managing the implementation of housing projects, to the cancellation of the Secretariat of Housing, the public housing schemes had been stopped, the reluctance of public investment institutions to expand their work in the housing activities and the Bank's role in granting loans was reduced (Abu Ghrrara 2003). Furthermore there were no development plans at the country level in this period, with the exception of the three-year programme for development of 1994 -1996 of 6 billion dinars, distributed throughout all sectors; when the share for the housing sector was 19.8 per cent of the total allocation (Almogherby and Almkirhi 2002). Also during this phase there was a change in the concept of state policy, so that the state became an assisting channel in the provision of housing, by stimulating public and private institutions and organizations for the implementation of housing rather than the State carrying the full responsibility to provide the required number of dwellings (D U P B 2008).

Third Phase 1997 - 2009

At this stage the People's Committee of Housing and Utilities was restored, which in turn established the Public Authority for Housing in 1995 and began to implement a short-term housing programme of 60,000 housing units (Abu Ghrrara 2003), During the early years of this period there were several difficulties that have prevented many

families from obtaining adequate housing such as the relatively high costs of construction materials, land and labour in addition to the scarcity of arable land for the construction of housing units near the major cities (D U P 2008). The stringent Government policies of this period are still valid and the ineffectiveness of many of these policies and the regulations relating to land, no longer fit in any way with the emergence of the private sector as a participant in the programme of housing development. As a result of this, major cities are suffering from the problem of unavailability of land that encourages land speculation in major cities such as Tripoli and Benghazi, where, during the past few years land prices have witnessed dramatic increases with an annual increase ranging between 25 - 50 per cent, sometimes exceeding 100 per cent. Thus, the net deficit in the number of housing units until the end of 2000 is 142,000 (D U P 2008). Consequently, the housing units that will be required during the period 2006-2016 will about 420,000 (D U P 2008).

In discussion with the Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning (Housing) in Benghazi regarding the housing policy he said:-

> Yes we have housing policies at the national level.... the committee of spatial planning are trying to achieve important goals which are to create a quality spatial development, re-distribution of the population, and to keep people in remote and rural populations through discouraging internal migration streams, hence we focused on the provision of adequate housing, and the provision of public and social services in all regions of Libya... what's more the government in 1993 has established the Urban Planning Agency and re-established the General Housing Authority to plan and manage national housing policy .... the State policy since the early seventies has worked to provide houses through a programme of three axis of public housing projects which aims to provide housing to families who are unable to gain access to housing, the agriculture housing project aims to provide housing for farmers on their farms and to encourage people to build their own houses especially families with low-income by offering loans, particularly in recent years self-help building is a successful housing programme to eliminate the cumulative deficit in housing (personal communication with the Head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

Asking about what are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Housing in Benghazi, the head said;

The Ministry of Housing is trying to fill the accumulated deficit in housing units due to high rates of natural increase and immigration of Libyans as well as large numbers of Arab and African immigrants... in the past slums have spread in large areas in Benghazi. But the Ministry of Housing has eliminated these slums in 1977 ....now again we are struggling to limit and tackle the problem of spread of the new kind of slums which are squatter blocks (personal communication with the head, over the period of July to October, 2008).

7.6.1 Failures of Development Plans in the Housing Sector

From the above it can be deduced that there are several weaknesses in the development plans. First, the completion and implementation rate, for example during the period 1970-1980 Libya aimed to build 320,000 housing units, it succeeded in achieving about 193,000 units. Also the 1981-1985 development plan aimed to build 146,200 housing units, but what was achieved was around 80,000 units, this led to the existence of a gap between the volume of demand and supply of some 29,000 houses annually (G A I 1999; D U P B 2008). The value of investments in the housing sector during the period 1970-1996 of about 38,647 million dinars, but the actual expenditure amounted to 32,998 million dinars, and the rate of implementation was between 53.5 and 85.4 per cent. Although the actual spending on the housing sector has increased from 37.5 million in 1970 to reach its highest value of 296.3 million in 1981, then the rate generally has declined with the exception of a few years (Shamia and Kaaiba 1996). Second, despite the ultimate goal of state policy in the area of housing to provide housing units for each family during the following ten years, by the end of 1982, the deficit of housing units was very high in the large cities of Benghazi and Tripoli leading to so-called "Khlow Rejal"[14] which has reached 50,000 dinars in Benghazi (Shamia and Kaaiba 1996; Ministry of Planning 1975). Third, the 1978 legislation determined the ownership of houses for each family should be only one house or a piece of land suitable for building. In the light of the application of this legislation the ownership of the house

[14] The meaning of this Arabic phrase is that the previous occupier of a government's house asks the next occupier for an amount of money to vacate the property.

was transferred to the occupiers[15], which led to the end of any semblance of rental housing in Libya which in turn discouraged people from building houses for investment (G A I 1999; Shamia and Kaaiba 1996). Fourth, from about 1995 the Government relaxed control of the land in or surrounding cities, and it was unable to stop the spread of squatter settlements. However, these points confirm the statement of Almogherby and Almkirhi (2002) that housing policies that have been developed have not succeeded in alleviating the housing problem in Libya during the last thirty years.

This result appears to suggest that the Libyan government is developing some housing policies to reduce the deficit, and as a result of this the number of new accommodation units in Benghazi has risen from 49,220 in 1973 to 78,160 housing units in 2006 at a rate of 1.8 per cent a year. During the same period the number of families has grown from 47,216 to 103,953 at a rate of 3.6 per cent per year (see chapter six), which means that for every 25 out of 100 families in Benghazi there is no accommodation. According to the field work roughly 74 per cent of families migrating to Benghazi think that there is a scarcity of dwellings.

7.7. Social Services and Public Facilities Policy.

Law Number 130 (1972) supported local government bodies by encouraging them in the implementation of development programmes where the law gave the local governments authority to deliver services and facilities in all parts of Libya (Ministry of Planning 1975), and the 1981-1985 plan had as one of its most important objectives the improvement of the level of services received by all Libyan people, also the public facilities policy G P C P (1981) is based on providing various services to the entire population of the country, especially to the interior areas which are facing a shortage of these services. Despite these plans there have been several difficulties during the last twenty years that have prevented many families from receiving the desired level of social services and facilities (D U P 2008).

7.7.1. Health Policy

Public health is provided by the State as part of the social services, and according to the principle of health strategy, health care is a right guaranteed by the community to

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[15] A family that lives in a house becomes the owner of property without buying it.

all citizens through establishing hospitals and various medical institutions and providing free medicines and treatment for all citizens (D U P B 2008; G P C P1981). For example, one of the important goals of this strategy is the equitable distribution of health services (curative and preventive treatment) among the Libyan regions, while giving priority to remote areas which are located on the edge of the desert (Ghanous1989; G P C P1981). The number of hospitals has increased from 5 hospitals in 1970, to 96 hospitals in 2008. Also basic health care units were distributed equitably among all regions, such that there is no region, no matter how distant, without a health care unit to provide medical services to the population (Ghanous1989).

Again the 1976-1980 plan took into account the circumstances of remote areas which have a low level of health services rather than the required level, therefore it was decided to construct a new hospital with a capacity of 200 beds in the Bani Walid and establish hospitals in Brak, Sirt, Murzuq, Ubari, Hoon, Misdah, Nalut and Msallatah as well as expanding the Al Kufra hospital by adding 90-beds (Ministry of Planning 1980).

In the 1973-1975 and 1976-1980 plans the Government had aimed to reach a rate of one doctor per 1000 people in 1980 (Ministry of Planning 1975; Ministry of Planning 1980), but in the last ten years the Government has adopted higher criteria to determine the health needs as follows (I) One doctor for every 600 citizens, (II) Three nurses per doctor, (III) One hospital bed per 150 people, (IV) At least a health care centre per 10,000 people, (V) A complex clinic per 30,000 people. (G A I 2002). moreover, in figure (7.1) it can be observed that these plans aimed to spread health services horizontally from a primary health care unit serving an area with a maximum population of 5000, to a hospital to serving an area with a population of more than 30,000, and as listed in the same figure there is a hierarchy of health care delivery in Libya, in other words, each health care service serves a specific threshold of people and provides a certain level of care.

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Library, Coventry University
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Figure (7.1) Structure and functional levels of health care in Libya and Benghazi
Source: (G A I 1999).

*** More than one doctor, specialising in children, esoteric and teeth covers an area with a population 3,000 - 5,000

** A single room / only one doctor covers an area with a population 1,000 - 3,000

* A single room / one nurse covers an area with a population less than 1,000

7.7.2. Failures of Development Plans in the Health Sector

In spite of the fact that the previous plans aimed to improve health services to reach a specific level of service such as one bed per 150 people, a health care centre per 10,000 people and a complex clinic per 30,000 people, Salem (1996) found that the health care services in Benghazi city were not enough and as mentioned in chapter six the situation now is not as good as in the seventies and eighties, for example in Benghazi there is a complex clinic for more than 141,450 people, a health care centre for more than 26,400 persons and a general hospital for around 305,000 persons.

The human development report of Libya, (1999) based on a sample of 50 Libyan doctors from various disciplines; found that 87 per cent of respondents believed that the weakness of health planning was the most important problem facing the health sector resulting in low quality services (G A I 1999; G A I 2002). Of course the policy of horizontal expansion has some problems; there is a problem of availability of health care employees, equipment and medical equipment, leaving many of the primary health care units suffering from these shortcomings. Meanwhile, there is an international standard rate of nurse / doctor ratio (about 5 -1), but in Libya there is an imbalance between occupational classifications, which causes this ratio to be low at about 3 -1 (G A I 1999).

However, because of a lack of confidence in the public health system, many people go to private hospitals or travel abroad to get treatment. This could be due to the low generosity of the public health service stemming from a number of factors such as inadequate budgetary allocations for health care in Libya, compared to international levels, the low-wage workers in the sector, also the lack of specialized doctors in rural areas and low quality nursing care (D U P B 2008).

7.7.3. Education

The Government's first and second generation plans focused on improving the quality and capacity of the education system, at the same time to deliver educational services to villages and remote areas and aim to achieve equality of allocation to all parts of Libya (G P C P1981). The distribution of schools and educational institutions in the State's regions is on the basis of population density, for example a nursery

school for each 4000 people, a primary school for each cluster between 1000-5000 persons and this must be within 15 minutes by walking, a preparatory school in each population block between 5000-15,000 people and this school must be within 30 minutes walk, a secondary school per cluster of 7000-18,000 individuals and this school must serve a broader geographical area, but the time that a student has to spend to reach the school must not exceed one hour, and a vocational education school for each area of 10,000 -37,000 people (D U P B 2008; G A I 2002).

Since the 1973-1975 plan the strategy for education has aimed to achieve compulsory education until the end of middle school) students from 6 years to 12 years) . In addition, the strategy planned to deliver services of compulsory education to all communities in villages and remote areas, through schools of one class in areas with low population density and the system of mobile schools in the areas of nomadic people (Ministry of Planning 1975; Ghanous1989).

Libya has paid special attention to higher education to keep pace with scientific and technical progress and effectively contribute in the community to provide the trained and skilled labour. On the other hand, in the last ten years education policy sought to spread regional universities and colleges in all Libyan districts not only in major cities (Benghazi and Tripoli) and to give the opportunity to people in small cities and rural areas to benefit from this type of improved education (D U P B 2008; Ghanous1989), and at the same time to ease the pressure on the major universities such as the University of Garyounis in Benghazi and Al-Fateh in Tripoli through preventing internal migration caused by the desire for education, because they had to travel daily or migrate to cities where such service were available.

7.7.4. Failures of Development Plans in the Education Sector

The salient features of population spread in Libya is the phenomenon of uneven distribution and the many scattered small settlements where there is no water, or human and economic resources, so the sparseness of this rural population represents a major obstacle to the provision of infrastructure and social services in such settlements (Ministry of Planning 1975). Despite the huge volume of resources and capabilities that have been allocated to the education sector during the past three decades, it has failed to make the process of quality improvement a key component in the procedure of education expansion, which has led in some cases,

to low rates of efficiency that were not commensurate with the size of investments and expected returns (G A I 1999). Also a proportion of schools, especially in the big cities are suffering from the problem of buildings in poor condition, a shortage of classrooms and overcrowded classrooms, for example, the density of students in each class in many schools in the city of Benghazi reaches 35 students. On the other hand, there is a flaw in the relationship between the education system and the labour market and evidence of high rates of unemployment among university graduates and the lack of students attending technical schools and vocational training centres (D U P B 2008).

It can be seen that government policies regarding social services, based on the principle of health care and education as a right guaranteed by the society to all people, through horizontal expansion for social service institutions on the basis of population density and providing free service for all people. Within this policy the main goal is to reduce migration streams to major cities, and to encourage a counterstream to ease the burden borne by those cities. Yet in practice the social infrastructure in Benghazi has been in better condition compared to surrounding regions, therefore many migration families came to Benghazi to benefit from these services. Nowadays the social infrastructure in Benghazi city is not good enough and it will be worse and worse over time unless a new strategy is developed, and as a result about 73 per cent of the population sample is not satisfied with public services in Benghazi.

7.7.5. Water Policy

Water resources in Libya are experiencing a major decline caused by excessive consumption; the withdrawal amounts have exceeded all safe limits throughout the whole country, and in particular water basins in the North, due to the expansion of irrigated agriculture and the illegal drilling of wells without any technical specifications, as mentioned in chapter six (D U P 2008). Thus the lack of water in the region is a major obstacle to development (D U P B 2008), causing water security to be one of the key strategic issues that have received priority in Libya. To mitigate this shortage Libya has been transferring water from the desert to the coast creating an artificial river (G A I 1999). In this regard, the long-term natural national

plan 2000-2025 had stressed the importance of water which should be treated as a rare commodity (D U P B 2008).

Water strategy in Libya has aimed to reduce the deficit of water and to reduce degradation in water quality, especially in coastal areas (through water demand management), by encouraging a change in the behaviour of users by raising the level of cognition and awareness of the sensitivity and gravity of the water situation, as well as the development and modernization of traditional and non-traditional water sources. The Government is also introducing the protection of water sources from pollution through the following measures (I) The development and application of technical standards for sewage with the use of recycled water, which had originated from industrial and residential use, (II) Protect the entrances of surface water sources, (III) To impose fines on those polluting water (to reduce the sources of pollution), (IV) Support regulators responsible for protecting the water quality (V) use of modern and effective industrial techniques with respect to water treatment (D U P 2008).

Of course, Libya is in urgent need of a long-term policy for water resources across the whole country, which is economically viable, maintains the environment, is socially just and comprehensive (providing drinking water, water for productive purposes, including agriculture, sewage management and to benefit from it post-treatment) and pricing policies and incentives to regulate the use of water consumption (D U P 2008).

With relation to electricity, the third-generation scheme suggested installing some 5000 solar cells to provide electricity to villages and remote areas in order to raise the standard of living of people through safe water for drinking and other household uses, in addition to lead to the economic diversity of the population in these areas and contribute to sustainable development, while encouraging the population to stay in these areas and to reduce migration to cities (D U P B 2008).

7.8. Summary

What has been observed in this chapter is that, in the view of the policy makers, the State policies on internal migration were effective, firm, successful and working well. Because these Government officers are in a position of responsibility they all consider their work is ideal and perfect, but it should be noted that the researcher believes there to be a big difference between what was planned and what has been achieved (there were some development projects approved during the 1980s but have not been implemented so far). In fact there were weaknesses in these policies such as a lack of adequate experience and efficiency to manage and monitor these plans properly, also the planning methods have not taken into account the realistic potential of the natural geographical space, and so, despite spending millions of dinars on development projects, in many cases, they were random with little impact.

While plans have focused on settling the population in remote rural areas to reduce the streams of internal migration, there were no special policies to strengthen the role of Benghazi as an urban centre to cope with the flow of migrants (policy for migrants in urban centres). The evidence for this is that most of the hospitals in Benghazi were established before 1970, and more than half of the housing in Benghazi had been built during the period 1970 -1985. A further observation from the field work shows that the infrastructure, houses and provision of public services are poor in Benghazi for a major urban centre. When the researcher interviewed the head of households, in response to the question; "if you were the head of the General Popular Committee of Benghazi popularity what actions would you take?". About 50 per cent said it is top priority to pay attention to the infrastructure and the provision of public services, 27.3 per cent said it is most important to provide new houses and about 22.7 per cent of the total of participants suggested that it is key to provide job opportunities in the city.

Chapter Eight Findings and Conclusions

CHAPTER EIGHT
Findings and Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This concluding chapter provides a thematic summary of the thesis and presents the findings and an evaluation of the thesis. Based on the analysis which has disclosed new findings of view in the investigation of the thesis as a whole this chapter further outlines and discusses the major conclusions which may provide further ideas for future research.

Over the last five decades, Benghazi has received huge numbers of family migrants from other Libyan regions, in search of job opportunities and to take advantage of services. As a result of this the population in Benghazi has multiplied by almost ten times over the last fifty years. The population growth in the city due to migration has created serious problems, namely lack of housing, lack of services, squatter settlements and the uncontrolled extension of the city at the expense of surrounding farming land. The area covered by Benghazi has increased more than 30 times from 1,092 hectares to 33, 000 hectares over the last forty years (D U P B 2009a). The sprawl of the city has had a serious impact on the surrounding farmland, and the consequences of this urban growth are that the area of planted arable land in the region shrank about four times between 1995 and 2007.

Over the last three decades, there has been a worldwide agreement and evidence among researchers and demographers that migration could have negative and positive influences on both origin and destination regions. With regards to migration policies, they are useful to determine movement streams and it can be claimed that these strategies also influence development (Mberu 2006; WMR 2005 cited in I O M 2006). In Middle East and North Africa, rural to urban migration has increased considerably over the last fifty years. In Libya, the majority of movements were significantly affected and accelerated after the discovery of oil. Yet these movements were caused by a stagnant economy in rural areas which was a result of inadequate career and income opportunities.

In conjunction with this general trend, increasingly, many local, regional and global organizations have turned their attention towards rural to urban migration with special consideration being paid to its impact on urban growth. A large body of literature has been developed in modern years around the subject in developing countries suggesting that rapid urban growth is the most important problem of the modern era (Rowland 1992; Islam 1999; Al Ghariani 2006), hence becoming the greatest challenge facing the countries. Despite the fact that Libya is experiencing rapid urbanisation it is an exception to this general trend, as migration in general and internal migration in particular in Libya has not been evaluated or subjected to critical investigation over the last twenty five years. Therefore, this thesis has aimed to analyse and develop a critical evaluation of the impacts of internal migration on Benghazi city over the past five decades; special stress has been put on Libyan policies in relation to internal migration using an interpretive approach by combing quantitative and qualitative methods.

8.2. Summary of Key Findings

The main aim of this research is to determine and critically evaluate the impact of internal migration on Benghazi city, and to examine the government's policy with regard to internal migration. This goal has been achieved and the negative and positive effects of internal migration and the government's policy are determined and analysed (chapter 6 and 7). To support this aim, four additional objectives, which were mentioned in chapter one section 1.3, have been achieved as a helpful and rational way of summarising the findings of the present study.

The first objective was met through identifying and analysing the volume, patterns and net flows of internal migration to Benghazi. A broad investigation of internal migration patterns over time were represented in chapter five, including in-migration, reasons for migration, out-migration and net-migration. It was found that internal migration in Libya is mainly affected by the exploitation of oil revenues, which were dispensed extensively in the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. As a result, remote and rural areas were neglected, forcing families from these areas to migrate to the city of Benghazi for economic purposes (rural to urban migration) where most of them sought employment in public services. The suggestion is that this movement is

mainly due to economic reasons. People migrated from small towns and rural areas to Benghazi city as a consequence of limited employment and poor income opportunities that migrants had experienced in their places of origin, but these results disagree with the hypothesis of Sjaastad and Lee. The migrants sought better employment opportunities and higher and regular incomes. Findings showed that the direction of internal movement in Libya has generally been from the south (desert) to north (coastal) governorates. Regarding the direction of migration streams to Benghazi, the major sources of migrants to Benghazi were Misurata, Algebal Alkhdar, El-Khalig and Derna. As discussed in chapter five, migrants who came from those governorates made up the biggest proportion of immigrants to the Benghazi governorate. It was also found that migration to Benghazi was not direct, in other words, step-migration was involved and is in agreement with Ravenstein's Laws of migration . The results in chapter five demonstrated that Benghazi continues to be a significant region of attraction for migrants in Libya over the last fifty years. Another important point to stress is that the net flows of internal migration has always been positive for Benghazi, this is obvious as evidence suggests that migration has played a key role in the rate of population growth (Chapter 5 and 6).

The second objective of this thesis was to undertake a critical investigation of the demographic, economic and social characteristics of immigrants to Benghazi. This objective was achieved by obtaining data from a number of population censuses and questionnaires, the results of which are shown in chapter five. The data reveals a key empirical finding related to migration selectivity. It was found that migration to Benghazi involves children and old people, for example, the proportion of migrants less than 15 years old was about 20 per cent. This is apparent evidence that migration to Benghazi was a bulk exodus of the family unit to take advantage of the availability of employment opportunities, in addition to educational services in the city. The results of this objective, presented in chapter six, conclude that the majority of migrant workers operated in the service sector. The proportion of workers in this sector was about 83.1 per cent. Findings from the field work revealed that the rate of unemployment of migrants decreased from 57.3 per cent before migration to 28.7 per cent of total heads of households after moving to Benghazi. Furthermore, the education status of migrants tends to be relatively similar to the status of population

at destination. There was a disparity in educational qualifications of the heads of households before and after movement. Some of the migrant heads of households have improved their education after movement, where the proportion of those who continued with their education was about 6.7 per cent of the total sample. In contrast the illiteracy rate has fallen to about half of the pre-movement level. However, this thesis highlights evidence that the bulk of migrants were married (58.1 per cent of people above aged 15 years old). There is no doubt that the increase in the amount of married couples amongst migrants accompanied by their families is another piece of evidence that movement to Benghazi was family migration (Chapter 5).

The third objective was to undertake a critical analysis of the economic, social and demographic impacts of internal migration in Benghazi. In order to formulate a more in depth analysis of negative and positive effects of migration, these impacts were examined through combining a quantitative method with qualitative data (interviews with policy makers, questionnaire interviews with heads of households, in-depth case study interviews with selected families, population, agricultural and housing data censuses) as presented in the methodology chapter. It was found that the major factor which affected the city's population size is the significant impact of internal migration on population growth. During the period of study gross streams of internal migration was all the time positive for Benghazi (Chapter 5). Together with natural population increase, Benghazi has increased by more than nine fold over the last fifty years, hence the total population rose from 69,718 people in 1954 to 608,782 persons in 2006. Another finding to highlight in this conclusion is that internal migration in Libya has played a key role in the damage to agricultural land through neglect, due to lack of farming labour and resources; this has a dual effect, in the short term it increased the amount of workers in the service sector moving to cities and in the long term transformed the community to a consumption pattern based on systems from overseas when before it was relying on self-sufficiency.

A significant result of this research has been the observation of the spread of rural life to the city (ruralisation of the city) through internal migration (rural to urban migration). In other words, migrants left the farm land and migrated to Benghazi in search of a better livelihood. These migrants in Benghazi had many links with their rural areas, and then created a new phenomenon called ruralisation of Benghazi.

This has led to the fact that internal migration from the countryside to the city is still a major part in the proportion of urban population. Consequently the rate of urban extension of the city of Benghazi has increased from 1,092 hectares in 1966 to about 33, 000 hectares in 2009 at an annual rate of about 12 per cent during the last decade. This expansion took place at random at the expense of the surrounding agricultural land (the most fertile areas) without taking into consideration the laws and regulations of the protection of farming land. This in turn has led to a sharp and worrying decline in the area of productive agricultural land and agricultural production, between the lowest decline (- 56.7 per cent) for the number of camels and highest decrease (- 97.9 per cent) for the number of poultry during the period 1995 to 2007. However, this thesis has shown that there was also conclusive evidence from the explosion in the number of squatter settlements that Benghazi is still receiving new migrants (Chapter 5). Due to the increase in land prices in the downtown city and the government not controlling loans in and around the city for building houses, a great part of dwellings have been built on farm land in violation of the laws and legislation. In 2007 alone 8,269 squatter houses were built in four squatter blocks.

Achieving the third objective has highlighted the pressure on public services and housing, as there is a very serious shortage of accommodation in Benghazi. It was clear from the field work findings that there was an average of 7.7 people per dwelling, also the price and rent of housing has risen considerably, especially between 2005 and 2008, these were an obvious indicator of a lack of housing (Chapter 5-6). It is concluded that the high levels of migration to Benghazi certainly places pressure on available public utilities such as education and health services, for example the classroom density in the city is higher than in other regions of Libya in all levels of education. Furthermore there was a serious shortage of primary and secondary schools in the city (Chapter 6). Another vital issue is that there were low indexes of health services in Benghazi. According to the findings of the field study, the vast majority of head of households (75 per cent) reported that the service is not commensurate with the number of people and medicine is not available, as a significant percentage (42 per cent) of the population total receives about 20 per cent of health services. The current study showed that migration has a significantly positive influence on migrants' well being and living, in the case of Benghazi, the

mean monthly income of head of households has improved from 185.11 dinars before migration to 491.47 dinars after migration, plus they took advantage of health and education services for instance. As shown in Chapter 5 about 6.7 per cent of total migrants continue their education in Benghazi.

The final objective was to carry out a critical evaluation the socio-economic challenges to policy with respect to family immigration in Benghazi (chapter seven). This objective was achieved through the mixing of quantitative and qualitative data (a series of interviews and discussions with decision makers in Benghazi, in-depth narrative case studies with heads of families, and secondary data from government information and development plans). The evaluation of government policies with reference to family migration in Libya showed that the government has sought, through various plans, to reduce these inequalities in livelihood standards and to produce a balance in social services and employment opportunities (spatial development) among these regions, hoping to reduce the flow of internal migration from rural and remote areas to cities. The government utilised some strategies including (I) supplying social services to the rural population, and setting up projects that provide new job opportunities in rural and remote areas. (II) establishing new agricultural projects to produce attractive settlements for nomadic and semi-nomadic people. (III) providing employment and a decent quality of life for the nomads and semi-nomadic people, and encouraging the stability of farmers on their land.

On the other hand, this study found evidence that the state has worked to decrease the level of employment in the government sector over the last twenty five years, and to raise the amount of permanent jobs, at the same time trying to place Libyan workers in the foreign workers occupations through the replacement policy (Libyanisation of the workforce policy). It was clear from the results that housing policies in Libya have tried to produce a quality spatial development, re-distribution of inhabitants, and to retain people in remote and rural populations by discouraging internal migration flows to urban centres. To provide sufficient houses in all regions of Libya, policies have acted through a three part programme: direction of public housing projects for households that were unable to get access to housing; the agriculture housing project providing housing for farmers on their farms; and self-

help building which is encouraging households to build their own dwellings by offering loans.

Another key empirical finding in this thesis related to immigration policies. It was found that internal migration is a complex matter and according to senior government informants in Benghazi, Libya has appropriate and successful policies regarding internal migration. However, this research found that there was a noticeable difference between policy aspiration and what had been done on the ground (Chapter 7). It is very important to bear in mind that these policies will not be enough to stop internal migration streams in Libya, and there is a need for further policies which are based on empirical research such as the present study.

8.3. Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis represents a major contribution to the wider literature of internal migration in general and family migration in particular. As far as the researcher can ascertain from the literature on Libya and the Middle East countries, this thesis is the first ever factual study in the field of internal migration in Libya to study family migration and its effects on the receiving communities (demographic, economic and social) and examine this phenomena together with relevant government policy, by combining both quantitative method and qualitative data. This is perhaps the most significant contribution made by this study, as most studies consider only one aspect of migration such as, who are moving, why individuals are migrating, what are the directions and patterns of movement and what are the consequences of migration.

Another major contribution of this thesis is to guide future assessment for experts, planners, and decision makers in Libya, to deal with family migration problems and to be a starting point for future studies (especially issues investigated in chapters six and seven) about Libya in particular and South Africa and the Middle East in general.

8.4. The Research Methodology

This research is an empirical study that investigates and analyses the impact of internal migration on Benghazi using an interpretivist approach. Therefore it has combined quantitative data with qualitative method to fulfil the overall aim and

objectives. Mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches was a very helpful technique with the aim of gaining and examining the research data from both primary and secondary sources, also in order to triangulate in-depth interviews with experienced personnel (policy makers), a questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews (narrative case studies), field observations, census data and theoretical basis such as Ravenstein, Lee and Sjaastad theories. Using standardised approaches was an effective means for this study programme for both understanding key informants' views and to present outcomes for the total sample of migrant households.

8.5. Research Limitations

Some limitations faced the researcher during the period of this research. One of the most important limitations was the availability of data; there was no information available on internal migration between small administrative units, both rural to urban and urban to rural, the statistics available being only for larger directorial units. Yet it is very hard to follow and assess accurately the distribution of people in urban and rural regions, as a result of the differences in the definitions of urban and rural in Libyan population censuses (Chapter 6). Therefore, it was complex to measure exactly the number of rural migrants to Benghazi city. This constraint was overcome by using the field work data and Registry Office records.

Another significant problem was the 1954 population census did not supply any data on internal migration; it only stated numbers of foreign migrants. A further limitation was that there was no data on migrants by sector of economic activity in the 1995 census. There was limited information regarding State policies at city level, the analysis was sometimes based on data generated by the government which was outdated, because it was the only comprehensive data available on policy responses to internal migration in Libya. Also there was lack of studies on the impact of family migration and policy responses in developing countries. This research is the first attempt in Libya hence it was extremely difficult to find research which could be useful to inform the same type of study for the Libyan case.

On the other hand, regardless of these limitations, the present study has reached useful findings and results regarding diverse aspects of internal migration in Libya.

8.6. Conclusion Summary

This section summarises the significant conclusions drawn from across the study, in order to reach an appropriate understanding of the phenomena of internal migration based on a critical analysis and evaluation of its impact on Benghazi city as well as the government's policy responses. Although the research on migration is very significant for planners, experts and policy makers, studies in the field of internal migration in general and rural to urban migration, in particular in Libya, were found to be extremely limited in quantity and scope.

Overall, the present thesis concludes that rural to urban migration increased rapidly after the discovery of oil. This research concludes that there was a serious impact on the city of Benghazi and its population in terms of economic, social and demographic aspects, yet at the same time having positive impacts on the migrants themselves in terms of gaining a better life and social services (education and health care). Another key conclusion from this study is that internal migration policy processes in Libya are weak and inadequate and require much attention in order to ensure that future internal migration is both planned and controlled.

8.7. Policy Implications

This section summarises implications drawn from results of the investigation of the previous findings (chapters 5-7), showing the most significant policy implications of the impact of internal migration to the city of Benghazi, and Government policies. Thus, the following policy implications are suggested:-

> First, to solve the housing problem in Benghazi, the Government must make an integrated housing policy to provide housing through the implementation of a long-term housing plan which would last for 15 years and be divided into three five-year plans beginning in 2011 to 2025 (first plan 2011 - 2015, second plan 2016 -2020 and third plan 2021 -2025) in three major axes, namely the finance of public housing, provision of loans to people who are

unable to build houses and by encouraging real estate companies in the field of housing construction (Chapter 6)

➢ Second, the protection of the agricultural land from urban expansion is a challenge for policy makers in Libya. However, the study shows there is an urgent need for agriculture, industry and economic planning ministries to study this serious issue to develop appropriate solutions (strong legislation and laws to protect agricultural land) before siginficant degradation or loss occurs.

➢ Third, the researcher sees that (according to the principle that prevention is better than cure) the lack of development of remote and rural areas is a key factor in the process of rural to urban migration. Therefore, Government should give more attention to policies concentrating on how to strengthen undeveloped regions economically and socially in order to re-establish rural populations and to encourage migrants (counterstream migration) to return to their original dwellings, as well as to raise the country's agricultural capacity.

➢ Fourth, there is a pressing need to establish a new ministry of migration affairs in Libya similar to the ministry established in Egypt and other countries. Such a ministry is vital to undertake studies and provide a good base of data to enable planners and decision makers to shape and formulate successful migration policies in the future.

➢ Fifth, there is a lack of data available from general population censuses regarding rural to urban and urban to rural migration, and also regarding the characteristics of migrants and the causes of migration. Therefore, it is recommended by the researcher to take into account these issues in subsequent censuses. Furthermore, adopting a fixed administrative division would provide a positive basis for future censuses and plans.

➢ Sixth, the study concludes there is a rapid growth of squatter settlements in and around the city. Therefore, there is an urgent need to establish a strong foundation for surveillance, a more competent control of these constructions and tighten controls on the city surrounding land. On the other hand,

establishing centres of urban services in agricultural areas would be a positive activity.

8.8. Suggestions for Further Research

In view of the major arguments of the study, several key areas have been generated from the present research study. The study has highlighted the need for further research and investigation, as they are outside the scope of the present research, they can be summarised as follows:-

➢ This study has focused mainly on the impacts of internal migration in Benghazi and Government policies. The thesis however, did not cover all types of migration, and to give a comprehensive picture of migration in Benghazi city there is an obvious need to investigate international migration, especially illegal migration from neighbouring countries. As mentioned in Chapter six, Benghazi is receiving large numbers of migrants from Arab and African countries, who do not appear in the population censuses and other official records.

➢ Future research could be done on the relationship between internal migration to major cities in Libya and some associated variables; namely the expansion of squatter settlements, high rate of traffic accidents and urban expansion at the expense of surrounding agricultural land, low agricultural production, low water levels and high salinity. These kinds of studies would enable a wider understanding of the main problems in Libyan cities, and would help planners and policy makers to restrict these difficulties in the future.

➢ The major emphasis of this research has been on the impact of internal migration to Benghazi as an urban centre and as this aim has mainly been achieved, a future study should be carried out to find out more detail of the reasons behind the migration from the countryside to the city in Libya and to investigate the effects of internal migration on rural areas.

➢ There is no comprehensive research to examine the most important strengths and weakness in the development plans with relation to the redirection of population and reduce rural urban migration (reciprocal relation between

migration and development). The researcher has argued that the real worth of such research would help to develop an understanding of the feasibility of continuing plans to spend billions of dinars to develop desert areas or, in contrast, to focus on the development of coastal areas instead.

Once these subjects are studied they will supplement the results of this thesis and will reinforce the current research into the migration process in Libya.

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II) Results of an in-depth case study of selected families (narratives)

III) Field observations

IV) Key informant interviews (policy makers) including:-

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Chair of the Environmental Protection Agency in Benghazi (Personal Communication, July to October, 2008)

Head of the General Popular Committee for Agriculture in Benghazi (Personal Communication, July to October, 2008)

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Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Health in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration puts pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

Do you think that there is a lack of health services currently? Explain

What is the Health Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Does the State build hospitals and clinics in line with the growth of population?

Yes   No

Why do people go to private clinics?

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Health with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Education in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

What is the Education Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Do you think that there is a lack of educational services currently? Explain

Does the state build schools in line with the growth of the number of pupils?

Yes   No   why

1- Number of pupils increased up to 70 in one class.

2- Why pupils are studying in two different periods a day (years five and above in the morning and Years one to four in the afternoon)

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Education with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Spatial Planning (Housing) in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

Does the State provide houses in line with the growth of population?

Yes   No   why

1- Price of housing is continuously increasing

2- Growth of slums in and around the city

Do cleaning companies collect rubbish (garbage) regularly?

Yes   No   why

1- We see accumulation of rubbish on streets

2- You do not recycling the rubbish

What is your opinion for this problem (proper solution)?

Do you think that there is a shortage of houses currently?

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Housing with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What is the Housing Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Agriculture in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

Do you think that the expanding of city is at the expense of surrounding agricultural land over the past fifty years?

Yes   No   If yes how many hectares

What is the correct policy for this phenomenon?

Does the State protect the surrounding agricultural lands of the city?

Yes   No

1- Why we see people are intruding on agricultural lands

What is the Agriculture Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Agriculture with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Chair of the Environmental Protection Agency (Water and Sewage)

in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

Do you think that there is a shortage of drinking water, sewage and electricity now?

If all houses in Benghazi linked with the main network of sewage

Yes   No   why

1- Many houses have tanks for compilation sewage.

2- Sewage runs in some of the streets on the ground.

3- Sewage is ending at Sea coast

What is your opinion for this problem (proper solution)?

Does the State provide drinking water to every house?

Yes   No   why

1- Many of people buy water

2- Some houses are not linked with the main pipe line of water in the city

3- Drinking water sometimes becomes contaminated

What is the Electricity, Water and Gas Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Does the State provide the energy resources (electricity and gas)?

Yes   No   why

1- There is frequent electricity break down especially during the winter seasons

What is your opinion for this problem (proper solution)?

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Electricity, Water and Gas with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Transportation in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

Does the state build new roads in line with the increasing number of cars?

Yes   No   why

- Roads are jammed

Do you think that size and number of roads commensurate with the number of vehicles?

Yes   No   why

1- Journey inside the city now takes longer than before

2- An increased the rate of accidents in the city

What is your opinion for this problem (proper solution)?

What is the Transportation Ministry's policy response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Do you think that there is a lack of transport and communication services currently?

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Transportation with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Interview with

Head of the General Popular Committee for Manpower in Benghazi

What is your opinion of migration to Benghazi?

Do you think the State encourages people to migrate internally?

Yes   No   How

Do you think that migration put pressure on public services in the city?

Yes   No   Explain

What is the Manpower Ministry policy's response to family immigration in Benghazi?

Does the state created new projects to provide employment opportunities?

Yes   No   why

1- Many people are unemployed

2- People do informal kind of labour activities for example selling things in the streets

Do you think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

What are the obstacles and difficulties faced by the Ministry of Manpower with respect to family immigration in Benghazi?

What are the impacts of internal migration of families on the economic, social and demographic situation of Benghazi?

Does Libya have policy regarding internal migration? Explain

Does Libya need a policy for internal migration? Explain

In your opinion what is the best policy regarding family migration in Benghazi?

Appendix (A2) an Example of an In-depth Interviews (Narrative Case Studies)

Place of interview: Al Mokhtar Quarter

 Date of interview: 13   / 10   / 2008

Interview number: (5 / A   )

I am Sixty-three. My family consists of fourteen people including my wife, four sons, six daughters and two grandchildren. I came from a farming village in Almarj in 2000 which is around a hundred kilometres away from Benghazi.

Before I migrated to Benghazi, I studied to a secondary level of education after which I married, and worked in the service sector where my salary was two hundred and fifty LYD per month. In other words my standard of living was low and which was the reason I moved from Almarj. The reason why I chose to relocate to Benghazi was because I already had relatives and friends in Benghazi. In Almarj my children found it difficult to secure employment and I saw my village backward, socially, culturally and economically. I have a strong relationship with my place of birth and visit it once a week.

I believe that my standard of living is better now than it was previously and my income has risen to three hundred and fifty LYD. My children found employment opportunities and I obtained a bachelors degree in law and I am now a postgraduate student. I think that should the same economic opportunities, services and privileges arise in my place of origin, I would go back there as I own agricultural land there, my family is there and I take pride in my village.

Currently, my family is living in a rented house where they share five rooms between fifteen of them. I complain about the small size of the house, limited number of

rooms and the disintegration of social relations in the city. I consider the level of the infrastructure and social services in Benghazi is forever falling and the crime level has risen recently. In addition there is encroachment on the surrounding agricultural land.

On the other hand, I think that migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited to stabilise the population in rural areas. Furthermore, better facilities should be provided in the city in terms of public services, routes, housing, health care and sewage.

Appendix (B) the Questionnaire Survey

Coventry
University

Faculty of Business, Environment and Society
Department of Geography, Environment & Disaster Management

Field Questionnaire

On

Internal migration in Benghazi - Libya

By Mussa Saad

Data for this survey Questionnaire will be treated as confidential and will be used only for purposes of research for my PhD. Your responses are highly appreciated, as a contribution to understand the effects of internal migration and policy responses in the region of Benghazi.

Place of interview: ………………….

Date of interview   /   / 2008

Sampling Number (   )

Part I: General information for head of household:

Question Number	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip to
1	How old are you now?	Years	
2	sex	Male Female	
3	What is your educational status now?	1- Illiterate 2- Can read only 3- Can read and write 4- Primary 5- Preparatory 6- Secondary 7- Undergraduate 8- Post-graduate	
4	What is your current marital status?	1- Single 2- Engaged 3- Married 4- Divorced 5- Widowed	
5	How long have you lived in Benghazi?	years	
6	If you were not born in Benghazi.	1- Place of birth 2- Date of arrival	
7	What type of settlement were	Village or farm :	

	you born in?	Town :	
		City :	
8	Where did you live previous to moving to Benghazi?		
9	Your family size and composition?		

Part II: Information about period before migration:

Question Number	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip to
1	What was your age at the time of arrival?	Years	
2	What was your educational status before moving?	1- Illiterate 2- Can read only 3- Can read and write 4- Primary 5- Preparatory 6- Secondary 7- Undergraduate 8- Post-graduate	
3	What was your marital status before moving?	1- Single 2- Engaged 3- Married 4- Divorced 5- Widowed	
4	What was your employment status before moving?	1- Had an occupation 2- Unemployed	
5	Which sector did you work in?	1- Agricultural sector 2- Industry sector	

		3- Services sector	
6	What type of accommodation did you live in before moving?	1- Tent 2- Shanty 3- Old House 4- Modern House 5- Flat 6- Villa 7- Other	
7	What was your income before moving?	Monthly	
8	Did you know somebody in Benghazi before you moved here?	1- Yes 2- No	
9	What is your relationship to them?		
10	Did you receive any kind of help from them before you moved?	1- yes 2- no	
11	What type of help?	1- House 2-Job 3-money	
12	What are the reasons for leaving your last place o residence (push factors)?		
13	What are the reasons for moving to Benghazi (pull factors)?		
14	Do you have agricultural land in your place of origin?	1- Yes 2- No	
15	How many hectares?	Hectares	
16	Who is working the land while you are here?		

17	Did you visit Benghazi before moving to it, as a resident?	1-Yes 2- No	
18	How many times have you changed your place of residence before moving here?	1- Once 2- Twice 3- Three times 4- More than three times	
19	Has your absence affected agricultural production?	1- Yes 2- No 3- I do not know	
20	Why did you come to Benghazi in particular, and not to other cities in Libya?		
21	What was your standard of living before moving here?	1- Very good 2- Good 3- Average 4- Low	

Section III: information about Migrant's relationship with the origin place after migration:

Question Number	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip to
1	Do you usually visit your home?	1- Yes 2- No	If no skip to 303
2	How many times do you visit?	1- Daily 2- Once a week 3- Once a month	

		4- Once or twice a year	
		5- I do not visit at all	
3	When you first came to Benghazi, did you come alone or with the family?	1- Alone 2- With the family	If with the family skip to 305
4	When did your family join you?		
5	Have you ever sent money back to your family?	1- Yes 2- No	If no skip to 401
6	How much do you send per year?	Dinar	
7	For what does your family use the money?		

Section IV: information about Housing and living conditions in Benghazi:

Question Number	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip to
1	Where did you live when you came here?	1- With a relative 2- With friends 3- In rented house 4- Your own house.	
2	Do you now live in a government house?	1-Yes 2-No	
3	What type of housing you have now?	1- Tent 2-Shanty 3- Old House 4- Modern House 5- Flat 6-Villa 7-Other	

4	How many rooms are there in your house?	1- One 2- Two 3- Three 4- Four 4- More than four	
5	How many people are living in this house?		
6	Does your house have the following?	1- Electricity 2- Piped drinking water 3 – Telephone(land line)	
7	Does your house have the following?	1- Cooker 2-First aid 3-Radio 4-Television 5- Fridge 6- Video 7- Washing machine 8- Satellite 9- Other things	
8	Do you think that your house is suitable for your family?	1- Yes 2- No	If yes skip to 413
9	If no state the reasons		
10	What is your employment status now?	1- Have an occupation 2- Unemployed	If unemployed skip to 419
11	What is your occupation?		
12	In which sector do you work?	1- Agricultural sector 2- Industry sector	

		3- Services sector	
13	What is the basis of your employment now?	1- Permanent 2- Temporary 3- Seasonal 4- Casual	
14	What is your income now?	Monthly	
15	If you are unemployed now, why do you stay without job?		
16	How long have you been unemployed?		
17	Did you receive a loan from Government?	1- Yes 2-No	If no skip to
18	If yes, state more information such as :	1- Source of the loan 2- Date of obtaining it 3- The amount 4- The purpose	
19	What do you think is your standard of living?	1- Very good 2- Good 3- Average 4- Low	
20	Do you still continue with your studies?	1-Yes 2- No	If no skip to 427
21	What is the stage you are at now?		
22	What level of education have you achieved since your moving to Benghazi?	1- Primary 2- Preparatory 3- Secondary 4- Undergraduate 5- Post-graduate	

23	Do you like living in Benghazi?	1- Yes 2- No 3- I do not know	
24	How long are you intending to stay here?	year	
25	Did you find things which made you regret moving to Benghazi?	1- 2- 3-	
26	What did you achieve by coming to Benghazi?		
27	Do you think that your life is better now than it was previously?	1- Yes 2- No 3- No difference 4- I do not know	
28	If your place of origin had the same services and privileges which are available here, would you go back?	1- Yes 2- No 3- I do not know	
29	If the answer is yes state the reason		
30	If the answer is no, state the reason		

Section V: information about Migrant's experience or ideas on impact of migration:

Question Number	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip to
1	Are you satisfied with the public services in Benghazi?	1- Yes 2- No	If yes skip to 503
2	If the answer is no	1-	

	state the reason	2- 3- 4-	
3	Do you think that the roads became more crowded than before?	1- Yes 2- No	
4	How long do you spend to reach your work place?	Minute	
5	Do you think transport and communication services are currently commensurate with the number of people?	1- Yes 2- No	
6	Do you think that the number of schools and desks commensurate with the number of pupils currently?	1- Yes 2- No	
7	Do you think that the number of pupils commensurate with the size of classroom currently?	1- Yes 2- No	
8	Do you think that number of hospitals and clinics commensurate with the number of people currently?	1- Yes 2- No	
9	Do you think that medicines are available?	1- Yes 2- No	
10	Do you think that	1- Yes	

	surgical operations conducted on time for patients?	2- No	
11	Do you think that entertainment places (theatres, parks and clubs) are commensurate with the number of people currently?	1- Yes 2- No	
12	Do you think that there is a shortage of houses?	1- Yes 2- No	
13	Is there a shortage of drinking water?	1- Yes 2-No	if no skip to 514
14	How often is water cut off from your house each week?	Once Twice Three times More than three times	
15	What is the source of drinking water in your house?		
16	How is sewage disposal of in your house?	1- Reservoir 2- Main sewage system 3- in the street	
17	Does electricity remain uninterrupted for your house?	1- Yes 2- No	If no skip to 520
18	How many times a week?	Once	

		Twice	
		Three times	
		More than three times	
19	Do you think that the rate of crime has increased in recent years in Benghazi	1- Yes 2-No	

1- Can you identify difficulties which you are suffering post-migration?

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2- Do you regret moving to Benghazi?

Yes   No   in both answers state why

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3- Are you thinking to leave Benghazi?

Yes   No   in both answers state why

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4- Do you think migration from other regions to Benghazi should be limited?

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5- If you were the Head of the General Popular Committee of Benghazi Popularity

 What actions would you take?

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Appendix (C) Statistical Tables

Table (1.C) Evaluation of health services in Benghazi by migrants education level

Educational level	Do you think that the number of health services is commensurate with the number of people in Benghazi?		
	Yes	No	Total
Illiterate	6	19	25
	24%	76%	100%
	17.6%	16.5%	16.8%
Can read only	1	4	5
	20%	80%	100%
	2.9%	3.5%	3.4%
Can read and write	0	9	9
	0%	100%	100%
	0%	7.8%	6%
Primary	3	3	6
	50%	50%	100%
	8.8%	2.6%	4%
Preparatory	9	14	23
	39.1%	60.9%	100%
	26.5%	12.2%	15.4%
Secondary	5	19	24
	20.8%	79.2%	100%
	14.7%	16.5%	16.1%
Undergraduate	10	33	42
	23.8%	76.2%	100%
	29.4%	27.85	28.2%
Post-graduate	0	15	15
	0%	100%	100%
	0%	13%	10.1%
Total	34	116	149
	22.8%	77.2%	100%
	100%	100%	100%
DF=7 Chi-square =13.207 $p < .05$			

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (2.C) Evaluation of public services in Benghazi by Family size

Family size	Are you satisfied with the public services in Benghazi?		
	Yes	No	Total
<=5	11	41	52
	21.2%	78.8%	100%
	27.5%	37.3%	34.7%
6-10	26	47	73
	35.6%	64.4%	100%
	65%	42.7%	48.7%
>10	3	22	25
	12%	88%	100%
	7.5%	20%	16.7%
Total	40	110	150
	26.7%	73.3%	100%
	100%	100%	100%
DF=2 Chi-square =6.548 p=.038			

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)

Table (3. C) Evaluation of housing problems in Benghazi by employment status

Employment status	Do you think that there is a shortage of houses?		
	Yes	No	Total
Have an occupation	15	55	70
	21.4%	78.6%	100%
	22.3%	66.3%	46.7%
Unemployed	52	28	80
	65%	35%	100%
	77.7%	33.7%	53.3%
Total	67	83	150
	44.6%	55.4%	100%
	100%	100%	100%
DF=1 Chi-square =7.819 p=.006			

Source: Benghazi questionnaire survey (2008)