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**THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TRIPOLI, LIBYA: AN EXAMPLE OF A THIRD
WORLD SOCIALIST CITY**

The University of Oklahoma

Ph.D. 1984

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TRIPOLI, LIBYA:
AN EXAMPLE OF A THIRD WORLD SOCIALIST CITY

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
HADI SALEM KSHEDAN

Norman, Oklahoma

1984

THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TRIPOLI, LIBYA:
AN EXAMPLE OF A THIRD WORLD SOCIALIST CITY
A DISSERTATION
APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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**THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TRIPOLI, LIBYA:
AN EXAMPLE OF A THIRD WORLD SOCIALIST CITY**

BY: HADI S. KSHEDAN

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This study is concerned with the growth and the spatial structure of Tripoli as it undergoes the transition from pre-industrial to industrial and, finally, to socialist city.

In focusing upon the growth and spatial structure of Tripoli, the following questions are asked:

- 1) What patterns of residential structure prevail in modern Tripoli?
- 2) What is the impact of government and public policy upon the spatial structure of Tripoli?
- 3) To what extent is the spatial configuration of contemporary residential areas in Tripoli a physical expression of the existing socio-economic divisions in the urban society?
- 4) Can the present land-use patterns of the city be explained by combinations that have been suggested for the spatial structure of the pre-industrial, industrial, and socialist industrial city land-use?

To answer these and related questions, in 1982 the author conducted a nine-month field trip survey of the residential structure of Tripoli's mahallas.

The first five chapters of this study review the historical urban development of Tripoli. In the sixth chapter an attempt is made to investigate

the factorial ecology of Tripoli. The seventh chapter attempts to create a generalized geographical model which explains the urban land-use structure of contemporary Tripoli. It has been determined that Tripoli passed through several stages of urban transformation from pre-industrial, to industrial and, finally, to a socialist city stage.

The eighth chapter covers the author's argument that adequate land-use models of Western industrial cities cannot be applied to the contemporary land-use patterns found in Tripoli. It also points out that it is almost impossible to understand Tripoli's land-use patterns without reference to particular historical developments of the city and the consequent impact of these past developments on the present structure of the city. The author concluded that Tripoli, in 1982, had a complex spatial structure which probably reflected the city in a stage of transformation resulting from the imposition of a new structure on an old one. The recent socio-economic socialist policy adopted by the current Libyan government eliminates residential segregation by providing members of the low income population with publicly-built apartments as well as by the government confiscation of private urban property from owners who owned more than the government considered adequate for their needs and its subsequent reallocation to other individual users. Such policies allow the author to assume, however, that the complex mixture composing Tripoli's present spatial structure probably will become more stabilized, resulting in a structure which may be described as an affluent Third World socialist city. When such information becomes available, it will be interesting to compare Tripoli with other cities which qualify as Third World socialist cities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people whom I wish to thank for their advice and assistance in the accomplishment of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my major advisor, Dr. Marvin Baker, for his encouragement, patience, and valuable suggestions for improving certain aspects of the draft. Also, to the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Richard Nostrand, Dr. Gary Thompson, Dr. Craig St. John, and Dr. Dee Fink, I extend my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for their untiring encouragement, support, patience and constructive criticism throughout this study.

I am deeply indebted to the Geography Department of the Al-Fath University, Tripoli, Libya, for the generous scholarship which made it possible for me to pursue a graduate program at the University of Oklahoma. The students of the Geography Department of Al-Fath University deserve special thanks for their participation in the questionnaire survey conducted in Tripoli in 1982 for without the results of the questionnaire my research would not have been complete.

I would like to thank Miss White for her help in preparing the maps and graphs necessary to complete this study. Also, my gratitude to Mrs. June McFarland for the many long hours she spent in completing the typing of this study.

Finally, I wish to thank my lovely wife, Khatma, and my children, Lupna , Lueye, and Misson, for their encouragement, patience, and support in the completion of this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study concerns the growth and spatial structure of the city of Tripoli, Libya, as it undergoes the process of transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial, and possibly to a socialist industrial city.¹

¹The term "socialist city" refers to the socio-economic fabric of socialist society as exemplified by cities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe. In these cities, communist ideology has altered the urban structure to a point where it shows some difference to that found in the capitalist free market industrial cities.

According to Scargill: "The extent of control that is exercised by government, not only over planning, but over all the main city-forming process, is so much more total and comprehensive in the socialist than it is in the non-socialist world, that there would seem to be some kind of likelihood of discovering fundamental contrasts in physical form. Such is the view of Dawson (1971) who considers that the differences in spatial organization are sufficient to support a model of the socialist city. Fisher and Ian Hamilton noted that "the very high order of control vested in the state over such matters as land ownership, land use, the degree and the direction of utilization, capital invested in all sectors, and at all levels of the economy, rents, wages, prices and even (in certain periods and certain places) movement of the population, means that the state has a power to determine the place and the form of urban development far greater than that wielded by any western government, central or local. Has the exercise of this formidable power during three decades, or even during six, created an urban form which is a distinct, special phenomenon, more or less sharply differentiated from the capitalist or market economy?" The editors contend that the answer to such a question is definitely yes, but with certain qualifications.

This study has its origins in the growing awareness of the author that many developing countries are entering a period of dramatic and far-reaching change. In less than half a century, most of these societies have moved from predominantly rural to predominantly urban countries. During the beginning of this century, less than five percent of the population of Africa, Asia, and Latin America lived in cities.² In 1950, the percentage had increased by fifteen and by 1975 it was thirty-six percent. Furthermore, during the period between 1960 and 1970, cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants grew at an average annual rate of 4.6 percent. Between 1920 and 1970, the populations of cities in the developing countries grew at the rate of two and one-half times faster than did those in developed countries.³

(continued from page 1)

In most socialist cities studied, it is noted that the expansion of central office shopping centers has ceased. Additionally, residential segregation in the socialist cities has been significantly reduced and there is great uniformity and less area specialization than in Western or North American cities where market forces operate strongly and segregation of land use came about through competition for desirable sites. Rent and land values are irrelevant in explaining the distribution of socio-economic groups. Rents are neither differentiated with location nor with housing quality. For more information about the socialist city, see: R. French and F. Ian Hamilton (Eds.), The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Form. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979); D. I. Scargill, The Forms of Cities. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 254-260; and J. Bator, The Soviet City, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), and H. Dawson, "Warsaw: An Example of City Structure in Free Market and Planned Socialist Environment," Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Social Geografie, (1972) 62: 104-113.

²G. Beir et al., The Task Ahead for the Cities of the Developing Countries, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Bank Staff Working Paper No. 209, 1975, p. 5.

³United Nations, Trends and Aspects of Urban and Rural Population 1950-2000 as Assessed in 1973-76, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Working Paper No. 55, 1976, p. 15.

This urban growth of the developing countries is a natural step toward economic development. Urbanization itself is no cause for alarm; what is alarming is the accelerating growth of urban population and, hence, the increasing urban problems to be dealt with by policy makers. Millions of people live in squatter settlements that have traffic congestion and polluted environments.⁴

With the exception of recent shanty town clearances, the general remarks above apply to a greater or lesser extent to the process of urbanization in Libya. Libya, in population the smallest and, until the 1950's, the least developed of all North African countries, has experienced the most marked shift in the level of urbanization, as well as in all other economic and social indicators, during the last two decades. This change is due to two major factors: first, the extremely low level of urbanization at which the country began; and second, the discovery of oil and its consequent development in all sectors of the economy.⁵ The population of Tripoli almost doubled

⁴Squatter settlements are defined as "make-shift housing areas by the poor in Third World cities." Some scholars prefer the term "spontaneous settlements" because of legal implications of the word "squatter." Most spontaneous settlements originate by illegal occupation of private or publicly owned land, but it is common for the occupants to later seek to legitimize their position: Scargill, 1979, p. 217.

⁵J. Abu-Lughod, "Development in North African Urbanism: The Process of Decolonization," (In): Urbanization and Counter-Urbanization, B. Berry (Ed.), (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1976), p. 191.

in less than ten years (from 297,000 in 1964 to 550,000 in 1973). Benghazi's size has increased by two-thirds, and many towns along the coast have been entering the urban realm (20,000+ inhabitants). In 1973, about sixty percent of Libya's population lived in thirty towns of 5,000 or more inhabitants; eight of them had 30,000 or more inhabitants. It was estimated that thirteen cities would have 30,000 or more inhabitants by 1979, and Tripoli's population was estimated to be 720,000 by the same year.⁶

Problem Statement

Since the concentric zone model of urban structure was developed,⁷ various models have been constructed to account for or to explain the distribution and interaction of urban inhabitants and land use. Western researchers, in their studies of urban spatial structure, have focused on Western cities. Only a few scholars have analyzed the spatial structure of cities in Third World countries, if for no other reason than simply because of the difficulty in obtaining data.⁸

⁶The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Population of Cities of More than 5,000, (Tripoli, 1979), p. 5.

⁷E. Park et al., The City, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).

⁸For more information, see the following: T. McGee, The Urbanization Process in Third World Countries: Explanation in Search for Theory, (London: Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1971); M. Baker, "Land Use Transition in Mexican Cities: A Study in Comparative Urban Geography," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University: Geography Department, 1970); H. Blake and R. Lawless (Eds.), The Changing Middle Eastern City, (London: Groom Helm, 1980); M. Bonine, "Urban Studies in the Middle East," Middle East Associates Bulletin, 10 (1976), 1-37; and from Uruk to Casablanca: Perspective on the Urban Experience of the Middle East," Journal of Urban History, (1977) 3: 169-185.

This study, as previously noted, examines the urban growth and the spatial structure of the city of Tripoli, the capital of Libya. Underlying this analysis is the belief that improved theoretical insights and more effective guidelines for policy making can be derived by undertaking a study of the dynamic geographical patterns of Tripoli. Changes in the residential, commercial, and industrial patterns will be analyzed. Third world cities such as Tripoli are experiencing far more abrupt changes than those of the developed world, a factor that will make this research especially useful.

The city of Tripoli has increased rapidly in population and area, especially during the oil exporting period of the 1960's and the oil boom of the 1970's. It has been transformed from a walled city of less than 200,000 inhabitants in 1950 to a metropolitan area with more than 820,000 inhabitants in 1982. The internal structure of Tripoli likewise has been changing greatly. Many residential, commercial, and industrial districts have been built from scratch and older ones have expanded. The most extensive land-use in Tripoli is residential which accounts for more than one-half of the developed land.⁹

In focusing upon the growth and the spatial structure of Tripoli, this study addresses the following four questions:

- 1) What patterns of residential structure prevail in modern Tripoli?
- 2) What is the impact of government and public policy on the spatial structure of Tripoli?

⁹Tripoli Municipality, Planning Department, 1980.

- 3) To what extent is the spatial configuration of contemporary residential areas in Tripoli a physical expression of the existing socio-economic divisions in the urban society?
- 4 Can the present land-use patterns of the city be explained by combinations that have been suggested for the spatial structure for the pre-industrial, Western industrial, and socialist industrial city land uses?

Given these questions, this study has four major objectives. The first objective focuses on the investigation of the nature and process of the growth and the spatial structure of the city. The internal structure and growth of Tripoli are treated in four major periods. First, during the pre-colonial period, Tripoli was compact, small, divided into quarters, and surrounded by walls. The second period or the Italian colonization period is characterized by the creation of a new city south of the Old Madina. During the post-independence period and as a result of political independence, a rearrangement of population took place: the departure of the Jews and Italian minorities, the movement of some indigenous populations, and the emergence of new residential areas as a result of the increasing demand for more housing, especially on the periphery of the city. Finally, during the revolutionary period (1969-1982), Tripoli has developed several elements which are judged to be characteristics of a socialist city, e.g., a decline of the central business district and a reduction in residential segregation.

The second objective is concerned with the impact of the central government and public policy on the spatial structure of Tripoli. The impact

of government and public policy on the urban spatial structure have received little attention in the geographic literature. Yet, it is of vital concern in certain economic and political systems. The most important characteristic of the Libyan system is the predominance of the public sector. Only a few of the previous spatial structure models have considered the effects of government or of public policies; rather they assume that residential patterns are a result of relatively free market forces. Since 1969, the control of the land and housing market can be singled out as the most significant government control in Tripoli. Since 1978 and after the publication of Kaddafi's Green Book,¹⁰ the General Popular Committee has Issued Law No. 4 by which all private urban land as well as rented houses have been confiscated by the government which has, in turn, allocated them to individual users. The central government has significantly influenced land-use patterns in Tripoli through its policies and actions. The economic organization of land-use as stipulated in the standard models of city structure has taken place only to a limited extent in Tripoli. It has operated within definite policy and legal frameworks designed by the government authorities. These frameworks have restrained the operation of economic forces and have limited the tendency of these forces to influence the spatial patterns of land-use within the city. Consequently, one would expect that land-use patterns in Tripoli, which may resemble the classical city structure models, are mainly coincidental and are not the result of an urban land market mechanism within Tripoli.

¹⁰ M. Kaddafi, The Green Book, (London: Martin, Brian and O'Keefe, 1976.

The third objective of this study focuses on the residential patterns of Tripoli using demographic and socio-economic data. Ecological studies of residential structure employing factor analysis to analyze demographic and socio-economic data for cities in the United States have consistently identified three basic factors of differentiation: economic status, family status, and ethnic status.¹¹ Since significant differences exist in culture and economic development between the United States and Libya, the problem to be investigated is the identification of the distinguishing factors as manifested by particular socio-economic groups in Tripoli.

The fourth objective of this study concentrates on the possibility of applying urban models which have been suggested for the spatial structure for the pre-industrial, Third World, and socialist industrial city urban models.

According to Harrison's study (1969),¹² Misallati's study (1981),¹³ and the author's personal experiences, the spatial structure of contemporary Tripoli possesses elements of the pre-industrial, Western industrial, and socialist industrial city models of an urban spatial structure. An element of the pre-industrial model is shown by the continued location of some high income households near the center of the city, particularly in the southeastern side of the city core. At the same time, some spatial features of a Western model

¹¹ D. Herbert and J. Colin, Urban Geography: A First Approach, New York: Wiley, 1982), 391.

¹² S. R. Harrison, "Migration in the City of Tripoli," Geographical Review, 57 (1967), pp. 397-423.

¹³ A. Misallati, "Tripoli, Libya: Structure and Function as an Arab-Islamic City," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, Geography Department, 1981).

are displayed by the concentration of low-income, older households in the center of the city, particularly in the Old Madina. Additionally, there is a recent movement of the high income households to the suburbs of the city which came about as a result of the growth of car ownership, the improvement of urban roads, and the desire for more spacious living. Since 1969 the city has developed several elements in its land-use patterns which are judged to be characteristics of a socialist city—such as a decline in the central business district and the recent reduction in residential segregation in terms of housing opportunities.

In spite of the fact that the Libyan government recently adopted socialist policies, Libya's economic development has not advanced to the same level as that of Eastern Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and, until 1976, the dualism of the economy of Libya was evident. One would have expected that the spatial structure of Tripoli as related to its economic level of development would have different patterns from those exhibited in Eastern Europe. Thus, the first important issue is the extent of the similarities to and/or differences between Tripoli and cities in Eastern Europe in terms of urban growth and spatial structure. Despite the fact that Tripoli and most other North African cities have similar cultural backgrounds, the recent differences in their economic base (capital-rich and capital-poor cities), as well as the recent changes in the political system, may have had considerable effect on their current growth and their spatial structure. Thus, the second important issue is the extent of similarity to and/or differences between Tripoli and other capital cities of North African countries in terms of spatial structure and future growth.

In summary, this study is an attempt to identify the dominant patterns and processes of residential location in the city, particularly the influence of socio-cultural and institutional factors which have been the main influences in the development of contemporary residential districts in Tripoli. In addition to its value as a case study, this analysis of Tripoli also adds an important comparative chapter to our knowledge of urbanization processes world-wide.

There are two major concepts about the nature of urbanization processes. On the one hand, as Berry (1976)¹⁴ has pointed out, some social scientists have searched for a value-free universal theory. On the other hand, scholars have argued that there are different paths in the urban experiences of many countries. One could expect that the results of this study would support the second concept of the nature of the urbanization process.

This research will be carried out in a city of a developing country about which little is presently known of its urban growth and spatial structure. Tripoli represents a fine opportunity for such a geographic urban study. Moreover, the city represents special conditions which were considered in the selection of the setting for the study:

- 1) Tripoli is undergoing sudden, rapid urban growth. Consequently, the city has several urban problems such as crowding, water shortages, traffic congestion, etc. The growth and structure of the city, and the processes by which they were established, have received little serious investigation.

¹⁴B. Berry and J. Kasarda, Contemporary Urban Ecology, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1977), p. 203.

Therefore, knowledge of the processes and patterns of urban structure will facilitate the future planning of Libyan cities such as Tripoli.

- 2) Tripoli is the center for government projects. It is no accident that Tripoli has been one of the few major cities in Libya that have had a variety of government financed housing, transportation, and employment-producing projects. The city, in other words, has been experiencing all kinds of change, most of all in its residential structure. As a result of the above factors, namely government spending in housing, transportation, health, education, commerce, and industry, Tripoli has attracted many people from rural areas, other urban centers, and from outside the country. The city has become the major center for work and educational opportunities; the result is a diversity of population in social and ethnic terms.
- 3) The author's knowledge of North African cities, especially Tripoli (as a Tripolitanian resident of more than eight years), and the fact that he personally witnessed some recent urban developments have proven to be of great importance in this study. Personal observations of changes in residential patterns since the 1960's which might have escaped the notice of outside observers are important in helping to clarify the study objectives.

Organization of the Study

The introductory chapter gives some ideas about the nature of the problem and the purpose and significance of the study. Also, this chapter deals with the methodology of the study, especially the field survey in Tripoli, and it examines the paucity of relevant past studies on the cities of North Africa and Southwest Asia. Chapter Two provides an overview of the internal structure of Tripoli until 1911. The third chapter deals with the impact of the Italian occupation (1911-1943) on the spatial structure of the city, and the transformation of the city from a Turkish village with several pre-industrial city characteristics to a dual city¹⁵ with a new, planned city and the Old Madina. Chapter Four examines the spatial structure of the city during the post-colonial period (1951-1967), with particular emphasis on the indirect impact of oil exportation on the spatial structure of the city. The fifth chapter deals with the revolutionary period of Tripoli (1969-1982) and the transformation of the city from an industrial one to what may be called an affluent socialist city.

¹⁵The land-use patterns in the Third World cities often reflect a dual city in which western advanced technology has been introduced into traditional cultural situations and the two forms co-exist in a weakly integrated way. The pre-colonial city has mixtures of land-use and few clear functional areas. On the other hand, the new European city, in sharp contrast, has a more spacious layout and design with features reminiscent of Western cities. For more information about the dual city in the Third World, see: D. Herbert and C. Thomas, Urban Geography: A First Approach, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1982), pp. 85-86.

The basically chronological analysis in the first five chapters is followed by Chapter Six, a factorial ecology of Tripoli. In Chapter Seven an attempt is made to create a geographical model of the urban structure of Tripoli. This model has been created according to the results of the field surveys in Tripoli. In Chapter Eight, a comparative discussion of Tripoli and other Third World cities focuses on the similarities and differences in the contemporary urban growth and structure preceeds speculation on future urban land-use patterns of Tripoli.

Prior Urban Studies in North Africa

In North Africa as well as in Southwest Asia, urban geographical studies are few and far from comprehensive. Most of the urban studies have focused on the description of the regional setting of the city rather than on the city itself. Blake (1980)¹⁶ pointed out that:

Scholarly research in the Middle East and North Africa has lagged behind the growth of urban studies for other regions of the world and interest in other aspects of Middle East society.

Bonin (1977)¹⁷ also indicated that the traditional Middle Eastern city is still being explained in cliches and stereotypes. Bonin's two articles, published in 1976 and 1977, respectively, are among the few attempts to provide a

¹⁶Blake., et al, (1980), p. 5.

¹⁷Bonin, (1977), p. 169.

comprehensive bibliography of the studies in Southwest Asia and North Africa. Another bibliography has been published by the Population and Family Planning Board in Egypt (1978).¹⁸ Verhaegen's (1962)¹⁹ also has provided the French language research literature with a bibliography on urban studies in North Africa.

During the last two decades, five major collections of papers on the cities of Southwest Asia and North Africa have been published: The Middle Eastern City (1966),²⁰ Recent Arab City (1967),²¹ The Islamic City (1970),²² From Madina to Metropolis (1973),²³ and The Changing Middle Eastern City

¹⁸ Egyptian Population and Family Planning Board, Egyptian Bibliography (1978).

¹⁹ P. Verhaegen, L'Urbanisation de L'Afrique Noir: Son Cadre, Son Causes et ses Consequences Economique, Sociales et Culturelles. (Brussels: Center de Documentation, Economique et Social Africaine, 1962).

²⁰ I. Lapidus, Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

²¹ G. Shiber, (Ed.), Recent Arab City, (Kuwait: Kuwait Government Printing Press, 1967).

²² A. Howrani and S. Stern, (Eds.), The Islamic City: A Colloquium, (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970).

²³ L. Brown, From Madina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in Near Eastern Cities. (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1973).

(1980).²⁴ Specific cities have been subjects of several symposia. For example, there is a huge volume of about 1,000 pages on Tripoli, Libya, commemorating the 100 year anniversary of the establishment of Tripoli Municipality in 1870,²⁵ the 1,000th anniversary of the founding of Cairo (1972),²⁶ and the 1,200th anniversary of Baghdad (1962).²⁷

Most of the Southwest Asian and North African morphological studies have been conducted by Europeans (mainly British, French, and German). For instance, geographers from the University of Durham have written monographs on Misrata (Libya),²⁸ Amman (Jordan),²⁹ and Tlemcan (Algeria).³⁰

²⁴ Blake et al., (1980).

²⁵ Tripoli Municipality, Tripoli in 100 Years: 1870 - 1970, (Tripoli: Dar Etebah Al-Haditha, 1972).

²⁶ Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Culture, Colloque International Sur L'Histoire du Cairo, (Cairo, 1972).

²⁷ Baghdad: Public a L'Occasion da Mille deux Centeime Anniversaire de la Fondation, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962).

²⁸ H. Blake, Misrata a Market Town in Tripolitania, (Durham: University of Durham, Department of Geography, Research Paper Series No. 9, 1968).

²⁹ N. Hacke, Modern Amman: A Social Study, (Durham: University of Durham, Department of Geography, Research Paper Series No. 3, 1964).

³⁰ R. Lawless and H. Blake, Tlemcan: Continuity and Change in an Algerian and Islamic Town, (London: Bowker, with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Durham, 1967).

According to Bonin:³¹

The French geographers (and Orientalists) have long been prominent in the study of the Middle Eastern city structure (and history). The French Orientalists and human geographers have produced many lengthy and excellent descriptive studies, especially on the major cities of the Middle East (Lespes, 1930).³² Sauvaget (1934),³³ Weulersse (1934),³⁴ Clerget (1934),³⁵ Le Tourneau (1949),³⁶ Naciri (1963),³⁷ and Adam (1972).³⁸ These studies not only contain detailed descriptions of the region and an account of historical evolution and growth of the city, but often the cities are examined quarter by quarter describing the ethnic groups, occupations, commercial activities, architecture, and so forth.

³¹ Bonine, (1977), p. 30.

³² R. Lespes, Algeri: Etude de Geographie et d'Historie Urbanes. (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcon, 1930).

³³ J. Sauvaget, "Esquisses d'une Historie del Ville de Damas," Revue des Etudes Islamiques 8 (1934), 42-80.

³⁴ J. Weulersse, "Antioche: Essai de Geographie Urbaine," Bulletin d'etudes Obrntales, 4 (1934), 27-80.

³⁵ M. Clerget, Le Caire: Etude de Geographie Urbane et d'Histoire Economique, 2 Vols. (Cairo: E & R Schindler, 1934).

³⁶ R. le Tourneau, Fes avant le Protectorat: Etude Economique et Sociale d'une Ville de l'Occident Musluman, (Casablanca: Institut des Hufes etu der Mavocains, No. 45, 1949).

³⁷ M. Naciri, "Sale: Etude de Geographie Urbane," Revue de Geographie du Maroc, Nos. 3 and 4 (1963), 13-82.

³⁸ A. Adam, Casablanca: Essai sur la Transformation de la Societe Marocaine du Contact de l'Occident, 2 Vols. (Paris: Center National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972).

The Germans and Austrians also have dealt with the spatial structure of the Southwest Asian cities. Bonin noted that:³⁹

Geographic institutes at most German universities (and Vienna, Austria) have major faculty interests and programs in the Middle East reflected in the monographs which have been produced (Hahn, 1964;⁴⁰ Ahrens, 1966;⁴¹ Dettman, 1969;⁴² Ruppert, 1969;⁴³ Stewig, 1970;⁴⁴ Rother, 1971.⁴⁵

Brown's study of the social history of Sale (Morocco) is of great interest to students of urban studies.⁴⁶ He stresses the society's adaptability to social change, its adherence to certain cultural values, and the way the city's socio-economic structure has been transformed. The orientation of this urban history, based upon two years of field work in Sale, emphasizes the major trend in urban studies of the Southwest Asia: a blending of approaches and subject matter of many disciplines.

³⁹ Bonin, (1977), p. 46.

⁴⁰ H. Hahn, Die Stadt Kabul (Afghanistan) und ihr Umland, Teil U: Gestaltwandel einer Orientalischen Stadt. (Bonn: Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen, No. 34., 1964).

⁴¹ G. Ahrens, Die Entwicklung der Stadt Theran: Eine Stadtebauliche Unterchung ihrer Zukunftigen Gestaltung, (Opladen: C. W. Leske, 1964).

⁴² K. Dettman, Damaskus: Eine Orientalische Stadt Zwischen Tradition Und Moderne, (Erlangen: Erlanger Geographisch Arbeiten, No. 26., 1969).

⁴³ H. Ruppert, Beirut: Eine Westliche Gepragate Stadt des Orients, (Erlangen: Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten).

⁴⁴ R. Stewig, Bursa, Nordwestanatolien: Strukturwandel einer Orientalischen Stadt Unter dem Einfluss der Industrialisierung, (Kiel: Schriften des Geographischen Instituts der University at Kiel, Vol. 32., 1970).

⁴⁵ Rother (1971).

⁴⁶ K. Brown, People of Sale: Tradition and Change in Moroccan City, 1830 - 1890, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976).

Unfortunately, nongeographical disciplines have studied the North African cities in more depth. The sociologist Abu-lughod has provided the English language research literature with some knowledge, especially about the ecology of North African cities. Her study of Cairo is a very carefully documented history which emphasizes the evolution of this great city in terms of land use, as well as the sociopolitical conditions that influenced particular area development. She also examines the contemporary city by social area analysis and elaborates on the urban problems being encountered by this large metropolis.⁴⁷ Recently, Abu-lughod criticized the "dual city" concept which contains, at a minimum, two subcities: the historic pre-colonial core (the Old Madina) and the modern colonial core (the European quarter).⁴⁸ She argues that this position is not only over-simplified, but basically incorrect:

There are not only two or three "subcities" in each of these capitals (North African capitals), but an index of six fairly distinctive and coexistent urban arrangements which make up the ecological structure of North African cities.⁴⁹

The six types which must be distinguished are: 1) The Madina core, 2) the modern appendage, 3) rapidly proliferating, uncontrolled settlements, 4) peripheral suburbs, 5) rural fringe, and 6) the transitional working class zone.

⁴⁷ Abu-lughod, Cairo: 1001 Years of the City's Victories, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971).

⁴⁸J. Abu-lughod, 1976.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 204.

- 1) The Madina core which is a relatively small nucleus dating back in origin to the tenth century. It was, at the height of its medieval importance, a walled, compactly, but rationally organized, unit which contained the entire population, spatially segregated according to kinship-ethnicity, place of origin, and economic sector. Among the most striking features of the urban community was the design of the Madina to fit foot and pack animal traffic only. Wheeled carts were unknown, which resulted in a somewhat different physical design that distinguished the European Medieval cities.
- 2) The European quarters: This section was designed by Europeans or built in European style. It was considerably less dense, laid out with straight and wide streets to accommodate wheeled vehicles.
- 3) The uncontrolled settlements: This quarter consisted chiefly of self-built housing, located on the periphery of the city. The housing is single or at most two story, with heavy land coverage and creative use of salvage. Most of the people living in this quarter are migrants from rural areas.
- 4) The peripheral suburb: This section is the most urban form to make an appearance. Built for an indigenous upper-middle and upper-class society, in zones which formally extend beyond community distance to the center of the city and which are often around the nuclei of pre-existing villages. Suburban quarters are comprised largely of either "villas," or large scale

apartment complexes which are growing up and to which the government officials and the modest industrial and commercial elite who came to power after independence have been gravitating.

- 5) Rural fringe: This is a residential category, the frontiers of which are continuously but selectively being pushed back with each advance of the rapidly growing city. Occasionally, entire village settlements are engulfed; but, if it is the middle-class peripheral suburb that is advancing, these villages will in the long run probably be replaced rather than incorporated.
- 6) Finally, the Transitional working class zones: These zones, which gradually developed between the original Madina and the modern section nearby, served first as buffer zones and later as connectors between the two sections.

One of the neglected areas of urban studies in the Southwest Asia and North Africa is the problem of squatter settlements and inner-city slums. Their relation to the entire city and urbanization process must be examined as their relationship to land ownership, land speculation and planning, and the role of the state in the urban land-use pattern have been virtually ignored. The most comprehensive study on the squatter settlement in the region has been conducted by Saran (1974)⁵⁰ in his study of the Gecekondü (squatter settlement) of Istanbul, Turkey. Information about the shanty towns of Tripoli, Libya has

⁵⁰N. Saran, "Squatter Settlement (Gecekondü) Problems in Istanbul," (In): Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, pp. 327-461. P. Benedict et al., (Eds.), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974).

been provided in an article by Harrison (1967).⁵¹ Phillips (1959)⁵² has analyzed the distribution of the shanty towns in Baghdad; and the shanty towns in Saudi Arabia have been discussed by Shamekh (1975).⁵³ One of the few studies concerned with the problem of the deterioration and destruction of the fabric of the historic Old Madina is Lawless's work (1982).⁵⁴ The author argues that conservation policies and schemes for the revitalization and reconstruction in the historic cores have so far been very disappointing. He added that, "The experience of Tunis, Jerusalem, and Esfahan illustrate the difficulties. Too much has been done for tourists, too little for lower income groups of the medinas, many of whom are migrants."

The impact of rural-urban migration on the city is the focus of only a few studies in this region. Abu-lughod (1971-1980)⁵⁵ has discussed the distribution and problems of rural migrants in the North African cities in general

⁵¹Harrison, 1967.

⁵²G. Phillips, "Rural to Urban Migration In Iraq," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 7 (1959), 405-431.

⁵³A. Shamekh, "Spatial Patterns of Bedouin Settlements in Al-Gasim Region, Saudi Arabia." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, Geography Department, 1975).

⁵⁴R. Lawless, "The Future of Historic Centers: Conservation or Redevelopment," (In): The Changing Middle Eastern City, G. Blake and R. Lawless (Eds.), (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 178-208.

⁵⁵J. Abu-Lughod, (1982) and Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980).

and in Cairo and Rabat in particular. Malik (1973)⁵⁶ also has discussed the extent to which Riyadh sub-area reflect migrant residency. Another attempt to study the internal migration in the region has been done by Hay (1980)⁵⁷ on migration in Tunis. The author has shown that there are few differences between migrant and non-migrant in terms of job opportunities and unemployment rates.

In general, most of the existing studies on Southwest Asia and North African cities, both in the geographical literature and in other social science disciplines, are limited in quantity and quality for comparative urban studies. Most of these studies lack illustrations such as maps and statistical data. It should be mentioned here that all of the studies mentioned above do not focus on the differences and similarities of North African and Southwest Asian cities with other cities outside the region. Furthermore, no single study has dealt with the impact of the central government and public policy on the spatial structure of the city. This study will attempt to deal with the impact of the central government and its public policy on Tripoli's urban structure. Moreover, Tripoli's urban structure will be compared with other cities, especially the socialist cities. Consequently, the author hopes that this research will fill an important gap in the urban geographical literature of North Africa.

⁵⁶ A. Malik, "Rural Migration and Urban Growth in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Department of Sociology, 1973).

⁵⁷ M. Hay, "A Structural Equations Model and Migration in Tunis," Economic Development and Cultural Change, (1980), pp. 345-358.

One fundamental problem, however, remains critical even for the success of future urban research in the region—the constraints which result from data deficiencies. Government statistics on the city are generally inadequate for comparative urban studies. Greater interaction with practicing planners and architects could open new data sources previously restricted to these professionals, but there is no doubt that, in the future, much vital data on the city must be collected in the field by the researcher.⁵⁸ This demands both time and financial resources. The author has overcome these obstacles with the cooperation of El Faith University at Tripoli, of which the author is a faculty member.

Research Methodology

The first stage of this study was to conduct a field survey of the city. The survey included a visit to Tripoli and the collection of published data, such as government publications concerning the socio-economic characteristics of Tripoli. This data collection facilitated mapping the structure of the city.

The second stage of the study was the detailed examination of the historical growth of the city in four periods: 1) the pre-colonial period, 2) the colonial period, 3) the post-colonial period, and 4) the revolutionary period. This was done by using maps and other available materials, mainly from local libraries. The most important work in this stage was the detailed survey and mapping of the current urban structure of the city.

⁵⁸Blake., et al. 1980, p. 5.

The third stage of the study was an attempt to create a geographical model of urban structure for Tripoli City and to determine whether the structure is similar to or different from that of other Third World and socialist industrial cities.

In order to test the validity of the model in explaining the urban structure of Libyan cities, it was compared with that of other Libyan cities such as Benghazi and Kusbati.

The purpose of the field survey was to map the basic land-use pattern in Tripoli. This was done by obtaining street maps and other available maps (particularly those obtained from planning departments). A series of tours through the city was planned to ensure that each mahalla or district of the city found in the map was covered. These tours were made on foot and by automobile, and patterns and structure of land uses along the tour routes were noted. On each visit a rough land-use map was drawn for the mahalla of the city covered. After completion of the field visit to the city, a rough land-use map for the whole city was constructed.

Upon completion of the initial survey, the construction of a land-use diagram for the city was the next stage of the study. The purpose of the diagram is to illustrate the differences and similarities in land-use patterns of the city and those of other cities in Third World countries and developed socialist countries. This technique is basically the same one described by Middleton⁵⁸ and used by Baker (1970),⁵⁹ with the exception of its application

⁵⁹R. Middleton, "Measuring Intra-Urban Residential Quality: A Method for Determining Residential Morphology," The Professional Geographer, Vol. xviii (1966) 352-357.

⁶⁰Baker, 1970.

at a different setting. Besides the land use observation survey, aerial photographs of Tripoli were used to study the general land use and the construction of the land use map of Tripoli. Additionally, an attempt was made to apply factor analysis and cluster analysis techniques to socio-economic and demographic data obtained from a questionnaire survey which was conducted in Tripoli in 1982.

In summary, this study is concerned with the spatial structure of Tripoli as it undergoes the process of transition from a preindustrial to an industrial and, finally, to a socialist city. It is an attempt to identify the dominant pattern and process of residential location in the city, particularly the influence of socio-cultural and institutional factors which have been the main influences in the development of residential districts in Tripoli.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITY OF TRIPOLI

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four major parts. The first part is an introduction not only to this chapter but also to the following three chapters. The second part is devoted to the pre-Islamic period of Tripoli's historical urban development. The third section deals with the impact of the Arab Muslim occupation of the city. Finally, the fourth part is concerned with the Turkish occupation of the city, followed by a discussion of the land-use patterns found in 1911 in Tripoli as a pre-industrial city.

It is almost impossible to understand the contemporary urban structure of Tripoli without references to the particular historical urban development of the city. It is necessary, therefore, to review the historical development of Tripoli to illustrate that particular constellation of forces, such as political, economic, and social, which set the stage for development in Tripoli.

The internal structure of Tripoli has changed over four major periods: the pre-colonial period, the colonial period, the post-colonial period, and the

revolutionary period. During the pre-colonial period, Tripoli was compact, small, divided into six residential quarters and surrounded by walls. Between 1911-1951, or during the colonial period, a new city was created south and west of the Old Madina. Through colonial imposition, several developments took place: the creation of new transportation systems which included newly widened and paved streets, a new central business district, new residential areas, and new light industrial areas. Contemporary Tripoli owes its internal structure to the events and processes of these two periods as well as the post-colonial period and the revolutionary periods. Since independence, a rearrangement of population within the city has taken place. This includes the departure of Jewish and Italian minorities in 1967 and 1970,¹ respectively, the increasing number of rural migrants to the city, the creation of new residential areas on the periphery of the city, shanty town clearance and public housing programs (mainly to house shanty town residents), and the socialist housing and commercial policies adopted by the current government. All of these factors had great impact on the internal structure of contemporary Tripoli. The following four chapters provide detailed analysis of the urban structure of Tripoli during the four major periods of urban development.

¹ Since 1948 and because of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, several Anti-Zionist riots had forced all the Jews in Libya to migrate to Israel. In 1970, the Libyan government ordered all the Italian minority in Libya to leave the country.

The Pre-Islamic City

Despite the fact that Tripoli's morphological structure as a pre-industrial Islamic city was mainly developed during the Muslim Arab and Turkish occupations (642-1911), the origin of Tripoli as a city came during the settlement of the Phoenicians on the west coast of Libya and the establishment of three major commercial centers of Oia (Tripoli), Sebrata, and Leptis Magna about 800 B.C.² Some historians believe that the Phoenicians came from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Other historians claimed that Oia (Tripoli) was founded by Sicilians who would have been Phoenicians already abroad, not native Sicilians.³

The Phoenicians were very successful in choosing the site of the city. In addition to its natural harbor and the existence of potable ground water, the city was located between the two major Phoenician settlements of Sebrata in the west and Leptis Magna in the east (Figure 1). The city was also located on the caravan route which was the natural link between Mediterranean Europe and Africa south of the Sahara.

Although the exact location of the Phoenician settlement of Oia is not known, some historians believe that it was located at the northeast side of present day Old Madina,⁴ (Figure 2).

²A. El-Barghuti, The Old History of Libya. (Tripoli: University of Tripoli, 1972), p. 11.

³K. Etlissi, The Story of Madina: Tripoli. (Tripoli: Dar El Feker, 1974), p. 3.

⁴N. El-Keep, Tripoli: Throughout the Ages. (Tripoli: Edar Alarbia Lelketab, 1978), p. 16.

PHOENICIAN COLONIES ON THE LIBYAN COAST

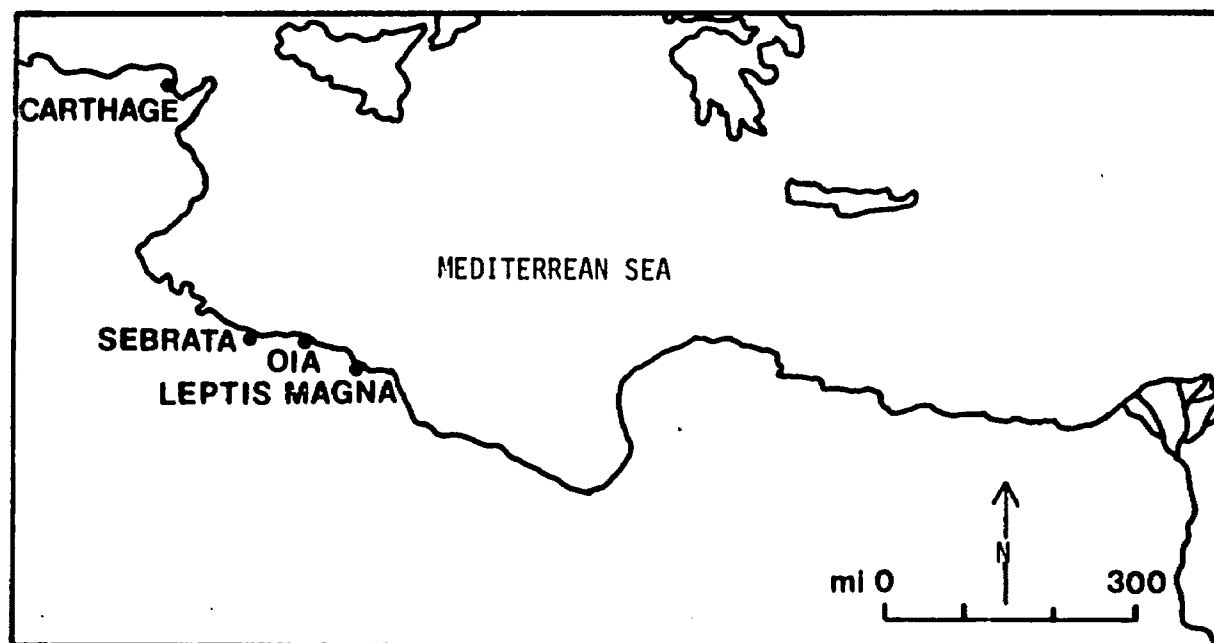
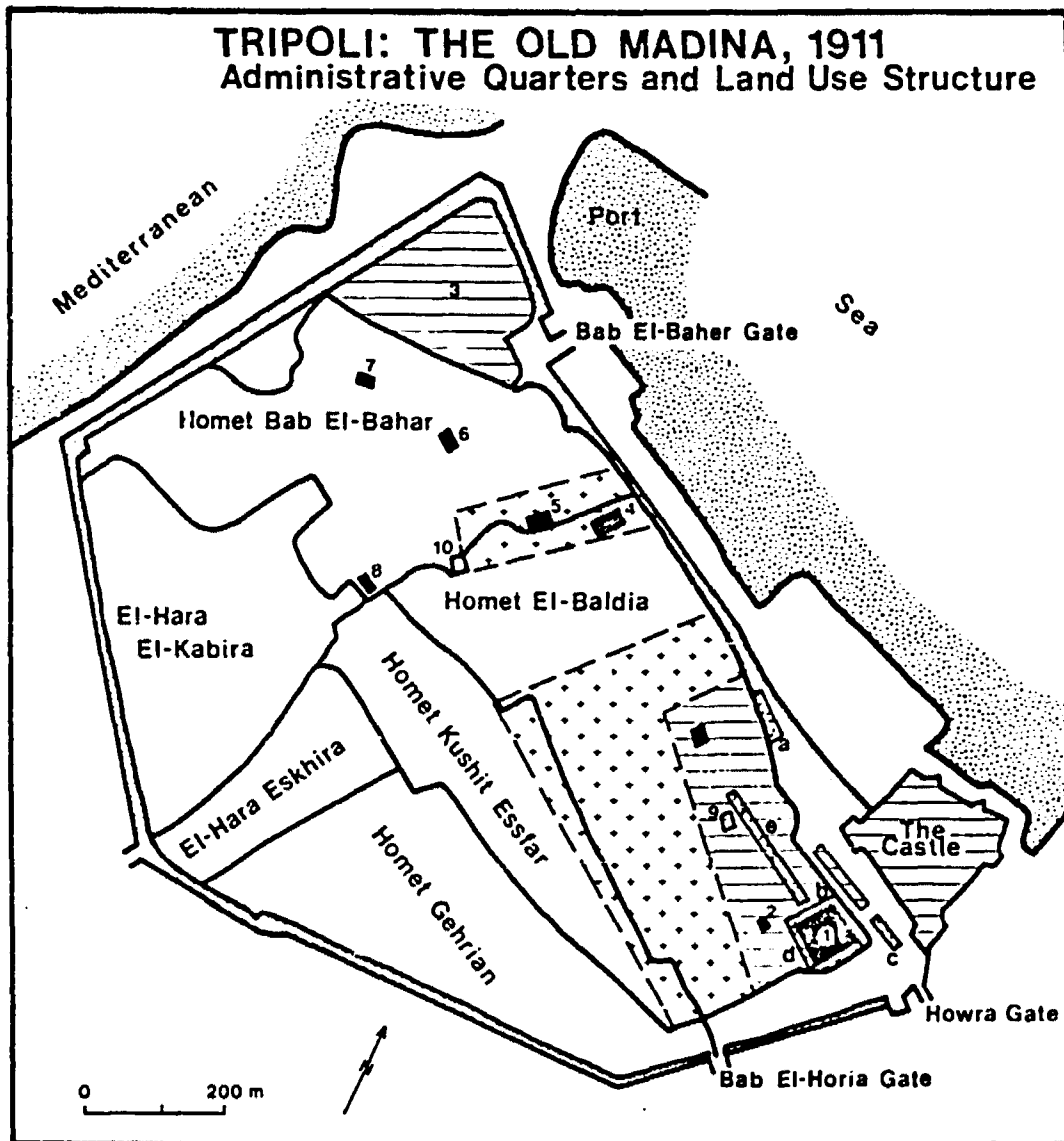







Figure 1

Source: W. R. Shepherd, Historical Atlas, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964)



-  City Walls
-  Mosque
-  Core Area
-  High Income Residential Areas
-  Low Income Residential Areas

Sources: Department of Antiquities, SOME ISLAMIC SITES IN LIBYA: TRIPOLI, AJDABIA AND UJLAH, Tripoli, 1966; K. EL-ASSI, THE STORY OF MADINA: TRIPOLI, Tripoli, 1974; Municipality of Tripoli, TRIPOLI IN 100 YEARS, Tripoli, 1972.

- 1 Ahmed Basha Mosque
- 2 Mahamed Basha Mosque
- 3 Phoenician Settlement
- 4 Darguht Mosque
- 5 Ottoman Basha Mosque
- 6 Qurgi Mosque
- 7 Mosque of Sidi Salam
- 8 Mosque of Mohamed
- 9 Tripoli Municipality
- 10 Catholic Church
- a Suq Engara
- b Suq Erba
- c Suq El-Mushir
- d Suq El-Atara
- e Suq Eturk

Figure 2

Since the Phoenicians were interested only in commercial activities, Oia had only limited built-up areas which consisted mainly of residential buildings and a considerable number of shops and stores. According to Etlissi, the central government of the Phoenician empire at Carthage had imposed a very restricted policy on its Libyan colonies in terms of commercial activities and other international relationships.⁵ Additionally, the Phoenician empire usually required its colonies to pay high taxes which could hinder the urban development of Oia as well as other Phoenician settlements on the Libyan coast.

Oia came under the rule of the Roman Empire in the year 46 B.C. when the Romans defeated and destroyed the Phoenician Empire of Carthage. The city of Oia welcomed the Roman occupation because of the relief from the pressure imposed on the city by the Phoenicians of Carthage. The Roman occupation had given the city a chance for development while it afforded a protection and freedom of trade with other cities which were restricted by the Phoenicians of Carthage. During the third century A.D., Oia as a Phoenician city had been transformed into a Roman city with its temples, markets, baths, and residential buildings.⁶

⁵ An example of the restricted policy of Carthage toward its colonies on the Libyan coast was the Carthageginian treaty with the Romans in which the latter agreed not to have any direct commercial relationships with Carthage's colonies in Libya. The only way for the Romans to conduct commercial relationships with the Phoenicians was via Carthage itself. Furthermore, Carthage did not allow its colonies in Libya to establish their own military power. For more information about Carthage's policy toward its colonies in Libya, see Etlissi, (1974), pp. 6-7.

⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

During the early period of the Roman occupation, the three cities of Oia, Leptis Magna, and Sebrata became well established and prosperous cities. When Emperor Augustus came to power, he declared Oia a free city. Furthermore, the status of Oia changed greatly during the rule of Emperor Septimus Severus (141-211) who transferred the capital of Roman Africa from Leptis Magna to Oia and renamed Oia "Tripolis," which means "the capital of the three cities." The movement of the Roman capitol to Oia was a very important stage of the city's historical development. The city became the political and commercial center for Roman North Africa which was accompanied by population growth due mainly to internal migration from rural areas and from Leptis Magna and Sebrate.⁷

Only a few of the classical monuments of Oia have survived intact; the most impressive is the Arch of Marcus Aurelius which is located in the northeast corner of present day Old Madina (Figure 3). The Islamic era walls of Bab El-Jadid are almost certainly built on the ruins of Roman walls; and, finally, a complex of foundation walls and sandstone platforms with mosaic fragments and Corinthian columns below the castle seems to indicate the presence of a Roman public bath.⁸

The Vandals occupied Tripoli for about thirty-four years (429-463). During this period several residential as well as public buildings were destroyed. The Byzantines occupied the city in 463 following the defeat and

⁷Ibid.

⁸D. L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania. (Tripoli: El Ferjuni Press, 1959), p. 101.

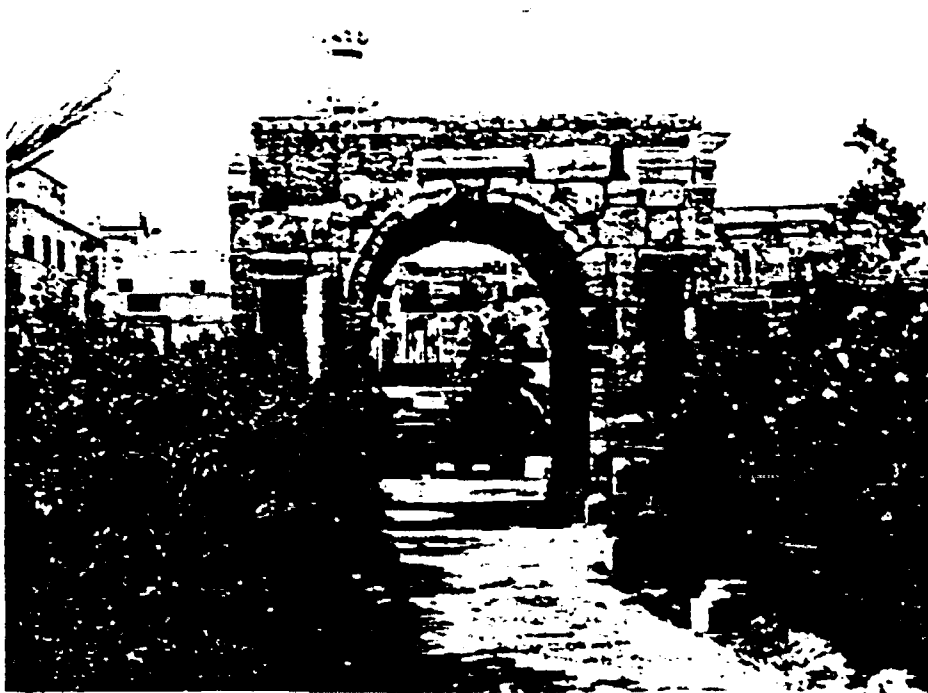


Figure 3

The Arch of Marcus Aurelius,
located in the northwest corner of the Old Madina

withdrawal of the Vandals. The only effort made by the Byzantines to develop the city was the renewal of the castle and the city's walls.⁹

The Muslim Arab Occupation

The Muslim Arabs occupied the city of Tripoli in 642 under the leadership of Amer Ebn Al-Ass. Because of the defensive power of the city, Ebn Al-Ass had to wait one month to occupy the city.¹⁰ The first major work of Ebn Al-Ass was the construction of a mosque in the southwest corner of the city which is now occupied by Ahmed Basha Mosque.

During the Muslim Arab occupation of about eight centuries (642-1510), the city of Tripoli experienced both urban development and population growth. These urban developments were indicated by the increased number of houses, shops, mosques, baths, and suqs (markets). The population of the city had increased from 5,000 during the eighth century to 10,000 in the sixteenth century.¹¹

Tracing the history of Tripoli back through the Muslim Arab occupation, one can recognize the attention which has been given to the city by several travelers, geographers, and historians. This attention is an indication

⁹Etlissi, (1974), p. 104.

¹⁰E. Ezawi, The Governors of Tripoli During the Muslim Occupation. (Cairo: Dar Maktabet Al-Nahda, 1963), p. 41.

¹¹A. Lezine, "Tripoli: Notes Archeologiques," Libya Antique, (1967), IV: 55-67. Also, E. Aswad, "Information About Tripoli Population During the Middle Ages," Libya Antique, (1967), IV: 24-30.

of the significant role of the city as a political and commercial capital in North Africa. The Arabs found Tripoli well suited as a military base and administrative center to bring the Berbers of North Africa under control.

Most of our knowledge about the city during the Muslim Arab occupation comes from Muslim travelers, geographers, and historians.

The Arab geographer, Al-Yagobi, who visited the city during the ninth century, gave a general description of the city:

Etrapalis is an old and respectable city located on the seashore, populated by different races, which had been occupied by Amer Ebn Al-Ass during the Chalifat of Omer Ebn Al-Khtab.¹²

The well known Arab geographer Ebn Hugual, in his book, Description of the Earth (1154) had dealt in detail with Tripoli. He stated that:

Tripoli is a white city located on the seashore, a very protected city, and it has many suqs (markets) outside and inside its walls. The Sultan (governor) has transferred some of its suqs inside the city. The city has commercial activities with the Roman and most North African cities.¹³

During the eleventh century the geographer, El-Magdisi, visited the city and described it as:

Etrapulis is a large city located on the seashore, a walled city. It has four babs (gates), Bab El-Babar (northern gate), Bab El-Shurgh (eastern gate), Bab El Jof (western gate), and Bab El-Ghurb (southern gate).¹⁴

¹²Etlissi (1974), p. 15.

¹³Tripoli Municipality, p. 42.

¹⁴Etlissi (1974), p. 20

Al-Adrisi, another Arab geographer, also described the city as follows:

The city of Tripoli is a very protected, walled city. It is clean and white; it has beautiful streets and markets; it also has some industrial activities which usually are taken by merchants to other regions. Before this time the city had beautiful houses and many gardens of fruit, olive, and date trees outside its walls. But the Arabs destroyed almost all of its gardens and some of its buildings which resulted in the migration of its inhabitants.¹⁵

This description of Tripoli by Al-Adrisi is an indication of the effect of the huge migration of the tribes of Bani-Hilal and Bani-Salim from Egypt to North Africa in the twelfth century during the Fatimid Rule when Iben-Badis declared Tripoli and Tunis as an independent State from the Capital of Fatimid State of Cairo.¹⁶

Following the Bani-Hilal and Bani-Salim movement, the city of Tripoli became weak and unable to defend itself against the growing power of the Spaniards who occupied the city in 1510.

During the Spaniards' occupation of Tripoli (1510-1535) and the following occupation of the city by the Knights of Malta, Tripoli ceased to function as a commercial center because of the restrictions imposed for military purposes by the Spaniards and the Knights of Malta; moreover, the

¹⁵Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁶During the early 12th century, the Fatimid Shia Muslim rule decided to move its capital from El Mahdia in Tunisia to the newly established capital of Cairo in Egypt. When they moved to Egypt, they left Iben-Badis as a governor (wali) in North Africa, but Iben-Badis attempted to establish an independent state in North Africa. Furthermore, he changed his religion from Muslim Shia to Muslim Suni. Consequently, the Fatimid Kahlifat sent the warlike tribes of Bani Hilal and Bani Salim to destroy Iben-Badis' state in North Africa. For more information about the history of North Africa during the Fatimid rule, see U. El-Jwhari, The Historical Geography of North Africa. (Cairo: Dar Eljamat Elmasria, 1973), p. 203.

city population decreased to five thousand because of the war, plague, and the out-migration of the natives to the town of Tajura, 16 kilometers east of Tripoli.¹⁷

The Turkish Occupation

The Turks occupied the city of Tripoli in 1551, following the defeat and withdrawal of the Knights of Malta. They encouraged the construction of houses, restaurants, coffee shops, and Turkish baths. Additionally, some of the Turkish walli (governors) built mosques and Kuranic schools which still keep their names such as Ahmed Basha Mosque and Draguth Mosque.

During the Kharamanli family rule, the city continued its urban growth. In 1783, Miss Tally, the daughter of the British consul, described the city as:

The whole town appears in a semi-circle, sometime before reaching the harbor mouth. The extreme whiteness of square flat buildings covered with lime, which in this climate encounters the sun's first rays is very striking.¹⁸

She also mentioned Ahmed Basha Mosque, located in the southeast corner of the city in the middle of Suq El-Mushir.

The city's urban growth was hindered by the famine of 1784, the plague of 1785, and the political instability of the shaky Kharamanli family

¹⁷ El-Keep, (1978), p. 37.

¹⁸ D. Tally, Ten Years Residence at the Court of Tripoli, (London: 1816), p. 35.

rule.¹⁹

Tripoli continued to be in a state of rebellion and disorder, urban development was neglected until the beginning of the so-called second Ottoman rule in 1836 when the central government of Turkey ended the Kharamanli family's rule in Tripoli. The new Turkish governors started to conduct urban, social, and economic reforms. For Tripoli, the most important development was the establishment of courts, hospitals, schools, a military college, Islamic school of arts and crafts, and the establishment of the first Tripoli municipal headquarters in Suq Eturk.

In 1885, the Turkish administration conducted a very short census on business establishments, dwellings, and institutions existing in the city (Table 1).

Because of the overcrowded walled Madina, the Turkish administration began to encourage the construction of buildings outside the walled area. In 1911, four residential areas were located south and east of the Old Madina. They are: Bulkhair, Mizran, Shara Etrim, and Dhara quarters. Additionally, there were two major suqs located outside the city walls, suq Ethulta and suq El-Kubza. The only parts outside the old walls of Tripoli left untouched by the Italians were at Mizran and Dahura.

¹⁹In 1710 Ahmed Basha Kharamanli broke away from Constantinople and established the Kharamanli rule which ruled Libya until 1835 when Libya returned to the Turkish empire. During the end of the Kharamanli rule, a war broke out between Yousif Kharamanii and his brothers. Yousif had killed his older brother to appoint himself as governor of Tripoli, whereupon his younger brother escaped to Malta and, with foreign assistance, returned to Libya and occupied Derna, a small town on the eastern coast of Libya, and began a war against his brother Yousif. For more information about the Kharamanli rule in Libya, see C. Bergna, Tripoli Dal, 1510: 1850, translated by E. Etliissi, (Tripoli: Alfrejani Press, 1963), p. 332.

TABLE I
BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS, DWELLINGS, AND
INSTITUTIONS IN TRIPOLI, 1885

Type of Business Establishment, Institution, etc.	Number
Big Mosques	9
Small Mosques	15
Churches	5
Synagogues	7
Secondary Schools	1
Primary Schools for Boys	15
Primary Schools for Girls	1
Free Islamic Centers	3
Bakeries	20
Mills	22
Workshops for Leather	1
Shops	1,019
General Wholesale Stores	40
Cafes	22
Turkish Baths	14
Hotels	13
Pharmacies	3
Hospitals	1
Traditional Houses	1,453
British Firms	9
Maltese Firms	11
European Consulates	7
TOTAL	3,694

Source: Department of Antiquities, Turkish Census of Business Establishments, Dwellings and Institutions in Tripoli, Tripoli, 1969.

The Pre-industrial Islamic Land Use of Tripoli

At the end of the Turkish occupation of Tripoli (1911), the present day Old Madina was developed as a pre-industrial Islamic city (Figure 2). Tripoli was a small, compact city with a population of thirty thousand and covered an area of thirty-three hectares. The city was surrounded by walls with narrow, winding, unpaved streets (Figures 4, 5, and 6). The castle (Esria El-Hamra), the central mosque (Ahmed Basha Mosque), and the suqs (markets) were the three institutions which formed the core area at the southeast side of the city. The walled castle, the seat of political and military power, was occupied by the wali (governor) and his administrative assistants on the west side and the Turkish soldiers on the east. The principal mosque, Ahmed Basha Mosque, was located in the middle of suq El-Mushir and functioned as a place of prayer, a court of justice, and the intellectual educational center.²⁰ Around the central mosque, was located the commercial center consisting of several suqs (markets) such as Suq El-Mushir, Suq Eturk, Suq El-Najara, Suq Erba, and Suq El-Sayagha. Additionally, the new Tripoli municipal headquarters was located in the middle of Suq Eturk. Similar to other South-west Asian and North African old cities,²¹ Tripoli was divided into six segregated quarters, particularly in terms of religion and ethnic background.

²⁰ Ahmed Basha Mosque is still active today as a school of general Islamic studies.

²¹ For more information about the Old Middle Eastern Cities, see J. M. Waystaf, "The Origin and Evaluation of Towns: 4000 B.C. to 1900 A.D.," in Changing Middle Eastern Cities, ed. by G. J. Blake and R. Lawless, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 11-33.



Fig. 4 (above) and Fig. 5 (below) -- Two streets in the Old Madina. Note the narrowness and simple Arab Muslim design of the housing units on both sides of the two streets.





Figure 6.
An Air Photographic View of the Old Madina

These quarters or Homets are: Homet El-Baldia, Homet Kushit Esafar, Homet Gherian, Homet Bab El-Bahar, El-Hara El-Kabira, and El-Hara Eskhera (Figure 2).

The high income, elite group lived near the central commercial area and the the castle for two major purposes: first, to be near the source of power and, second, to monitor the market. They usually occupied the areas west, north, and east of the central commercial area, mainly in Homet El-Baldia, Homet Kushit Esafar, and the south part of Homet Bab El-Bahar. Beyond the high income residential areas, the low income people lived, particularly in the west, southwest, and north sections of the city. These areas are characterized by mixed land use where low income people live and work in the same place. The Jews lived in the poorest quarters in the far western side of the city, mainly at El-Hara El-Kabira and El-Hara Eskhera. The location of the Jewish quarters in the west side of the Old Madina far away from the castle is completely different from Karan's idea about the location of Jewish quarters in North African cities: "close to the castle, perhaps for protection."²²

²²P. P. Karan and W. A. Bladen, "The Arab Cities," *Focus* (1983), 33: 5. The location of Tripolitanian Jewish quarters far away from the castle of Tripoli instead of close to the castle, as it has been stated by Karan, may be explained by two factors: First, the majority of Jewish people in Tripoli were poor and, therefore, could not afford to live near the castle where most of the spacious houses and wealthy families were located. Second, before World War II, the Libyan Jewish people had no anti-Zionist problems.

Homet El-Baldia was usually inhabited by the Turkish administrators, religious leaders, and rich traders. Homet Gehrian was inhabited mostly by people coming from the western mountains, and particularly from the town of Gehrian. People coming from the eastern part of Tripolitania mainly lived in Kushit Esafar quarter.²³ Most of the European minority, mainly Italians, Maltes, and Greeks, resided in the south part of Homet Bab El-Bahar, particularly in present-day Darghut Street and Midan Eside Maryem (Mary Square) where the Catholic Church and British Consulate were located.

The administrative management of Tripoli as a whole was undertaken by the Wali (governor) chosen by the central power: the Sultan of Turkey, usually from outside the city. There were no representative assemblies of Tripoli's residents which enabled them to take part in effective administration of the city. Only the governor was responsible to the central power for the ruling of the city. The governor usually appointed the person in charge of peace and order (Sahib El-Shurta).²⁴ The participation of Tripoli's residents in the collection of taxes is effected through the Mukhtar of the Mahalla or Homa. Each Homa is administered by a Mukhtar who is, by tradition, chosen from among its notable. The Mukhtar plays a key role, providing the link between the Wali and the inhabitants of each Homa. Thus, Tripoli's residents took only a small part in the city's administrative management.

²³H. S. Cowper, The Hill of Graces, translated by A. Z. Fawz, (Tripoli: Alferjani Press, 1968), p. 38.

²⁴F. Stambouli and A. Zghal, "Urban Life in Pre-Colonial North Africa," British Journal of Sociology, 1976, 27:5.

In 1870, the Ministry of the Interior of Turkey issued a decree in which Tripoli's municipality was established. The municipality consisted of a council of four members; three were Arabs and one was Jewish. The head of the municipal council usually was elected by the members of the municipal council. The municipality was authorized to carry out the duties of peace and order, issue commercial licenses, clean the town, and inspect foodstuffs and commercial shops.²⁵

In summary, Oia was founded by the Phoenicians as a commercial center with only limited built-up areas consisting mainly of residential buildings and a considerable number of shops and stores. During the year 200 A.D. Oia City became the political and commercial capital of Roman North Africa. Thus, the city had been transformed into a Roman city with its temples, markets, baths, and residential buildings. During the Muslim Arab occupation of about eight centuries (642-1510), the city of Tripoli experienced both urban development and population growth. These urban developments were indicated by the increase in number of houses, shops, mosques, baths, suqs (markets), and the rebuilding of the castle. Most of the Arab houses were located in the western parts of Old Madina. The architectural style being purely Arab which is generally characterized by its simplistic style and absence of design.

The only efforts made by the Spaniards who occupied the city for about twenty-five years (1510-1535) were the rebuilding of the castle and

²⁵ Tripoli Municipality, p. 191.

the walls of the city. Furthermore, the city population decreased to five thousand because of the war and the out-migration of the indigenous population to the nearby village of Tajura.

The Turkish occupied the city in 1551 following the defeat and withdrawal of the Knights of Malta. They encouraged the construction of houses, restaurants, coffee shops, and Turkish baths. Additionally, some of the Turkish governors built mosques and Kuranic schools which still keep their names such as Ahmed Basha Mosque, etc. Most of the Turkish urban developments in Tripoli are located mainly in the eastern section of the Old Madina. Here, the houses consist of two floors and several rooms. Similar to the Arab Muslim house, courtyards were also found in the center of the houses but the houses had wider corridors.

The Turkish houses were also characterized by their inside decorations which made them different from the Arab Muslim houses. Also, the roofs of Arab Muslim houses were usually made from date palm wood which was found in the areas surrounding the city; while the roofs of Turkish houses were usually made from imported woods.²⁶

The spatial structure of pre-industrial Tripoli in 1911 was similar in many ways to the spatial structure of other pre-industrial Southwest Asian and North African cities. It was surrounded by walls that were necessary for protection purposes. Its residential areas were divided into separate quarters (Mahalla or Homats). The Castle, the Friday Mosque (Ahmed Basha Mosque), and the suqs were the three institutions which formed the core area at the

²⁶Ibid., p. 197

southeast side of the city. The high-income, elite groups lived near the core in spacious houses. Beyond the high-income residential areas, lived the lower income people, particularly in the west, southwest, and north sections of the city.

The Italian occupation of Tripoli (1911-1943) represents one of the most important periods of Tripoli's historical urban development. The city became transformed from a Turkish town with several pre-industrial characteristics to a new, planned city with dual characteristics of the Old Madina and the new European quarters. The impact of the Italian occupation on Tripoli's urban development will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE COLONIAL CITY OF TRIPOLI (1911 - 1951)

Introduction

This chapter is mainly devoted to the impact of the Italian occupation on Tripoli's historical urban development and the transformation of the city from a Turkish town with several pre-industrial characteristics to a colonial city with dual characteristics of Old Madina and a new, planned city. It is organized into three major parts. The first part deals with the reason behind the Italian occupation of Libya and the function of Tripoli as a military base for the Italian invaders. The second part discusses the land-use patterns of Tripoli as a colonial city. And, finally, the third part covers the withdrawal of the Italians from Libya, followed by a brief British administration in Tripoli, and analyzes the impact of this change in administration on the city's urban growth.

The Italian Occupation of Libya

By the end of the nineteenth century the only area in North Africa unoccupied by Europeans was Libya, primarily because "it has only limited

strategic importance"¹ and a poor economic base.

Italy's first choice of occupation was Tunisia which became a French protectorate in 1881; therefore, the only unoccupied territory left for Italy was Libya which was under the administration of the powerless Ottoman Empire. At the end of September, 1911, a message was sent to the Turkish Emperor at Constantinople, the Turkish capital, in which Italy announced its intention to occupy Libya, the last Turkish colony in North Africa. According to Segre, there were two main reasons behind the Italians' occupation of Libya: First, the value of the colony as a symbol of great power status and, second, the hope that Libya might provide a partial solution to the growing Italian population.² The Italian policy of establishing their interest and influence in Libya during the 1890's was through the so-called "peaceful penetration" of the economic and social life of Libya. This policy was reflected in the activities of the "Banko de Roma" which "invested in local agriculture and light industry."³

An Italian writer also noted that "Italy's desire for colonies was not merely greedy imperialism, as unfriendly critics made out, but a compelling

¹J. Wright, Libya: A Modern History. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 25.

²C. G. Segre, Fourth Shore: The Italian Colonization in Libya, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1974), p. 71.

³Wright, (1981), p. 26.

necessity for the Italian people, an alternative to unemployment and starvation."⁴ On November 11, 1911, the Italian Navy occupied Tripoli and on December 5, 1911, a Royal Decree placed Tripolitania and Cyranica under the Italian Crown.⁵

The Italian occupation of Tripoli (1911-1943) represents one of the most important stages of Tripoli's historical urban development. It represents the transformation of the city from a Turkish town with several characteristics of a pre-industrial Islamic city (as discussed previously) to a colonial city with dual characteristics of the Old Madina and the New City with an Italian design.

In contrast to the French intervention in Algeria and similar to their later colonization of Tunis,⁶ the Old Madina of Tripoli was left untouched by the Italians with the exception of some parts of the old walls which were demolished. A strictly European type of urban development began outside the city's old walls in the Manshia area south and west of the Old Madina (Figure 7). For the Italians, the accessibility, mobility, and communication within the Old Madina was totally unsuitable for their modern economy and a completely new urban form centered in the Manchhia area was more suitable. Italian capital was available and so was cheap Libyan labor.

⁴L. Vallari, Italian Foreign Policy Under Mussolini, (New York, 1956), p. 71. Also quoted in Segre, 1974, p. 72.

⁵Wright, p. 28.

⁶H. M. Davies, "Urbanism: The Use of Surplus in the Spatial Organization of Tunis," Maghrib Review, Vol. 3, No. 9, Sep/Oct, 1978), p. 22.



Source: Etlissi, 1974.

Fig. 7 -- Construction activities during the early Italian occupation of Tripoli in the Manshia area.

Under the impact of Italian colonialism, Tripoli moved its center of gravity. The economic, political, and cultural center became located south and west of the Old Madina. A new, European type of city was created which was completely different from the Old Madina. This new city was achieved mainly by replanning the Manchia area, resulting in the emergence of a modern colonial city of Italian design.

The first stage of the Italian construction activity in Tripoli was almost entirely of military character. Defense requirements necessitated the demolition of some parts of the old walls and the immediate construction of new, strong walls. These walls were about one meter thick, three meters high, and about seventeen kilometers in length (Figure 8). The walls were pierced by seven gates. These gates were: Amros Gate, Tajura Gate, Tarhuna Gate, Furnage Gate, Bab Ben Kisher Gate, Accara Gate, and Gargarish Gate (Figure 9). The new Italian walls were completed in 1914,⁷ followed by the confiscation of Libyan agricultural lands and scattered houses west and south of the Old Madina, and replacement of the houses with new buildings.

The Italians succeeded in making the new Tripoli a city resembling many Italian coastal towns. The Italians based the city on a grid plan which expanded southward in semicircular developments with wide, paved streets and arcaded shopping streets in the new central business district (Figure 10). The facilities which brought the sudden change of Tripoli's urban structure began with the rebuilding of Tripoli's port since every imported item would

⁷Tripoli Municipality, p. 119.

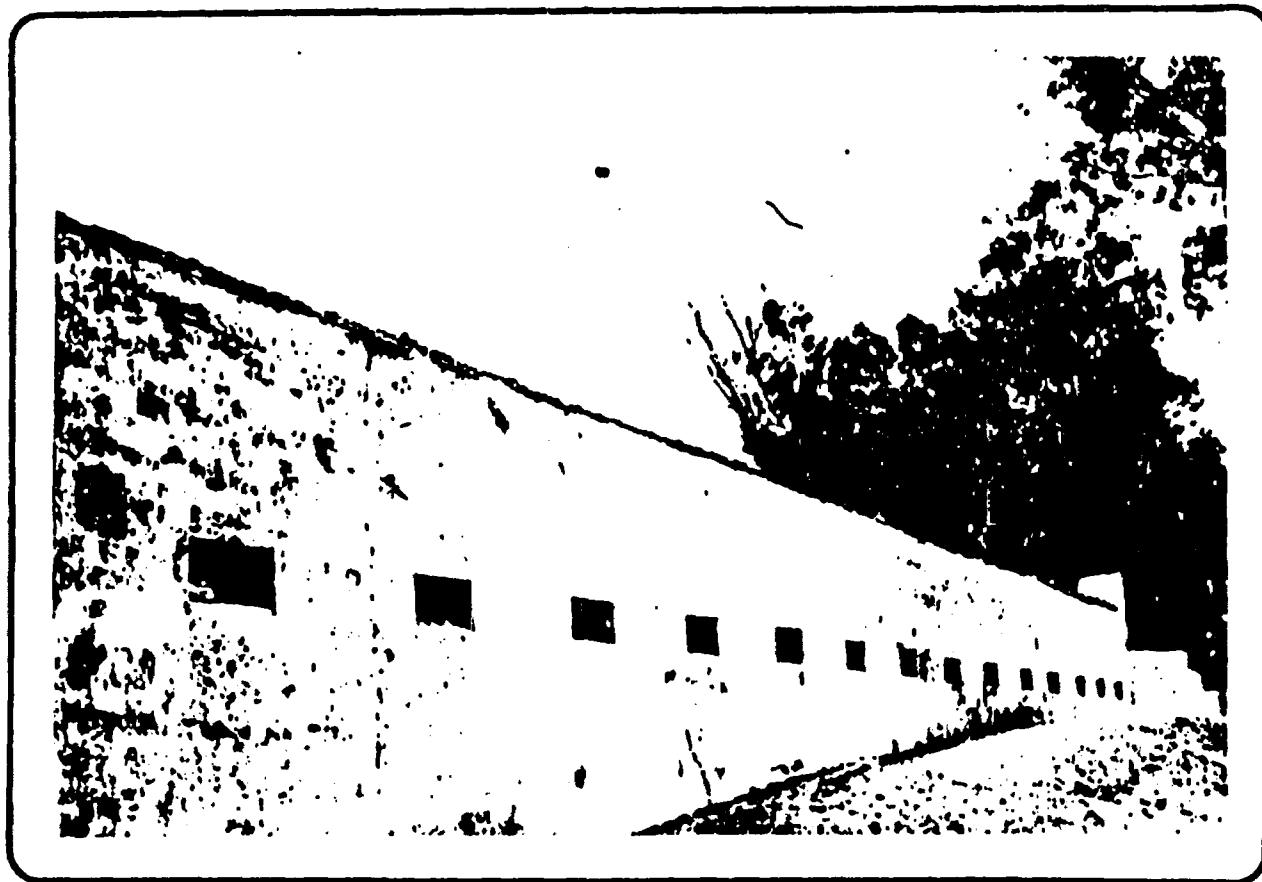
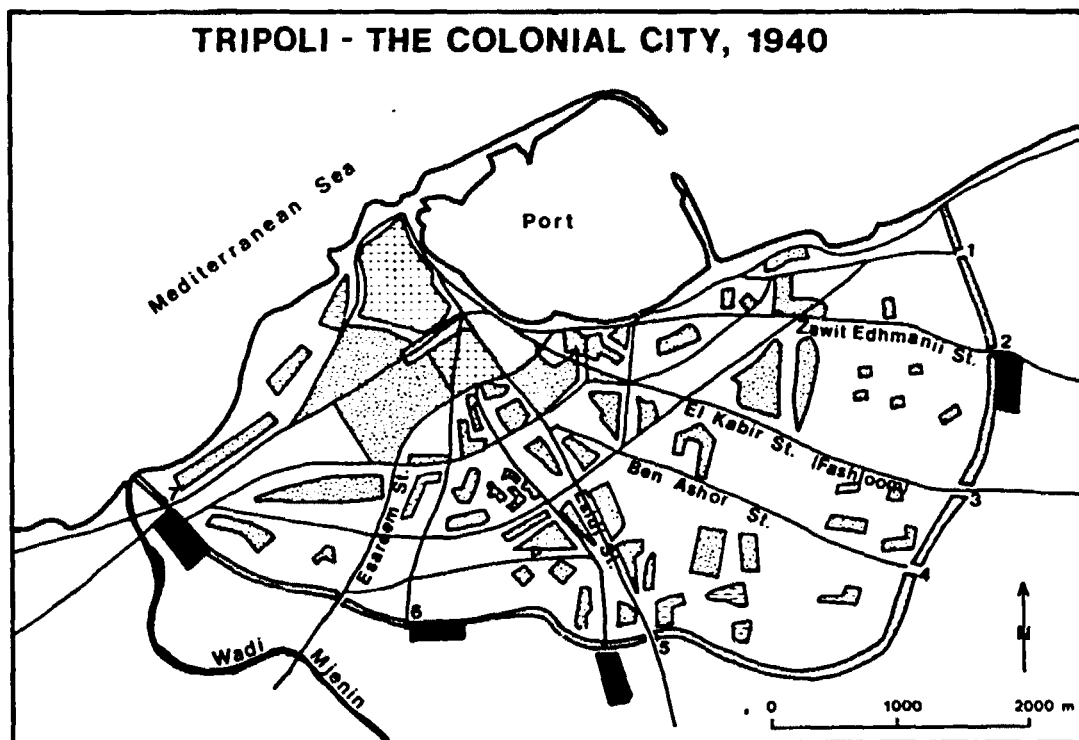








Figure 8. Part of the Italian Walls at Bab Ben Kisher

Source: El-Keep, 1974

Figure 9



-  Old Madina
-  Residential and Public Buildings
-  Industrial Areas
-  Libyan Camps Built by Italians
-  Central Business District
-  Italian Walls

Gates:

- 1 Amros
- 2 Bab Tajura
- 3 Bab Tarnuna
- 4 Furnaj
- 5 Bab Ben Kisher
- 6 Bab Accara
- 7 Gargerish

Source: Tripoli Municipality, 1972; Harrison,
MIGRATION IN TRIPOLI, 1967.



Fig. 10 -- Arcaded shopping streets built by the Italians in the southwestern part of the Central Business District.

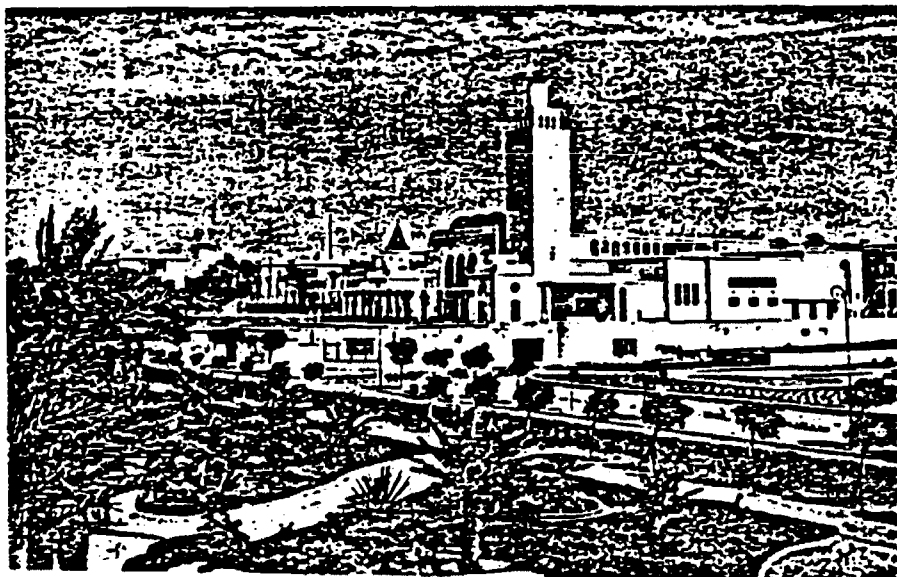


Fig. 11 -- A new first class hotel (Wadan Hotel) built by the Italians in the southwestern part of the Central Business District.
Source: *Somes*, 1936.

have to come by Tripoli's sea door. The Italians also created several public parks; the largest one was the so-called Municipality Park west of the central business district. They also improved the water supply of the new city by digging new wells at Furnage (south of the new city) and establishing two pumping stations. Water pipes were constructed to supply the city with fresh water. Additionally, the municipality constructed a new sewage system which included both the Old Madina and the new parts of the city. Furthermore, the Italians also constructed four elementary schools and a large hospital.

The chief function of the new city of Tripoli was clearly to serve the needs and interests of the Italians' social and economic system. The city was developed originally as a military base and an administration center for the Italian invaders. Later, the city became the capital of the so-called "Fourth Shore,"⁸ and a center for the Italian commercial and industrial activities in Libya.

It should be mentioned here that when the Italians occupied Tripoli, they found no master plan for the city; consequently, the Italians issued the first master plan for Tripoli in 1912, modified it in 1914, and made it final in 1934,⁹ thus dividing the city into four urban land uses:

1. Multi-story building

⁸The term "Fourth Shore" or "Qurta Sporda" was used by the Italians as a name for their colony in Libya. A Fourth Shore to add to the peninsula Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, and Ionian coasts. (Segre, 1974), p. 150.

⁹Tripoli Municipality, p. 254.

2. Traditional houses¹⁰
3. Villas
4. Light Industry

The main purpose of Tripoli's master plan was to serve the Italian segregation policy. All of the multi-story buildings and the villas were built by the Italians for the Europeans; and the native population was restricted to the traditional house zones in the Old Madina and other areas.¹¹ Despite the fact that some authors suggest that this was to protect the autonomy of both systems and as respect to cultural heritage, the author believes that it was a move by the Italians to enforce segregation and to control the native population when trouble arose.

Land-Use Patterns

The new colonial city was characterized by modern shops, banks, business offices, hotels, and new residential and industrial areas. These new urban developments resulted in three recognizable urban zones:

1. New central business district
2. New residential areas
3. New industrial districts

1. The New Central Business District:

The Italians created for the first time a modern, western style central business district in Tripoli. It was located south of the castle and extended

¹⁰ The "traditional" houses are mainly located in the Libyan quarters of Abu-Elkhair, and Mizran, and in Zawia street. All of the residential units are characterized by an Arab house with the courtyard style.

¹¹ R. Harrison, p. 410.

from what was called Italy Square (now Green Square) southward to include the following streets: Victoriao Emanuele (now El-Megrief Street), Via Lombardia (now Awel September Street), Via Lazio (now Mizaran Street), and Corso Scilia (now Omer Elmukhtar Street). Along these streets several new shops, banks, and two first class hotels, the Grand Hotel and the Wadan (Figure 11), were built. Additionally, several administration buildings were established, especially in Victoria Emanuele (El-Megrief Street), such as the headquarters of the Italian Colonial Administration and the Justice Department. The headquarters of Tripoli Municipality and the Roman Catholic Cathedral were built at the south end of the central business district around Plaza Della Cattedrale (Algeria Square).¹²

2. The New Residential Areas:

Most of the residential buildings created by the Italians surrounded the previously mentioned central business district, especially in the present day Omer El-Mukhtar Street, Eshut Street, Dahra, Ben Ashore, Zawit Edhmani, and Esreem Streets. According to the Notizerie del Municiplo de Tripoli¹³ (Tripoli municipality report), most of the residential buildings were constructed after World War I.

For example, four multi-story buidings were completed in 1924; two of them were located at El-Megrief Street while the other two were located in the area between Mizaran and Amer Ebn Al-Ass Streets.¹⁴ The Italian government built several new apartments and houses along Eshat Street and

¹²Tripoli Municipality, 1972., p. 257.

¹³Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 257.

reserved them for high Italian administrative and military officers. The Italians also designed the so-called Garden City (Madint Al-Haduig) in the north side of Ben Ashore Street which is still characterized by its beautiful villa type housing. The Italian government also built several public-owned houses, especially after 1930, to house the increased numbers of Italian immigrants who could not afford to buy or rent a private house. For example, in 1936 a public housing project at Zwi Edhmani was completed which consisted of thirty-four apartments at a total cost of one million Italian Lire.¹⁵

Table 2 shows the construction activities which took place in Tripoli during the year of 1938.

TABLE 2¹⁶

NUMBER OF BUILDINGS, APARTMENTS, AND ROOMS
COMPLETED IN 1938

Number of government and residential buildings	135
Number of apartments	598
Number of rooms	2,690

¹⁵Ibid, p. 330.

¹⁶This table was obtained from a Tripoli Municipality document in 1938 which was under the title Notiziario Del Municipio Di Tripoli, translated to Arabic, Tripoli Municipality, p. 325.

During the same year (1938), the Government Employee Housing Association completed three large buildings in the Garden City. The Savings and Loan Association (Istituto De Credito Peril Lavoro All Estero) also completed eleven houses on Eshat Street for Italian civilians. Furthermore, the Public Housing Association completed ninety-eight houses on Essarem Street to be used to house Italian workers.¹⁷

As mentioned before, all the new residential buildings constructed by the Italians were for Europeans. The Libyan population was restricted to the Old Medina and other older areas. The only effort made by the Italians to improve the housing conditions of the Libyan population was the creation of "compo de beduini" outside the Italian wall at Bab Tajura in 1935 to which were moved all the "beduini" who had been living in tents outside the Italian wall (Figure 12). Three more such camps were established by the Italians to house the Libyans serving in the Italian army at Bab Gargarish, Bab Azizia, and Bab Accara. All of these camps were transformed to shanty towns after the end of World War II, and the removal of the restrictions imposed on the native rural migrants to the city.

3. Industrial Districts:

As has been noted before, one of the major functions of Tripoli as a modern city was to serve the needs of the Italian economy. Thus, Tripoli became a major center for Italian industrial development in the Fourth Shore with concentration on agricultural industries such as tobacco, olive pressing, and flour milling. Their agricultural industry was primarily dependent upon

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 325.



Figure 12: Gorbis town in Bab Tajura built by the Italians in 1935 for use by the Libyans serving in the Italian Army.

Source; Tripoli Municipality, 1972.

raw materials and indigenous agricultural products provided by the so-called Italian agricultural settlements. According to Pelt, the Italians had spent the equivalent of approximately 150 million pre-war U.S. dollars on their economic development plans in the Fourth Shore. Two-thirds of these Italian expenditures were spent on agricultural reclamation projects.¹⁸ The agricultural settlement at Tighrna, a village south of Gehrian (about 120 kilometers south of Tripoli), gives an example of these Italian agricultural settlements.

Tighrna was mainly developed to produce raw tobacco for the newly constructed tobacco plant at Tripoli. The Azienda Tabacchi Italiani (ATI) Aparastatal (government owned) Company was formed in 1927 to develop the tobacco industry in Italy and the Libyan colony. According to Segre:

Tobacco appeared to be an ideal crop to support colonists since the plant required intensive cultivation. It seemed well suited for small farmers. Furthermore, the colonist would have no marketing problem since the state would purchase his entire production. The ATI contracted with the colonial government to initiate the scheme. The tobacco monopoly received a concession of one thousand hectares with obligation for populating the land with five hundred colonist families within five years.¹⁹

The Italians had established three light industrial areas in different parts of the city. The first one was located at the northwest corner of the city where a new tobacco plant was built in 1924 along with some furniture and building material industries. The second industrial area was located at

¹⁸ A. Pelt, Libyan Independence and the United Nation. (Yale University Press, New Haven: 1970), p. 30.

¹⁹ Segre, p. 77

Essrem Street which specialized in car maintenance and other mechanical industries. The third one was located at the south section of the city at Ben Kisher. Most of the industrial plants in this area were limited to agricultural processing such as olive pressing, flour milling, and macaroni processing.²⁰

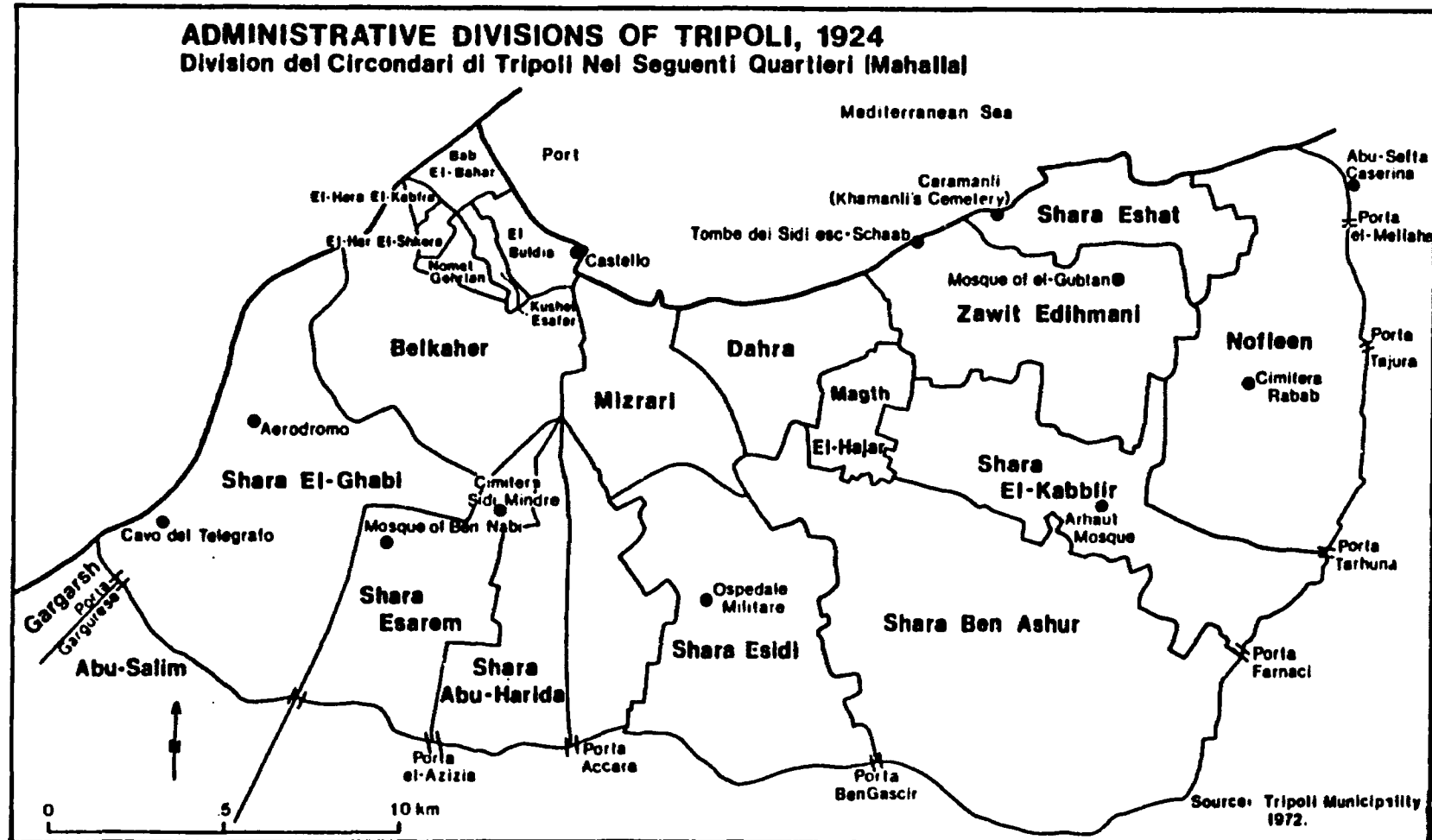
The Italian occupation period was characterized by the growth of a colonial city side-by-side, and in contrast with, the old city. The Old Madina remained the most important native commercial and residential center of the city, serving an increasingly dense poor residential population as well as providing traditional goods and services. A dual pattern of neighborhoods was the rule—the old city with its indigenous population and the new colonial city with its mostly European residents.

During the early Italian occupation, Tripoli Municipality was headed by "intendente" or the Italian government representative, assisted by a municipality council of six members (three Italians, two Arab Libyans, and one Jewish Libyan). In August, 1929, a decree was issued by C. Volpi, the Fourth Shore governor, in which the administration of Tripoli's municipality was given to the "Bodesta" or the mayor who was appointed by the Governor of the Libyan colony, with the approval of the Italian Colonial Minister, for a term of three years. Additionally, Tripoli's municipality was divided into twenty-two mahallas headed by mukhtars appointed by the Italian Governor of Tripoli²¹ (Figure 13).

²⁰M. M. Esharkasi, The Economic Condition of Libya During the Italian Occupation, (Tripoli: Edar Alarabia Press, 1976), p. 68.

²¹Tripoli Municipality, p. 331.

Figure 13.



Accompanying the Italian occupation was a general increase of Tripoli's population. Tripoli doubled its population between the years of 1911 and 1936, rising from 30,000 to 60,000.²² In addition to the influx of Italian immigrants who settled in Tripoli (Table 3), the construction of new residential areas, the rebuilding of the port, and work on drainage facilities and water supplies began to attract large numbers of lower income rural migrants.

TABLE 3
MINORITY GROUPS IN TRIPOLI, 1936²³

European	11,196
Jewish	13,260

Despite the fact that the Italians had succeeded in transforming the city of Tripoli from a provincial Turkish town to a colonial city with modern

²²Ibid.,

²³Tripoli Municipality, 1972, p. 215. According to Tripoli Municipality Report, 78 percent of the Europeans were Italian. The remaining 28 percent were mainly Greeks and Maltes.

central business district, modern residential area, modern light industry, and urban utilities such as paved roads, electricity, water, and sewage systems. These developments were mostly to serve the Italians' needs; the indigenous population had suffered from the Italians' discrimination policy. Most of the government jobs were for the Italians. The Libyans had no access to higher education and public health services. As Pelt pointed out:

The Italian colonial policy was to push the Libyans off the land; no political rights, no economic benefits, no social programs were ever considered for the indigenous population.²⁴

The results were mentioned by the United Nations Mission to Libya during the early 1950s:

As a result, through no fault of its own, Libya has remained heavily dependent on foreign administration and technical personnel, and training the Libyans to replace them is still the most difficult of all problems associated with economic developments.²⁵

The British Administration Period (1943-1951)

The Italians were driven out in 1943 as a result of defeat by the Allies in the Second World War. From that time until 1951, Tripolitania and Cyranica were under British Administration and Fezzan (southern Libya) was administered by the French.

²⁴Pelt, p. 33.

²⁵The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic Development of Libya, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960), p. 41.

During the period of British administration, Tripoli was in a state of stagnation, if not decline. The British policy was based on a "care and maintenance" basis. The only effort made by the British to develop the city was the rebuilding of Tripoli's port, which was destroyed during the war, and the establishment of bus lines inside the city. Commercial as well as industrial activities declined significantly due to the closing of most of the Italian banks and the drought of 1947 which had a severe impact on the agricultural industry. Furthermore, several Italian businessmen had transferred their money to Italy before the British occupation of Tripoli.²⁶ All of these factors had a significant impact in increasing the unemployment rate which was made even worse by the increased number of rural migrants to the city, especially after the removal of the Italian restriction policy on migration to the city.

As a result of the United Nations decision in November, 1949, Libya became an independent Arab country and constitutional Monarchy on December 24, 1951. Tripoli became the capital of Western Libya and Benghazi became the capital of Eastern Libya.

The impact of independence and especially the indirect impact of oil development on Tripoli's urban growth will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

²⁶Tripoli Municipality, p. 345.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDUSTRIAL CITY OF TRIPOLI (1951-1969)

Introduction

This chapter covers the third period of Tripoli's historical urban development or the post-colonial period (1951-1969). During this period, the internal structure of Tripoli changed from a colonial city to an industrial city. It is organized into three major parts. The political, economic, and demographic factors that have had a significant impact on Tripoli's urban growth are analyzed in the first part of the chapter. The early independence period (1951-1958) of Tripoli's urban development is discussed in the second part. The third part deals with land-use patterns of Tripoli as an industrial city.

During the post-colonial period (1951-1969), Tripoli's internal structure changed from that of a colonial city to that of an industrial city. Political, economic, and demographic factors have had a significant impact on Tripoli's urban growth.

Political Factors

The independence of Libya was proclaimed in December, 1951, under King Idris, the nephew of Mohamed Ben Ali Ensanussi who founded the Sanussi religious order in Eastern Libya (1788-1859), and his male successors as Monarch of Libya. In 1922, before the end of the Libyan resistance to the Italian occupation, Idris had sought refuge in Egypt. However, in 1949 he returned to Libya with British backing and unilaterally proclaimed Cyrenaica an independent Emirate. In 1951, the Libyan National Constituent Assembly in which the three provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fizzan were equally represented, approved a federal system of government with a monarchy and offered the throne to Idris. On December 24, 1951, King Idris proclaimed the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya.

Tripoli became the capital of western Libya and Benghazi became the capital of eastern Libya. The country adopted the Federal system, in which Libya was divided into three Welaits (states)--Tripoli, Benghazi, and Fizzan. Legislative power was divided between the King and Parliament, Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate had 24 members, half of them appointed by the King and the other half were elected by the people. The members of the House of Representatives were to be elected by the people of the kingdom of Libya. Each of the three Welaits was divided into a number of Mutasaritiats (districts), governed by Mutasariff. These were subdivided into Mudiriats, each under a Moder. The cities were to have a Baladia (Municipality), headed by a Rais (mayor). It should be noted here that under the constitutional law, the King had the right to "open and close Parliamentary sessions, declare war and conclude peace and enter into

treaties which are ratified after the approval of Parliament.¹

The Federal system, however, was replaced by the Unitary system in 1963, under which subdivisions of ten Mahafadas (provinces) were formed.

Economic Factor

Libya was one of the most poverty stricken states in the world prior to 1960. This was due to the fact that the Libyan agrarian economy was restricted to less than ten percent of the national territory. The sudden discovery of crude oil south of the Sirta Gulf has changed the economy of the country from a poor economy depending on agricultural and foreign aid² to a strong economy depending on oil revenue. This is evidenced by the increase per capita of the gross national product (GNP) from 52 £D³ in 1958 to 1,700 £D in 1970 (Table 4). Consequently, Libya has moved from a capital deficit to a capital surplus nation and from an aid recipient to an aid extender.

The exploration of oil in Libya was the result of a series of events in the world oil industry and in international affairs. The nationalization of Iranian oil and the Suez Canal brought out forcefully to the oil companies and

¹R. I. Khalidi, Constitutional Development in Libya, (Beruit: Khayat's College Book Co., 1956), p. 50.

²Most foreign aid came from the rent of Wheelus Air Force Base to the United States and Eladom Air Base to the British. In 1954, the United States and British aid reached \$24 million or about 50 percent of the country's estimated national income. Wright, p. 110.

³Libyan Dinares: £D = \$3.00 U.S. (1982).

TABLE 4
OIL EXPORTS AND REVENUES

Year	Oil Exports (Million Barrels)	Revenues (Million \$ U.S.)	Receipts/Barrel (\$ U.S.)	OPEC Average Receipts Per Barrel (\$ U.S.)
1961	6	3	0.50	0.70
1962	67	40	0.60	0.71
1963	167	108	0.65	0.75
1964	314	211	0.67	0.75
1965	343	351	0.79	0.76
1966	547	523	0.96	0.77
1967	621	625	1.01	0.80
1968	945	1,007	1.00	0.83
1969	1,120	1,175	1.05	0.83
1970	1,209	1,351	1.12	0.94
1971	1,003	1,674	1.67	1.27
1972	812	1,563	1.93	1.45
1973	794	2,223	2.80	2.63
1974	544	6,000	11.03	9.65
1975	522	5,100	9.77	11.57
1976	660	7,500	11.36	11.00
1977	742	8,850	11.93	11.43
1978	693	8,600	12.41	11.24
1979	730	16,300	23.33	---
1980	622	22,000	35.37	---

Source: Wright, 1980, p. 227

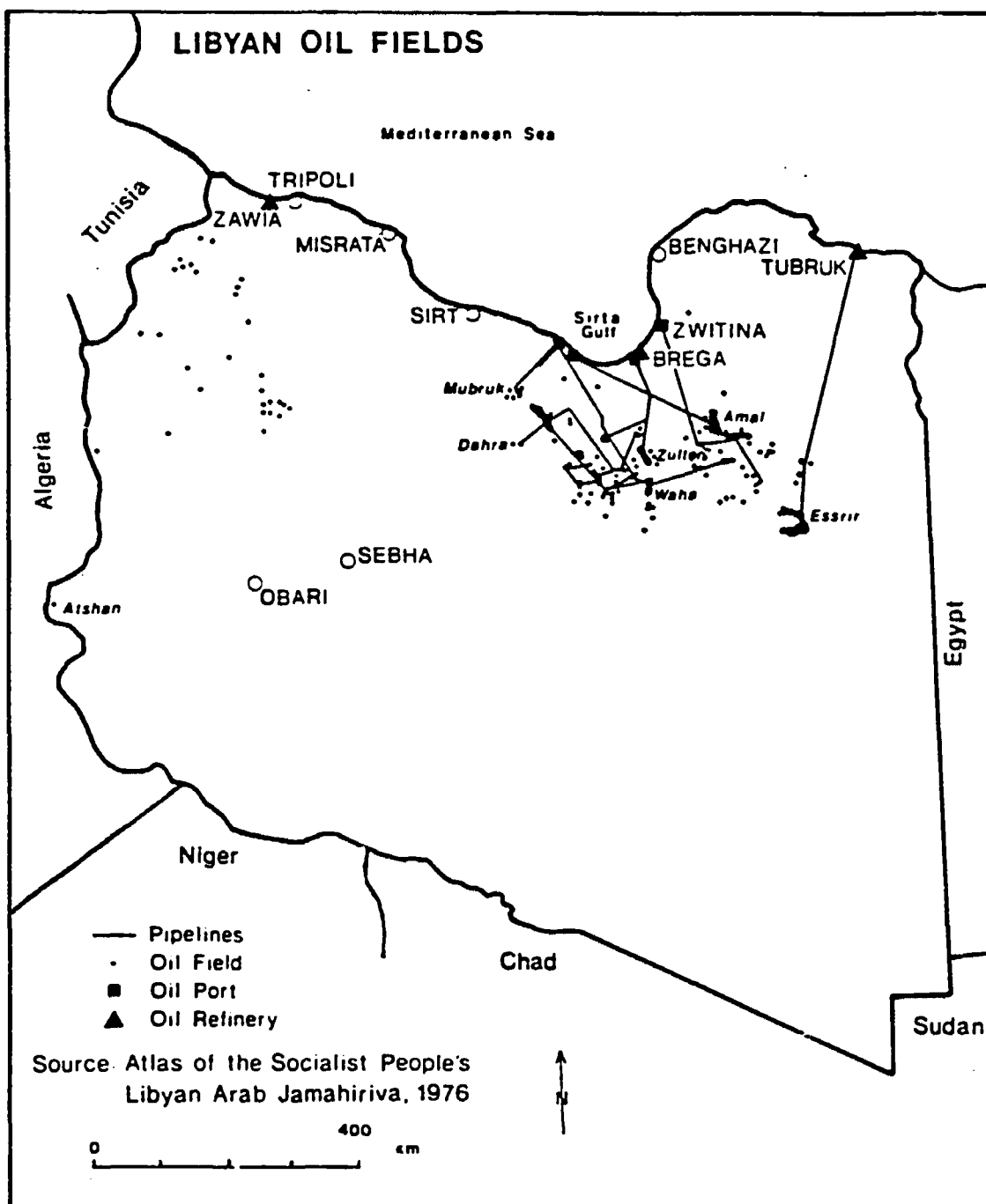
industrialized countries the need for security as well as diversification of the crude oil supply.⁴ Also, the discovery of oil in Algeria near the Libyan boundary increased the expectations of finding oil in the Libyan territory. In addition to that, the location of Libya on the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea makes the country's crude oil 6,400 kilometers nearer to European consumption centers than is Arabian Gulf crude oil. The policy of the former Libyan government was sufficiently conducive to stimulate foreign investment and petroleum development. The first crude oil was discovered in 1958 at Atshan near the Libyan-Algerian boundary, followed by the great discovery in an area located south of Sirta Gulf in Zulten, Dahra, Intersar, Raguba, and Mabruk (Figure 14).

This discovery of crude oil in the Gulf area not only encouraged oil exploration in other parts of Libya, but also made the Sirta Gulf the most important economic area of the whole country. This discovery encouraged the oil companies to construct two main crude oil ports, Zwitina and Ras-Lanuf. What is important to us here is the increase of oil revenue which has its impact in all of the economic sectors and especially upon agriculture and industry.

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⁴R. El Mallakh, "The Economics of Rapid Growth: Libya," Middle East Journal, (Summer 1969), Vol. 23, p. 308.

Figure 14



What is important to us here is the increase of oil revenue which has an impact on all the economic sectors, especially upon agriculture and industry.

The importance of oil to the economy of Libya is particularly vital because the country is mainly arid or semi-arid and faces complex problems concerning agricultural development. Also, substantial resources from other fields have been almost absent. The indirect impact of oil on Libyan cities has been noted by one of the oil companies' workers in 1962. Thomas (1962)⁵ stated that:

The impact of oil is most readily apparent in the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi where the oil companies have their offices and workshops and employ large staffs. New hotels are being built and other businesses have grown as a result of petroleum activity. Purchasing power is concentrated here and the sharp rise of prices, particularly in the case of goods and services consumed by foreigners and wealthy Libyans, is most strongly felt. And here the mushrooming shanty towns are bleak reminders that there are some social problems which the discovery of oil will not by itself solve.

Demographic Factors

During the 1960's the growth of Tripoli's population has come about mostly from rural migration, natural increase, and the annexation of the nearby village of Suq El-Jumah, the cityward movement was linked to the poor conditions existing in the rural areas and to the increased government spending and job opportunities. Tripoli's population growth will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

⁵F. Thomas, 1962, "The Libyan Oil Workers," Middle East Journal, 11: 264.

The Early Independence Period

During the early independence period (1951-1958), Tripoli's urban growth was very slow compared to the later oil exploration and exportation period of the 1960's and the oil boom of the 1970's. The main stimulus for urban development in Tripoli came from the private sector, especially from the wealthy Jews and Italians. They played a great role in financing buildings and construction as well as industrial activities. Lack of money meant that no government buildings were erected. Government offices usually occupied those offices previously used by the Italians.

Despite the fact that the private sector development included all sectors of the city economy, construction dominated all other investment categories. This domination stemmed from several factors: First, the demand for residential buildings by foreign embassies to house their employees; second, the five years tax free policy adopted by Tripoli Municipality for any new residential buildings; and third, the availability of cheap land and also cheap Libyan labor.⁶

Generally, most of the residential units constructed during the early period of independence were traditional styled Arab houses and were built without licenses from the municipal government. The results were often poorly planned buildings and street layouts. This type of construction was encouraged by the absence of any planning department for the Tripoli Municipality. The land owners were left alone to plan their own land development which usually resulted in dividing it into small lots with narrow streets and no space for

⁶Tripoli Municipality, p. 309.

public recreation. Because of the lack of planning, urban facilities for these new residential units such as running water, sewage systems, electricity, and transportation services were either absent or deficient.

The municipal government became increasingly aware of the unplanned quarters and the fact that the city must have a planning department to control and organize the city urban development. In 1958, with the help of an Italian planner, the Municipality issued its first master plan in which the city was divided into five urban zones,⁷ (Figure 15).

- 1) Multi-story buildings
- 2) Villas
- 3) Traditional Arab Houses
- 4) Light Industry
- 5) Heavy Industry

The multi-story buildings were permitted in the central business district and the area surrounding it, especially in the south along present day Naser Street. Villa type houses were restricted to two major areas of Ben Ashor and Gargarish (Hia Alandlos). On the periphery of the central business district and outside the two mentioned villa areas, middle and low income residential areas were permitted to expand. Heavy industry was restricted to the area along the Swani Road and Gorgi at the west side of the city outside the Italian wall. Figure No. 16 shows the urban structure of Tripoli in 1963 which came mainly as a result of the application of Tripoli's master plan. The city can be

⁷Ministry of Planning and Development, Tripoli Master Plan, Tripoli, 1964).

Figure 15

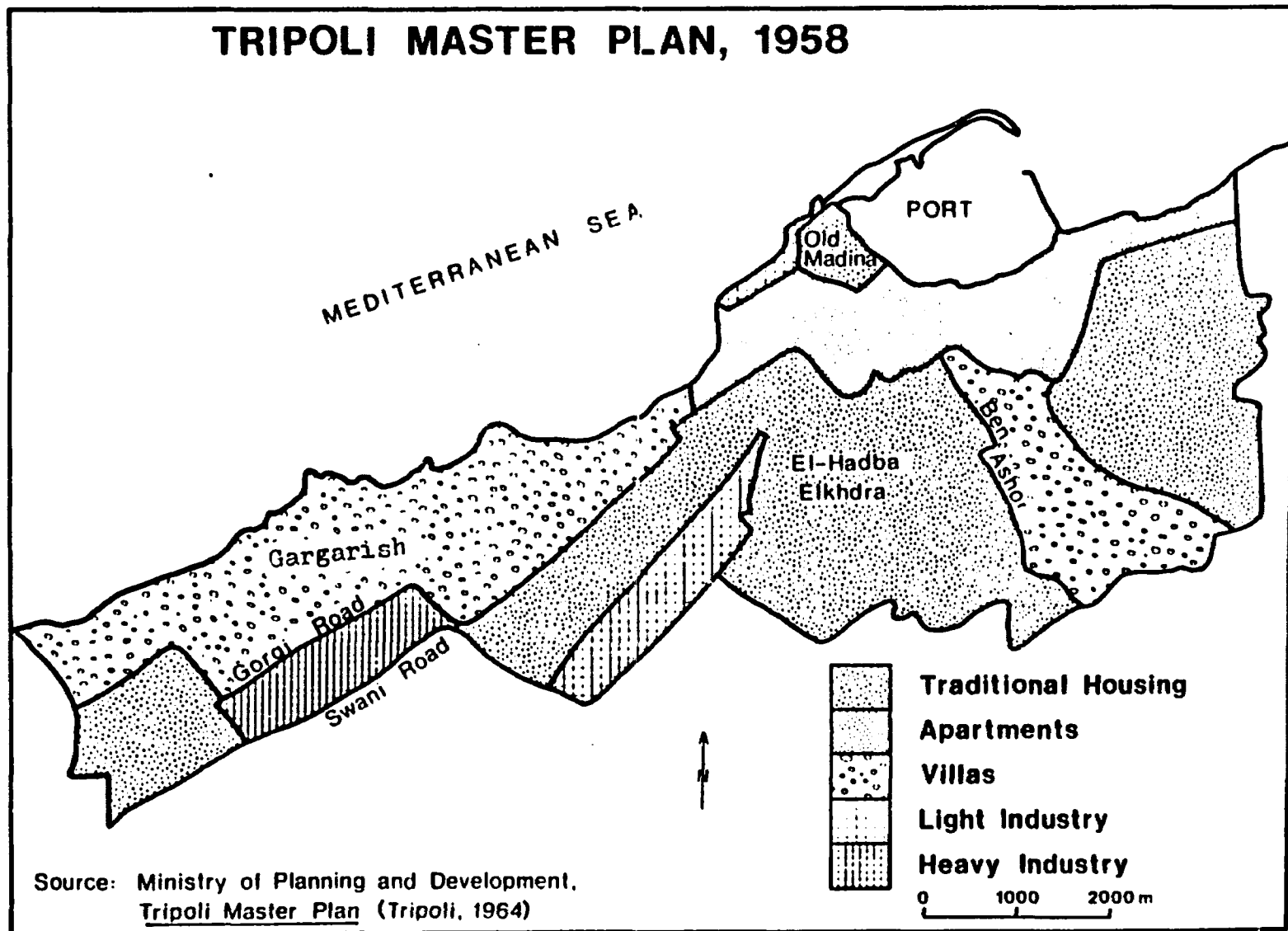
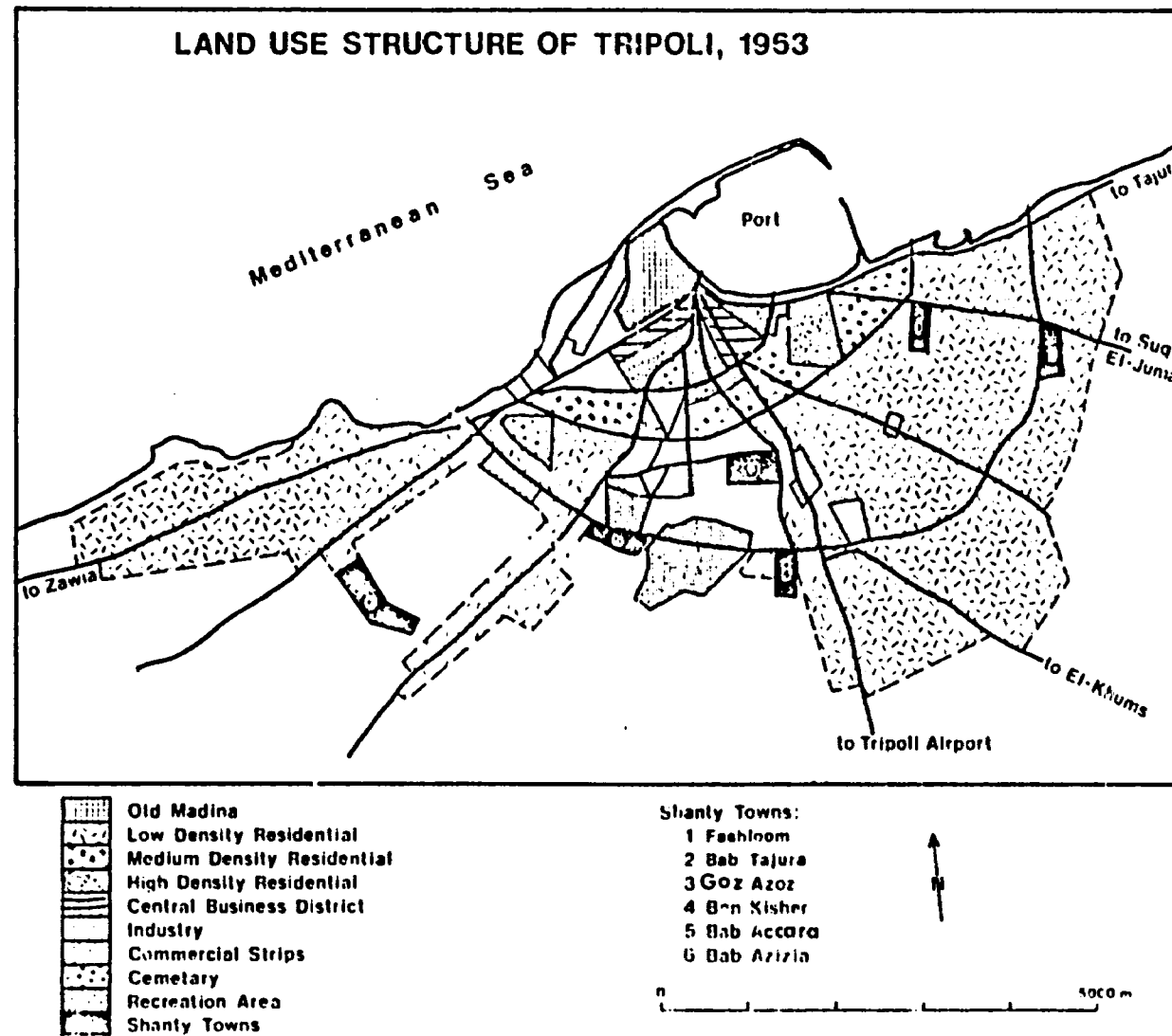


Figure 16.



divided into five major zones. The first zone which was dominated by the Old Madina and its high population density. In addition to the commercial and handicraft industry founded in the Old Madina, this zone includes the whole-sale market of Suq Etultha (Tuesday Market) near the northwest side of the Old Madina. The second zone or the central business district located south of the Old Madina which includes the major banks, hotels, retail shops, and government buildings and oil company offices. This zone was characterized by the construction of new multi-story buildings and renewal of old ones. These activities came as a result of the great demand on commercial shops and business offices, especially for the oil companies. The third zone located south and west of the central business district was dominated by villa type housing and low population density where high income people live. The fourth zone was situated south and west of the third zone and was characterized by middle and low income residential areas. The fifth urban zone is located outside Esure Road where most of the new industrial district is located. It also includes the major shanty towns of Bab Tajura, Bab Ben Kishar, and Bab Accara.

The Oil Exportation Period

During the oil exportation period of the 1960's, Tripoli increased in both population and area. This spectacular urban growth came as a result of waves of rural migration, high natural increase, and the annexation of the nearby village of Suq El-Jumah. The city population increased from 130,000 in

1954 to about 290,000 in 1964.⁸ The internal structure of Tripoli likewise has been changed greatly. Many residential, commercial, and industrial districts have been built from scratch and older ones have expanded.

Internal Migration

One of the most important causes of Tripoli's population growth during the 1960's was the increased number of rural migrants. Tripoli, the largest urban center in western Libya, has attracted rural migrants since the Turkish occupation; however, since the end of the Italian occupation and later because of oil exploration and oil exportation, migrants to Tripoli assumed dimensions previously unknown and became a source of public concern.

During the Italian occupation of the city (1911-1943), in-migration to Tripoli was restricted by the Italians to a limited number each year for political and economic reasons.⁹ By the end of the Italian occupation of 1943, Tripoli began to receive great numbers of rural migrants (Table 5).

One of the results of the oil development which had great impact on rural-urban migration was the unplanned regional growth, especially in terms of economic activities and employment opportunities all over the country. This

⁸ Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Economics and Commerce, Department of Census, Population Census, 1945 and 1964.

⁹ The Italians saw the gradual abandonment of the rural areas for the relatively secure, high paying jobs in the cities. Such movement was considered by the Italians to create two major problems. First, it might create labor shortages in rural areas. Second, the Italians anticipated that migration to the cities would lead to the formation of a restless urban proletariat. For more information about the Italian's migration policy, see Segre, p. 154.

TABLE 5
IN-MIGRATION TO TRIPOLI

YEAR	NUMBER OF MIGRANTS
1943	3,414
1944	1,366
1945	900
1946	1,432
1947	4,473
1948	5,431
1949	1,665
1950	1,065
1951	--
1952	--
1953	3,583
1954	5,032
1955	3,266
1956	2,344
1957	4,634
1958	2,388
1959	3,641
1960	4,115
1961	5,147
1962	5,260
1963	5,081
1964	5,934
1965	5,971
1966	5,730
1967	5,351

Source: Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Planning,
Census and Statistical Department, Census
of Population, Tripoli, 1968, p. 8.

rate of growth has been much higher in the urban areas (especially in Tripoli) than it has in the rural areas; which was mainly attributed to the concentration of economic activities, government departments, and oil company offices located in Tripoli.

Oil revenue has stimulated all economic activities in Tripoli; it has resulted in rising rents and rising wages; in the establishment of many new Libyan and foreign trading and construction enterprises catering to oil company requirements and in the general boom in trading and service activities of all kinds.¹⁰ Urban industries prospered, new plants were built and the impetus given by oil activities resulted in a great demand for labor. These indirect impacts of oil development were increasing the attractiveness of Tripoli to rural migrants.

The impact of internal migration on Tripoli's population growth was shown by a sample survey which was conducted in 1956, in which about fifty percent of the workers in the industrial sector were found to have been born outside Tripoli.¹¹ Another sample survey taken in 1964 indicates that sixty percent of the industrial workers were in-migrants.¹² The population census of 1964 shows that about 73,000 of Tripoli's population were born outside of the city. According to this figure, migrants constitute about one-fourth of the city's population.¹³

¹⁰Harrison

¹¹The International Bank for Construction and Development, 1960, p. 63

¹²R. Harrison, "Migration as a Factor in the Geography of Western Libya: 1900-1964," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1965).

¹³Census and Statistical Department, 1964.

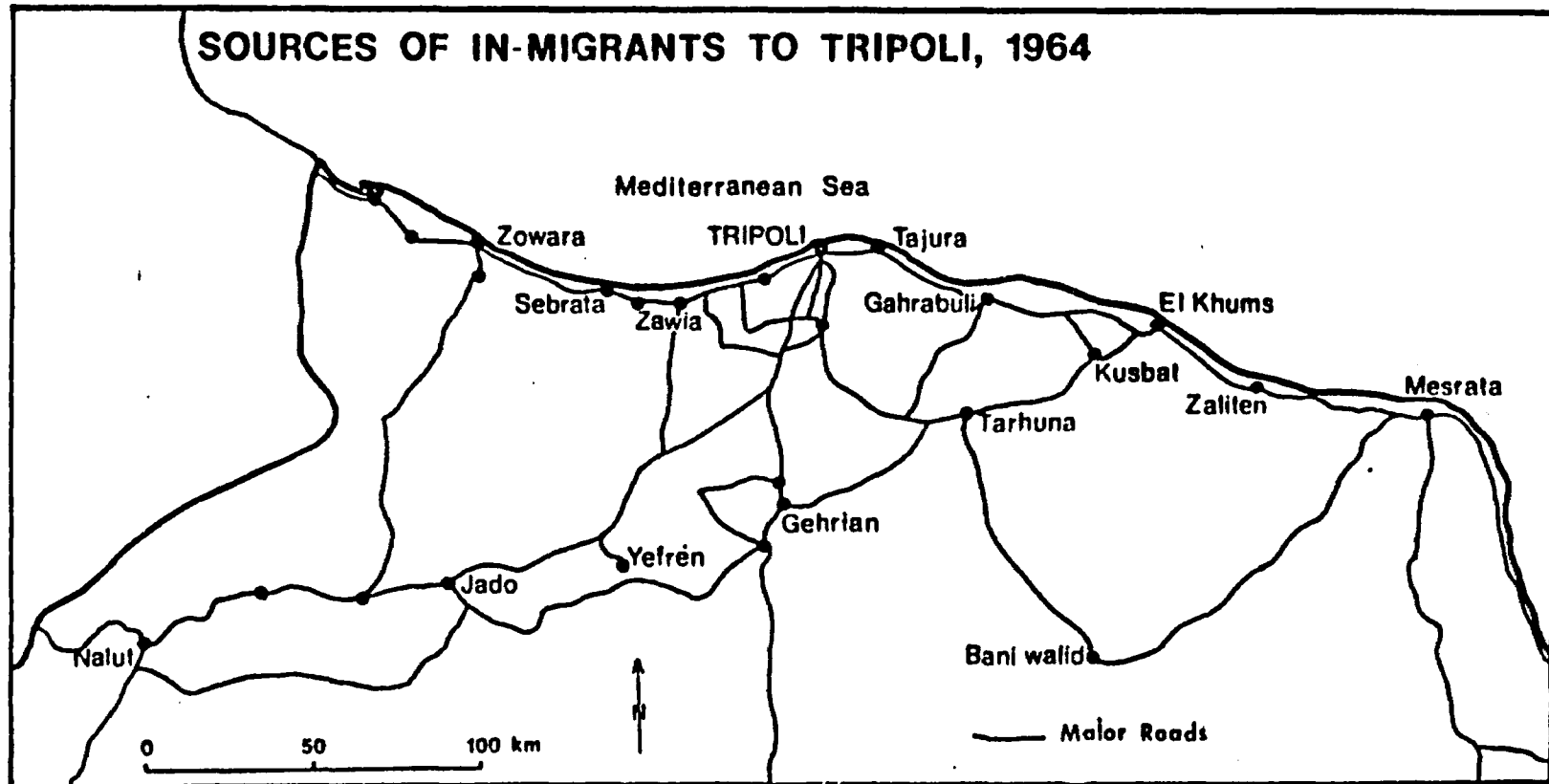
Similarly to most Southwest Asian and North African cities, immigrants to Tripoli usually settled in the areas previously occupied by their relatives and friends.¹⁴ For example, Harrison¹⁵ noted that people from Tarhuna were concentrated in the Goz Azoz shanty town while migrants from Nault and Ufren (in the eastern mountains) were chiefly concentrated in the Old Madina, and that there was an interesting concentration of Naluti (people that came from Nalut City) in the Hara El-Kebera and Hara El-Skhera, particularly after 1947 when 26,000 Jews left for Israel.¹⁶ East coast migrants, particularly those from El-Khums and Zaliten, tended to gather in the Bab Ben Kisher area (Figure 17). One phenomenon which Harrison failed to explain is that migrants have settled close to their port of entry into the city. For example, the concentration of migrants from El-Khums and Zaliten in Bab Ben Kisher and Lansha in the south side of the city was mainly due to the location of those two areas along the only highway which connects Tripoli with El-Khums and Zaliten. The same conclusion can be made about the concentration of Tarhuna migrants along the highway that connects Tripoli with Tarhuna.

¹⁴ Abu-lughod found out that the northern areas of Cairo are occupied mostly by migrants from lower Egypt. Areas south of the central city were occupied mainly by people from upper Egypt. (J. Abu-lughod, "Migration Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case," American Journal of Sociology, 1961, pp. 67-79)

¹⁵ R. Harrison, (1965), p. 409.

¹⁶ For more information about minority groups in Libya, see: L. Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," Middle east Journal, (1959), 1: 33-41

Figure 17.



Source: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariate of Planning, Atlas of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tripoli: Government Printing Office, 1976.

Natural Increase

The second major cause of Tripoli's population growth was the high rate of natural increase. Between 1954 and 1964, Tripoli's natural rate of increase has been estimated to be 2.9 percent per annum compared with an estimated rate of 2.5 percent per annum for the country as a whole.¹⁷ This high rate of natural increase came as a result of improvements in sanitation, nutrition, education, and medical care all of which reduced the death rate, particularly among infants and the younger age groups. Another factor which had a great effect on the natural rate of increase was the increased number of rural migrants because of the natural tendency of rural migrants to have high fertility rates even after moving into the city. This may be due to the fact that most of the migrants were young people in their reproductive years (age 20-40).

The Annexation of Suq El-Jumah

The third major factor behind Tripoli's population growth was the annexation of the nearby areas of Suq El-Jumah. The Ministry of Interior issued a decree in 1964 to include the area which was known as Suq El-Jumah in Tripoli Municipality according to a previous recommendation by a private consulting company.¹⁸ The main reason for the recommended annexation was the urban character of that area and its close ties with Tripoli's industrial

¹⁷ Kingdom of Libya, Ministers of Interior. Master Plan for Tripoli, (Tripoli: 1969), p. 47.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

and commercial activities. This government action not only enlarged the area of the city, but also increased its population from 214,000 to 290,000.¹⁹

It was clear that the city history virtually repeated itself, and there was some kind of "re-play" of the 1912 situation when the city's area had been similarly widened by the Italian government's action to include the Manshia area within the city boundaries. During the early 1960's and before the annexation, there were some private residential areas which were independent of the city's jurisdiction, but which benefited from the spillover of the city's services.

Most of the land in these newly annexed areas was privately owned. As the city grew, especially during the early 1960's, communication and other infra-structural facilities between these areas and the city center expanded. It became more convenient for the car-owning high income groups to live in the periphery of the city and commute to work. Others were engaged in agricultural activities while benefiting from the city's infra-structural facilities.

The annexation of the new areas to the Municipality of Tripoli was a very important stage of the city's urban growth. Before the annexation to Tripoli, the former agricultural lands were subdivided to form low and medium density residential areas outside the municipality boundaries. The 1964 annexation increased the rate of development in the suburbs by including them within the jurisdiction of the municipality where the city municipality was actively engaged in developing the infrastructure. By providing these areas

¹⁹Ibid., p. 40.

with city services such as electricity and water, the municipality increased the accessibility of other areas that were adjacent to them, but farther away from the city and outside the new municipal boundaries. This, together with the demographic and economic circumstances of an expanding Tripoli, created the condition of further urban sprawl.

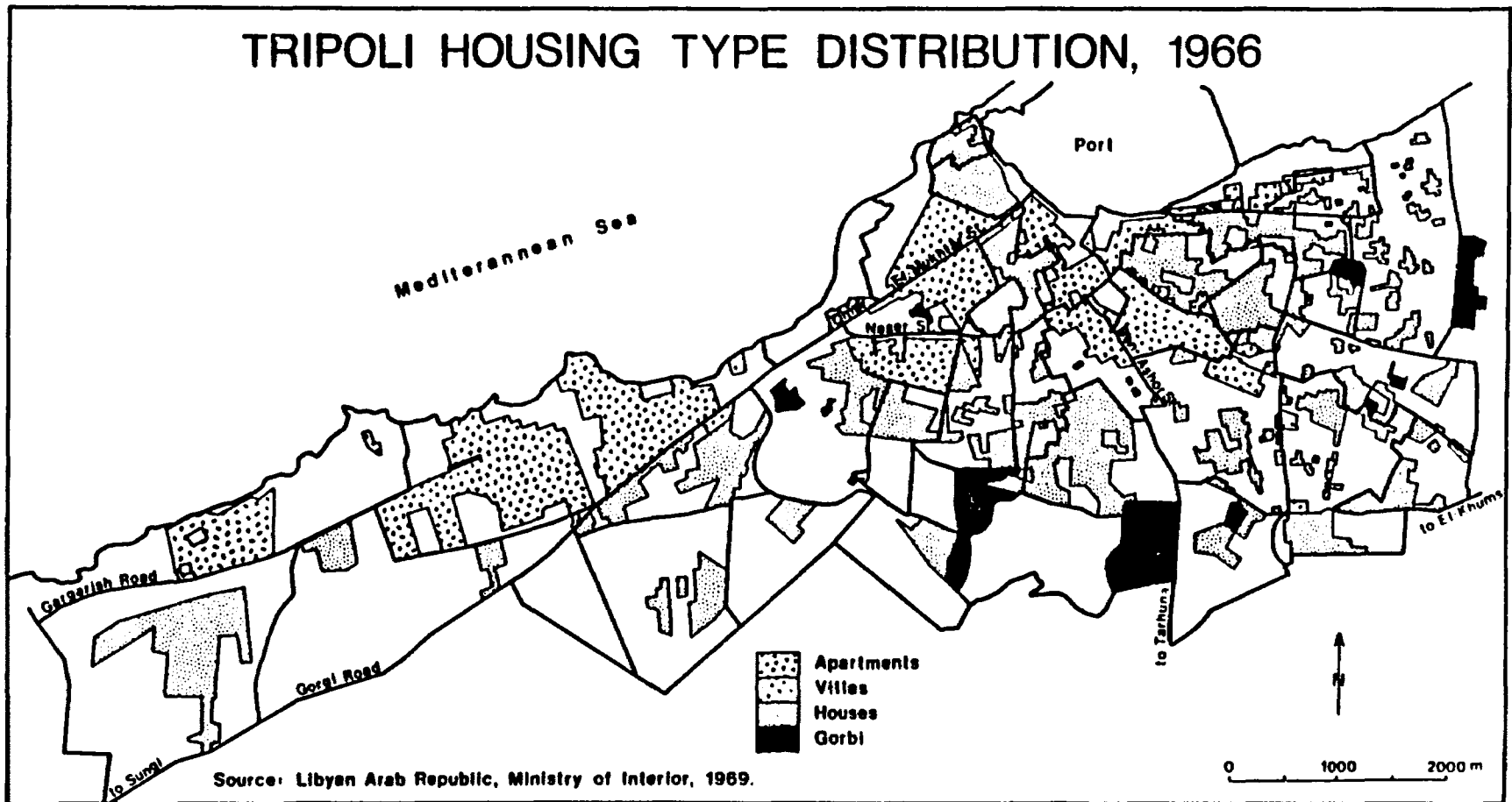
Housing Type Distribution

The housing in which people live is indicative of the development of the city. In Tripoli, the rapid economic and social changes following the oil development resulted in a growing desire by its inhabitants for better accommodations.

Figure 18 shows four major types of housing in Tripoli. These are:

- 1) Apartments, defined as dwelling units contained with at least one other such unit in a building of two or more stories. This type of housing unit is the dominant pattern in the central business district and the area surrounding it, particularly along Nasar Street.
- 2) Villas are defined as a luxury form of housing. All villas have separate gardens, and practically all have surrounding walls. Most of this type of residential units are either one or two story buildings and are the dominant pattern in Gargarish, Ben Ashor, and the area between Nasar and Jomhoria streets in the west side of the city.
- 3) Haush, defined as a traditional dwelling type, generally with an interior courtyard. Most haushs are one story but two

Figure 18



story types dating back to the Turkish times exist in the Old Madina. The traditional Arab haush is a square, uncovered courtyard surrounded by rooms (2 to 6). The new haush is usually smaller in size (2 to 3 rooms), covered and built of more resistant building materials such as stone, brick, and cement. Haushs are the dominant type of construction in Suq El-Jumah, El-Hadba, El-Khdra, and most of the areas west of the city.

- 4) Gorbi, is defined as a dwelling type with unstable, makeshift construction, employing a variety of salvaged material such as scrap metal, used woods, and palm leaves (Jarid). Most of the gorbi type dwellings were located on the periphery of the city.

The most obvious problem associated with Tripoli's population growth was the lack of adequate housing. For example, in 1964 Harrison noted that "squatter settlements or shanty towns are typical of Libya and they are an ugly feature not only of Tripoli but also of Benghazi."²⁰

The original cause of these squatter settlements was the discrimination policy adopted by the Italians during their occupation of Tripoli (1911-1943). Most of the modern sectors of the city were built by the Italians for themselves while the Libyans were restricted to the Old Madina and certain other areas. This discrimination policy tended to increase the growth of the squatter settlements. Despite the disappearance of ethnic distinctions after independence, rural migrants found it difficult to buy or rent a house because

²⁰ Harrison, 1967, p. 40.

of their limited income, the rising price of property, and the high rents demanded by landlords. Therefore, the only place where the poor migrant could afford was the shanty town. Most of the squatter settlements were located on the periphery of the city outside the Italian wall, the largest ones were at Bab Tajura, Bab Ben Kisher, and Bab Accara.²¹

When the housing shortage became acute and accelerated rapidly, especially in Tripoli, the government initiated and adopted various housing policies and programs. For the period that preceded oil development, the government's financial ability was very limited. Therefore government activity in the housing sector was very limited and could hardly be recognized. The only action taken by the government to improve housing conditions was the shanty town clearance program at Bab Accara where part of the shanty town was demolished and its inhabitants were settled in a more suitable site.²² With the development of oil in the 1960's, government revenue from that natural resource began to accumulate very rapidly and its financial constraints became less severe. Since that time, housing problems have increasingly gained more attention and more financial resources. In 1965, the Ministry of Housing and State Properties was created to combine all previous housing agencies, to formulate, develop, and implement the housing programs. In the same year, the Industrial and Real Estate Bank was established to serve as a housing mortgage bank by providing long-term credit to citizens building their own houses. In 1966, a public housing program was introduced

²¹Doxiadis, Association. Housing in Libya, the Existing Condition, (Athens, Greece: 1969), p. 132.

²²Economic Development of Libya, p. 294.

by the government on a national level with the sum of 400 million Libyan Dinars allocated to build 100,000 dwellings over a period of five years at the rate of 20,000 units per year. The program was mainly for the low-income group, civil servants, war veterans, and disabled persons.²³ In 1969 the Second Five Year Plan came into existence, but the revolution of September 1, 1969 suspended it and it was replaced by new revolutionary and progressive plans (see Chapter Five).

The Land-Use Structure of Tripoli as an Industrial City

Tripoli land-use map (Figure 19) shows the land-use pattern of Tripoli during the 1960's. When only developed land is considered, residential was the largest user of land with forty percent followed by public land-use with fifteen percent. Housing wholesaling and transportation followed with seven percent, manufacturing with eight percent, and retailing and hotels with five percent.²⁴

Generally, the land-use structure of Tripoli during the 1960's shows that Tripoli has developed several industrial city elements. The growth of high and middle class residential areas on the periphery of the city, the growth of low income residential areas north and west of the central business district, the establishment of commercial districts along the major highways connecting the city with other urban centers, and the creation of new, planned industrial

²³ Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Planning National Accounts of the Libyan Arab Republic, 1962-1972, (Tripoli: 1973), p. 3.

²⁴ Kingdom of Libya, 1969, p. 45.

districts on the periphery of the city are all land-use elements which are judged to be characteristics of an industrial city.

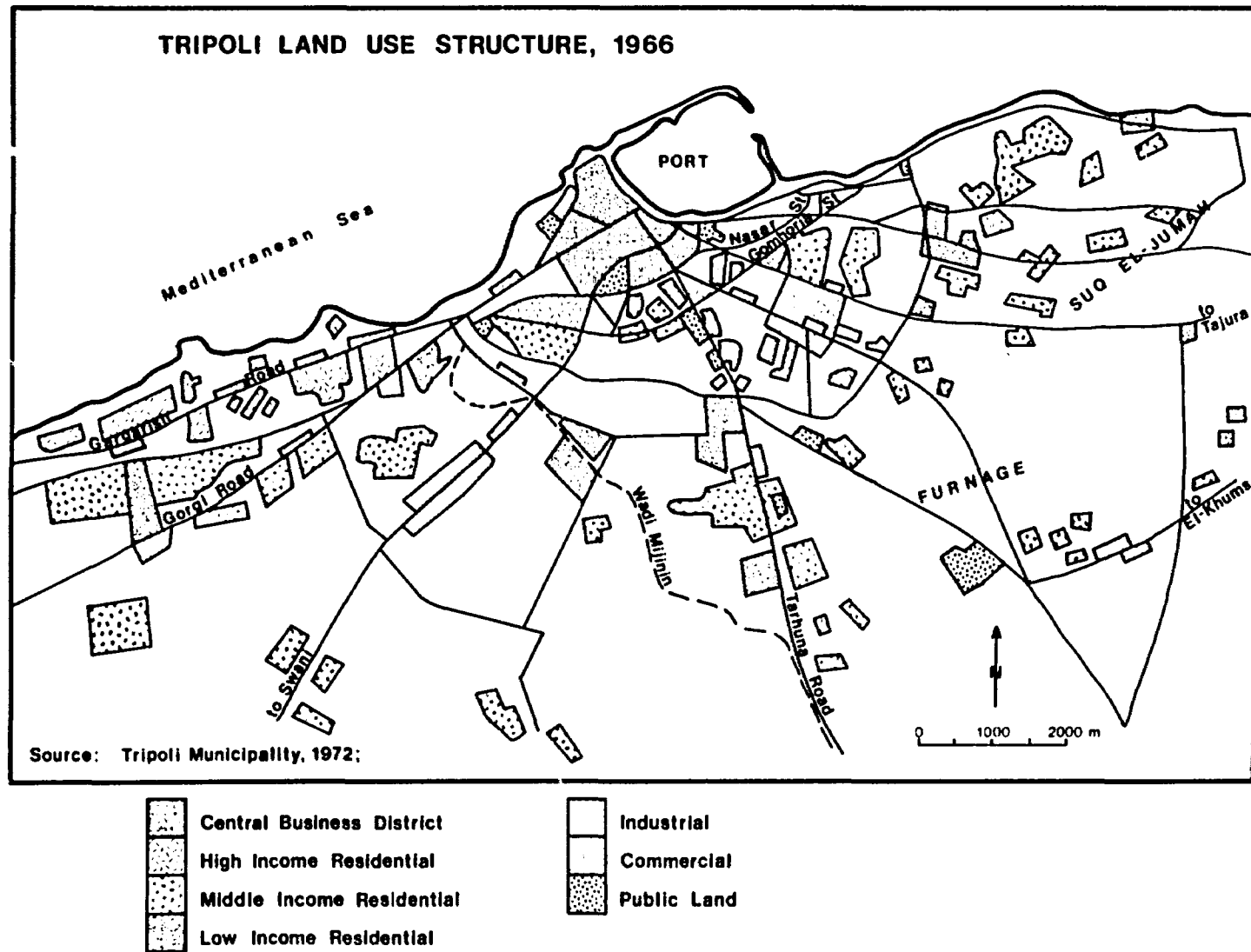
Development of High Income Residential Areas on the Periphery of the City

The residential mobility of the upper income group from the Old Madina to new high income residential areas in the periphery of the city was one of the characteristics of Tripoli's urban growth during the 1960's. The increase in private automobile ownership (Figure 18), the improvement of roads, and the desire of the wealthy population to live in spacious houses far away from the crowded Old Madina and the noisy central business district were the major factors behind the creation of new high income residential areas in the periphery of the city along a particular sector radiating from the Colonial Core. Two major high income residential areas were created. The first one was located along Ben Ashor Street on the south side of the city. Most of the housing units in this area were either villa type or apartments. The second high income residential area was located to the west of the city at Gargarish outside the Italian wall and along the Tripoli-Zawia Road. The housing in this area was dominated by one to two story villas. These higher income houses were constructed by both individual and speculative developers. The latter developments were not on a large scale.

The Growth of Middle Income Residential Areas on the Periphery of the City

In addition to the previously mentioned high income residential areas, middle class residential areas were also established on the periphery of the

Figure 10



city. These areas included two types of dwelling units, apartments and houses. Most of the apartments were constructed by wealthy Libyans for rent, especially in the area south of the Colonial Core along both sides of Jamharia Street. On the other hand, the houses were usually constructed by individuals, mostly by government and oil company employees, especially in the southern and southwestern parts of the city such as the new planned areas of Ras Hassen, Elhdba El-Khadra, and Gooth Eshal.

The Growth of Low Income Residential Areas

North and West of the Central Business District

During the mid 1960's, a low income residential area north and west of the central business district in the Old Madina came as a result of two types of migration: The first was the previously mentioned movement of the wealthy population to the suburbs; and the second was the increased waves of rural migration. Some of the lower income rural migrants were settled in spacious houses vacated by the departure of upper and middle class population. These buildings had been rapidly subdivided to absorb the growing demand for housing by the rural migrants. Under the impact of high density and severe over-crowding, residential property had deteriorated for lack of adequate maintenance. Furthermore, the traditional system of sanitation and the water supply, both already inadequate and sometimes neglected, had been totally overwhelmed by the recent influx of low income people.

The Growth of New Commercial Strips on the Periphery of the City

Along the Major Highways Connecting the City with Other Urban Centers

The creation of new residential areas on the periphery of the city, the newly constructed highways connecting the city with other urban centers, the increased numbers of cars and trucks, and the transformation of the wholesale market of Suq Etulatah (Tuesday Market) to the west side of the city, were all factors having a great impact on the creation of new commercial strips on the periphery of the city in order to serve both the new residential areas and travelers to other urban centers. Several retail shops and auto repair shops were established, particularly along the major highways such as Zawia Road, Tarhuna Road, Swani Road, and El-Khums Road leading out of the city.

The Growth of Planned Suburban Industry

Most of the suburban industrial districts were established during the post colonial period, especially during the 1960's. The most important and the largest industrial districts were located on the west side of the city west of Wadi Mijinnin, along the Swani Road and Gorgi Road. The Swani industrial district is the largest one where about thirty industrial plants have been created between 1956 and 1968.²⁵ Most of the industrial firms are engaged in agricultural processing, furniture, building materials, soft drinks, plastic, and wood industry. The second industrial district was located at the east side of Wadi El-Mijinin near Suq Etulath where several industrial factories have been

²⁵Libyan Arab Republic, Census and Statistical Department, (Tripoli: 1973).

established such as wood, paper, printing, chemical, furniture, and building materials.

What makes Tripoli different, however, from the Western industrial city and similar to cities in the Third World in general is the development of the shanty towns in the city's periphery. As noted before, the original cause of the shanty towns in Tripoli was the Italian discrimination policy. Most of the modern sections of Tripoli were built by the Italians for themselves while the Libyans were restricted to the old Madina and the gorbi camps built by the Italians to house the Libyans who had previously lived in tents outside the Italian wall and later to house the Libyans serving in the Italian army at Bab Tajura, Bab Ben Kisher, and Bab Accara. All of these camps were transformed into shanty towns after the end of the Italian occupation and lifting of the restrictions imposed on the rural migration into the city. Similar to the findings of McGee, in his study of the Southeast Asian Cities,²⁶ the division of the population into high and middle class and lower class shanty town dwellers has added a new element to the formation of the colonial city of Tripoli without transforming the older pattern. Upper and lower classes are both to be found near the central business district and in the periphery of the city.

In brief, it is clear from the previous discussion that Tripoli had entered the early stages of industrialization accompanied by extensive urbanization which

²⁶T. McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Explanation is Search for Theory, (London: Bell and Sons, 1975), p. 56.

came as a result of economic and population growth. The prosperous economy of the city, especially after the oil development of the early 1960's, resulted in the improvement of roads and the widespread use of the automobile which, in turn, resulted in the movement of both high and middle income population to the newly planned areas in the periphery of the city. This movement of the high and middle income population was followed by the movement of low income rural migrants who settled in the spacious houses vacated by the departure of the upper and middle income population, especially in the Old Madina, north of the central business district. Under the impact of high density and lack of adequate urban utilities (such as water and sewage systems) residential property deteriorated rapidly.

Additionally, a new planned industrial area had been developed in the far western side of the city as well as the creation of new commercial strips along the major roads connecting the city with other urban areas. All of these developments are judged to be characteristics of an industrial city. What makes Tripoli different from the Western industrial cities and similar to many Third World cities is the growth of the shanty towns in the city's periphery. Thus, both upper and lower classes are to be found in the areas near the central business district and in the periphery of the city.

On September 1, 1969 there was a coup d'etat in which the free officers under the leadership of Moamer Kaddafi overthrew King Idris and Libya became known as the Libyan Arab Republic. Tripoli became Libya's sole capital.

The new government, its socialist policy, and its impact on Tripoli's urban development will be the subject of discussion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIALIST CITY OF TRIPOLI

(1969-Present)

This chapter is devoted to the current period of Tripoli's urban development or the revolutionary period which extends from 1969 to the present. During this period, the internal structure of Tripoli almost completely changed from that of an industrial city to what may be called an affluent socialist city. This chapter contains four major parts. In the first part, the change in the Libyan political system and its impact on the city is analyzed. The second part is concerned with the cause and consequences of the city's population growth. The third part is devoted to housing programs and their institution. Finally, in the fourth part, Tripoli's land-use patterns are analyzed by verbal, cartographic, and photographic means, which are the result of the field trip survey conducted in Tripoli in 1982 and the studies of aerial photographs of Tripoli taken in 1980.¹

¹ Secretariat of Planning, Maps Department, Tripoli's Air Photos, 1980.

Since the Libyan revolution of 1969, Tripoli, the largest city in Libya, has not only experienced much faster growth than any other city in Libya but also any other city in North Africa. While some other urban centers in North Africa were growing at three to five percent per annum in 1975, Tripoli experienced a growth rate of nine percent per annum.² The city's population has increased from about 300,000 in 1964 to 550,000 in 1973 and 820,000 in 1982. Since 1969, Tripoli has been Libya's sole capital, a function which it had shared with Benghazi and Bida before 1969. The city is now the focus of the country's political administration and is Libya's most important business and education center. Moreover, being the focus of road, sea, and air transportation to different parts of the country, it has a special advantage over any other city in Libya in distribution of finished goods and products, both imported and locally manufactured. The revolution of September 1, 1969 and its subsequent socialist policies have had great impact on Tripoli's urban structure and urban growth. With the country's economic prosperity during the thirteen years between 1969-1982, Tripoli had experienced huge urban growth which came as a result of several social and economic programs which were mainly supported by the Libyan government. Thus, government intervention was very clear and had great impact on the current morphological structure of Tripoli. From the early days of the Libyan revolution, its leaders announced that the distribution of wealth in Libya was not equal among all population groups in the country. The people with little or no income had to

² Abu-lughod, 1976, p. 192.

live in unsuitable conditions and had neither the resources to improve their condition by themselves nor the political power to attract the interest and assistance of the previous government. The great wealth accumulated in Libya through oil development was mainly for the benefit of a small elite group, and so the standard of living of the majority of the population was very low. The unequal distribution of wealth was clear in Tripoli. In 1969 it was estimated that about 26,000 persons were living in shanty towns within Tripoli. The Ministry of Planning and Development Report of 1969 discussed the overcrowding problem of the shanty towns (Figure 19). The average number of occupants per Gorbi was five, given densities of 200 persons per acre. Average family income was low, generally about LD 50 (\$150 U.S.) per month, with a high proportion of families living on meagre social security benefits.³

These shanty towns were viewed by the new government as a social ill and an example of unfair distribution of wealth among the population. The new government recognized that the masses should benefit from their nation's wealth. In recognizing this, the revolutionary government announced that one of its main objectives was to achieve equality among different groups of the society. The main goal of the socialist government was "the creation of a society based on socialist patterns having the interest of individuals as its first and foremost concern."⁴

³ Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Planning and Development, Census and Statistical Department, Report on Household Sample Survey, July, 1969.

⁴ Wright, 1982, p. 185.

The New Political System and the Administrative

Units Within Tripoli

On September 1, 1969 there, was a coup d'etat in which the Free Officers⁵ under the leadership of Moamer Kaddafi overthrew King Idris and Libya became known as the Libyan Arab Republic. Kaddafi stated that "the revolution occurred because of national popular and human considerations."⁶ In recalling some of the factors that produced the revolution Kaddafi mentioned that poverty, injustice, persecutions of people, and the lack of proper housing were instrumental in bringing about the revolution.⁷ What is important here is that the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.) under the leadership of Moamer Kaddafi became the highest authority that exercises action of supreme sovereignty, legislation, and general policy-making. The ten provinces (Muhafdots) of Libya existed until February of 1975 when the provincial government was abolished and 46 municipalities substituted. Of these municipalities, Tripoli was the largest and most urbanized. Since 1975, the municipality has become the sole administrative and geographical subdivision

⁵The "Free Officers" is the name of the 70 young officers who claimed credit for carrying out the coup and taking over the government under the leadership of Moamer Kaddafi.

⁶The Socialist Peoples' Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, The Basic Facts, (Ottawa, Canada: Jerusalem International Publishing, Inc., 1982), p. 87.

⁷H. Habib, Politics and Government of Revolutionary Libya, (Ottawa, Canada, 1975), p. 20.

within Libya. Furthermore, each municipality is administratively divided into branches and each branch is subdivided into mahallas. Each Mahalla has its own "People's Committee" and one representative in the People's Committee of the municipality branch. The Municipality People's Committee consists of one representative from each municipality branch. Additionally, Peoples's Committees were established in airports, schools, universities, oil companies, ports, etc. At the same time, the General People's Congress became the highest instrument and political authority in Libya. It has the right to study, discuss, and approve the policies of the country, its general planning, peace and war treaties, budget, and to check and guide the execution of popular authority.

On March 1, 1977, during a special session of the General People's Congress, the declaration of the establishment of the Authority of the People had been announced and the important articles were as follows:

The Libyan Arab people assembled in the General Conference of the Popular Congress, the Popular Committees, and the professional unions, have reviewed the recommendation of the Popular Congress, the constitution declaration on December 11, 1969, and the resolution and the recommendation of the General People's Congress, which met during the period from January 5 to 18, 1976. Believing in the establishment of the direct democratic system as the absolute and decisive solution to the problem of the democracy, embodying the pioneer experiment of the popular rule which established the authority, declare their adherence to socialism as a means of achieving the people's ownership.⁸

⁸Department of Information and Cultural Affairs, The Human March, (Tripoli: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 12.

ARTICLE I.

The official name of the country will be the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

ARTICLE III.

The people's direct democracy is the basis of the political system in Libya, the authority being in the hands of the people alone. The people exercise their authority through the popular Congress, the popular committees, and the professional unions. The regulating of the Congress, the Committees, and the professional unions, as well as the dates of their meetings, are defined by law. The authority of the people is comprised of the following: (1) Popular Congress, (2) Popular Committees, (3) Professional Unions, and (4) People's General Congress.⁹

As a result of this declaration, the political authority in Libya has been transformed from the Revolutionary Command Council to the People's General Congress. At the same time, a permanent "General Secretariat" was created to organize General People's Committee sessions.

A General People's Committee composed of former cabinet members (renamed as secretaries) also came into being to act as the state's main administrative body.¹⁰ The Municipality of Tripoli is a good illustration of the political system of Libya. In 1982 the Tripoli Municipality was divided into 32 mahallas (districts); each mahalla having a popular committee of five members who are chosen by the people to serve for a three-year period. The Municipality of Tripoli also has five municipality branches, each with five members chosen from among the popular committee members of the mahallas

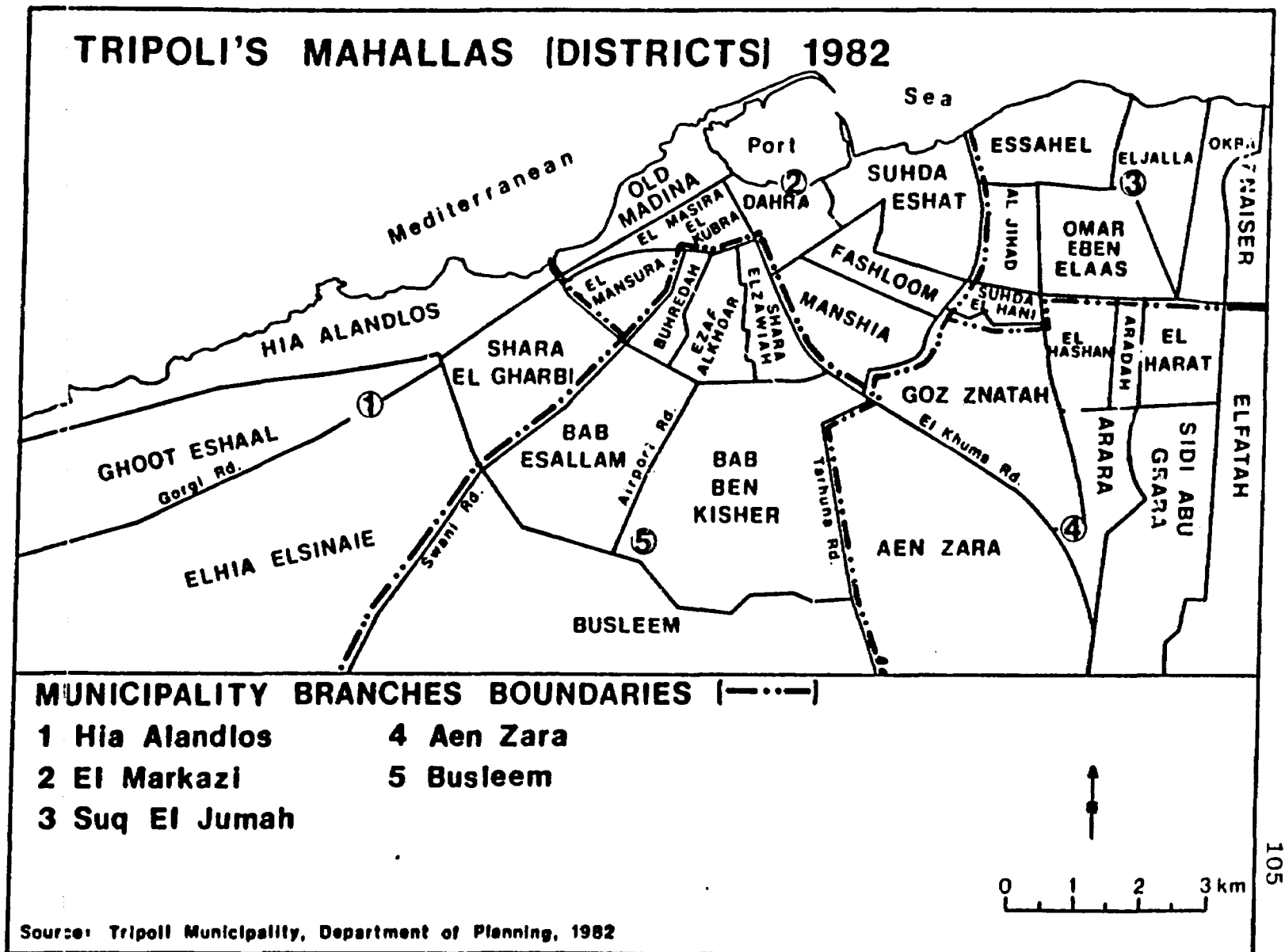
⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Wright, p. 184.

which are located within that branch of the municipality (Figure 20). The Municipality Popular Committee is composed of five members, one representative from each branch of the Tripoli Municipality. This committee will choose the head of the Tripoli Municipality Popular Committee or the Mayor. The Popular Secretariat Committee on the municipality level is chosen also by representatives from the five branches of the Tripoli Municipality. The popular secretariat committee consists of secretariats of Health, Treasury, Industry, Housing, Planning, Information, Justice, Education, Social Affairs, Sports, Electricity, and Agriculture. The secretariats on the municipal level in the 46 municipalities in Libya all choose the General Secretariat on the national level during a special session of the General People's Congress held every three years.¹¹

¹¹ The new Libyan political system, as well as the economic system, reflects Kaddafi's ideology founded in his work, The Green Book. In the first part of The Green Book, "The Solution of Democracy," states that the direct democracy can only be reached by people's committees and a general people's congress. In the second part of The Green Book, "The Solution of the Economic Problem" Kaddafi indicates that the basic relationship between the owners and the workers (the wage earners) is one of slavery. The solution to the problem is to abolish the wage system. The producers should be partners in the process, sharing equally in what is produced (partners—not wage workers). Additionally, Kaddafi stated that "Man's freedom is lacking if somebody else controls what he needs." For example, the house is a basic need for both the individual and family. Therefore, it should not be owned by others. "There is no freedom for a man who lives in another's house, whether he pays rent or not." For more information about Kaddafi's Green Book, see M. Kaddafi, The Green Book, (London: Martin, Brian and O'Keefe, 1976).

Figure 20



Population Growth

The unprecedented increase in the population of Tripoli during its fourth phase of urban development (1969-1982), which came as a result of high rates of natural increase plus in-migration and immigration from abroad, has given rise to many problems, the most outstanding of which has been the acute shortage of housing units. This has resulted in overcrowding, overloading of existing facilities and subsequent deterioration in the environmental condition of many lower income residential areas such as the old Madina and the peripheral shanty towns.

During the recent years, the economic attraction of Tripoli has been very strong. In 1954 the population of the city was 179,000, or about 16 percent of the total population of Libya. In the year of the last Libyan population census, 1973, the population of Tripoli was 550,000 or 24.1 percent of the total population as shown in the following table.

TABLE 6
POPULATION OF TRIPOLI AND ITS SHARE OF THE TOTAL
LIBYAN POPULATION: 1954, 1964, and 1973

Year	Total Libyan Population	Tripoli Municipality	Percent
1954	1,089,000	179,000	16.4
1964	1,564,000	297,000	19.0
1973	2,288,000	550,000	24.1

Source: Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Planning, Census and Statistical Department, Census of Population, 1954, 1964, and 1973.

In 1980 the population of Tripoli was estimated to be 800,000 with an estimated population growth of about 7.2 percent. During the same year, the population of Libya was estimated to be four million with an annual population growth rate of four percent.

One of the major sources of Tripoli's population growth during this period (1969-1973) was the steady increase in the birth rate from 31 per thousand in 1964 to 46 per thousand in 1973 and the decrease in the death rate from 11 per thousand to 8.5 per thousand during the same period. It is very interesting to note that during the period of 1964-1973 Tripoli's birth rate was below the national average by 2.5 births per thousand, while its crude death rate was lower than the national average by 1.5 deaths per thousand.¹³ This is not surprising in view of the fact that health facilities in Libya are much more concentrated in urban areas than in other areas of the country, and that Tripoli has the largest share of those facilities.

In-migration is the second source of increases in the population of Tripoli. The movement of people from all parts of Libya and particularly from the western region into the city of Tripoli accelerated following the oil development period of the 1960's. A growing economy, improved infrastructure and considerably expanded employment opportunities, brought more people to Tripoli. Out of 278,460 Libyans who migrated from one region to another in

¹²The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 1979, p. 5.

¹³Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Planning, Census, and Statistical Department, Census of Population, 1973.

1973, 141,323 came to Tripoli, or more than 50 percent of the total migrants came to Tripoli.¹⁴

TABLE 7
INTERNAL MIGRATION TO TRIPOLI, 1973

Region	No. of In-Migrants	Percentage
Gehrian	52,377	37.0
Elkhums	39,909	28.0
Zawia	24,766	17.0
Miserata	11,048	08.0
Sebha	4,465	03.0
Benghazi	4,404	03.0
El-Khalij	1,723	01.0
Derna	1,602	01.0
Jabal Akhdar	1,029	00.7

Source: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census and Statistical Department, Internal Migration, 1973, (Tripoli: Government Printing, 1979), p. 24.

¹⁴The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census and Statistical Department, Internal Migration, 1973, (Tripoli: Government Printing, 1979), p. 24.

As shown in Table 7, the western part of Libya accounted for the bulk of the migrants (about 90 percent) in Tripoli. Of the initial migrants, thirty-seven percent came from the province of Gehrian, twenty-eight percent from Elkhums province, seventeen percent from Zawia province and eight percent from Miserata province (see Figure 17 for province locations).

In a field survey,¹⁵ of two percent of heads of households in the 32 mahallas (districts) in Tripoli, forty percent were born outside Tripoli. Eighty percent of the in-migrants came from Gehrian, Elkhums, Zawia, and Miserata provinces. This, once again, confirms the dominance of the western region as a source of in-migrants to Tripoli. The ease with which the migrant adjusts to life in the city is important in encouraging or discouraging further migration from the source region. About 70 percent of the migrants surveyed reside with their relatives and friends upon first arriving in Tripoli and only thirty percent live by themselves.

The third source of Tripoli's population growth was international migration. Out of 68,433 Libyans who were born outside Libya, 38,700 (more than fifty-six percent) were residing in Tripoli in 1973. Furthermore, immigration of foreigners to Tripoli was striking. Out of 196,865 foreigners living in Libya in 1973, there were 77,760 (about 39 percent of the total non-Libyan immigrants) concentrated in Tripoli alone.¹⁶ The manpower census of 1980 shows

¹⁵ Author's Field Survey, 1982.

¹⁶ Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census and Statistical Department, Census of Population, 1973,

that Tripoli had at that time about 41,403 foreign workers.¹⁷

The concentration of population in one urban center can create several problems for both the city and other parts of the country. Social services which are provided by the government, such as education, health facilities, roads, etc., have had to be very rapidly developed to enable the city to cope with its increased population growth. This situation has had two net outcomes: First, it has resulted in the concentration of social facilities in Tripoli (especially education and health facilities) to the detriment of other regions in Libya that still suffer from shortages of such services. Second, it has created a "vicious circle" situation whereby internal migration to the city has accelerated because social services are better and more readily available than in any other part of Libya. For example, Table 8 shows that Tripoli has the highest percentage of the total actual government expenditure during the development of the budget for 1972-1973. Additionally, there are several problems which are the direct result of this rapid population growth, such as traffic congestion, overcrowding of schools, and extensive use of the water reserves of the city whereby natural subterranean water sources are being drained at a faster rate than they can be recharged.¹⁸

¹⁷ Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census, and Statistical Department, Final Results of Manpower in Tripoli Municipality, 1980, p. 8.

¹⁸ M. Deeb, Libya Since the Revolution: Aspects of Social and Political Development, (New York, New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 15.

Overcrowded housing conditions, especially in the Old Madina and shanty towns where families lived in houses with inadequate or no urban facilities, was the most critical problem faced by Tripoli during its fourth phase of urban development.

TABLE 8
THE PERCENTAGE OF THE ACTUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE LIBYAN
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BUDGET, 1972-1973

Region	Share of the Region from the Total Expenditure %	Share of the Region from Expenditure on Economic Infrastructure %	Share of the Region from Expenditure on Services In Infra-Structure %
1. Tripoli	33.6	31.9	35.6
2. Benghazi	21.7	19.5	24.5
3. Sebha	04.0	05.0	03.7
4. Zawia	09.0	11.0	06.6
5. Gehrian	03.8	04.4	03.1
6. Miserata	06.9	07.7	05.8
7. El-Khums	03.0	02.7	03.5
8. El-Khulij	06.3	07.9	04.4
9. Jabal Akhdar	06.4	05.5	07.4
10. Derna	04.9	04.4	05.4

Source: Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Economy and Commerce, Auditing Department, Annual Report, (Tripoli, 1974).

Housing Institutions and Housing Programs

It has been mentioned before that Tripoli, as well as other urban centers in Libya, was experiencing very poor housing conditions which came about mainly as a result of the rapid population growth. Since the new government took control of the country on September 1, 1969, it has issued several laws concerning the initiation and development of a number of housing programs to meet the rapid increase in housing demand.

The first step taken by the new government concerning its housing policy was land tenure reform. Land is one of the most important aspects of housing policy, especially in the urban areas where both population density and land prices are usually high. During the post-colonial period (1951-1969), land problems in Tripoli were very acute. Most of the land was owned by only a few people (mainly the wealthier Libyans, Italians, and Jews) who usually demanded high prices for their property. Furthermore, there was high competition for land, especially among commercial and industrial users. The government decided to try to solve the land shortage problem using several methods, beginning with reducing land prices and imposing new taxes.¹⁹ Finally, after publication of The Green Book in 1976,²⁰ in which Kaddafi

¹⁹Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Housing, Law Concerning the Ministry of Housing, (Tripoli: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 594.

²⁰Kaddafi, p. 7.

stated that "land is not owned by anybody," Law No. 4 was passed.²¹ Subsequently, private land was confiscated by the government, which in turn allocated it to individual users.

The second step taken by the new government was to establish rent control: Article IV of the rent control law contained a resolution which significantly reduced rent payments. This resolution stated that current rent for premises covered by this law should be reduced as follows:

- a) 10% (ten percent) of the present amount of rent agreed upon in contracts of tenancy concluded prior to 1 January 1955, if such rent was not increased after that date;
- b) 15% (fifteen percent) of the present amount of rent agreed upon in contracts of tenancy concluded during the period 1 January 1955 through 31 December 1959, or in contracts concluded prior to such period if rent was increased during said period;
- c) 20% (twenty percent) of the present amount of rent agreed upon in contracts of tenancy concluded during the period 1 January 1960 through 31 December 1964, or in contracts concluded prior to such period if rent was not increased during said period;
- d) 25% (twenty-five percent) of present amount of rent agreed upon in contracts of tenancy concluded during the period 1 January 1968 through the date of issue of this law or in contracts

²¹ Article I. of Law No. 4 stated that each Libyan citizen has the right to own one lot of land for residential construction provided that neither the citizen nor any member of his family owns land. Article II stated that if the citizen owns more than one lot of land, he or she has the right to choose the one he or she prefers; the rest will belong to the government which will in turn distribute them among individual users. For additional information about Law No. 4, see: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, The Official Gazette, No. 7, p. 291-306. (Tripoli: Published by order of the Secretariat of Justice, 31 May 1978).

concluded prior to such period of rent was not increased during said period.²²

The third step taken by the new government was the initiation and development of several housing programs. The main housing programs can be divided into four types:

I. The Public Housing Programs

Under the public housing programs, the government builds houses at pre-determined locations and with standard designs. This housing program was mainly designed to provide housing for low income groups, particularly those living in shanty towns. The government, through its agency, has had to find and provide the locations for the public housing, for financing, construction, and follow-up building processes until they are completed. After that, the government agency distributes this housing according to specific priorities. Since 1969, the public housing programs have been organized by three major organizations. These are the Secretariat of Housing, the General Housing Corporation, and the Housing Control Department.

The Secretariat of Housing generally determines the housing policies, such as the number of housing units to be built and their locations. The General Housing Corporation is in charge of finding the means of building these housing units. It usually arranges the contracts and the follow-up of the building process, then checks all housing units when they are ready for the facilities that were specified in the contracts. It also handles the engineering

²²O. M. Ansell and I. M. Al-Arif (eds.), The Libyan Revolution, A Source Book of Legal and Historical Documents: September 1, 1969 - August 30, 1970. (Sloughtun, Wisconsin: The Oleander Press, 1972), pp. 97-98.

process and all the payments to the contractors. When all these processes are completed and the housing units are ready for occupancy, the General Housing Corporation hands them over to the Housing Control Department. Then, the latter distributes the public housing units to the people who satisfy the required conditions.²³ The General Housing Corporation was established in 1970 (G.H.C.) by Decree No. 151/1970. It was held responsible to do its best to overcome the housing problem in the country.

The General Housing Corporation had two major goals: The first objective was to complete all government obligations remaining from prior public housing projects. The Corporation completed 4,770 housing units of the 8,000 units planned for a public housing project started in 1966.²⁴ The second objective was to implement new housing projects. The Corporation either planned or participated in planning projects such as the emergency housing program, the public housing program, and the investment housing program.²⁵ All these housing programs were set up after the establishment of the Corporation. The Corporation started the emergency housing project in 1970 and completed that project in 1973. The total number of housing units completed in that project was 728 in Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna, and Sebha. About 542 housing units were completed in Tripoli alone in 1973.²⁶

²³The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Housing, Housing Sector During the Period 1969-1976, (Tripoli: El-Maktba Al-Lebia, 1976), p. U.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

The General Housing Corporation also started the public housing program in 1971. The total number of housing units completed in that project in 1976 was 49,254; so the share to Tripoli from these housing units was 18,235. With regard to the investment project, the corporation has completed 2,096 housing units in Tajura town (east of Tripoli) and in Benghazi, with all its amenities and facilities. According to the Secretariat of Housing Report for 1982, the total housing units completed by the General Housing Corporation from the date of its establishment on 1 January 1971 until the end of 1980 was 104,791. Tripoli's share of this housing was 28,455 units (Table 9).

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING UNITS COMPLETED BY
THE GENERAL HOUSING CORPORATION: 1970 - 1980

Region	Number of Units completed 1970-1980
Tripoli	28,455
Benghazi	16,369
Gahrian	9,303
Zawia	6,509
El-Khums	5,904
Miserata	6,194
Jabal-Akhdar	7,206
Derna	6,564
Sebha	12,170
El-Kalij	6,077
TOTAL	104,791

Source: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Housing, The General Housing Corporation, A Report on the Number and Distribution of Housing Units Completed by the General Housing Corporation, 1970-1980.

2. Low Interest Loan Programs

Prior to 1969, the commercial banks in Libya provided only limited short-term mortgage loans and only to influential people. In 1971 the commercial banks of Libya were asked by the government to provide mortgage loans to all Libyan citizens. These loans were divided into two categories:

(1) Mortgage loans to middle income people whose monthly income was in excess of of £D 100 (\$300 U. S.) at an annual interest rate of four percent: The maximum amount of the loan would be £D 6,500,²⁷ unless the loan was to cover the purchase of land, in which case the amount would be increased to £D 8,500. These amounts were later increased to £D 8,500, 10,000, and 20,000 respectively.²⁸ As an example of the contribution of the Libyan commercial banks in the housing development, Table 10 shows the number of loans that have been granted from the five major commercial banks from 1971 to 1975 and from 1975 to 1978.

The low interest loan program was stopped in 1981 and replaced by new mortgage programs which will be discussed below. The main reason for stopping the low interest loans program was the financial problems of the Libyan government which came about as a result of the world recession and the American embargo on Libyan oil.

²⁷ £.D. = \$3.00

²⁸ Central Bank of Libya, The Development of the Banks in Libya, 1976, p. 20.

TABLE 10

**NUMBER OF HOUSING LOANS GRANTED BY THE COMMERCIAL
BANKS DURING THE PERIOD 1971-75 AND 1975-78**

Bank	71-72	72-73	73	74	75	Total
Jamahiriya Bank	140	569	1587	2867	1775	6431
Sahara Bank	37	177	448	448	466	1934
Wahda Bank	102	418	1900	1700	1130	5250
Omma Bank	125	556	1917	1319	1022	4939
Tejari Bank	168	711	3173	4608	2690	10350
Total of all receiving loans from commercial banks, 1975-78						17,096

Source: Central Bank of Libya, The Developments of the Banks in Libyan Arab Republic, (Tripoli: Libyan Press, 1976), p. 20; and S.P.L.A.J. Secretariat of Planning, Social and Economic Development Plans in the S.F.L.A.J. 1970-78 (Tripoli: Abu-Amer Publisher, 1978), p. 35.

(2) Mortgage loans for construction development: These kinds of loans were introduced with the construction development law issued in 1972. The Libyan government ordered the banks to process loans to all Libyan citizens having lands suitable for residential development but lacking funds for construction. Priority was given to those applicants who desired to construct large buildings consisting of more than four apartments which were designed to be occupied by more than four families and were mainly for rent. The annual interest rate would be 5.5 percent, with the maximum period of repayment to be ten years. Table 11 shows the number of loans provided by the commercial banks for construction development.

TABLE 11

**LOANS PROVIDED BY THE COMMERCIAL BANKS FOR
CONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT IN 1972-1973**

Banks	Number of Loans
1. Jamahiriya Bank	72
2. Sahara Bank	14
3. Wahda Bank	140
4. Oma Bank	61
5. Tejara Bank	214

Source: Central Bank of Libya, The Development of the Banks in the Libyan Arab Republic, p. 30.

Despite the fact that the construction development program was very important in solving the problem of the housing shortage, especially in Tripoli, this program was completely stopped in 1974. Furthermore, all the rented housing units which were built with loans related to the construction program were confiscated by the government and the owners of such buildings were given compensation according to the value of the buildings in 1974.

(3) The interest free loan program: This program is completely financed by the Estate Bank. The main purpose behind its establishment in 1964 by the former government was to provide housing loans to those people whose monthly income did not exceed LD 100 (\$300). The establishment of this bank was very important for the low income class, especially when the current government had decided that there would be no interest charges on

loans granted by this bank. Table 12 shows the distribution of the Estate Bank loans among regions in Libya during 1966-1970, 1970-1975, and 1975-1978. It is clear from Table 12 that the Estate Bank has played an important part in the housing development programs. Between 1966 and 1970 this bank provided 5,291 households with loans; and between 1970 to 1975 the number increased to 32,433.²⁹

In 1981 the previously mentioned Libyan banks were reorganized and the Estate Bank became the only bank to provide long-term, interest-free loans to Libyan citizens.³⁰ Furthermore, this bank was renamed the Investment and Real Estate Bank. In order to guarantee long-term, interest-free loans from the Investment and Real Estate Bank, the applicant had to fill out an application for an interest free loan and pay a membership fee of LD 1,000 (\$3,000). Because of the previously mentioned financial problems of the Libyan government, loans from the Investment and Real Estate Bank became difficult to obtain and the applicant had to wait at least one year to obtain a loan.

²⁹Libyan Arab Republic, The Estate Bank, 1975, Board of Directors Report for the Period 1966-1975. (Tripoli, 1976); and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Lights on the Economic and Social Plans in Libya, 1970-1978, (Tripoli: Abu Amar Press, 1978), p. 55.

³⁰The Socialist People's Libya Arab Jamahiriya, Al-Fath, 1982, Vol. 7, p. 16.

TABLE 12
DISTRIBUTION OF THE ESTATE BANK LOANS AMONG REGIONS
1966-70, 1970-75, and 1975-78

Region	1966-70 No. of Loans	1970-75 No. of Loans	1975-78 No. of Loans
Tripoli	1,930	9,009	n/a
Benghazi	2,358	10,900	n/a
Gahrian	109	1,888	n/a
Zawia	362	2,407	n/a
El-Khums	43	1,123	n/a
Miserata	12	911	n/a
Jabal-Akhdar	264	2,259	n/a
Derna	63	1,162	n/a
Sebha	35	1,886	n/a
El-Khalij	65	1,388	n/a
TOTAL	5,291	32,933	22,367

n/a = not available

Source: Libyan Arab Republic, The Estate Bank, 1975, Board of Directors Report on the Period 1966-1975. (Tripoli, 1976), and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Lights on the Economic and Social Development Plans in Libya, 1970-1978, (Tripoli: Abu-Amar Press, 1978), p. 55.

3. Housing Corporations Program

In December, 1973, the government issued Law No. 30/1973 creating the housing corporations to participate in solving the housing problem in Libya. The law gave the chance to groups of fewer than fifty persons to create a housing corporation with the main goal of providing housing units for its members. These housing corporations were supposed to help their members in the following ways: (a) Getting the required money, (b) buying the land, (c) providing all the building materials at reasonable prices, (d) handling the building process, (e) receiving the houses from contractors and giving them to their owners, and (f) managing the houses after they were ready in such ways as collecting the monthly payment and maintaining the buildings.³¹

The Housing Corporation funds came from the following sources: (a) revenues from the projects conducted by the corporations, (b) allocations provided by government and public organizations, (c) loans provided by government and banks, and (d) gifts whose purpose did not contradict the aims of the corporation. Table 13 shows the total number of housing corporations and the total loans granted to their members in 1975. Similar to the previously mentioned financial institution loans, the housing corporations' loans were reduced significantly, if not stopped completely, during the late 1970's and early 1980's. The obvious reason behind this action was the current financial problems of the Libyan government.

³¹Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Housing, Department of Housing Corporations, The Laws and Rules of the Housing Corporations, (Tripoli: 1973) p. 2.

TABLE 13
NUMBERS OF HOUSING CORPORATIONS, THEIR MEMBERS,
AND LOANS GRANTED TO MEMBERS IN 1975

Region	No. of Housing Corporations	Members	No. Loans
Tripoli	36	14,512	521
Benghazi	12	4,174	206
Miserata	12	3,829	340
Zawia	6	3,507	260
Gahrian	6	1,524	51
El-Khalij	7	1,646	73
Sebha	8	1,393	69
Derna	2	507	134
El-Khums	1	246	25
Jabal Akhdar	1	480	57

Source: Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Housing, Housing Sector, 1969, 1976, p. 16.

The New Housing Policy of 1978 and Home Ownership

Libya's new policy on home ownership has developed rapidly since March, 1978, when the Secretariat-General of the General People's Congress issued Law No. 4 which sets out the guidelines for home redistribution.

Law No. 4 indicates that all Libyan families have the right to own one home, and no one may own more than one, with certain exceptions: Widows, whose only source of income is rent, and families with at least one son over eighteen years of age.³²

Committees have been set up in every municipality to carry out the resolution. By 1979 the committees had completed the redistribution of apartments and houses owned by private companies and by government bodies in all municipalities. The resident tenants had become the new owners. The committees then moved to take over and redistribute properties owned by individuals, when those individuals owned more than one home. Despite the legal and personal complications, the process was completed by the end of 1980.³³

Until 1980 about thirty percent of Libyans in main towns were living in rented accommodations, most of them rented from private owners. Real estate was the main choice for private investment. From 1973 to 1975 about 41 per-

³²The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, The Official Gazette, No. 7, 31 May 1978, p. 295.

³³T. Niblock, "Homes Policy Aids Families and Worries Private Investment," Middle East Digest, September 1, 1978, p. 5.

cent of Libyan private investment was in real estate.³⁴ The disruption caused by the home redistribution resolution has led to many houses and apartments being withdrawn from the market.

Housing redistribution benefits people who were previously tenants. While transfer of ownership title does not necessarily mean that housing is free, its cost is greatly reduced. New owners, in effect, have a mortgage which is to be paid in monthly installments which are usually calculated according to the size of the family income. To help low income people, Law No. 4 indicates that people who earn £D 100 (\$300) or less a month do not have to pay; they start paying the mortgage only when their incomes rise high enough.

Housing, therefore, will be most affected by the reduction in private investment. Where the private sector has usually exceeded the housing target, the public sector has failed to reach them. Despite these government efforts to overcome housing problems, the housing market in Tripoli, as well as in Libya as a whole, is still suffering from a very acute shortage in the number of housing units. This shortage problem will become more serious as a result of the reduction in private investment. It remains to be seen whether the public sector can really overcome the housing shortage problem.

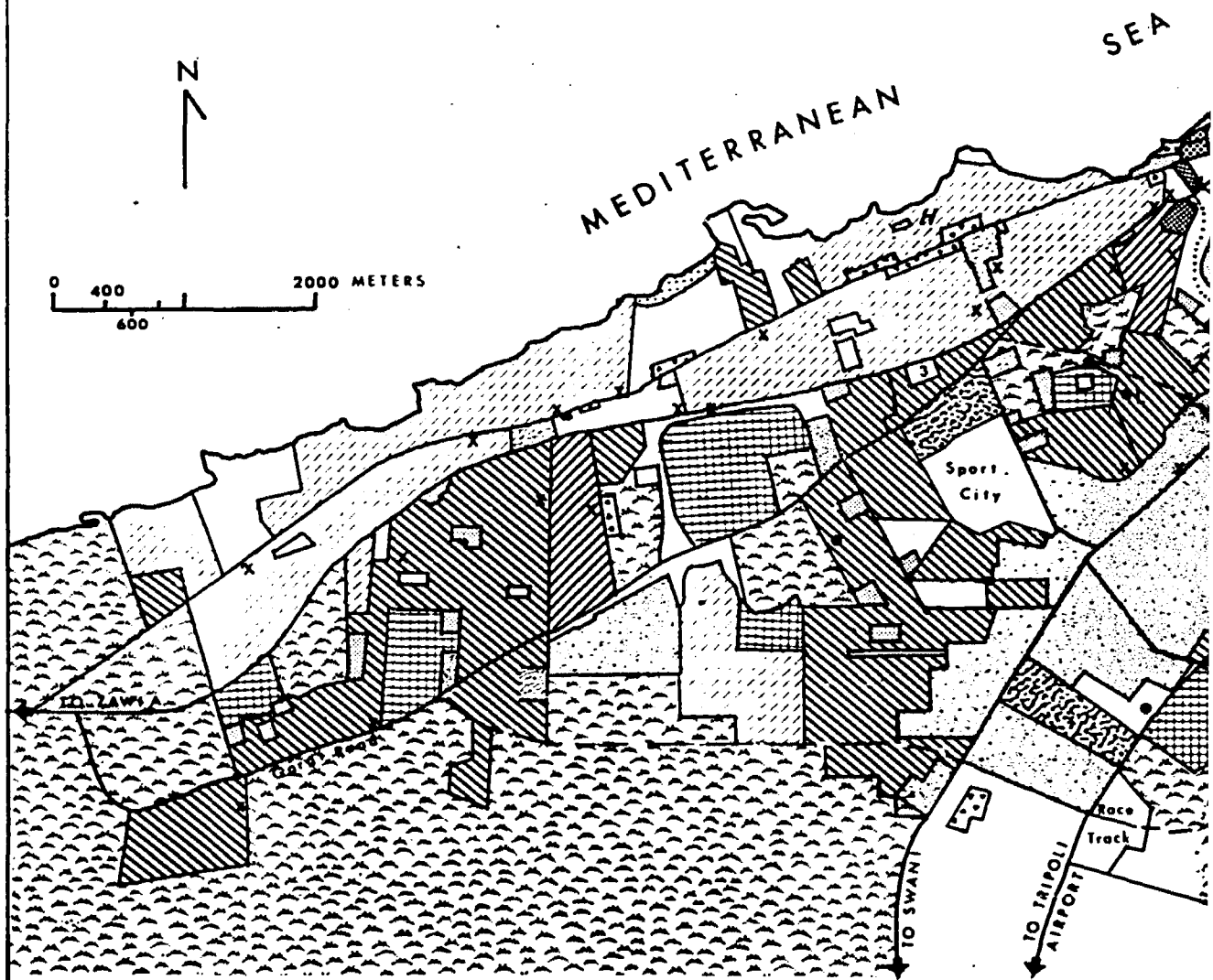
³⁴ Article 16 of Law No. 4 stated that the Secretariat of Housing will pay the original owners of the property as follows: All the estimated prices for those who did not have any regular monthly income. Otherwise, the original owner will be paid not more than £D 10,000 annually of the total estimated price of the property.

The Land Use Patterns of Tripoli
as a Socialist City

The land use map displayed as Figure 21 is the result of a nine month field survey conducted in Tripoli in 1982 which shows the land-use patterns of Tripoli at that time. Air photos taken of Tripoli in 1980 were also used in preparation of the land-use map. More detailed information about the field survey is given in Chapter I, pages 24-25. It should be noted that when only developed land is considered, residential facilities were the largest users of land with usage of more than 50 percent, followed by transportation with 12 percent, manufacturing and warehousing with 11 percent, educational facilities with 8 percent, military bases with 4.5 percent, sports and recreation with 3 percent, public administration, commercial and public utilities each with 2 percent, and health facilities with 1.6 percent (Table 14).

Generally, the land structure of Tripoli in 1982 shows that Tripoli has developed several socialist city elements. The absence of competition between commercial enterprises in the central business district means that there is less duplication of shopping facilities and many other activities carried on in the offices of typical American or Western cities. The public control of all commercial as well as most of the industrial activities, the increased number of public housing units and the decreased number of lower income housing units are all judged to be characteristics of what may be called an affluent Third World socialist city.

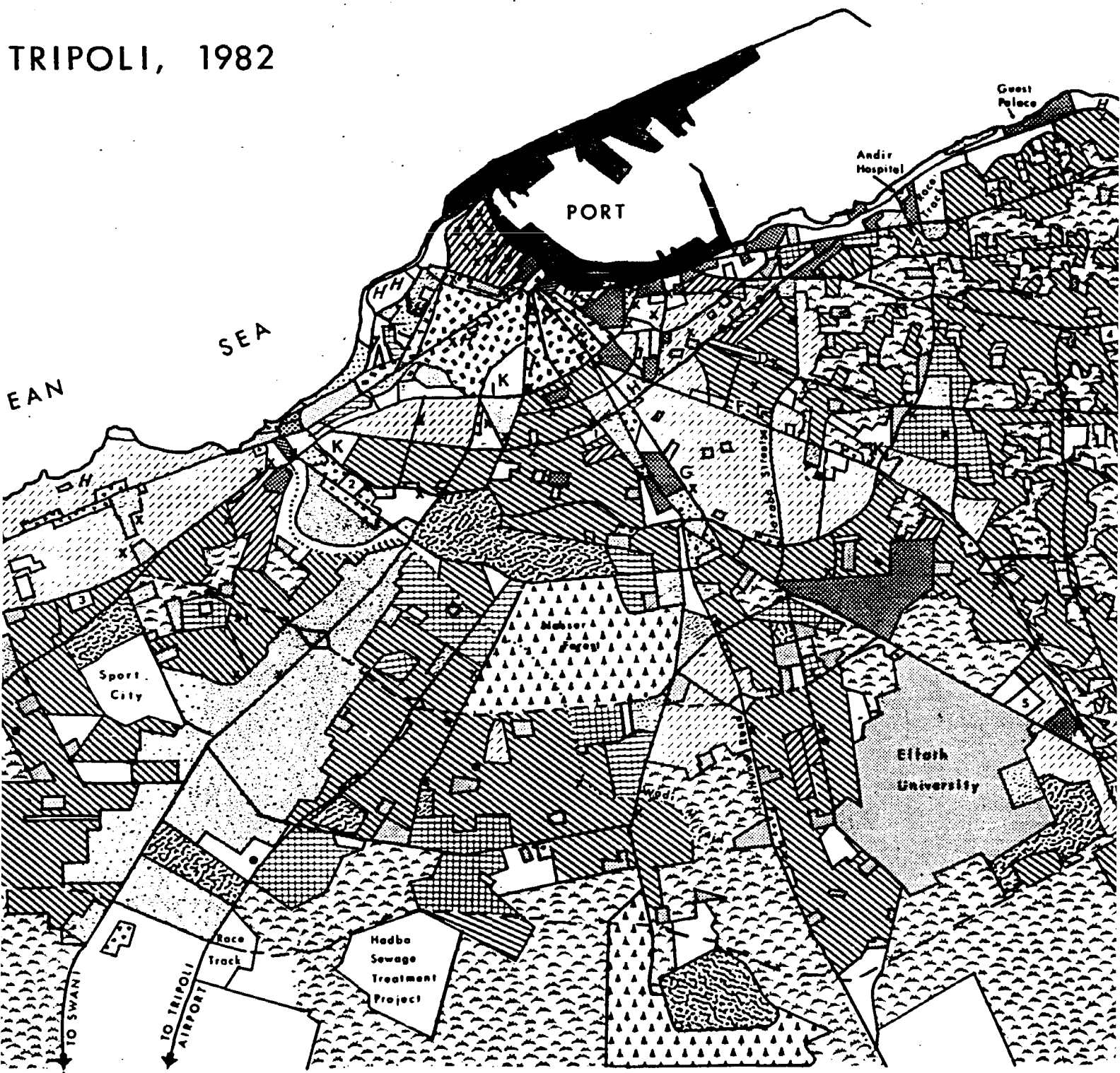
LAND USE IN TRIPOLI, 1982



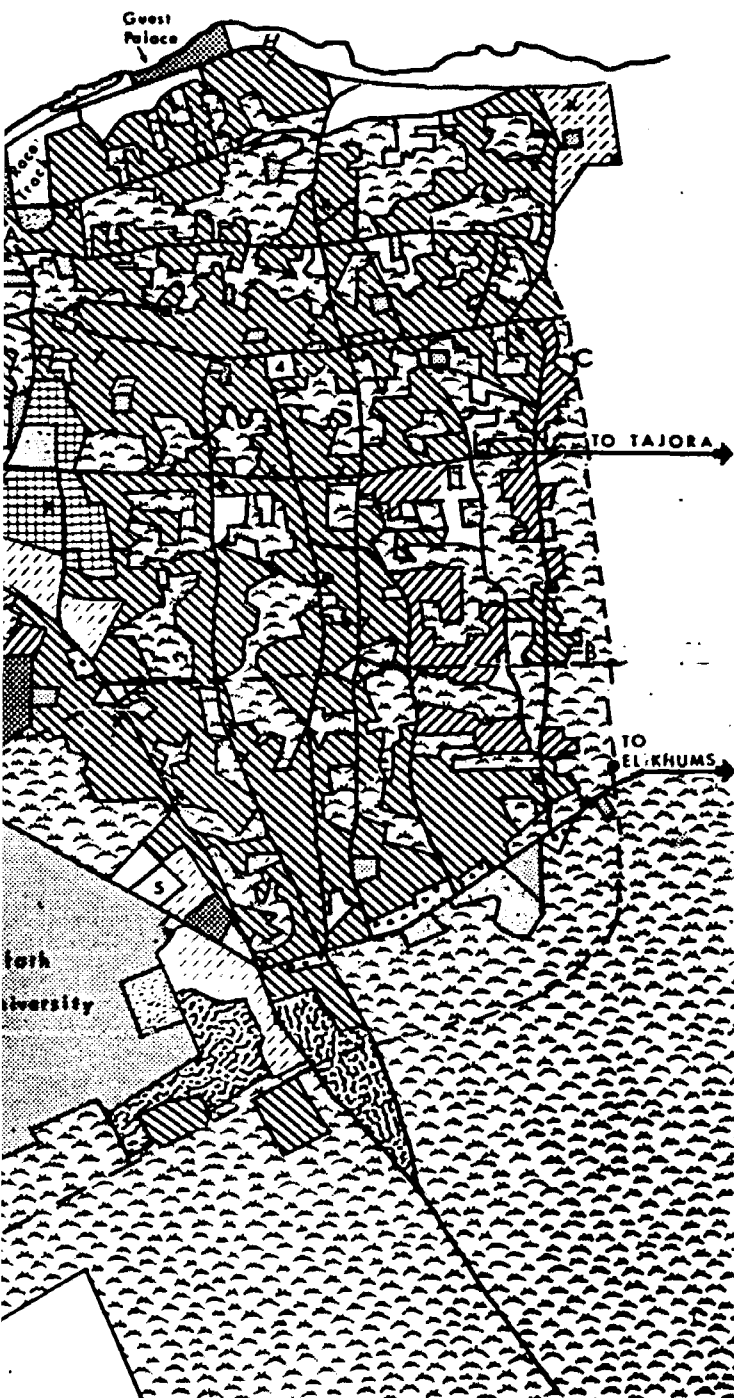
Sources: Author's Field Trip 1982, Tripoli's Air Photo 1980.

FIGURE 21

TRIPOLI, 1982



Base Map Obtained From Tripoli



Map Obtained From Tripoli's Municipality Planning Department 1982.

1. CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT



2. RESIDENTIAL

A. HIGH INCOME RESIDENTIAL AREAS



B. MIDDLE INCOME RESIDENTIAL AREAS



C. LOW INCOME RESIDENTIAL AREAS



D. PUBLIC HOUSING



3. PUBLIC LAND USE

A. EDUCATION FACILITIES



B. HEALTH FACILITIES



C. ADMINISTRATION



D. URBAN UTILITIES



E. RECREATION AREAS



4. COMERCIAL LAND USE

A. CENTRAL MARKETS



B. MIDDLE SIZE MARKETS



C. COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS



5. INDUSTRY AND WAREHOUSING



6. AGRICULTURAL LANDS



7. MILITARY BASES



8. PORT



9. MOSQUE



FIRST CIRCLE ROAD
SECOND CIRCLE ROAD
THIRD CIRCLE ROAD
FASHLOOM STREET
BENASHOR STREET
ESIDI STREET
JAMANYRIA STREET
NASSER STREET
CEMETERY
FIRST CLASS HOTEL
VACANT LAND

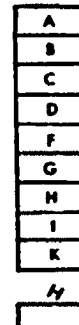


TABLE 14
LAND USE AND DISTRIBUTION IN TRIPOLI, 1980

Land Use Type	Land Area in Hectares	%
Residential	3514.9	51.4
Industrial and Warehousing	792.5	11.6
Education Facilities	571.5	8.3
Health Facilities	113.5	1.6
Public Administration	164.3	2.4
Commercial	145.5	2.1
Sports and Recreation Areas	205.1	3.0
Public Utilities	142.3	2.0
Transportation	868.8	12.0
Military Bases	311.1	4.5
Total Developed Land	6829.5	100.0
Agricultural Land	3251.5	
Total Developed and Underdeveloped Land	10081.0	

Source: Tripoli Municipality, Department of Planning, 1980.

The Central Business District

The central business district of Tripoli is very large and extends from the Green Square (Esaha Elkhdra) southward to Nassar Street and from Eshat Street westward to Almari Street to include the most important streets of the city, such as Elbldia Street, El Megriaf Street, Awel September Street, Mizeran Street, Alwadi Street, Omer Almukhtar Street, and Erashid Street (Figures 22, 23, 24, and 25).

The central business district of Tripoli contains several retail establishments, government offices, banks, theaters, hotels, coffee shops, restaurants, business offices, and general repair shops. While most of the buildings are old, dating back to the Italian occupation of the city (1911-1943), there are several new multi-storied modern buildings, rising five to eight stories. Segregation of land use within Tripoli's central business district is rather noticeable. A strong concentration of government offices lies south of the Green Square (Esaha Elkhdra) and especially along Elbldia Street and El Megriaf Street. The General Public Committee is located immediately south of the Green Square, while the Secretariat of the General Congress and the Secretariat of the Justice are located on the eastern side of El Megriaf Street. At the south end of El Megriaf Street and around the Algerian Square the headquarters of the Tripoli Municipality, the Central Post Office, and the Islamic Association are located. The Secretariat of the Interior lies east of the Green Square on the north side of Omer Elmukhtar Street. The area of better quality retail establishments is mainly located along Omer Elmukhtar Street, El Megriaf Street, and Awel September Street. Despite the decreased importance of the traditional suqs which are located at the southeast corner of the

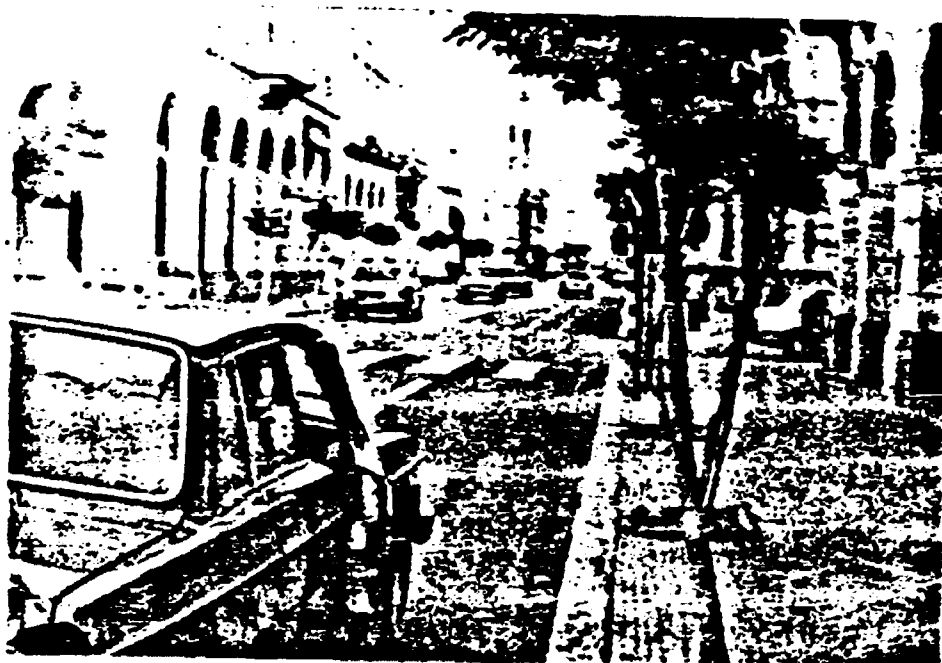


Fig. 22 -- El-Megriaf Street (above). Fig. 23 -- Awel September Street (below). These two streets pass through the heart of Tripoli's central business district.

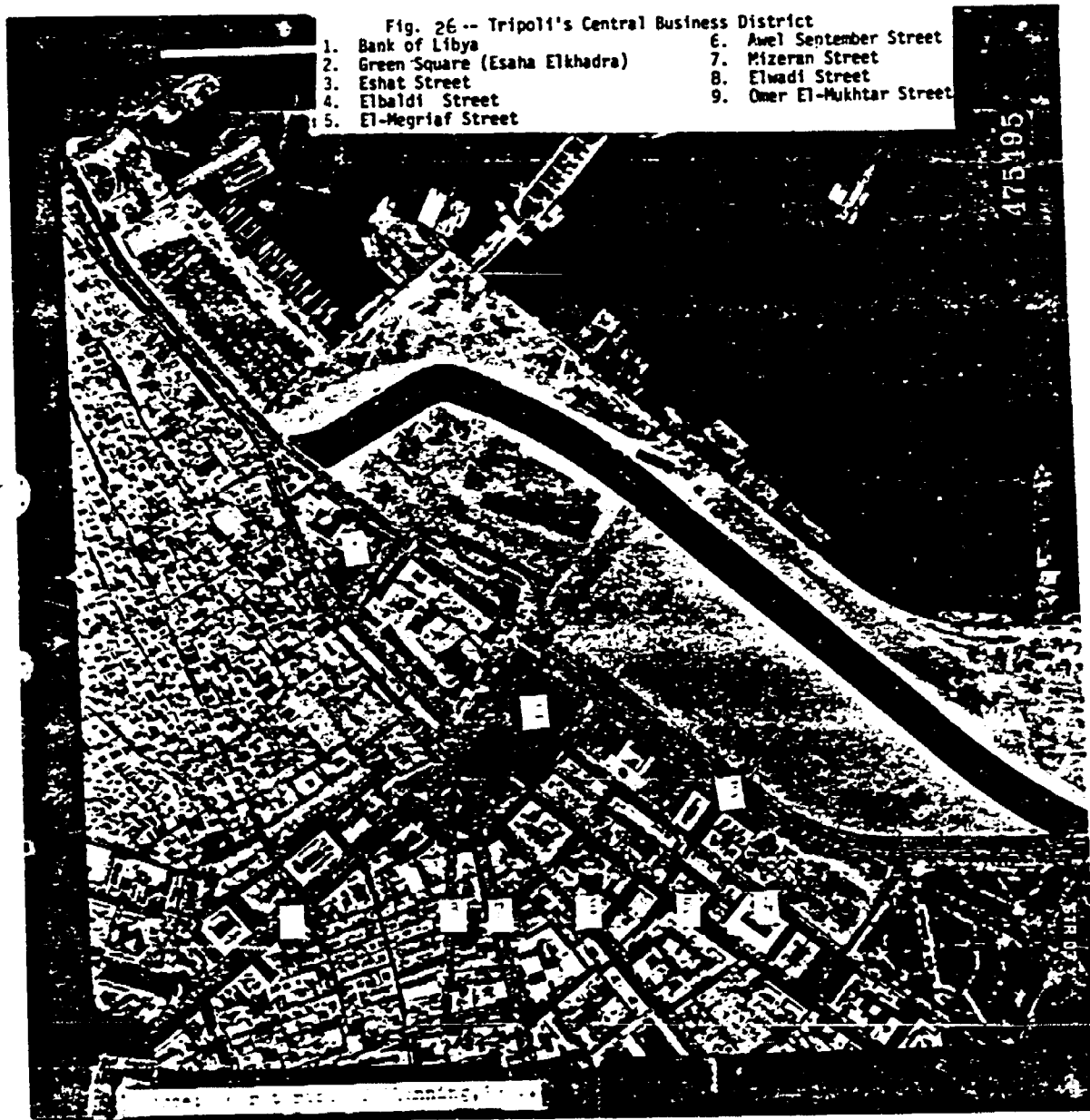




Fig. 24 -- Mizeran Street, one of the major streets in Tripoli's central business district.



Fig. 25 -- The Municipality Park at the southwestern side of the central business district.



Old Madina north of the Green Square, these traditional suqs are still providing traditional goods such as carpets and traditional cloths. With the exception of the Bank of Libya, which is located north of the Green Square, all of the major banks such as the Oma Bank, Tijari Bank, Wahda Bank, and Sahara Bank, are located immediately south and west of Green Square.

Along Eshat Street two first class hotels are located. The Grand Hotel, which was recently renovated, lies only two blocks south of the Green Square (Figure 27), and the Waden Hotel is located at the southern part of the central business district at the intersection of Eshat Street and Nassar Street. Recently, the government established three first class hotels: the Oasis Hotel located on the south side of Omer El Mukhtar Street and the Bab El Bahar Hotel and the Bab Elmadina Hotel located at the northwest corner of the Old Madina in an area previously occupied by the wholesale market of Suq Etultha (Figure 28). Most of the offices of the petroleum companies are located at the periphery of the central business district. For example, the Oasis Oil Company is located at the far west of the central business district along the west side of Omer El Mukhtar Street, where the Elkhaliqe Oil Company, the Elberaga Oil Company, and the Sirta (Esso) Oil Company are all located in the southern section of the central business district along Nassar Street.

A very large transportation center is located in the northwestern section of the central business district around Eswahli Square where the bus station and taxi station are located. Near these stations are several second class hotels and restaurants, especially along Erashid Street east of Eswahli Square, which obviously cater to the needs of travellers from other urban centers.

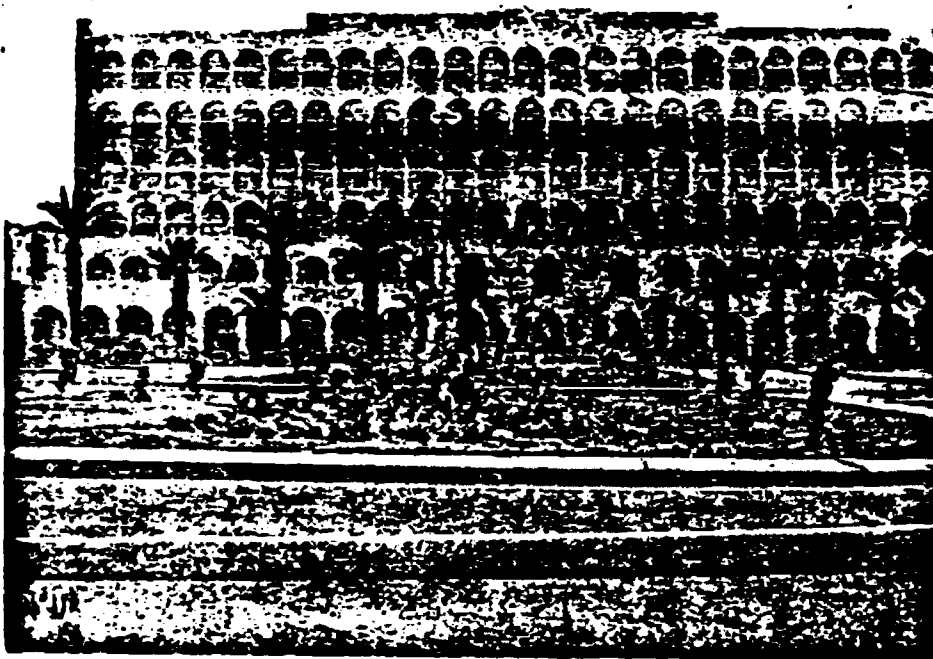


Figure 27 -- Grand Hotel

Figure 28 -- Bab El-Babar Hotel



One of the most recent and interesting characteristics of Tripoli's central business district land use is the increased number of repair shops and coffee mills. Most of these repair shops and coffee mills were previously private commercial shops. After the application of the commercial law, the owners of these shops converted them to either repair shops or coffee mills to avoid government confiscation of their property.

It should be mentioned here that the concentration of retail commercial establishments in the central business district of Tripoli no longer exists. In 1978 the socialist government in Libya began a new public commercial policy in which the private commercial activities were replaced by public commercial activities. All commercial retail shops in the central business district were converted to public retail establishments. Furthermore, the government established five central markets and fourteen medium sized markets outside the central business district. These new markets are a severe threat at present to the high order retail establishments in the central business district. It is clear that the central business district of the socialist city of Tripoli differs from its western counterparts in several respects. The absence of competition between commercial enterprises in the central business district means that there is less duplication of shopping facilities and also of many activities carried on in the offices of typical American or Western cities. The demand for high-rise towers to house financial and related organizations is to some degree reduced. Land which would be given over to commercial uses is then freed for other uses, particularly for administrative purposes.

Commercial Centers

The term commercial centers is used here to include all the commercial activities located outside Tripoli's central business district. The land-use map (Figure 21) shows that there are three major types of commercial activities:

1. Central Markets (Suq Mujama),
2. Middle Sized Markets (Suq Motwaset),
3. Commercial Establishments (Munshaat).

All of these types of commercial activities are recent developments in Tripoli's land use and they came into existence after the publication of Kaddafi's Green Book which was soon followed by new commercial laws according to which all private commercial activities were confiscated by the government and replaced by public commercial activities. In part two of the Green Book, Kaddafi expressed wholehearted disapproval of the exploitation he believed to be inherent in the profit motive behind private commercial activities.³⁵ In one of his public speeches, Kaddafi was very critical of the country's 45,000 merchants and called them "unproductive exploiters."³⁶ By 1980 all the private commercial activities in Libya were confiscated and replaced by public commercial activities.

³⁵Kaddafi, p. 12.

³⁶The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Edwan El-Kwmi, Moamer Kaddafi Speeches, (Tripoli: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 53.

1. Central Markets

Tripoli's land-use map (Figure 21) shows the spatial location of the five major central markets in Tripoli. Despite the fact that all of the central markets are under public control, their location within Tripoli's suburbs and their strong orientation to serve the immediate neighborhoods make them similar to those of supermarkets in the United States.

The oldest central market is the Jamahiriya central market which was established in 1978 at the south side of Jamahiriya Street west of the Central Hospital (Figure 31). The second central market or the Suq Etlutha Central Market was established in 1979 in an area previously occupied by the wholesale markets of Suq Etlutha. The third central market is Hia Alandlos Market which was established in 1980 on the south side of Gorgi Road. The fourth central market was established in 1980 at Suq El-Jumah in an area previously occupied by the Farmers Market of Suq El-Jumah (Figure 29). The central market of Furnag was completed only in the latter part of 1982 on the eastern side of Elkhums Road.

2. Middle Sized Markets (Suq Motwest)

The second type of commercial activity beyond Tripoli's central business district is the Middle Sized Markets (Suq Motwest). Tripoli's land-use map (Figure 21) shows that there are fourteen middle sized markets scattered around Tripoli's suburbs. All of these markets were established before the central markets (between 1976-1978), and they provide customers with food-stuffs, clothing, furniture, and household goods (Figure 30).

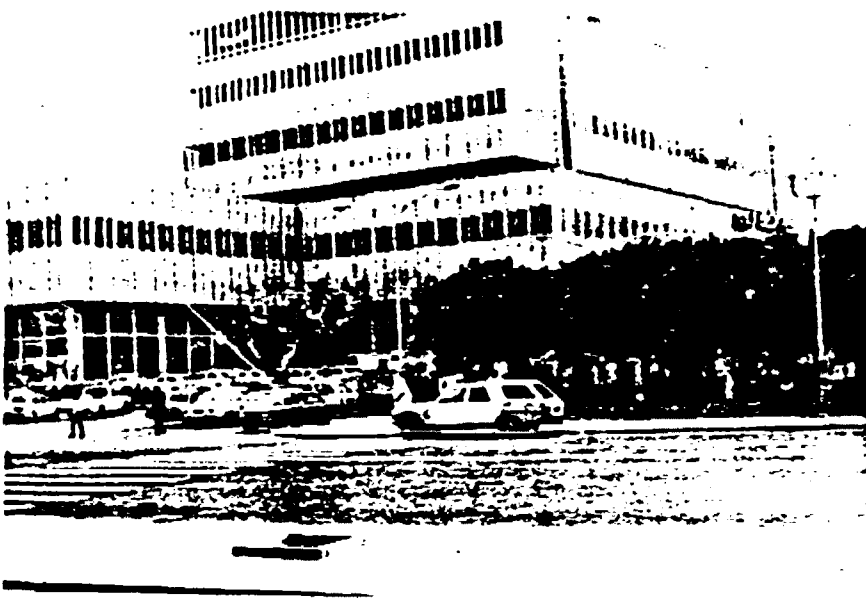


Figure 29. A new central public market at Suq El-Jumaha constructed in an area previously occupied by the Farmer Market.



Figure 30. On the left, a middle sized public market at Arada. On the right, a pedestrian bridge for walking customers.

3. Commercial Establishments (Munshaat)

In addition to the previously mentioned markets, Tripoli possesses several commercial establishments beyond its central business district. Some of them do not radiate from the central business district but are in peripheral locations such as those commercial establishments located along the major roads, Zawia Road, Gorgi Road, Tarhuna Road, and Elkhums Road. There are also commercial establishments leading out from the central business district such as those located along Fashloom Street, Ben Ashore Street, and Essadi Street. With the exception of the auto repair shops which are still privately owned, all of the commercial establishments were small private shops which were confiscated by the government and then replaced by public commercial establishments.

It is clear from the previous discussion that these changes in the commercial activities give Tripoli a strong socialist city characteristic.

Residential Land Use

A large portion of the land in Tripoli is devoted to residential purposes. Altogether it constitutes the largest single element on the land-use map (Figure 21). About fifty percent of the total developed land is occupied by residential areas which, more than any other zone, reflects the different class and economic groups making up the urban population.

The land-use map of Tripoli shows that there are four major types of residential areas: (1) high income residential areas, (2) middle income residential areas, (3) low income residential areas, and (4) public housing areas.



(1) High Income Residential Areas

The location of the high income residential areas are shown on Figure 21. Four major areas of upper class housing are found in Tripoli. The first and smallest one lies northeast of the colonial core in Dahara mahalla and especially along the south side of Eshat Street which was mainly built during the colonial period. The location of this high income residential area near the central business district gave Tripoli a pre-industrial characteristic (Figure 32). The second high income district in Mansura mahalla, especially around Esream Street, was also built during the Italian occupation period. The third high income residential area is located south of the first one in Manshia mahalla and especially along both sides of Ben Ashor Street and Jeraba Street. With the exception of the north side of Ben Ashor Street, all of the housing in this area was built after 1960 (Figure 33).

The fourth, the largest and newest of the high income residential areas, is located in the northwestern part of the city in Hia Alandlos mahalla (Figures 34 and 35). With the exception of its eastern section, most of this upper class residential area was built after 1969.

In addition to these four major high income residential areas, there are four small upper class housing areas scattered around the periphery of the city. These are located in Abusleem, Ben Kisher, Furnag, and Okuba.

With the exception of Ben Ashor high income residential area where apartment type of buildings are mixed with villa type or detached housing, all the buildings in the previously mentioned high income residential areas are villa or detached types of housing. They are single family houses in which the



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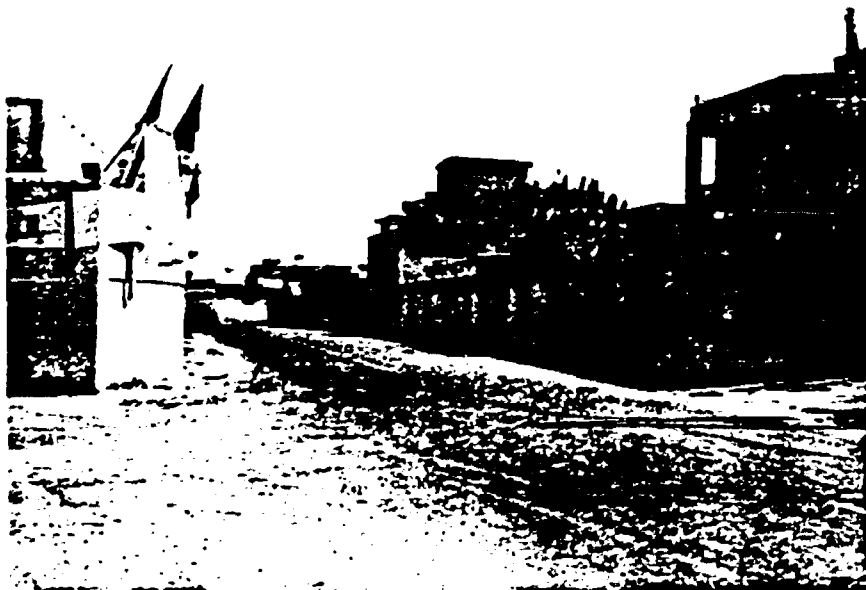
Fig. 32 -- Older high income residential areas at Dahra Mahalla south of the central business district.



Fig. 33 -- Older high income residential areas at Ben Ashor Street.



Fig. 34 -- (above) and Fig. 35 -- (below)
Newer planned high income residential areas at Hialeah
in the far northwestern sections of the city.



house stands on its own lot of at least 500 square meters as required by building rules in these areas, surrounded by walls of at least three meters. These walls ensure adequate outdoor space for family activities and provides the highest degree of privacy. This is the best and most expensive dwelling type in Tripoli. These high income residential areas are not only characterized by a spacious villa type of housing, but also have lower population density per dwelling, and urban facilities such as sewage and utilities are the best available in the city. In addition, roads and streets are well designed.

2. Middle Income Residential Areas

The areas of middle class housing in Tripoli are the most dominant type of housing. With the exception of the high income residential area at Hia Alandlos, middle class housing in Tripoli is scattered around the city, both near the central business district and at the periphery. Most of this housing is either apartments or row houses which usually cover between 150 and 400 square meters. Despite the relatively high density per dwelling of these middle class residential areas, all of them have the amenities of high income residential areas such as electricity and sewage systems. Most of the middle class residential areas were built during the period from 1964 to 1982 with loans obtained from either the Estate Bank or the commercial banks (Figure 36).

3. Low Income Residential Areas

The pattern of lower class residential land use is the most interesting characteristic of land use in Tripoli. The distribution of lower class residential areas gave Tripoli both pre-industrial and industrial city characteristics. The first and largest low income residential area in Tripoli is located north of the central business district in the Old Madina. The housing



Fig. 36 -- A planned middle class residential area at Rass Hassan in Shansho Division. The name (Shansho) indicates that the land was previously owned by one of the Italians who used to live in Tripoli. Note the water tank on the truck brought by one of the residents for a wedding party.



Fig. 37 -- Lower income residential area in El-Hadba El-Khadra at the southern section of Tripoli. Most of these housing units were built before 1959 or before the establishment of Tripoli's Master Plan of 1959.

in this area was built before 1911, mostly during the Turkish occupation of the city (1551-1911). Most of the buildings are one to two stories (Figures 38 and 39). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Old Madina is characterized by its twisting and unpaved streets with deteriorating housing property. The main reasons for this deterioration of housing were high population density and lack of urban facilities, especially, sewage and water supply. One of the interesting phenomena noted during the field trip survey was the lower number of Libyan population, especially in the northwestern parts of the Old Madina and the concentration of foreign migrants (particularly from Pakistan, Bangladeshi, and Tunisia) in these areas. The international migrants were settled in the housing units vacated by Libyan households who had moved to either the colonial core or to the new public housing units in the periphery of the city.

The second low income residential areas are located in Tripoli's suburbs. Most of the houses were built before 1964, or before the establishment of Tripoli's Master Plan. These low quality areas occupied small parts of Gouth Eshal, El Hadba Alkhadra (Figure 37), and the eastern parts of the city. Generally, there is hardly any space between the individual buildings, and inter-street vehicular traffic in some areas is, therefore, almost impossible. Another major problem of these low income residential areas is the lack of social and community services. In some cases, this is due to the fact that facilities such as electricity and water supply were not extended to these areas before houses were built. Furthermore, some of these areas were only recently provided with a sewage system.

4. Public Housing

During the early 1970's, Tripoli's shanty town dwellers presented a



Figure 38 (above) and Figure 39 (below) --
Deteriorating housing units in two streets of the Old
Madina lower income residential area.



special problem and represented a large percentage of those requesting permanent housing. Shanty town households occupy a small circular place called Gorbi (Figure 12) built by the Italians for Libyans living in tents outside the Italian walls and later for Libyans serving in the Italian army. These basic units have often been extended by their occupants with rough wooden boards and corrugated metal to increase the living areas or to enclose a small private outdoor space. Rehousing the estimated 26,000 shanty town dwellers in new housing was considered a major problem and almost impossible for the former government to accomplish; but with the country's economic prosperity during the early and mid-1970's, and with the revolutionary government and its socialist housing policy, Tripoli celebrated the demolishing of the last Gorbi within Tripoli's municipality boundaries in 1976.

Public housing units are a recent development in the land use pattern of the city. As shown in Figure 21, public housing units take up a large proportion of Tripoli's land area. With the exception of the recently constructed public housing units at Gooth Eshal or the so-called Islamic Quarter (Figures 40 and 41), most of the public housing units are located in the areas previously occupied by the shanty towns at Bab Ben Kisher (Figure 42), Abu Saleem (Figure 47), Bab Accara, and Bab Tajura. Additionally, there are scattered public housing units around the city such as those located at Fashloom and Suhada Alhani in the northeastern parts of the city, and on the west side of El-Khums Road northwest of El Fath University.

Despite the fact that the public housing programs have solved the unhealthy condition of the dwellings in the shanty towns, it appears that the public housing programs in Tripoli in 1982 were not easily adapted to the

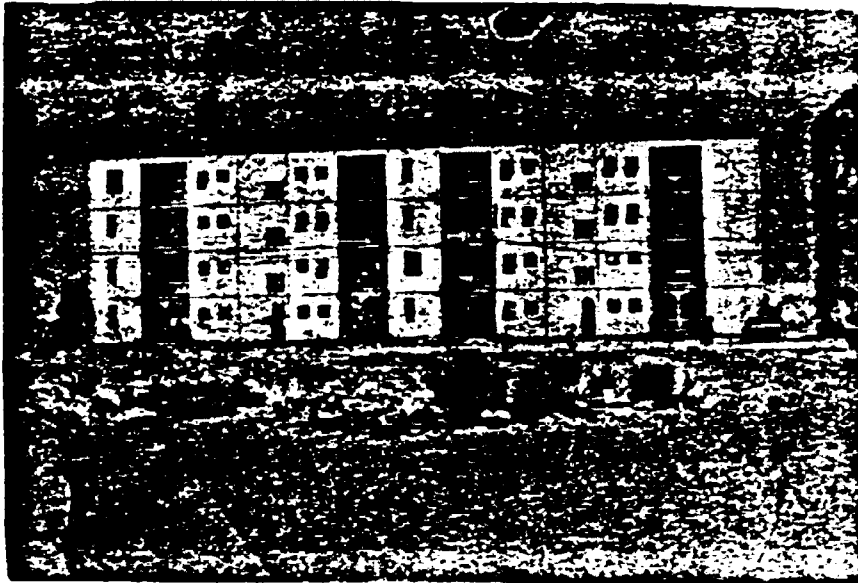


Figure 40 (above) and Figure 41 (below)
Prefabricated housing units in the Islamic Quarter at Gooth Eshal. Note the influence of the socialist city idea of a housing industry using prefabricated and standardized panels and components.

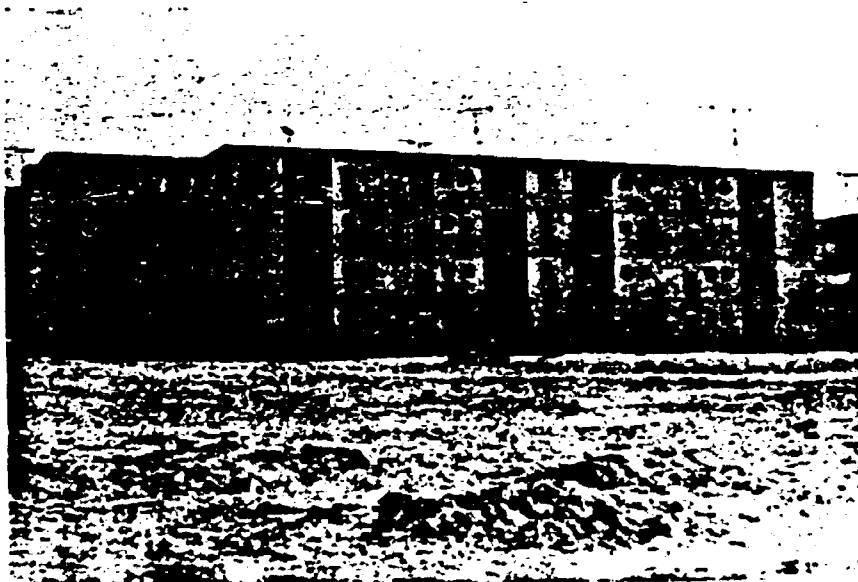




Fig. 42 -- A new public housing apartment in Abu-Saleem constructed in an area previously occupied by Accara shanty town.



Fig. 43 -- A new public housing apartment in Ben Kisher constructed in an area previously occupied by Ben Kisher shanty town.

demands of the large families in a developing society and that the recent high-rise apartments do not accommodate the traditional life style which persists and is an important part of the Libyan heritage. Public housing types place limitations on flexibility in design and use of the dwelling which, with the high level of occupancy, creates friction within the family. Modern high-rise apartments do not provide adequate privacy and outdoor space to satisfy the traditional Libyan family. In this case, the idea of shared structure is a new one, threatening the concept of individual home ownership with clear cut responsibility for one's own dwelling. Furthermore, the concentration of population with low income, low level of education, and, in some instances, with criminal backgrounds, have made some of the public housing units the most troublesome areas with the highest rate of crime and drug dealers in Tripoli.³⁷

Industrial Land Use

The Land-Use Map (Figure 21) shows that Tripoli contains rather substantial areas devoted to industrial and warehousing. In 1980, eleven percent of the total developed land was devoted to industrial and warehouse use, which is a relatively high proportion for a Third World city such as Tripoli. Despite the fact that a certain amount of modern manufacturing occurred during the Italian occupation of the city (1911-1943) and during the post-colonial period (1951-1969), industrial development was not the major target of government planning until 1969. Since that time, the revolutionary government

³⁷ Author's Field Survey

has embarked on a vigorous policy of industrial development as part of its program of economic diversification.³⁸ During the Development Plan (1973-1975), £D 329 million was allocated for industrial development.³⁹ This amount has increased to £D 1072 million during the 1975-1980 Development Plan.

In spite of the establishment of heavy industrial plants outside the two major Libyan centers in Tripoli and Benghazi, such as the steel plant at Miserata and the oil refineries at Zawia and Braga, the majority of the factories are heavily concentrated in Tripoli and Benghazi.

Tripoli's metropolitan area⁴⁰ is considered to be the major industrial center of Libya. More than forty percent of the total national employment in manufacturing is located within Tripoli's metropolitan area. Furthermore, a large percentage of Libya's industrial plants are located inside the boundaries of the Tripoli municipality. According to the manpower census of 1980, the total number of persons engaged in industrial activities was 14,244 persons or about twelve percent of the total manpower within the Tripoli municipality.⁴¹

Similar to the previously mentioned commercial activities, prior to 1976 most of the industrial plants in Tripoli, as well as the rest of Libya, were privately owned. Since that time (1976), according to Kaddāfi's Green Book

³⁸W. Fisher, The Middle East, (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1978), p. 558.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Tripoli Metropolitan Area is used here to include the Tripoli Municipality, Zanjure, Swani, and Tajura municipalities.

⁴¹Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Secretariat of Planning, Census, and Statistical Department, Final Results of Manpower Census, Tripoli Municipality, 1980, p. N.

slogan, "Partners, Not Wage Earners,"⁴² all industrial plants came under government control with the exception of small light handicraft industries.

Figure 21 shows the location of the major industrial areas in Tripoli in 1982. It suggests the concentration of industrial activities to the northwest of the Old Madina, southwest of the central business district, south, and areas which lie between the Airport Road and Gorgi Road.

Most of the industrial plants, which lie northwest of the Old Madina and southwest of the central business district were established either during the Italian occupation or during the post-colonial period (1951-1969). These industrial plants are mainly light industries such as furniture, textile, clothing, and building material industries. The industrial plants located southwest of the central business district are mainly engaged in auto maintenance activities.

A rather important cluster of smaller industrial plants lies in the southern part of the city at Ben Kisher and along El-Khums Road. In addition to the agricultural processing industry such as olive oil and wheat cereal processing, printing paper and auto maintenance shops are the dominant types of industrial activities in this area. Tripoli's largest and most important industrial area is located in the far western part of the city which covers almost all of the area between the Airport Road and Gorgi Road, where most of the important and largest industrial plants such as the new steel scrap casting mill as well as the tobacco, furniture, plastic, building material, wheat cereal, macaroni, glass, soft drink, and chemical industries are located. Additionally, several auto maintenance shops and most of the car dealers are found in this

⁴²Kaddafi, p. 12.

area. Finally, most of the handicraft industries such as textile, shoe, and metal work are located within the Old Madina. For example, the largest concentration of textiles and handicraft industries are located in the western part of the Old Madina at Bab Elbahar (Figure 44).

In spite of the existing industrial zones in the city, such as the area which lies between the Airport Road and Gorgi Road and all the area located along El-Khums Road, industrial land use in Tripoli is different from the industrial land use found in American cities in two respects. First, with the exception of the small light industrial activities, all of the industrial activities are controlled by the government. Second, there is no zonal difference between light and heavy industry. Both heavy and light industries can be found in one area. For example, the printing paper plant and the new steel and scrap mill are both located along the northern side of the Airport Road.

Public Land Use

The term public land use is used here to cover several land uses: Government offices, educational facilities, health facilities, recreational and sports facilities, and military bases. The areal differentiation of such use in Tripoli can be seen in Figure 21.

In an attempt to reduce traffic congestion and parking problems, the government has established several government offices outside the central business district. For example, a strong concentration of government offices lies along the eastern side of Jamahiriya Street at Sawiat Edhamani where most of the secretariats such as the Secretariat of Planning, the Secretariat of Municipalities, the Secretariat of Economy, the Secretariat of Housing, and



Fig. 44 -- Textile handicraft industry shops at Bab Elbahar in the western part of the Old Madina.



Fig. 45 -- A farm in the far eastern part of the city.

the Secretariat of Information are located. Another concentration of government offices is located along the eastern side of Eshat Street where the Secretariat of Education and the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs are located. The Secretariat of Agriculture occupies a large proportion of the land along the west of El-Khums Road.

Health facilities are numerous and cover about two percent of the total developed land in Tripoli. As shown in Figure 21, with the exception of hospitals in Ben Kisher mahalla, health facilities are located in different parts of the city. Tripoli's land-use survey shows that the city has 10 hospitals, 7 clinics, and 29 pharmacies.

Similar to health facilities, educational facilities are rather scattered around the city. There are 175 elementary schools, 102 secondary schools, 18 high schools, 13 teacher institutions, 12 technical institutions, and one university. Sports and recreation areas cover about three percent of the total developed land. The large, modern sports city lies on the western side of the city where the best sports facilities are to be found. To the southwest of the central business district, a public park is located which is well maintained (Figure 25).

In the northwestern and northeastern parts of the city, three municipal beaches are located. Additionally, there are two race tracks. The oldest one, the Abusita race track, is located in the northeast part of the city on the east side of the First Circle Road. The new race track is located on the far south side of the city along the east side of the Airport Road.

Finally, military bases cover about four percent of the total developed land-use and are located in different parts of the city.

The vast increase in public land use, especially by health and education facilities, indicates several interesting changes at work in Tripoli as well as in other Libyan cities. The fact that all of these facilities have been provided by the Libyan government is a rather concrete expression of the strong socialist policy adopted by the current government.

Agricultural Land Use

In spite of the obviously increased urban development in Tripoli which usually came at the expense of agricultural lands, the latter still covers a large proportion of the land. Figure 21 shows that agricultural land covers an area of 2,600 hectares or about 26 percent of the total land area within the Tripoli municipality.

Figure 21 shows the distribution of agricultural land use in Tripoli. It suggests that there are four major agricultural areas. The first, and most important one, supplies the urban residences with several agricultural products and is located along the north side of El Khums Road. The second and third agricultural areas are located in the southern and southwestern parts of the city. Finally, the fourth agricultural area is located in the eastern part of the city (Figure 45). It is very interesting to note the existence of small farms in the area between Jaraba Street and the First Circle Road which is surrounded by both low and middle income residential areas. The major reason behind the existence of small agricultural activities in an area which is not far away from the central business district is the fact that a large proportion of these lands fall into a special category in which they belonged to the so-called

Hebos⁴³ or religious land, where the Islamic code prohibited the sale or any kind of development of Hebos land. Recently, the General Public Committee issued a law concerning the redistribution of Hebos land in Tripoli for urban development.⁴⁴ Consequently, most of the Hebos agricultural lands will be subdivided and distributed among individuals for residential use.

In summary, Tripoli is undergoing a strong sorting out process of its land-use patterns that seems headed toward what may be called the creation of an affluent Third World socialist city. The decreased importance of the central business district means that there is less duplication of shopping facilities as well as many types of activities carried out, for example, in offices of North American and West European cities. The public control of all commercial activities as well as most of the industrial activities, the reduction of the gap between the high income and the low income population in terms of providing the lower income group with free public housing units, along with the increased number of middle income residential areas, are all characteristics of what may be called an affluent Third World socialist city.

Chapter Six will discuss in detail the residential patterns of Tripoli.

⁴³ Hebos is a religious foundation, inalienable, through which a person bequeaths to his descendants or to others of his choice, or for social or cultural good works, part or all of his possessions. The object of the hebos must be strictly observed in accordance with the founders decree. Hebos has either a private character (immovable property, the function of which is destined for use by a family and its descendants), or a public character (in which the assets are destined for the maintenance of social, cultural, or religious institutions such as mosques, school, or hospitals). For more information about hebos, see: Stanboli and Zghal (1976), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴ The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya The Official Gazette, Vol. 20, No. 210 (Tripoli: Published by Order of the Secretariat of Justice, 1981), p. 10.

CHAPTER VI

A FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF TRIPOLI

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the social characteristics of contemporary residential districts in Tripoli and makes an attempt to identify the major factors responsible for the present structure of residential districts in the city. This chapter is organized in three parts. The first part is concerned with the methodology and data collection; the second part considers the results of principal component analysis of demographic and socio-economic variables; and the third part discusses the spatial structure of residential types.

Methodology and Data Collection

Detailed information on the characteristics of the people as well as housing quality in the 32 mahallas or districts of Tripoli is not available. This is due to the fact that the existent census data does not give detailed information on the spatial distribution of different types of households and their housing units in the urban areas. Two major steps were taken to collect data: first, census data was sorted out at the mahalla level; second, a sample of

two percent of the households in each mahalla was selected for questionnaire interview. The definition of the household type adopted for this survey was that used in the population census, i.e., "a group of persons who are normally residents of the dwelling under study and having a common budget."¹

After training for two weeks, students in the geography department at El-Fath University had carried out most of the questionnaire survey under the supervision of the author.² The questionnaire survey was accomplished by the students as a training class under the title "Field Trip" for which a letter grade was submitted to the head of the department at the end of the school year and which consisted primarily of the results of each student's performance in carrying out the questionnaire interviews assigned.

Advice was sought from professional people who were more familiar with the structure of Tripoli's population, a group of people, including experts from the census and statistical department of the Tripoli Municipality, and the former governor of Tripoli, Professor M. Buro who is currently a faculty member of the Geography Department of El-Fath University. Also, advice was sought from faculty members who have done similar questionnaire surveys in Tripoli, especially those in the Sociology Department.

¹Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Planning, Census of Population, 1973.

²A nine-month questionnaire survey (from early February, 1982, until the end of the school year in late July, 1983) was carried out by the university students. From July, 1982, the author continued the survey alone until late October, 1982.

After preparation of the questionnaire survey, pretesting with twenty heads of households in various social groups in different parts of the city was carried out to determine the quality of the questionnaires and whether modification of the questionnaires was necessary. The main conclusion of pretesting was that the direct question regarding monthly income for the household should be replaced by indirect questions about the kinds of positions and rank of the jobs held by each of the working persons in the household.

The question arose as to whether to include foreigners in the questionnaire interviews. Despite the fact that foreigners comprise a high percentage of Tripoli's population (about 17 percent of the total population),³ they tend to stay for short periods of time and for that reason, it was decided to exclude all foreigners from the interviews. Because neither time nor money would allow for a large sample survey (i.e., 10%), only a sampling of two percent of the heads of Libyan households in the 32 mahallas were subject to interview. Each fiftieth Libyan head of household in each mahalla was selected for detailed interview. In the event that the fiftieth head of household refused the questionnaire interview or was absent, the following household was selected for interview. A total of 1100 households completed the questionnaire survey.

Since most of the heads of households worked during the day (from 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.), it was decided that the most convenient time to conduct the interviews would be from 3:30 to 8:00 p.m.

³According to the 1973 Census of Population, the total number of households in Tripoli was 90,000, about 15,000 of which were foreigners, more than 65 percent of them from Egypt and Tunisia alone: Libyan Arab Republic, Census of Population, 1973.

Also, because some heads of households were illiterate, the students were instructed to read the questionnaire very carefully, in simple, readily understood language. The interviews usually began with the student giving a brief introductory statement concerning the purpose of the interview, the nature of the information required, the importance of the interviewee's cooperation, and the fact that the information would be kept confidential and would be used only for the purpose of the author's scientific research.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information from the households on the following subjects: income, age, marital status, size of household, level of education, occupation, length of stay in present house, birthplace, and physical characteristics of the dwelling (Appendix A).

The mahallas were chosen as the study observation units for two principal reasons. First, the mahalla is the smallest unit for which maps are available for further analysis. Second, population data on the mahalla level was available, especially those obtained from the Statistical and Census Department of Libya. It is very interesting to note that the mahalla divisions are based primarily on existing social and spatial divisions. Despite the recent renaming of some of Tripoli's mahallas, a large number of these mahallas were named after the Tripoli "Gabila" (tribe)⁴ which traditionally occupied that particular area. For example, Goz Znath mahalla was named after the old Libyan Tribe Zenata, Busallem was named after the Arab Tribe of Bani

⁴Gabila or tribe is an endogamous social group held to be descended from a common ancestor and composed of numerous families, clans, bands, or villages that occupies a specific geographic territory, possesses common cultural attributes, and commonly united under one head or chief.

Saleem, and Arada was named after the Arab Tribe of Arada. However, not all of the Tripoli mahalla have had a group of "Gabila" who inhabited them; some mahallas were exclusively agricultural areas. For example, Hia Alandlos mahalla was an exclusively agricultural area with only a few farmers and no traditional ties.

The history of Tripoli's mahallas goes back to the Turkish occupation of the city (1551-1911). During that time the Old Madina was divided into six mahallas or humats. With the addition of the Manshia area to Tripoli during the Italian occupation (1911-1943), the city was divided into 22 mahallas. Finally, with the addition of Suq El-Jumah area to Tripoli Municipality in 1965, the number of mahallas was increased to 32 mahallas.

Before commenting on the results of this questionnaire survey, it is important to point out some of the shortcomings and limitations of the survey. As has been noted before, the two percent sample contained reasonably satisfactory information but was definitely not the most desirable sampling that could have been taken. Additionally, there is another limitation which is common to most household surveys. It is assumed that the results obtained from such surveys are usually liable to some bias due to the failure of some households—either consciously or unconsciously—to give accurate information.

The variables obtained from the questionnaire survey were subject to principal component analysis in order to identify the major components in general household characteristics and their dwelling units. Orthogonal transformation of the original variables helped filter out the redundancy and produce a new set of composite variables. The use of principal component analysis was actually a first stage in attempting to identify the basic

structure of residential units. Interpretation of the principal component findings focused on the loading of the original variables on the new components. Only components with eigenvalues greater than one were included in the analysis.

In order to classify the residential units into high, middle, and low income residential areas, the scores of each component were subject to hierarchical grouping routine using the so-called linkage tree technique.

According to Johnson, "the aim of the classification is to produce groups (classes, clusters, types, regions) of individuals in which within groups distance or variance is minimized and, by definition, between groups maximized."⁵ Thus, groups should be homogeneous units and different groupings processes should produce similar results for the same matrix. The residential unit to be assigned to the group should be closer to one member of the group than it is to any member of another group. Thus, residential units are grouped with nearest neighbors. The method based on this definition is the so-called "linkage analysis." The advantages of this method are its simplicity and its easy application.

Results of Principal Component Analysis

As the basis for analysis, 23 variables which were believed to be indicative of major patterns of socio-economic variations, were obtained from the questionnaire survey conducted in Tripoli in 1982 (Table 15) for each of the 32 mahallas in the city (Figure 20).

⁵J. Johnson, "Choice in Classification: The Subjectivity of Objects Methods," A.A.G., 58 (1968): 75-99.

TABLE 15
LIST OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES
USED IN PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS

Number	Names
1.	Percent of population age 0 - 4 years
2.	Percent of population age 5-19 years
3.	Percent of population age 20-64 years
4.	Percent of population age + 65 years
5.	Percent of married heads of household
6.	Mean family size
7.	Mean number of rooms
8.	Mean number of persons per room
9.	Mean total income per household
10.	Percent of professionals, managers, and higher government officials
11.	Mean educational level
12.	Percent of villas
13.	Percent of apartments
14.	Percent of Arab houses
15.	Percent of working women
16.	Video cassette ownership (0-1)
17.	Residential mobility (0-1)
18.	In-migration (0-1)
19.	Car ownership (0-1)
20.	Hot water (0-1)
21.	Renter/Owner (0-1)
22.	Mean years in present dwelling
23.	Value of dwelling

TABLE 16

ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1. Mean educational level	0.95	-0.04	0.17	-0.01	-0.05	0.05
2. Mean total household income	0.91	-0.05	0.06	0.11	-0.11	-0.15
3. Mean number of rooms	0.85	-0.32	0.30	-0.06	0.03	0.13
4. Percent of professional, manager, and higher government employee	0.81	-0.18	0.09	0.02	0.06	-0.19
5. Car ownership (0-1)	0.79	-0.25	0.07	0.07	-0.03	-0.15
6. Percent of villa dwellings	0.74	0.11	0.21	-0.05	0.06	0.08
7. Value of dwelling	0.60	-0.48	0.23	-0.08	0.18	0.07
8. Percent of Arab houses	-0.55	0.27	0.30	-0.05	0.30	-0.28
9. Owner/renter (0-1)	0.27	-0.01	0.01	-0.16	-0.12	-0.02
10. Persons per room	-0.19	0.87	-0.14	-0.10	0.1	0.09
11. Percent of population +65 years	0.00	-0.72	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13
12. Percent of population 20 - 64 years	0.26	0.53	-0.10	0.10	0.26	0.09
13. Percent of working women	0.41	-0.04	0.81	-0.10	-0.10	0.14
14. Video cassette ownership (0-1)	0.36	-0.06	0.76	0.03	0.06	-0.14
15. Number of years in present dwelling	-0.13	-0.10	-0.53	-0.22	0.10	0.24
16. Residential Mobility (0-1)	0.08	-0.02	0.05	0.84	-0.15	-0.01
17. Hot Water (0-1)	0.10	0.05	0.08	-0.71	-0.03	-0.25
18. Percent of apartments	0.10	-0.04	0.20	0.69	0.0	0.08
19. Percent of married heads of household	0.17	-0.01	0.06	-0.42	0.76	-0.15
20. Percent of population 0- 4 years	0.14	0.16	-0.03	0.38	0.70	0.26
21. Percent of population 5 - 19 years	-0.04	0.22	0.17	0.22	0.58	0.22
22. In-migration (0-1)	-0.05	0.01	-0.01	-0.11	0.10	0.85
23. Family size	-0.34	0.31	0.15	-0.06	-0.15	0.38
Eigenvalue	5.6	3.3	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.7
Total Variance (%)	33.0	13.0	9.0	8.0	8.0	6.0

The first stage in principal component analysis involved the examination of basic association among the data through intercorrelation. Each variable was compared with every other variable to produce a 23 x 23 correlation matrix. The technique then identified least squares linear combinations of variables, known as components, within this matrix subject to the twin constraints of maximum variance reduction and orthogonality.⁶ Twenty-three components, which are essentially new vectors of variables, were abstracted, but as a consequence of the criteria employed (only factors with eigenvalues greater than unity), the loading factors accounted for (or explained) the majority of variance in the data. In this case, six factors accounted for seventy-seven percent of the input variation. This initial factor structure can be simplified by redistributing the explained variance among the six abstracted patterns through a process of rotation to produce a more specific solution. Table 16 shows the six factors which result after varimax rotation.

An examination of the variables with significant loading (0.35) on these dimensions and corresponding factor scores on each mahalla allow for some meaningful interpretation to be given to six factors.

Socio-Economic Factor

The first and most important factor which explained 33 percent of the total variance has high positive loadings of seven variables (+0.60) on it. This

⁶For more information, see R. J. Johnston, Multivariate Statistical Analysis in Geography, (New York: Longman, 1978), pp. 127-182; and O. H. Rees, "Factorial Ecology: An Extended Definition, Survey and Critique of the Field," Economic Geography, (1971), Vol. 47:220-233.

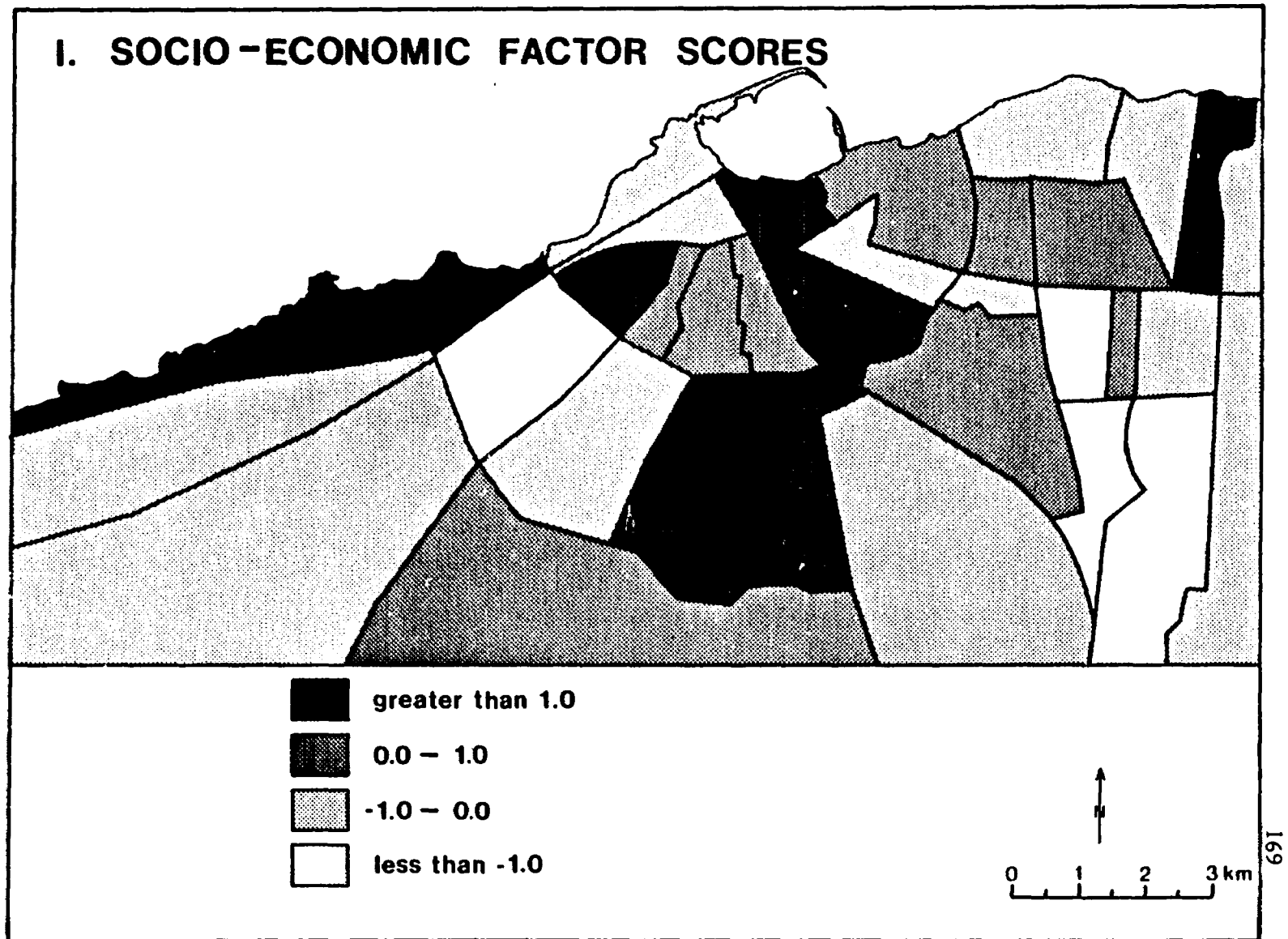
factor can be called a socio-economic factor because three of the variables considered as class position in modern societies—income, occupation, and education—have their highest loadings on Factor I. Four more variables have high positive loadings (the type and value of dwelling unit, the number of rooms in the dwelling, and car ownership). The percentage of Arab houses variable has a high negative score on Factor I.

The socio-economic factor scores provide a broad scale of socio-economic characteristics of Tripoli with high status mahallas scoring positively high and low status mahallas scoring negatively high on the factor, while intermediate points represent mahallas picking out medium status characteristics.

Figure 46 shows the spatial patterns of Factor I scores. It suggests that the high status mahallas are located in the northwestern (Hia Alandlos and El-Mansura mahallas), in the southern (Ben Kisher mahalla), and in the northeastern (Dahra, Manshia, and Okba mahallas) parts of the city. These mahallas are characterized by concentration of population with high income, high education levels, and high occupation positions. Such mahallas contain populations who own cars and live in villas.

Figure 46 also suggests that low status mahallas are concentrated mainly in the southeastern and southwestern parts of the city. These mahallas contain households with only primary education or illiterate, low income, and unskilled workers. Such mahallas contain populations who do not own cars and who live in traditional Arab houses.

FIGURE 46.



Residential Density Factor

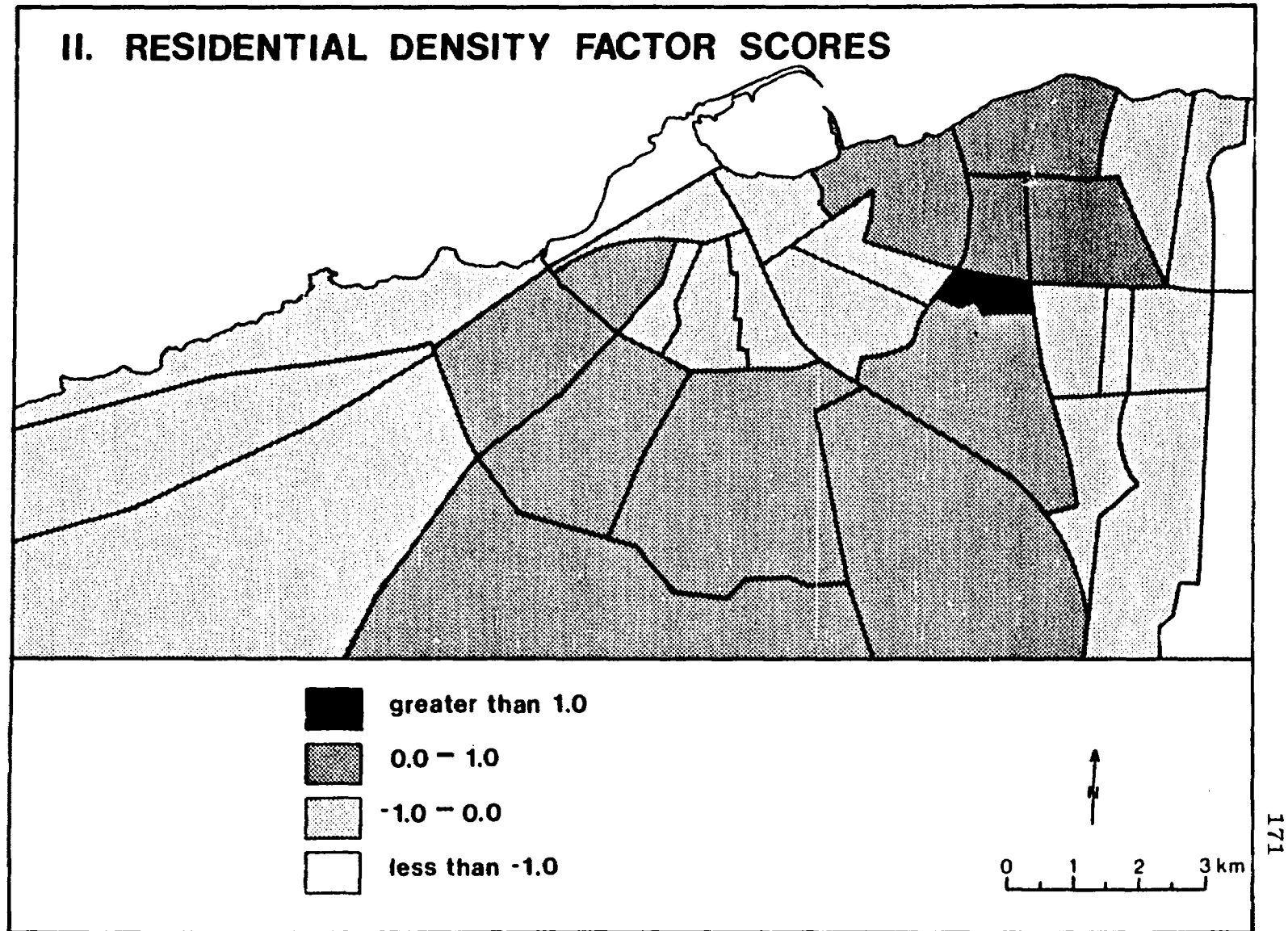
The second factor, which accounts for thirteen percent of the total variance, can be called a residential density factor because of the high positive loading of person-per-room variable on this factor. The percentage of population 20-64 years of age has a high positive loading and the percentage of population 65 and over has a high negative loading on this factor.

The mahallas with high positive scores on this factor are characterized by high residential density. Such mahallas also contain large percentages of population 20 - 64 years of age. On the other hand, the mahallas that score negatively high on this factor have lower residential density and contain a high percentage of population aged 65 and over.

Figure 47 suggests that there is a concentration of mahallas with high residential density in the southeastern, southern, and northwestern parts of the city. It also shows that the mahallas with low residential density tend to concentrate in the northeastern and western areas and around the central business district.

The Old Madina mahalla has the highest negative score on this factor. This unusually high negative score can be explained by the fact that most of the younger families moved from the old Madina to either public or private housing in the suburbs, and most of the families that remained in the Old Madina are small families with a concentration of elderly people.

FIGURE 47

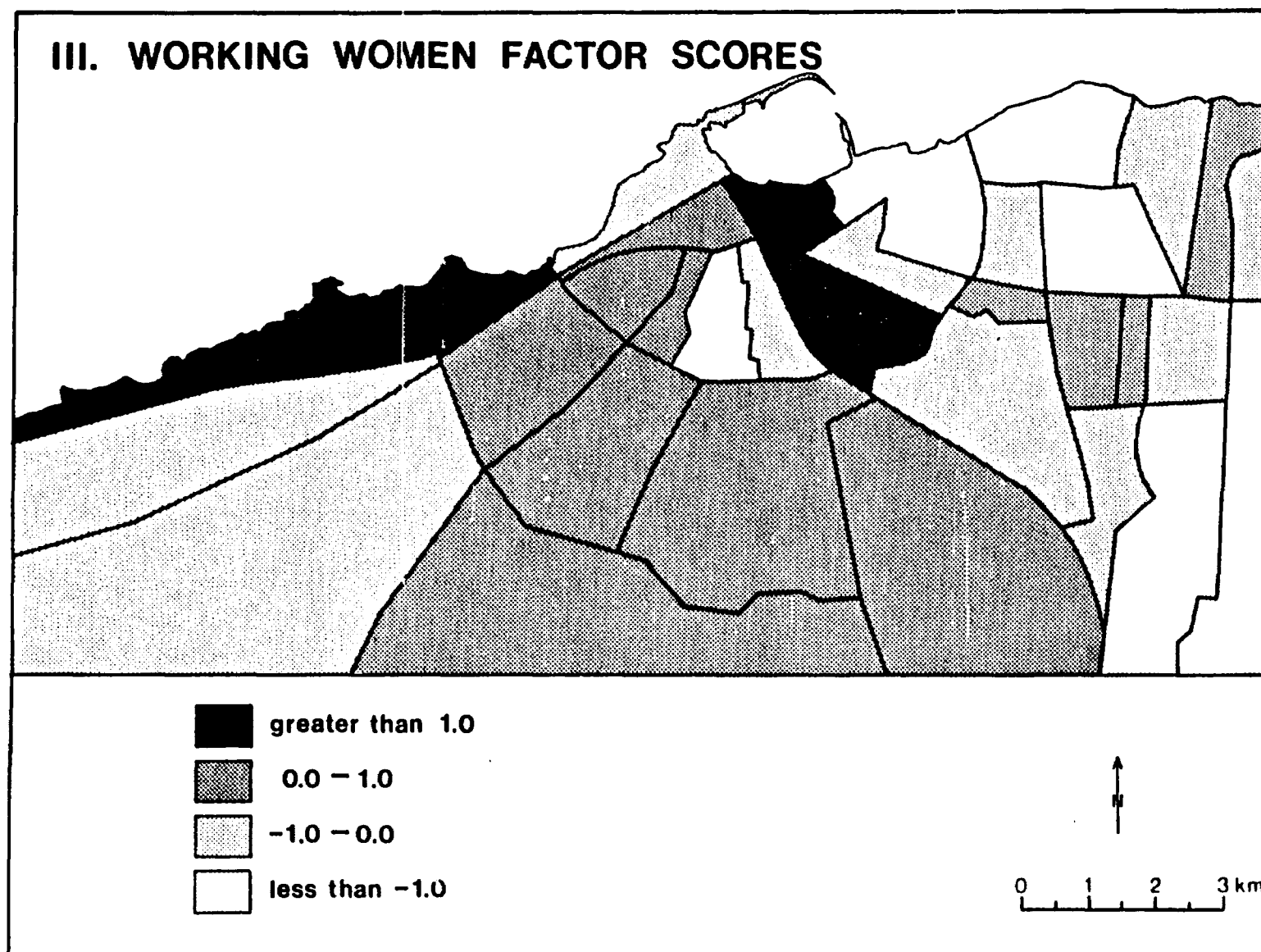


Working Women Factor

Factor III which explains nine percent of the total variance may be called the working women factor because the percentage of working women variable has the highest positive loading on Factor III. Additionally, the ownership of video cassettes variable has a positive loading on this factor. The number of years in the present dwelling is the only variable with high negative loading on the working women factor.

One of the major effects of social change in Tripoli in recent years is the increased female participation in the labor force. During the early independence period of the 1950s and 1960s, the participation of females in the labor force was very low and it was hard to find any females working in either private or public jobs. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, and with the increased number of educated females and modernization, female participation in the labor force increased dramatically. Therefore, it is not surprising that female participation in the labor force has emerged as an important factor underlying residential variation in different parts of Tripoli. Figure 48 shows the spatial distribution of working women factor scores. It suggests that there is a concentration of households with at least one working female who owns a video cassette recorder. These households are located in the southern and northwestern mahallas. It suggests also that the northwestern, southwestern, and southeastern mahallas have either high negative or low negative scores on the working women factor. This is an indication of the traditional and conservative attitude of the heads of household in these mahallas toward female participation in the labor force.

FIGURE 48



Residential Mobility Factor

The fourth factor, which explained eight percent of the total variance, can be called a residential mobility factor because the residential mobility variable had the highest positive loading on this factor. One more variable had positive loading, namely the percentage of apartments. The hot water variable had a negative loading on Factor IV.

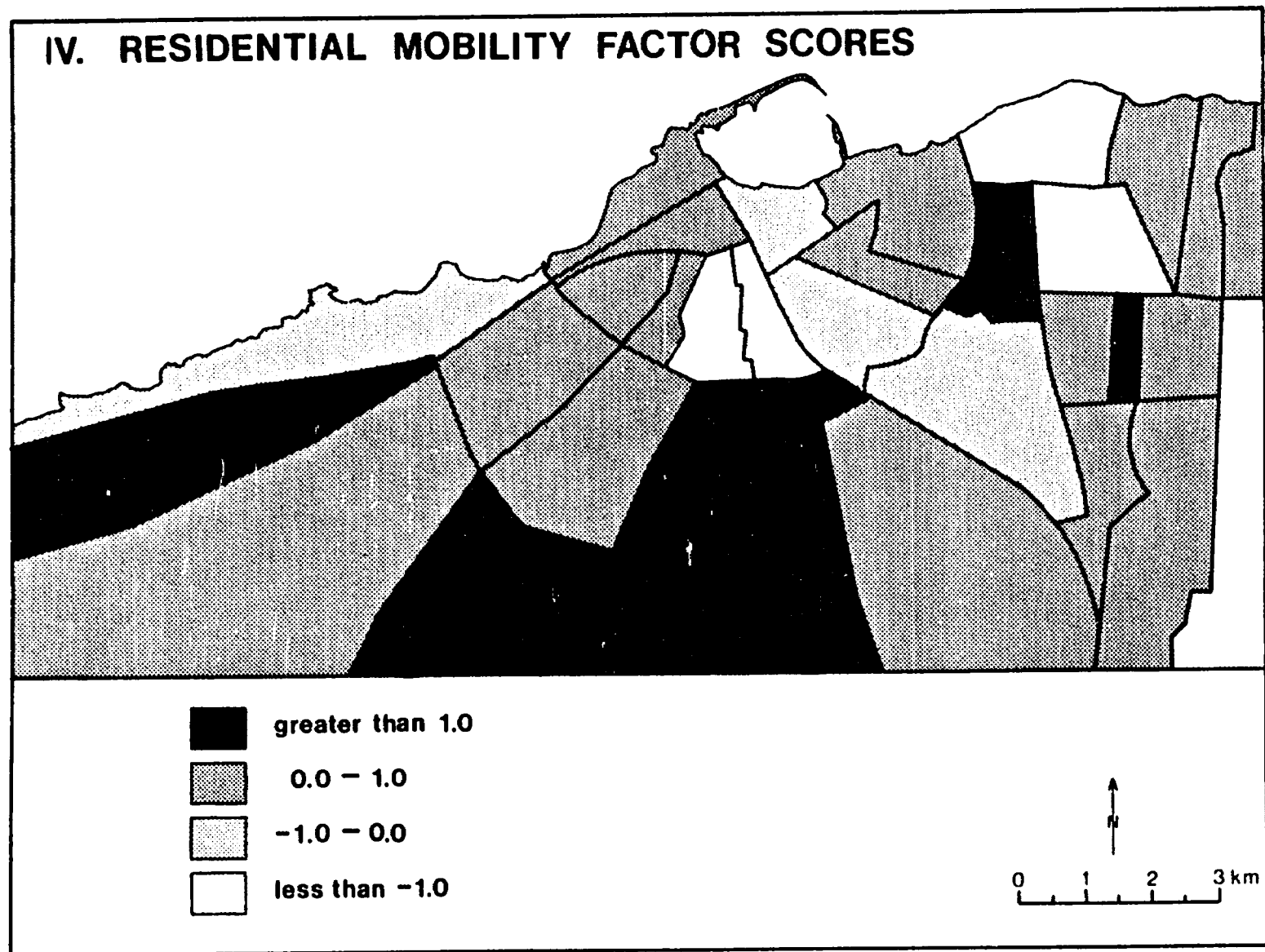
Figure 49 shows the spatial distribution of Factor IV scores. It suggests that mahallas with high percentages of mobile households tend to be concentrated mainly in the northwestern, southern, and eastern sections of Tripoli.

The residential mobility factor is mostly associated with the new housing units which were built on the periphery of the city during the 1970s, and particularly, those public high-rise apartments which were constructed mainly to house the lower income groups who had previously lived in the shanty towns. For example, four mahallas (Abu-Saleem, Gooth Eshal, Ben Kisher, and Suhda Al-Hani) had high positive scores on Factor IV. These mahallas are characterized by the concentration of publicly built housing. The mahallas which scored negatively high on factor IV are those characterized by the absence of publicly built housing and tend to concentrate around the central part of the city and in the northwestern and western parts of the city.

Life Cycle Factor

Factor V, which accounts for eight percent of the total variance, can be called a life cycle factor because the highest positive loading on this factor was given to the family status variable (the percentage of married heads of household), and the second and third variables with high positive

FIGURE 49



loadings were the percentage of population in the 0-4 and 5-19 years of age categories.

Figure 50 shows the spatial distribution of the life cycle factor scores in Tripoli. It suggests that 21 mahallas have high and moderately positive scores. These mahallas are mainly located in the southwestern, southern, western, and northeastern sections of the city. It is very interesting to note that the Old Madina mahalla has the highest negative scores on the life cycle factor which is an indication of the concentration of widowed, divorced, and older heads of households in the Old Madina mahalla. However, the generalized map (Figure 50) suggests that, with the exception of the extreme case of the Old Madina mahalla, there is little variation over much of the city's space.

Internal Migration Factor

The sixth factor, which accounts for six percent of the total variance, is mainly associated with in-migration and family size variables and, therefore, can be called the in-migration factor. This factor is perhaps the simplest and easiest to interpret. The mahallas with high positive scores on Factor VI contain a large number of in-migrant households who usually have large families, which related to the tendency of rural-urban migrants to have higher fertility rates even after they migrate to urban areas.

Figure 51 shows the spatial distribution of the in-migration factor scores. It suggests that the mahallas with high numbers of in-migrants tend to concentrate in the southwestern, southern, and northeastern parts of the city. It also shows that the mahallas with low proportions of in-migrant households are located in the western and northwestern parts of the city.

FIGURE 50

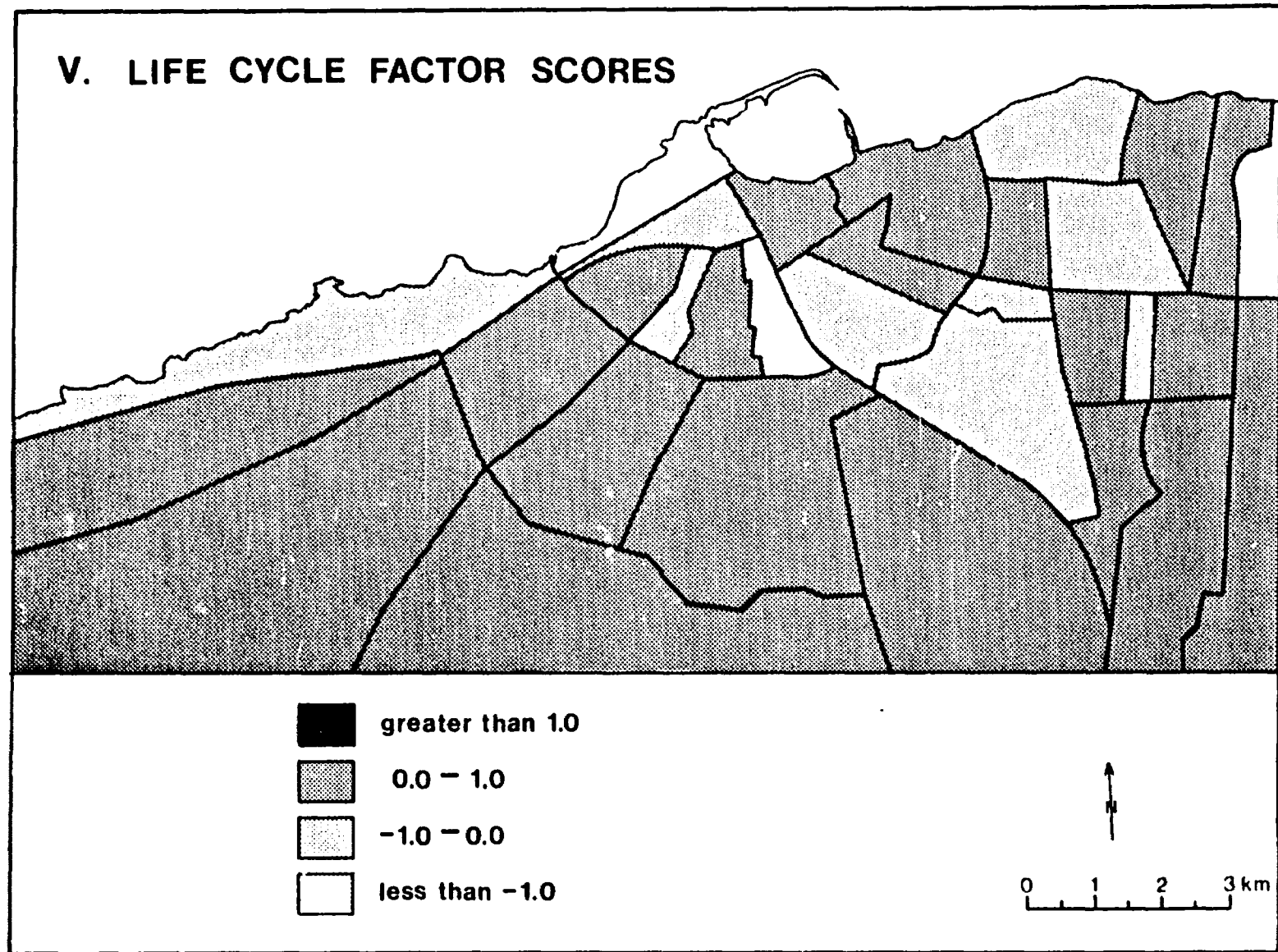
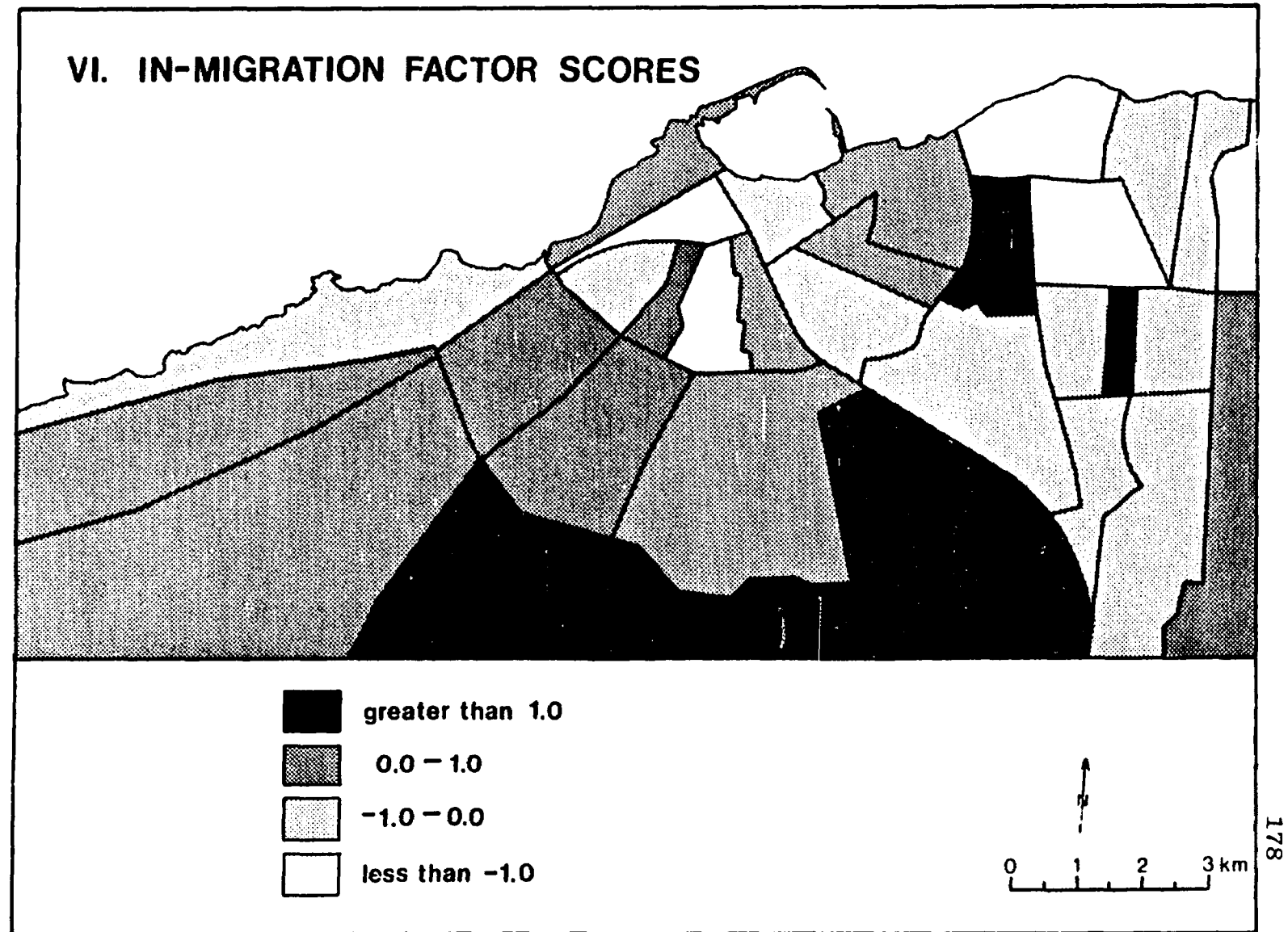


FIGURE 51



Spatial Structure of Residential Types

The analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of a sample head of household located in the 32 mahallas of Tripoli has shown that contemporary socio-economic status, residential density, working women, residential mobility, life cycle, and in-migration are the most important determinants of residential differentiation within Tripoli. On the basis of this sample analysis, one can delineate the residential land use of Tripoli into broad social regions. The previous six factor maps show that some mahallas have significant relationships with more than one of these factors. The amalgamation of all maps would fail to satisfy the basic objective of classification in which each mahalla is expected to fall within one discrete class. In order to classify the residential units into high-, middle-, and low-income residential areas, the previously mentioned scores of each factor were subject to a hierarchical grouping using the so-called linkage tree technique. The main reason for using factor scores as an input data instead of the original variables was to meet the twin requirements of orthogonal variables and standardized measurement scales.⁷

The linkage tree of Tripoli's factor score data produced at the thirty-second step of the grouping process four sets of subregions which were assumed to represent different types of residential regions within the city.

The first residential type is mostly represented by mahallas having high positive scores on factor I, and negative scores on Factors IV and V. Thus,

⁷ Johnston, pp. 218-219.

these mahallas belong to upper class residential areas and are located east and south of the central business district and in the suburbs of the city mainly in the northwest, and in the southeast (Figure 52).

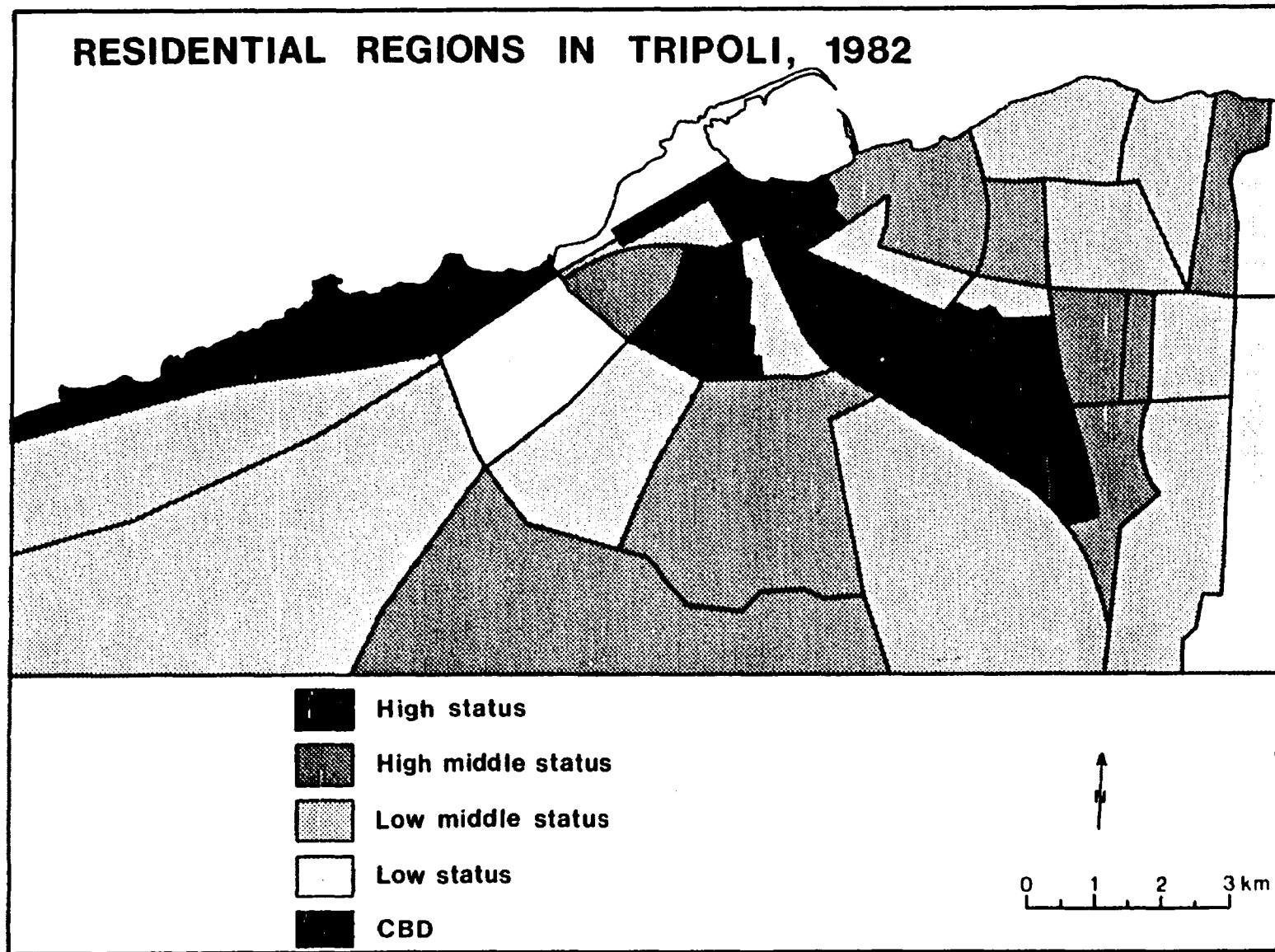
The second residential type is represented by mahallas having either high or moderate positive scores on Factor I, II, and III. Thus, these mahallas belong to what can be called higher middle income residential areas and are located mainly west of the central business district and in the northeastern and southeastern sections.

The third residential type which may be called lower middle income residential areas. It contains mahallas with moderate positive or lower negative scores on Factor I and V, and higher positive scores on Factors III and VI. These mahallas are located in the southwestern, southeastern, and northeastern sections of the city.

Finally, the fourth residential type and the smallest group may be called low income residential areas. All the mahallas with low income status have negative scores on the socio-economic factor. On the other hand, most of them have positive scores on the in-migration factor. In this fourth group, the mahallas are located mainly in the north (the Old Madina) mahalla, in the northeast at El Masira El Kubra mahalla and in the southwestern section of El Fath and Enaser mahallas. It should be mentioned here that Figure 47 is not completely different from Figure 51 which is an indication of the importance of the socio-economic factor in explaining the residential structure of Tripoli.

Figure 52 shows that the city of Tripoli incorporates elements of the pre-industrial, Western industrial, Third World and socialist city urban models. The location of high income residential areas adjacent to the central business

FIGURE 52



district conforms to a pattern that would be predicted from a conventional notion of pre-industrial cities,⁸ while the existence of high status mahallas at the periphery of the city evokes the image of suburban patterns of the industrial cities of the west.⁹ Likewise, the lower status mahallas at the city's margins (the eastern section of the city) are reminiscent of the residential configuration observed in more traditional cities in relatively under-developed nations, particularly those of North Africa¹⁰ and Latin America.¹¹ The concentration of low income and elderly population in the Old Madina north of the central business district is not unlike patterns observed in western industrial cities. The scattered location of middle status mahallas in almost all sections of the city reflect the image of what may be called an affluent-socialist city model. The large number of middle status mahallas and the smaller number of low status mahallas (four mahallas) reflects the socialist policy adopted by the current Libyan government, especially in terms of providing housing opportunities for the lower income population.

The question to be answered here is: Can the present pattern of residential land use be explained by a combination of the explanations that have been suggested for the spatial structure of pre-industrial, industrial, and

⁸G. Sjoberg, p. 438.

⁹W. Alonso, "A Theory of the Urban Land Market," Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 7 (November 1960), pp. 149-157.

¹⁰Abu-lughod, 1980), pp. 275-331.

¹¹Baker, 1970, p. 323; also, F. Morris and G. Pyle, "The Social Environment of Rio de Janeiro," Economic Geography, (1971) Vol. 47: 286-299.

socialist city land use models? Although there is some close relationship between the structure of residential land use in the pre-industrial city model and that of pre-colonial Tripoli, changes in the pattern of residential land use in Tripoli since the Italian occupation of the city cannot be explained by models which have been advanced for Western industrial cities.

The spatial patterns of residential districts of present day Tripoli can be explained by the influences of peculiar historical, political, and socio-economic factors under which Tripoli has developed. The contemporary spatial structure of residential areas in Tripoli reflects the major periods of the city's history of urban development. During the colonial period, the present day high-status residential area at Dahra Mahalla east of the central business district was created by the Italians and reserved for high Italian administrative and military officers. The departure of the Italians from their former high status residential areas after World War II, especially after 1970 when all the Italian minority in Libya were ordered to leave the country, and the movement of the Libyan elite into the area maintained its high income status.

During the post-colonial period, and especially after the oil development period of the 1960s, a new high income residential area was established on the periphery of the city. The increased number of car ownerships, improvement of roads, and the desire of the wealthy population to live in spacious houses far away from the crowded Old Madina and the noisy central business district were the major factors behind the creation of new high income residential areas along a particular section radiating from the colonial core, especially in the northwestern and southeastern parts of the city. During the same period (1960s), a low income residential area especially in the Old

Madina north of the central business district was established. The previously mentioned movement of the wealthy population to the periphery of the city was followed by movement of in-migrants who settled in spacious houses vacated by the departure of the upper income population. These buildings have been rapidly subdivided to absorb the growing demand for housing by the rural migrants. Under the impact of high density and severe overcrowding, such residential property has deteriorated for lack of adequate maintenance.

The higher middle and lower middle income residential areas were mainly established during the last period of Tripoli's urban development which started after the revolution of 1969 when the socialist policies of the new government also included providing free public housing to the lower income groups, especially those who previously had lived in shanty towns on the periphery of the city. By 1976 all the shanty towns had been demolished and replaced by high-rise apartments.

Government intervention in the housing market had sharp effects on the social geography of Tripoli. By adopting socialist policies, the key base of socio-economic differentiation was removed so that the utility of western urban models is diminished. The current government of Libya has significantly influenced residential land-use as well as other land-use patterns in Tripoli. The economic organization of land-use as stipulated in the Western models of city structure has taken place only to a limited extent in Tripoli. It has operated within definite policy and legal frameworks designed by government authorities. These frameworks have restrained the operation of economic forces and have limited the tendency for these forces to influence the spatial patterns of land use within the city. In the following chapter, an attempt will

be made to create a verbal and graphic land-use model for Tripoli. Particular attention will be given to the similarities of and differences between Tripoli's land-use model and the findings of selected urban land-use studies conducted on the industrial-socialist cities.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAND-USE MODEL OF TRIPOLI AS AN EVOLVING THIRD WORLD SOCIALIST CITY

Introduction

This chapter contains two major parts. In the first part, some of the studies that were intended to present an ideal model of city structure are briefly discussed. In the second part, an attempt is made to create a generalized and simplified model of the detailed patterns of Tripoli's land-use as discussed in the previous chapters and summarized in Figure 53. This verbal and graphic land-use model is followed by a discussion of the current land-use patterns of Tripoli which incorporate elements of pre-industrial, Western industrial, and socialist city urban models. Then, Tripoli's urban land-use model is applied to other Libyan cities such as Benghazi and Kusbati. Finally, the differences and similarities between Tripoli and other industrial socialist cities are briefly discussed.

Within what James¹ has described as the contemporary period of 1950s,

¹P. James, All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas, (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1972).

the attention given by geographers to the use and nature of models has been increased. The urgent need for more generalized and simplified models has been increased as data becomes available for different regions with different historical and cultural backgrounds.

According to Chorley:²

A model is thus a simplified structure of reality which presents supposedly significant features or relationships in a generalized form. Models are highly subjective approximations in that they do not include all associated observations or measurements but, as such, they are valuable in obscuring incidental detail and allowing fundamental aspects of reality to appear. This selectivity means that models have varying degrees of probability and a limited range of conditions over which they apply. . . . All models are constantly in need of improvement as new information or vistas of reality appear, and the more successfully the model was originally structured, the more likely it seems that such improvement must involve the construction of a different model.

He added that:

The most important fundamental feature of models is that their construction has involved a highly selective attitude toward information where not only noise but less important signals have been eliminated to enable one to see something of the heart of things.

Minshall also noted that a model "is a simplification of reality, both of necessity, as soon as we symbolize reality in words, pictures, and figures, and of intent, because the first hypothesis attempts to offer the simplest possible explanation."³

In the following section, some of the attempts which were intended to present an ideal model of city structure will be briefly discussed.

²R. J. Chorley and P. Haggett (eds.), Socio-Economic Models in Geography, (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 23-24.

³R. Minshall, An Introduction to Models in Geography, (London: Longman, 1978), p. 28.

The Industrial City Models

One of the early hypothesis about internal city structure was the concentric zone model.⁴ The basic idea of this model is that the city's spatial structure could be viewed as a set of concentric zones centered around the city's central business district. "Changes occurred as the activities in an inner zone gradually invaded the adjacent zone and eventually replaced the activities located there. This process has come to be known as one of invasion and succession."⁵

Hoyt's sectorial model concentrates on the aerial patterns of land shifts in residential locations. For Hoyt, different income groups in a city tend to live in distinct areas discernible in terms of sectors of a circle around the city center. These sectors tend to grow out toward the periphery in their respective directions. Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei model recognized that the land-use pattern of many cities is arranged around several rather than a single center.⁶

According to Baker:⁷

Zonation of residential structure is the most general characteristic these models give of the industrial city. This zonation is a gradient with wealthy living generally in the suburbs; the middle class, living closer in, and the lower social classes living on the expanding ring of deteriorating housing surrounding the central business district and intermingled with older central industrial districts.

⁴Park, et al., 1925.

⁵L. King and R. Gollodge, Cities, Space, and Behavior: The Elements of Urban Geography, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 182.

⁶Ibid., p. 185.

⁷Baker, p. 14.

As King⁸ puts it:

Until recently, our understanding of urbanism was dominated by theory derived from Western industrial and post-industrial models. . . Only in the last two decades, however, have urbanists begun to see that much of what was previously accepted as "universally applicable urban theory" has been based on an historical Western ethnocentrism. Increasingly, we find that models or theories developed in the context of Western industrial urbanization do not fit the majority of cities in the non-Western world, particularly the "colonial" or "post-colonial" cities of Asia and Africa.

McGee⁹ also noted that,

It is usually assumed that the contemporary Third World cities are repeating the history of Western cities in the nineteenth century. . . . Third World cities are "different demographically, economically, and socially.

In a later work McGee¹⁰ noted that:

Middle class suburbs and squatter settlements have added a new element to the form of the colonial city without transforming their older pattern. Rich and poor are to be found in both, near the central business district and in the periphery of the city.

McGee also suggested that it could represent some transitory phase developing between patterns of "pre-industrialism and industrialism."¹¹

⁸D. King, Colonial Urban Development, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1976), p. 14.

⁹G. McGee, The Urbanization Processes of the Third World: Explanation in Search for Theory, (London: Bell and Sons, 1975), p. 15.

¹⁰G. McGee, Southeast Asian Cities, (London: Bell and Sons, 1976), p. 50.

¹¹Ibid., p. 213.

Ginsburg also noted that "Morphologically and organizationally" the Asian cities differ from Western models; the spatial distribution of their population is less by socio-economic class than by ethnic caste.¹²

The previously mentioned classical ecological models have come under criticism even to their application for North American and European cities. Colenut¹³ noted that "the concentric zone, the sector, and the multiple nuclei models are essentially descriptive models and fails to specify the variables as factors, decision-makers, or causal relationships that might be responsible for city growth and form." Robson¹⁴ also noted that these models are static and that they are not capable of accounting for changes that are now taking place in modern cities. Additionally, all of these ecological classical models did not take into consideration government intervention, especially in the housing market and the impact of this intervention on the spatial structure of the city.

The Pre-Industrial City Model

The most comprehensive and traditional view of Third World City is to be found in Sjoberg's model of the so-called "pre-industrial city." According

¹²N. Ginsburg, "Planning the Future of the Asian Cities," (In): The City as a Center for Change in Asia, D. Dwyer (ed.), (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1972), p. 278.

¹³R. Colenut, "Building Models of Growth and Spatial Structure," Progress in Geography, (1970), 114.

¹⁴C. Robson, "A Typological of Hong Kong Census Districts: A Study in Urban Structure," Journal of Tropical Geography, (1972), 34: 231.

to Sjoberg, all cities prior to the industrial revolution shared important structural similarities:

... in their structure, or form, pre-industrial cities ... whether in medieval Europe, traditional China, India, or elsewhere, resemble each other closely and, in turn, differ markedly from modern industrial-urban centers.¹⁵

Sjoberg identified three broad types of society: A folk society dominated by a rural way of life, a pre-industrial society, and an industrial society characterized by advanced technology and all the complexities of modern city life.¹⁶

The pre-industrial city is usually compact and small in size, surrounded by walls with winding, narrow, unpaved streets. "Technology is based on human and animal, rather than on inanimate power, and there is little division of labor into skills."¹⁷

The pre-industrial city contains a core-area, elite residential areas, and lower income residential areas. The elite groups are located close to the core area in near proximity to the prestigious buildings and sources of power. Beyond the elite group zone, the less prestigious and less prosperous residents are located. Sjoberg's model has been criticized from two major points of view: First, Sjoberg ignored cultural differences of both time and space;¹⁸

¹⁵G. Sjoberg, The Pre-Industrial City: Past and Present, (New York: Free Press, 1960), p. 4-5.

¹⁶Scargill, p. 184.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸R. J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory for Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City," East Lake Geographers, 1969, 5: 76.

and second, he based his concept upon questionable secondary sources of information from limited parts of the world.¹⁹

Sjoberg's model failed to take into consideration cities that served as linkage between various cultures. Cities of this type flourished even in the pre-industrial societies.²⁰ McGee noted that Sjoberg did not make serious mention of cities in Africa south of the Sahara, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and cities of the ancient civilizations such as the Roman cities.²¹

The Colonial City Model

According to Ginsburg,²² many cities in the Third World countries are often the product of colonial experience created by external forces. Such cities were not generated, therefore, by internal forces but were linked to the expansion of colonial or foreign trading interests. As these interests flourished, so did the cities. In this sense, such centers could be termed "colonial urban dependencies."²³ Horvath²⁴ argues that the cities founded in

¹⁹ Herbert and Thomas, p. 64.

²⁰ P. Weatheley, "What the Greatness of a City is Said to Be: Reflection on Sjoberg's Pre-Industrial City," Pacific Viewpoint, (1980), 4: 183.

²¹ G. McGee, "The Rural-Urban Continuum Debate, The Pre-Industrial City and Rural-Urban Migration," Pacific Viewpoint, 1964, p. 171.

²² N. Ginsburg, "The Great City in Southeast Asia," The American Journal of Sociology, (1955), 60: 456.

²³ G. Payne, Urban Housing in the Third World, (London: Robert Maclehose and Co., Ltd., 1977), p. 19.

²⁴ Horvath, p. 69.

twentieth century Africa and Southeast Asia possessed a sufficient number of similar characteristics that the term "colonial city" might well be applied. McGee²⁵ noted that the colonial cities owed their dualistic structure to intrusions of Western capitalism into forms of traditional culture. Existing side by side, and only weakly interrelated, both the European section and the traditional city display their own morphological patterns and residential behavior.

King proposed a further typology for the colonial city. He noted that an ideal "type" colonial city consisted of either two or three major parts. The first part was the area of indigenous settlement, sometime pre-dating the colonial era and occasionally manifesting the socio-spatial structure of Sojberg's pre-industrial city. The second element is what is variously described as a "modern," "Western," or "European" sector:

What we have in the colonial settlement is what one might mistakenly compare to an early twentieth century upper or lower middle class European suburb: Large residential plots containing spacious, one-story houses, on broad, tree-lined roads, low residential density, and amenities (water, electricity, sewage, telephones, and open space). In the indigenous area, on the other hand, one has high residential density, traditional or modified traditional housing, and in contrast with colonial urban settlements, very low levels of amenities. . . . Lastly, a permanent process of in-migration has added squatter settlements which, depending upon the Asian or African context, are variously known as bustees, Jhuggies, shanty towns, or bidonvilles, to the urban fringe as well as on vacant lots in the city." ²⁶

²⁵ McGee, p. 19.

²⁶ King, p. 23.

The spatial structure of Tripoli, Libya during the Italian occupation of the city (1911-1943) may illustrate the spatial structure of the colonial city. The Italian occupation period of Tripoli was characterized by the growth of a planned colonial city side-by-side and in contrast to the old city. The Old Madina remained the most important native commercial and residential center of the city, serving an increasingly dense poor residential population while providing the traditional goods and services. In contrast to the Old Madina, the new, planned European city was established by the Italians to the south and west of the Old Madina. The new city had wide, paved streets, a modern central business district, new government offices, new lower density residential areas, and new light industrial areas. Additionally, the Italians built the so-called "Campo de Beduini" outside the Italian wall in the western section of the city to which were moved all the Libyans who had been living in tents outside the Italian walls. Three more camps were established to house the Libyans who served in the Italian army. All of these camps were transferred to a shanty town after World War Two ended and when the Italian policy of restricting migration was removed, the rural natives began migrating to the city.

The Socialist City Model

The socialist city refers to the socio-economic fabric of socialist societies as exemplified by cities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe. In these cities, communist ideology has altered the urban structure to a point where it shows some difference from that found in the capitalist free-market industrial city, especially in the United States.

Until recently, information about the socialist city remained vague among western scholars. "General textbooks on urban geography either ignore the socialist variant entirely or at best devoted little more than a passing reference to it."²⁷

In reply to the question, "Is there a socialist city?"²⁸ Scargill answers:

The extent of control that is exercised by government, not only over planning, but over all the main city-forming processes, is so much more total and comprehensive in the socialist than in the non-socialist world, that there would seem to be some likelihood of discovering fundamental contrasts in physical forms. Such is the view of Dawson (1971) who considers that the differences in spatial organization are sufficient to support a model of the socialist city.²⁹

Frensh and Ian Hamilton also noted that:

The very high order of control vested in the state over such matters as land ownership, land use, the degree and direction of industrialization, capital invested in all sectors and at all levels of the economy, rents wages, prices, and even (in certain periods and certain places) movement of the population, means that the state has a power to determine the pace and form of urban development far greater than that wielded by any Western government, central or local. Has the exercise of this formidable power during three decades, or even during six, created an urban form which is a distinct, special phenomenon, more or less sharply differentiated from the capitalist or market economy?³⁰

The editors contend that the answers to such questions is definitely yes—but with certain qualifications.

²⁷ Frensh and Ian Hamilton, p. 5.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁹ Scargill, p. 254.

³⁰ Frensh and Ian Hamilton, p. 6.

Residential segregation in the socialist city has been significantly reduced, and there is a greater uniformity and less area specialization than in the Western European or North American cities, where market forces operate strongly and segregation of land use comes about through competition for desirable sites. The sorting effect of land value and of rents is of much reduced significance in the socialist city if indeed it is permitted to operate at all.

The tendency toward decreased inequality in terms of income leads to greater homogeneity in the demand for shelter and for goods and services. The decision about where to locate depends on the need of the family and access to work rather than on wealth as in capitalist societies.³¹

Similarity within residential areas has also resulted from the application of planning norms by the state which works both as a developer and as a planner.³² In a study of the spatial structure of Warsaw, Dawson noted that:

. . . some evidences exist to suggest that the development of Warsaw may have diverged from the city of the free-market's condition since 1945 insofar as the intensity of land use in central areas has fallen a little while the night-time population has risen, insofar as the density of population in suburban areas is now probably higher than before the war and the type of housing is very different, as the centripetal movement of the working population has been weakened, as a rigidly sectorial pattern of city expansion seems to be appearing, and as differences in the quality of housing and of urban environment over the city have been substantially diminished.³³

³¹ Scargill, p. 257.

³² Ibid.

³³ Dawson, (1971), p. 107.

He added that the expansion of the "shopping-office" area has ceased, and the function of Warsaw's central business district appears to have changed. It has become an area of specialist and prestige shops, e.g., the department stores, antique shops, second-hand bookstores, souvenir shops, and other shops catering to tourists.³⁴

Authors of most of the recent and scattered studies on land use in socialist cities have agreed that any study must take into account the impact of the past. In his study of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Fisher concluded that the "capitalist heritage is too strong a factor for the socialist planner to overcome."³⁵

According to Berry and Kasarda many new cities were designed to represent the new socialist urban ideal such as Nowa Huta in Poland, Dunaujvaros in Hungary and Titograd in Yugoslavia.

Their form is simple: a square of administrative-cultural composition at the center, with radiating streets flanked by massive residential development. . . adjacent to the complex is the economic unit that provides the employment.³⁶

Elkins also noted that the expansion of the central office-shopping center has ceased in the East German cities:

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵J. C. Fisher, "Urban Analysis: A case Study of Zagreb, Yugoslavia," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, (1963), 53: 281.

³⁶Berry and Kasarda, p.

Land vacated by departing industry has been occupied by apartment blocks, and people have been brought back to the central city . . . Because new residential development is all in apartments, significant density differences among parts of the city have been ironed out, and social segregation has been largely abolished.³⁷

Giese, in his studies of the Soviet cities in middle Asia, has noted that:

In comparison with central business districts of towns in the Western world of like size, Western and Soviet business centers differ from each other in several ways: 1) by the number and dimension of shops, 2) by their exterior appearance (structure quantity, window-dressing, advertising, etc.), 3) by the kind, specialization, quality and quantity of merchandise offered, which in Soviet cities are greatly limited due to the restricted national economy priority given to the consumer's sectors, 4) by the kind of business enterprise and trade organizations, 5) by the conditions of proprietorship and ownership. The city-type of the Western world, with its multitude and differentiation of articles for sale, does not exist."³⁸

Bater, in his recent work on the Soviet city, has noted that one of the major goals of socialist planners is to separate industry from residential areas:

"Noxious and/or outmoded industrial facilities can simply be closed. Relocation of necessary, and viable, operations may be undertaken. Most commonly, this entails decentralizing central-city factories to the periphery, or in some regions, to specific satellite centers. New industry may be restricted to specified city areas. Directing new, or relocating existing, enterprises to locations outside the city limits is a quite recent endeavor, though it is in keeping with the long standing objective of controlling urbanization through spatially manipulating the principal engine of growth and industry."³⁹

³⁷H. T. Elkins, The Urban Explosion, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), p. 67.

³⁸E. Giese, "Transformation of Islamic Cities in Soviet Middle Asia into Socialist Cities," (In): R. French and Ian Hamilton, p. 160-161.

³⁹Bater, p. 88.

Bater also noted that the Soviet socialist city differs from its Western counterpart in several respects:

1) Nationalization of all resources (including land), 2) Planned rather than market-determined land use, 3) Substitution of collectivism for privatism, most apparent in terms of the absence of residential segregation, the dominant role of public transport, and the conscious limitation and dispersal of retail functions, 4) Planned industrialization as the major factor in city growth, 5) The perceived role of the city as the agent for directed social and economic change in backwater and frontier regions alike, 6) Cradle-to-grave security in return for some restrictions in personal choice of place of residence and freedom to migrate, 7) Directed urbanization and the planned development of cities according to principles of equality and hygiene rather than ability to pay.⁴⁰

In an attempt to create a geographical model for the socialist Chinese cities, Lo stated that four guiding principles emerged as city planning slogans in city planning in China:

1) Full utilizations and rational development of the land, 2) Unified planning, national layout, and avoidance of wasteful use of land, 3) self-reliance, hard-working, and thrifty in urban construction, and 4) integration of industry and agriculture along with integration of city and countryside.⁴¹

Using the city of Hsinhuei County in Kuangtung (Guangzhou) Province as his example, Lo noted that the residential areas of the old city had been maintained, fully utilized and gradually changed toward the socialist ideal. New Industrial development occurs at the peripheral areas surrounding the city. Workers' housing has been provided, "but because of the small size of

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 5.

⁴¹C. P. Lo, "Shaping Socialist Chinese Cities: A Model of Form and Land Use," (In: C. K. Leary and N. Norton (editors), China: Urbanization and National Development, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1980), p. 144.

the city, the new housing for workers can be located at the empty space immediately contiguous to the old residential area at a convenient distance from the factories.⁴²

It is very interesting to note that despite the fact that the new development of Chinese cities combines industrial and residential uses together in a location near the agricultural land of the communes and in a relatively concentrated ring around the old city, "the socialist integration and independence of interrelated units departs markedly from the underlying capitalist assumption of Burgess' Model."⁴³ One important quality of the Chinese society is its "classless" nature, in other words, its uniform socio-economic characteristics. "The difference between parts of the city lies not in the social class of the residents, but in land use."⁴⁴ According to Lo's model, the centers are centers for community services and are of the same order of magnitude. The model indicates centers at the neighborhood level, but it is possible to find smaller centers at the lower residential area level. "The area around the old core is divided into similar sized polygonal patches to impart some sense of irregularity."⁴⁵ Housing estates for factory workers from neighborhoods encircling the old city area are a distinctive outer ring where large scale factories are also found. "This is followed by a vegetable and then a food grain industrial crop."⁴⁶ Pannell also noted that Nanking,

⁴²Ibid., p. 152.

⁴³C. W. Pannell, "The Internal Structure of Chinese Cities," (In: C. K. Leung and N. Ginsburg (eds.), p. 187.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

(Nanjing), China has changed remarkably since 1949.⁴⁷ The city has shifted from a commercial and administrative center to an industrial administrative center. Pannell added that "a reduction in population density has taken place, and the city has grown at a modest pace."⁴⁸ This evidence suggests a different urban spatial structure from that described for Western cities.⁴⁹

An Idealized Model of Tripoli's Urban Development

The following description and graphic model of Tripoli was based upon the author's observation and other historical urban studies concerning Tripoli which were discussed in the preceding chapters and summarized in Figure 53. In order to understand the evolution of Tripoli to its contemporary form an attempt was made to represent the four major stages of Tripoli's urban development diagrammatically as shown in Figure 54 and Table 14.

The long history of Tripoli's urban growth which has resulted in the Tripoli of the present can be divided into four major periods which have had a lasting spatial impression. The first period or pre-industrial city stage is very indistinct in the current land use pattern of Tripoli; but the existence of a high income residential area near the city's central business district, as well as the presence of small, low income residential areas in different parts of the city's periphery, give the city some pre-industrial characteristics.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

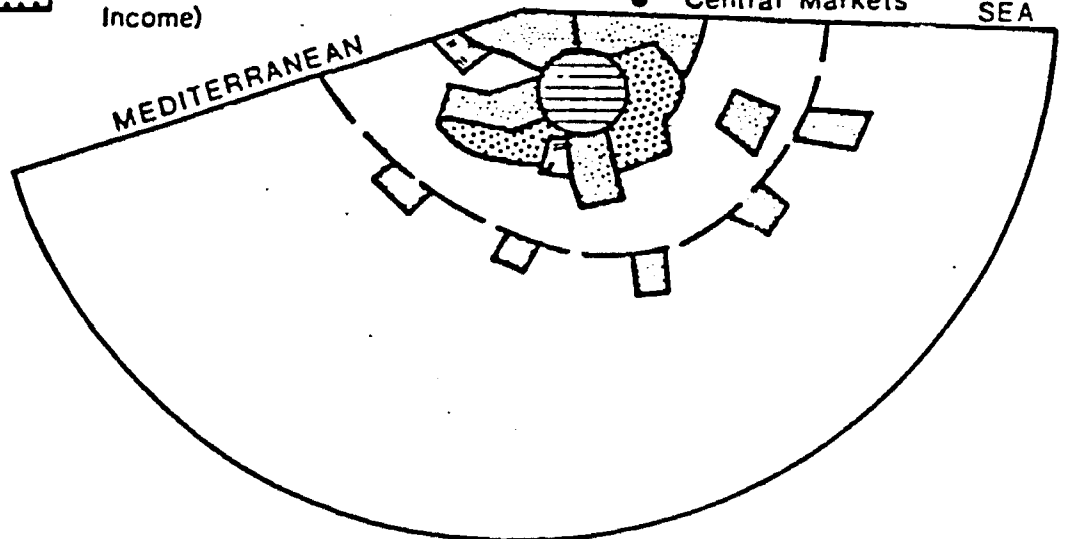
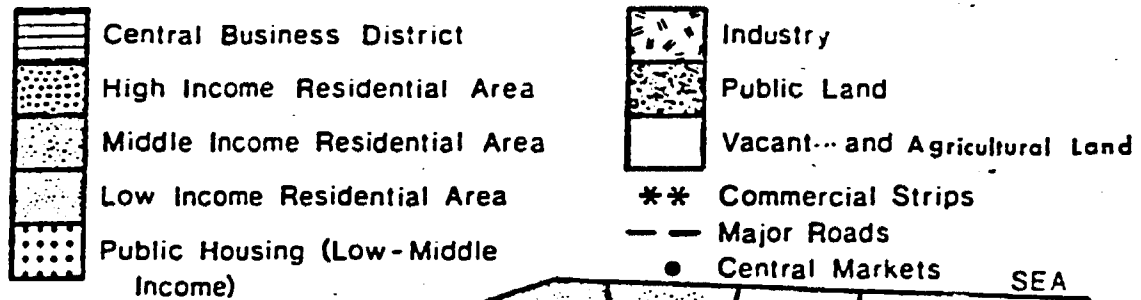
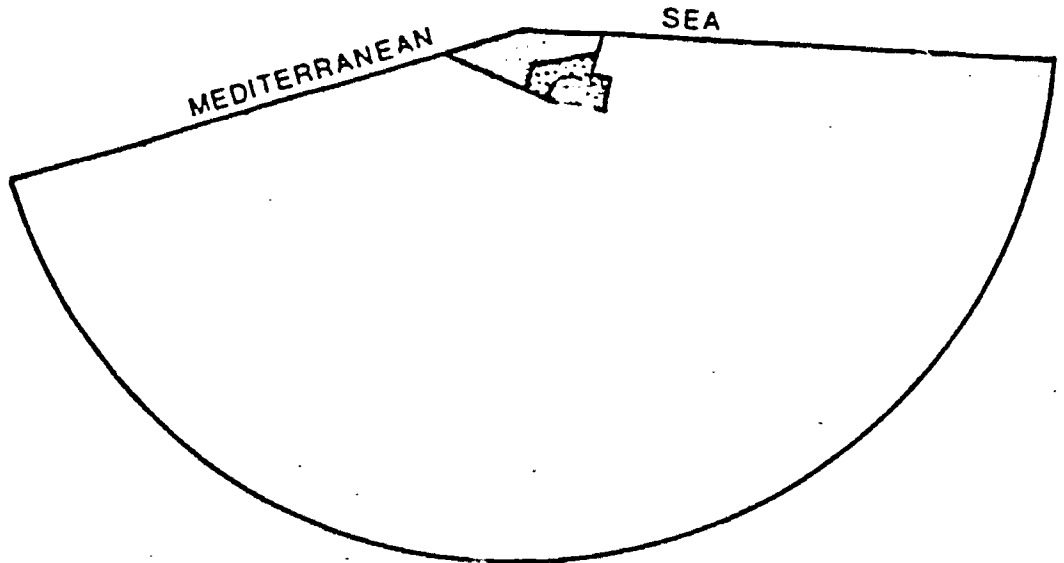
TABLE 17: STAGES OF LAND USE EVALUATION IN TRIPOLI

Land-Use	Pre-Industrial (642-1911)	Colonial City (1911-1951)	Industrial City (1951-1969)	Socialist City (1969 - Present)
Commerce	Concentrated in the major suqs at the southwest corner of the city Private Commercial Activities	Concentrated in the New C.B.D. south of the Old Madina Private Commercial Activities	Expansion of the C.B.D. establishment of Commercial strips along the major highways Private Commercial Activities	Decline of C.B.D., establishment of 5 new central markets and 14 middle-sized markets outside the the C.B.D. Public Commercial Activities
High Income	Concentrated near the Castle and the suqs.	New high income residential areas to the southeast and southwest of the C.B.D.	Movement of the wealthy population into the new, high-income residential areas in the periphery of the city, particularly in northwestern and southern parts of the city.	Same as Industrial City stage and further peripheral developments of single family houses (villas) in the southwestern and northeastern parts of the city.
Middle Income	Absent	Located near the high income residential area and scattered in the core area	New middle class residential areas in different parts of the city	With the exception of the northwestern parts, middle class residential areas are located in all parts of the city
Low Income	Located beyond the high income residential areas in the Old Madina	Same as pre-industrial pattern, plus the new shanty towns outside the Italian Walls.	Most of the Old Madina, plus the expansion of the shanty towns in the periphery of the city	Reduction in residential segregation, demolition of shanty towns and their replacement by publicly-built high-rise apartments, low quality housing units decreased, only in small, scattered areas in the western, southern, and eastern parts of the city.

TABLE 17: STAGES OF LAND USE EVALUATION IN TRIPOLI (continued)

Land-use	Pre-Industrial (642-1911)	Colonial City (1911-1951)	Industrial City (1951-1969)	Socialist City (1969-Present)
Public Land	The castle, mosques, Koranic schools, and one church	Several new government buildings, Catholic Cathedral, new schools, new hospital, public parks, and two first class hotels	Developments of new government offices outside the C.B.D., several schools, new hospitals and new race track	Further development of government offices outside the C.B.D., several new schools, hospitals, and clinics, new race track, and first class hotels (government operated).
Industry	Small scale and scattered around the walled city	Decline of traditional handicraft industrial activities, and creation of three major light industrial districts (mainly agricultural industry)	Same as Colonial City stage, plus a new, planned industrial area west of the city.	Same as Industrial City stage, plus expansion of the industrial areas in the periphery of the city.
Agricultural	Most of the areas south, east, and west of the walled city	Same as Pre-Industrial stage minus the areas south and west of the Old Madina, plus the reclamation lands west of the new city.	Several agricultural land areas were subdivided and sold for urban development	Restriction on agricultural land no new building permits in agricultural land area outside the city's planned areas, attempt to establish green belt separating Tripoli from other nearby towns

PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITY, 642-1911



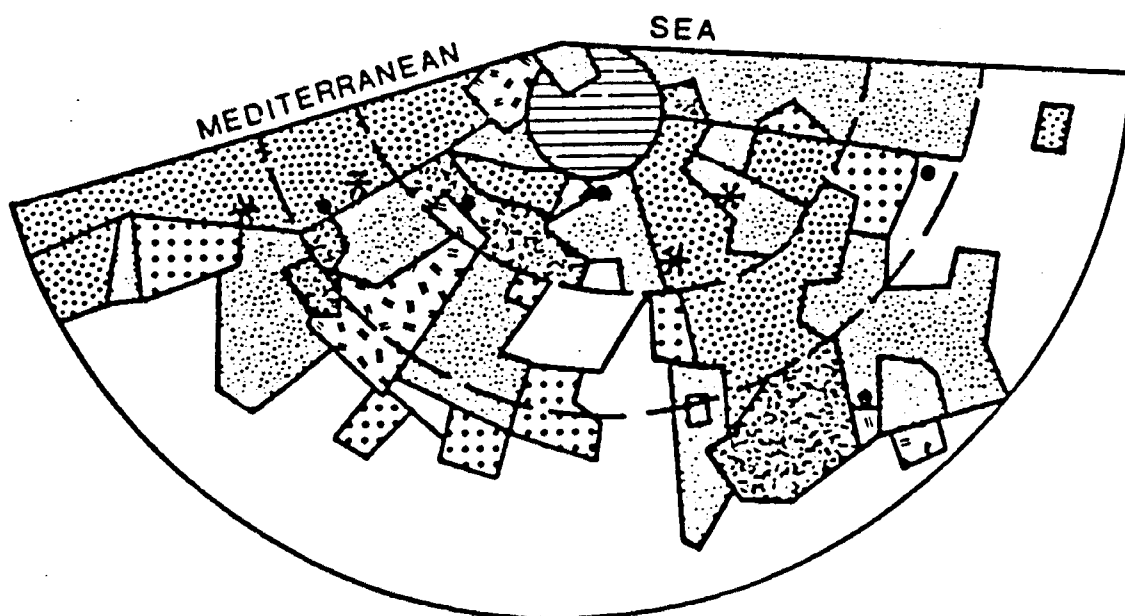
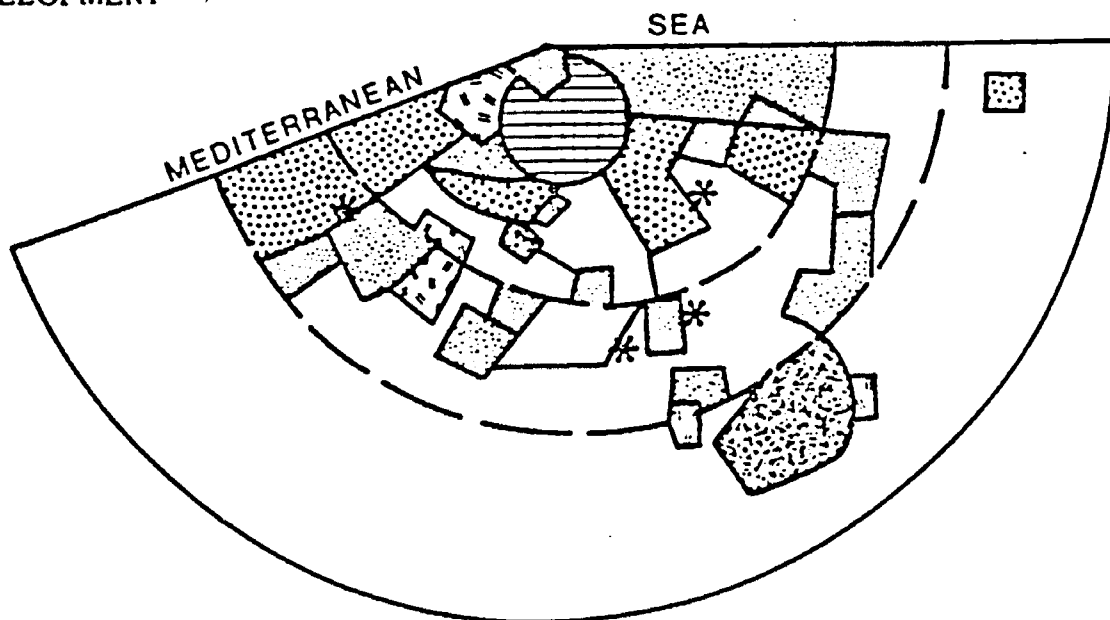
COLONIAL CITY, 1911-1951

Figure 53

R PERIODS OF TRIPOLI'S
ICAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT

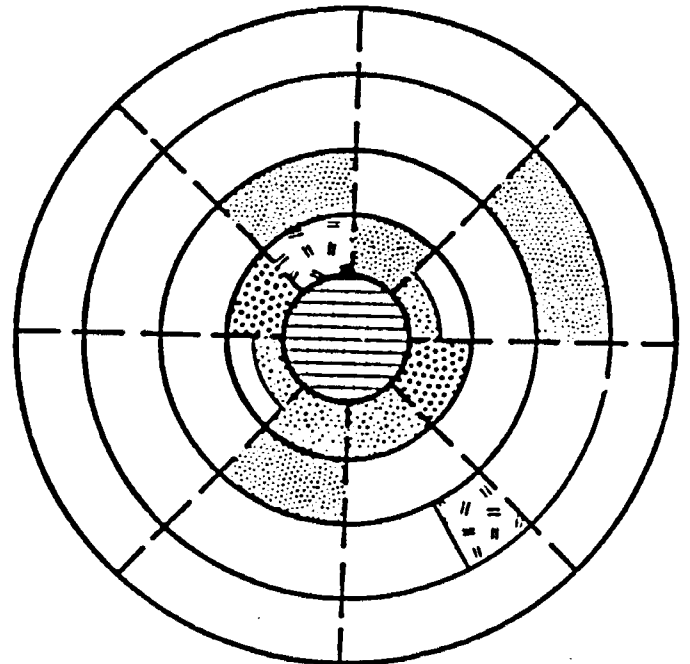
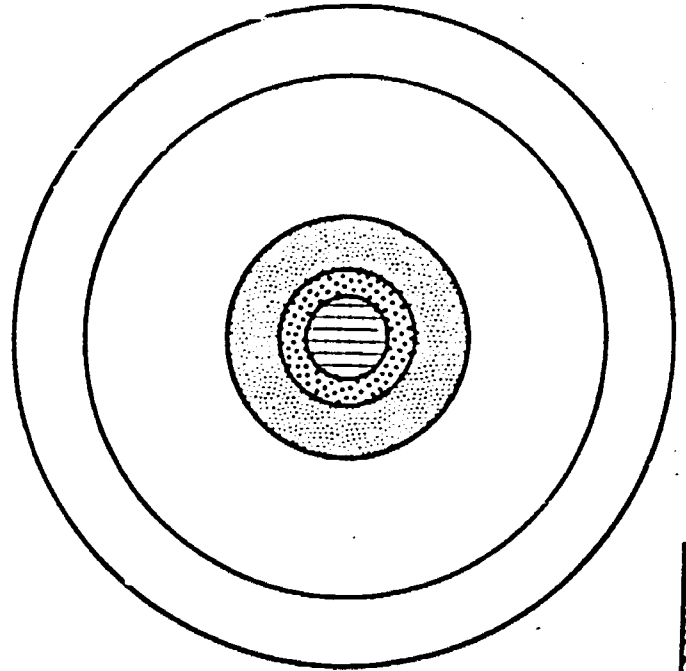
INDUSTRIAL CITY 1951-1969

204



SOCIALIST CITY 1969 - present

AN IDEALIZED MODEL
PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITY, 642-1911



COLONIAL CITY, 1911-1951

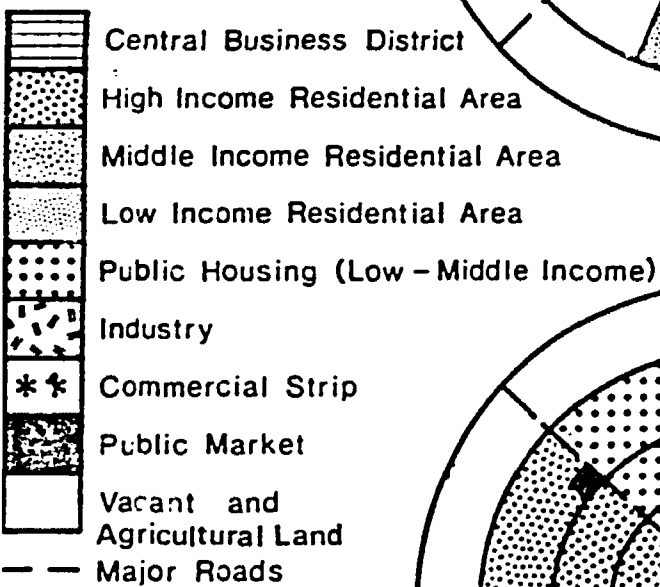
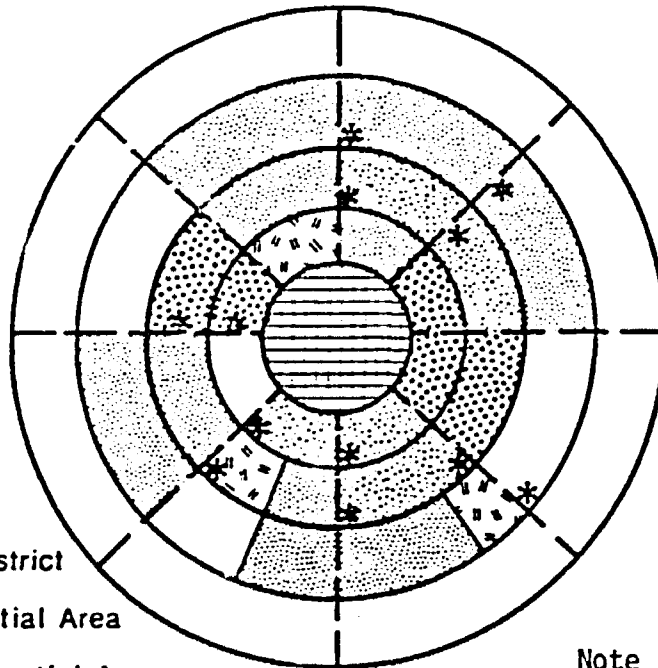


Figure 54

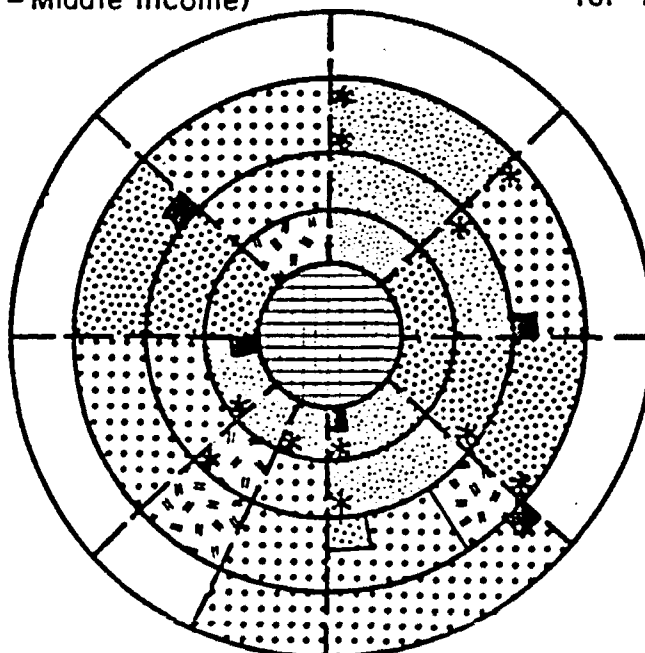
MODEL OF TRIPOLI'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT

205

INDUSTRIAL CITY, 1951-1969



Note that this diagram is an ideal one. In reality the natural barrier, the Mediterranean Sea, prevents the forming of a complete circle for Tripoli.



SOCIALIST CITY, 1969-present

The Italian occupation of Tripoli (1911-1943) represents the second stage or the Colonial period of Tripoli's urban development. The Italians introduced for the first time the railway and later the automobile and truck. This is one of the most important periods of Tripoli's urban growth. It saw the transformation of the city from a Turkish town with several characteristics of a pre-industrial city to a colonial city with dual characteristics of the Old Madina and the new, planned European city. The new colonial city was characterized by modern shops, banks, businesses, and government offices and new residential and industrial areas. These new urban developments resulted in three recognizable urban zones: 1) a new central business district, 2) new upper and middle class residential areas, and 3) new industrial districts. The Old Madina remained the most dominant native commercial and residential center of the city, serving an increasingly dense residential population and providing traditional goods and services.

Tripoli entered the industrial stage during the early 1960s as a result of increasing wealth, mainly from oil development. This new wealth resulted, in turn, in the widespread use of automobiles, improved roads, public transportation, and the movement of the upper and middle class population from the crowded Old Madina to a newly planned middle and high income residential area on the periphery of the city. This movement of the upper and middle income groups to the periphery of the city was followed by the creation of low income residential areas, caused mainly by the increased number of rural migrants who settled in the spacious houses vacated by the movement of the upper and middle income population groups.

The fourth period, the socialist stage of Tripoli's development, has appeared only recently during the mid-1970s. and came about as a result of the adoption of socialist socio-economic policies by the current government. The adoption of these policies caused the removal of the economic base of the previous, more capitalistic, socio-economic differentiation. This stage is characterized by the decline and changing function of Tripoli's central business district and the elimination of the extreme poverty in housing conditions, as well as by the creation of public commercial and industrial activities.

The Current Patterns of Tripoli's Land-Use

The current land-use patterns in Tripoli incorporate elements of pre-industrial, western industrial, and socialist city urban models.

The Pre-Industrial City Elements in Tripoli's Urban Land-Use Model

Despite the fact that the gross land-use patterns of Tripoli differ from the so-called pre-industrial city model, the existence of a high income residential area near the central business district as well as the location of small low income residential areas on the city's periphery give Tripoli some pre-industrial city characteristics.

- 1) The location of a high-income residential area adjacent to the central business district: As previously mentioned, the high income residential area east of the central business district in Dahara mahalla was created during the Italian occupation of the city (1911-1943) and was reserved for high Italian administrative

and military officers. The departure of the Italians from their high status residential area took place after World War II ended, especially after 1970 when all the Italian minority in Libya were ordered to leave the country. Following this expulsion of the Italians, there was a movement of the Libyan elite into the area which maintained its high income and social status.

2. **The existence of low-income residential areas on the city's periphery:** In spite of the obvious decrease in the number of low income housing units in the periphery of Tripoli, especially during the 1970s, and the great efforts of the government to house all the lower income shanty town dwellers by providing them with free publicly built apartments, the existence of small, low income residential areas in the city's periphery is another pre-industrial city characteristic of Tripoli. Most of these lower income houses were built before the enforcement of Tripoli's Master Plan (before 1960). All the houses were traditional style Arab houses, built without licenses from the municipal government, and the result was poorly planned buildings and inadequate street layouts.

The Industrial City Elements in Tripoli's Urban Land-Use Model

Tripoli's urban land use patterns also incorporate two industrial city elements:

- 1) the creation of high income residential areas in the periphery, and 2) the establishment of low income residential areas adjacent to the central business district.

1. The creation of high income residential areas in the periphery of Tripoli. One of the strongest characteristics of Tripoli as an industrial city is the creation of planned high income residential areas in its periphery. During the post-colonial period of the 1960s, newly planned high income residential areas were created and later rapidly expanded in the periphery of the city, especially after 1969. The increased number of automobile owners, the improvement of roads, and the desire of the wealthy population to live in spacious houses far away from the crowded Old Madina and the noisy central business district were the major factors behind the creation of high income residential areas in particular sectors radiating from the colonial core, particularly in the northwestern and southern parts of the city.
2. The establishment of low income residential areas adjacent to the central business district. The second industrial city element in Tripoli's urban land use model is the location of one of the largest low income residential areas immediately north of the central business district in the Old Madina mahalla. The previously mentioned movement of the wealthy population to the periphery of the city was followed by the movement of the immigrants who settled in the spacious houses vacated by departure of the upper income population from the Old Madina. These buildings were rapidly subdivided to help meet the growing demand for housing by the rural migrants. Under the impact of

high density population and severe over-crowding, this housing deteriorated rapidly.

The Socialist Type City Elements and Patterns in Tripoli's Land-Use Model

Since 1976 and after the publication of Kaddafi's The Green Book, Tripoli's urban land use patterns have been almost completely transformed from those of an industrial city to those of what may be called an affluent Third World socialist city. Four elements in Tripoli's urban land-use model are judged to be most representative of what may be called those of a socialist city. The first three of these elements are actual patterns in the urban structure of the city while the last element is closely related to the socio-economic policy adopted by the current government: 1) a socialist city central business district 2) the elimination of the extreme poverty in housing conditions, 3) public markets, and 4) public industrial activities.

1. A socialist city central business district. The recent development in Tripoli's central business district which came about as a result of the new commercial law requiring that all retail and wholesale private commercial activities be confiscated and replaced by public commercial activities, gave Tripoli one of its strongest socialist city characteristics. Furthermore, the government has established fourteen medium sized public markets and five central public markets in different parts of Tripoli's suburbs. Thus, the concentration of retail commercial activities in Tripoli's central business district no longer exists. Tripoli's central business district is different from that of any industrial

Western city in several respects. The absence of competition between commercial enterprises in Tripoli's central business district means that there is less duplication of shopping facilities and also of many of the activities carried out in offices of industrial Western cities. The demand for high-rise buildings to house the financial and such related organizations as insurance, lawyers, counselling firms, is to some degree reduced. Land which would be given to commercial use is then freed for other uses, particularly for public administration purposes.

2. **The elimination of extreme poverty in housing conditions.** The second socialist city element in Tripoli's land-use model is the increased number of public housing and middle income housing units and the decrease in the number of low quality housing units. All of the previous shanty towns were demolished and replaced by publicly built high-rise apartments. Additionally, the government has developed several long term loan programs to enable the middle and lower income population to construct their own houses resulting in a noticeable increase in the number of middle quality housing units.
3. **Public Markets.** The third socialist city element in Tripoli's land use model is the newly established public markets. As has been explained before, all of the private retail and wholesale commercial activities have been confiscated by the government and replaced by public markets. The government has built five central public markets and fourteen middle sized public markets

in different parts of Tripoli to provide different kinds of goods for the public with minimum profit. These peripherally located public markets and their uniform state prices are a deliberate attempt by the current government to alleviate traffic congestion in the central business district by reducing the need to shop in the city's center.

4. **Public Industrial Activities.** After the publication of Kaddafi's Green Book, which includes his statement "sharers, not wage earners," all of the private industrial activities, with the exception of small and handicraft industries, were confiscated by the government and reorganized as public industrial activities. Tripoli's largest and most important industrial area is located in the far western part of the city and covers almost all the area between the Airport Road and Gorgi Road. Most of largest and most important industrial plants are located in this area; however, there are also some smaller industrial areas scattered throughout the city, primarily in the northwestern part of the Old Madina, south of the Central Business District, and along El Khums Road.

One of the recent socialist plans in contemporary Tripoli is the attempt to separate industry from residential areas. The new industrial plants were restricted to specified areas, especially in the new planned industrial areas and along the Swani Road in the western periphery of the city. Further, the relocation of the noxious industrial facilities such as the tobacco factory from

its previous location in the center of the city to the industrial zone in the far western section of the city, and the location of some of the new industrial plants to locations outside the city limits, such as the leather industry to Tajura east of Tripoli and the textile factory to Janzure west of Tripoli. All of these are similar to the findings of Bater in his study of the industrial locations in Soviet cities.⁴⁶ mentioned earlier in this chapter.

In summary, several features of Tripoli's land use model indicate a tendency toward a spatial structure similar to that of a socialist city. The decline of Tripoli's office-shopping centers and their replacement by public administrative facilities, the confiscation of urban land by the government, along with its allocation to individual users and the reduction of residential segregation in terms of housing opportunities, and the establishment of public commercial and industrial activities, are all similar to the findings of most socialist city urban land-use studies such as Fisher's (1963)⁴⁷ in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Dawson's study in Warsaw, Poland (1971),⁴⁸ and Bater's study on the Soviet city (1980).⁴⁹ At this point in time it seems reasonable to postulate that if the present socio-economic factors continue, the future of the city will more and more approach the land-use patterns found in most studies of socialist cities.

⁴⁶Bater, 1980, p. 88

⁴⁷Fisher, 1963.

⁴⁸Dawson, 1971.

⁴⁹Bater, 1980.

Application of the Model to Other Libyan Cities

The previously mentioned land-use model was created on the basis of the detailed information gathered in Tripoli. In order to evaluate the validity of Tripoli's land-use model in explaining the land-use structure of Libyan cities, it became necessary to compare it with other Libyan cities such as Benghazi (the second largest Libyan city) and the middle sized city of Kusbati (located about 130 Kilometers east of Tripoli with 35,000 inhabitants).

Despite the fact that the author is well informed about the structure of Kusbati City (the author's birthplace), his knowledge of Benghazi was primarily gained from a short, two-day visit to that city. However, the model seems to almost perfectly fit Benghazi, Libya's second largest city. Both Tripoli and Benghazi have transformed from pre-industrial to colonial cities during the Italian occupation (1911-1943). Benghazi also entered the industrial stage during the 1960s which was accompanied by the population growth and movement of the higher and middle class population to the suburbs of what was previously the capital of Eastern Libya. Since 1976, Benghazi has almost completely transformed into a socialist city. Similarly to Tripoli, Benghazi's shanty towns were demolished and replaced by public high-rise apartments. Also, similarly to Tripoli, urban land has been confiscated by the government which has, in turn, redistributed them among individual users. Consequently, residential segregation has been significantly reduced. Additionally, three central public markets and thirteen middle sized public markets have been established in different parts of Benghazi to replace private commercial activities. While the model fits the sequence of development patterns and processes of Benghazi, it needs some modifications and adjustments before it

can be applicable to the middle sized city of Kusbati. It seems that the city of Kusbati has skipped both the colonial and industrial stages and is heading directly toward the socialist stage. There is no obvious development of upper income residential areas on the periphery of the city; housing tends to be mostly middle income residential areas which are surrounded by public housing units in most sections of the city. Additionally, several older housing units adjacent to the city core area which were vacated by the movement of the population to the periphery of the city have been demolished and replaced by public administration buildings. Furthermore, all of the previously privately owned small shops were closed and replaced by one middle sized public market and seven small specialized retail establishments such as clothing, soft drinks, radio, television and video cassettes, hardware, and three retail foodstuff establishments.

Similarities to and Differences Between Tripoli and Other Industrial Socialist Cities

The similarities between Tripoli as a Third World socialist city and those industrial socialist cities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in Eastern Europe can be summarized as follows. As the city transfers from the industrial stage to the latter stages of land-use development as postulated by the model, there is an increasing resemblance to the European socialist city model. Therefore, stage four, or the present land-use structure of Tripoli, contains many similarities to the socialist city model. The reduction of residential segregation in Tripoli gave the city one of its strongest socialist city characteristics. The decline of Tripoli's office-shopping center, the public

commercial, as well as the public industrial activities, all elements of Tripoli's urban land-use structure are similar to the findings of the socialist city land-use studies mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Despite the previously mentioned similarities, there are several differences remaining between Tripoli as a Third World socialist city and those cities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe or Second world socialist cities which can be summarized as follows. First, Tripoli entered the socialist stage only recently, whereas other Second World socialist cities entered the socialist stage about three to six decades ago. Second, and as a consequence of the first difference, the socialist city structure is more apparent in the Second World societies than it is in Tripoli. Third, industrial development in Tripoli has not advanced to the same level as it has in either the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. A high percentage of Tripoli's labor force is employed in tertiary (administrative and service) activities; whereas, in the socialist industrial cities, a higher proportion of the labor force is employed in industrial activities. Fourth, despite the tendency of Tripoli's colonial core to have a higher population density, the absence of urban renewal programs, the increased housing deterioration in the Old Madina and the movement of the Libyans to either public or private housing units in the periphery of the city has made the old Madina the area with the lowest population density. In contrast and as a result of renewal programs, people in most of the industrial socialist cities have been brought back to the central city where land vacated by departing industries has been occupied by apartment blocks. Fifth, in the industrial socialist city, journeys to and from work were intended to be short and public transportation was to be dominant.

In Tripoli, private transportation is the dominant type; and car ownership is higher than in most socialist industrial cities. The type and the location of jobs in Tripoli have resulted in the maximization of the journey to work. This may be explained by the fact that there is no rationale between the place of residence and the place of work. Furthermore, a higher percentage of Tripoli's labor force is engaged in tertiary activities rather than industrial activities, and most of these service and administrative jobs are located either in the central business district or in the areas immediately surrounding it.

In Chapter Eight, Tripoli's land-use model will be compared with the findings of selected studies conducted on cities in the socialist and non-socialist Third World countries.

CHAPTER VIII

THE APPLICATION OF TRIPOLI'S LAND-USE MODEL TO THIRD WORLD NON-SOCIALIST AND SOCIALIST CITIES

While the purpose of this study is to identify the major factors responsible for the present spatial structure of Tripoli, it is also hoped that some of the findings have a wider applicability, especially to what may be called Third World socialist cities. In this concluding chapter, the patterns identified in Tripoli are briefly compared with those found in studies conducted on cities in North Africa and Southwestern Asia. An attempt is also made to compare Tripoli with the findings of selected studies concerned with cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Particular attention is given to the similarities and differences between Tripoli and those cities that may be called Third World socialist cities. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the future patterns likely to be found in Tripoli, assuming a continuance of the present socio-economic factors that currently affect Tripoli's urban growth.

The Model in Relation to North African and
Southwest Asian Cities

As previously stated, urban studies in North Africa and Southwest Asia lagged behind the growth of urban studies in other regions, especially Latin America and Southeast Asia. The need for more research in this region has been mentioned by Bonine¹ and more recently emphasized by Blake and Lawless.² Disciplines other than geography have provided us with what English language research literature does exist on the residential structure of North African cities. Abu-lughod³ has recently criticized the colonial city model, arguing that her model represents the contemporary residential structure of the North African cities far better. (For a detailed discussion of Abu-lughod's model, see Chapter One, p. 18.)

However, if Abu-lughod's model is applied to cities in Libya, especially Tripoli, the model becomes problematic because Tripoli's urban land-use model differs from Abu-lughod's model in several respects. First Abu-lughod's model

¹Bonine, p. 5.

²Blake and Lawless, p. 1.

³J. Abu-lughod, 1971, 1976, 1982. See also the following works by Abu-Lughod: "Urbanization in Egypt: Present and Future Prospects," Economic Development and Cultural Change, (1965), 13: 313-343; "The Legitimacy of Comparisons in Comparative Urban Studies: A Theoretical Position and Application to North African Cities," Urban Affairs Quarterly, (1975), 11: 13-35; "A Comparative Analysis: Cairo, Tunis and Ribat," Ekistics, (1975), 34: 236-245.

failed to take into consideration the impact of government intervention, i.e., public housing policy, on the spatial structure of North African cities. For example, the model failed to take into account the shanty town clearance programs. By 1976, all the shanty towns in Tripoli had been demolished and replaced by publicly built high-rise apartments. Thus, the fourth category of Abu-lughod's model may be called public housing instead of uncontrolled settlements insofar as it could apply to Tripoli. Second, Abu-lughod's model is considered to be out of date in explaining the recent changes in Libya, particularly with regard to the new public housing and public commercial and industrial policies adopted by the Libyan government. Third, the sixth category, or what she called the "working class zone," has no existence in Tripoli. Most of the working class, or rather the government working class, were moved either from the Old Madina to the middle class houses vacated by the Italian departure of 1970 or from the shanty towns to the new public housing in the periphery of the city. These difficulties of applying Abu-lughod's model stem from the fact that most of her examples were taken from either Cairo or Rabat. However, she acknowledges that her knowledge about Tripoli is far from complete.

Al Sheikh's study of the residential mobility in Riyadh, Saudia Arabia is very interesting and represents a new approach toward explaining the residential structure of Southwest Asian and North African cities.⁴ According to the author, there are several factors that shaped contemporary Southwest Asian

⁴A. A. Al Sheikh, "Residential Mobility in Riyadh: A Study in Intra-Urban Migration," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1977).

and North African cities. There has been the mass movement of in-migrants who established their own areas inside and outside the cities. There is also suburbanization of the middle class or the movement of the people from the Old Madina to the new areas that were established by the Europeans in the past, especially early in this century. Finally, there are the housing projects that were financed by the government for the growing number of official employees in the capital cities of the region. He added that this period is characterized in Tripoli by the closing gap between the old city that developed prior to the European invasion of the region and the colonial city created by the Europeans. Al Sheikh also noted that most of the southern parts of Riyadh are inhabited by people of nomadic origin. In some parts of the city a whole section is inhabited by immigrants from Yeman, while the eastern part of the old city is occupied by people from the Qassam district north of Riyadh. The houses in the southern and eastern parts of the city are grouped mainly in small village-like clusters and are made from bricks or mud bricks and are one or two stories high. On the other hand, the new residential areas are occupied by members of particular cooperative housing societies. The members of these societies are employees of the government.⁵

Scargill noted that:

. . . the most striking feature of the Middle Eastern city is the close juxtaposition of old and new, of traditional and modern. It is as obvious as the scale of a single street as it is in the contrast between the alleyways and courtyards of the madina and the boulevards and squares, public buildings and apartment blocks of the twentieth-century city.⁶

⁵ Al Sheikh, 1977, p. 82.

⁶ Scargill, p. 229.

Clark and Costello also noted the influence of western styles on the form of the modern city in Iran. The end result of suburban development in the larger Iranian cities has been to create cities which have a dual personality and form what might be called "Western and non-Western parts."⁷ The existence of traditional activities in the modern parts of the Middle Eastern city has been noted by Khalaf and Kongstad's study of the Hamara district of Beirut, a cosmopolitan area of the city which became popular as a place of residence of the middle class following the creation of the American university in 1866. Market analysts, systems engineers, and public relations experts still coexist with the self-employed middle men or traditional brokers in this district.⁸

Costello, in his study of the city of Kashan, Iran, noted that the central business district of Kashan is still, to a large extent, the "commercial heart of the city," where population density is high, but the dwellings are often multi-storied with many rooms. Southwest of the central business district are districts with lower fertility and a more aged population. "It was in these districts that, before moving to the suburbs, many of the houses of wealthy citizens were found, scattered among the houses of humbler sort."⁹

⁷D. B. Clark and V. Costello, "The Urban System and Social Patterns in Iranian Cities," Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers, (1973), No. 59, pp. 99-128.

⁸S. Khalaf and P. Kongstad, "Urbanization and Urbanism in Beirut: Some Preliminary Results," (In): L. C. Brown (ed.), From Madina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern Cities, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1977), p. 107.

⁹V. F. Costello, Urbanization in the Middle East, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 90.

Shiber has pointed out that perhaps the outstanding urban characteristic of Kuwait is the severe contrast between the Old Madina and the new town. The old town is compact, its typical dwelling--the courtyard house, its scale human. "The new town straddles twenty times the old area, its typical dwelling--the house-in-a-lot, its scale that of the very large cars . . . space, cars, villas, highways, etc., replaced the intimate vista, the courtyard, the domain of man. The car became glorified until now it is the urban master."¹⁰

Somewhat similar patterns were noted by Gulick in his study of Baghdad, Iraq:

House style in Baghdad can be simply classified for our purposes. The old style is still characterized by the pre-World War I section of the city . . . For a few years after World War I, as new streets were laid out . . . there were efforts to continue the building of houses in the old style, though with some modification. This was soon relinquished, however, for the detached dwelling built into the corner of walled enclosure containing a yard of sorts or a considerable garden--depending on lot size and the affluence of the builder and occupant. . . . the new housing style then, reflects western influence, greater affluence, the adaptability of better transportation to a less dense pattern and, no doubt, a host of other factors, but retains aspects of closure required by Iraqi insistence on privacy.¹¹

In spite of the similarity of the land-use model of Tripoli to some other urban land-use patterns found in the previously mentioned urban studies of North African and Southwest Asian cities (i.e., the existence of high income

¹⁰G. S. Shiber, "Kuwait: Past, Present, and Future," (In): G. S. Shiber (ed.), Recent Arab City Growth, (Kuwait: Kuwait Government Publication, 1968), p. 313.

¹¹J. Gulick, "Baghdad: Portrait of a City in Physical and Cultural Change," (In): Shiber, pp. 760-779.

residential areas both near the central business district and in the periphery of these cities and the continuing location of lower income residential areas in the periphery of these cities), the recent changes in Tripoli's land-use patterns make the utility of Tripoli's land-use model very limited in explaining and forecasting future urban growth of the Southwest Asian and North African cities. As previously explained, the socialist housing policy recently adopted by the current Libyan government has resulted in the departure of Tripoli from the morphological structure of most Southwest Asian and North African cities. One of the most important of these characteristics which has disappeared from Tripoli is the shanty towns which have been replaced by new high-rise publicly built apartments.

The Model in Relation to Cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America

Studies in Africa. In spite of the noticeable increase in urban studies conducted on African cities south of the Sahara, such studies are still rare and of lower quality than those urban studies conducted on cities in Asia and Latin America. Using Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala as their examples, Soja and Weaver¹² pointed out that these cities grew "as key taproots of colonial exploitation and served as focal points for the economic and political reorganization of East Africa." The cities prominent social-ecological feature was a pronounced racial "compartmentalization" associated with equally striking differences in residential density, infrastructural services and income

¹²E. W. Soja and C. Weaver, "Urbanization and Underdevelopment in East Africa," (In: Berry (ed.), 1976, pp. 233-266.

levels. "The European residential areas occupied the choicest land available: In the high ground north and west of the central business district in Nairobi; along the cool Indian Ocean coast in Dar es Salaam; and atop the attractive unoccupied hills of Kampula."

Since independence there have been some notable changes in the former colonial capitals of East Africa. An "increasing number of the African elite have been able to penetrate the high income areas as overt racial restrictions were removed and wealth emerged more clearly as the most important determinant of residential choice."¹³ At the same time, squatter settlements have been increased and older ones expanded within the older city and around the expanded industrial estates; "housing shortages and unemployment within non-elite African populations have magnified to unparalleled levels."¹⁴

McNulty noted that the urban system of West Africa reflects the influence of several forces which in the past, as well as in the present, have affected both the relationship between cities and the internal structure of land use. "These influences derive from (1) the indigenous cultural system, (2) the impact of colonialism, and (3) the drive to national independence."¹⁵

Brand has discussed the colonial impact upon Accra, Ghana, and shows that it has a great impact upon the land-use structure.

Contemporary Accra is the product of a century of contact and interaction between indigenous and colonial economic systems. However, the urban landscape reflects more evidence of the persistence of colonial forms of organization than it does the accommodation or parallel developments of the two systems. Traditional life styles and pre-industrial modes of occupancy are still apparent

¹³Ibid., p. 251

¹⁴Ibid., p. 252

¹⁵M. McNulty, "West African Urbanization," (In): Berry (ed.), 1976, p. 216.

in parts of central Accra and in the vast stranger communities on the periphery; but, on the whole, the evidence confirms the crystallization of ecological structure and patterns dominated by exogeneous norms and institutions.¹⁶

According to Onokerhorage, Benin town incorporates elements of pre-industrial and Western industrial models. The continued location of some high income population near the central business district gives the city strong pre-industrial characteristics; but, at the same time, some spatial features of Western models are displayed by the concentration of a large proportion of the high-income population or what he calls "modern elite" in the southwestern suburbs of the town. The northwestern, northeastern, eastern, and southeastern suburbs of the town are predominantly inhabited by a middle-income group.¹⁷

Studies in Asia. Urban studies conducted on cities in Asia, especially Southeast Asian cities, are more plentiful than those conducted on Southwest Asian and African cities in general, possibly because problems of the Southeast Asian population explosion, the ramifications and implications of accelerated urbanization in these countries have increasingly attracted scholarly attention. One of the recent reviews of Southeast Asian urbanization has been edited by Yeung and Lo.¹⁸

¹⁶R. Brand, "The Spatial Organization of Residential Areas in Accra, Ghana, with Particular Reference to Aspects of Modernization," Economic Geography, (1975), 48: 285.

¹⁷A. G. Onokerhorage, "The Spatial Patterns of Residential Districts in Benin, Nigeria," Urban Studies, (1977), 14: 299.

¹⁸Y. M. Yeung and C. O. Lo, (eds.), Changing Southeast Asian Cities: Readings on Urbanization, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Fryer pointed out that with the exception of Hanoi, all the great cities (in Southeast Asia) were founded by Europeans. These great cities were planned urban developments and traces of the original layouts can still be seen in the older core.

Close to the harbor, on eminences safe from flooding, was the administrative and European quarter; grouped around were the quarters of other alien groups—Chinese, Indians, or Arabs—each under the control of a headman or Kapitan. Beyond the city were the Kumpungs or barrios of the indigenous population, which, as the city spread, were gradually engulfed and eventually converted to other uses . . . in-migration from the rural areas and the development of indigenous unplanned settlements thwarted the planner's intention. . . . The old European quarters have long been abandoned in favor of more spacious and salubrious suburbs, but the Chinese quarter has frequently persisted.¹⁹

Hollnsteiner, in his study of Manila, noted the continuous movement of the population of the city from one part to another, in particular the outward movement from the old colonial city.²⁰

With the departure of the middle class from the inner city, largely the poor remained behind. The few loyal, old time elite who also chose to remain in the city find neighboring buildings converted to commercial uses and daily confront the new faces of the floating urban poor. . . . The pre-war suburbs have become the sites of lower- and lower-middle class concentration in post-war days; the outskirts, a lower-middle class area during the Spanish times, now accommodated upper-class families looking for open spaces.²¹

¹⁹D. W. Fryer, "Cities of Southeast Asia and Their Problems," *Focus*, (1972), 12: 1-8. (also republished in Changing Southeast Asian Cities, Y. M. Yeung and C. P. Lo (eds.), 1976, pp. 8-12).

²⁰M. R. Hollnsteiner, "Urbanization of Metropolitan Manila," (In): Yeung and Lo, (eds.), (1967), pp. 174-184.

²¹Ibid., p. 177

According to Yeung, one of the important features of contemporary Southeast Asian cities pertains to the social and economic structure inherited from the colonial period. The urban population in most states is ethnically diverse, with varying proportions of alien Asians, notably Chinese and Indian. Another inherited feature is the dualistic economy, differentiated into a modern and traditional sector or a firm type of sector and bazaar-type of sector with little functional interaction between them.²²

Using New Delhi as his example, King contended that the physical spatial characteristics of the colonial city to a greater or lesser extent remained. "One of these is the fundamental distinction between its various parts particularly between that of what was once the 'colonial settlement' and the indigenous city."²³ King also added that, in the immediate post-independence period, despite modifications, in most cities the basic pattern has often remained.

As a result of the initial structuring of inequalities, whether in terms of housing, services, or spatial standards, newcomers to the city reinforced the old structural patterns. . . . On the other hand, new elite flow into the expanded area of the old colonial settlement. The wealthy leave the old city to take up residence in the new.²⁴

Gossette's recent study of the social ecology of Taichung, Taiwan, shows that the city bears certain resemblances to ecologies found in both Western and Third World cities. The location of high status residential areas near the central business district is a feature commonly associated with Third

²²Y. Yeung, "Southeast Asian Cities: Patterns of Growth and Transformation," (In): B. J. Berry (ed.), (1976), p. 288.

²³King, p. 282-283.

²⁴Ibid.

World cities. Low status residential areas with a high concentration of squatter settlements are found in Taichung, both in relatively central locations where earlier drainage canals provide space to erect structures free from competition and taxation, and in peripheral areas on agricultural marginal land.²⁵

Another study of Taiwan has been conducted recently on the spatial structure of Taipei. The author discovered that the upper and middle class communities either occupy the fringes of the central business district, or form small neighborhoods along the major arteries in the inner part of the city. The periphery of the city is occupied by "rural" type, low economic status, and single adult communities.²⁶

Studies in Latin America Although urban studies concerning Third World cities have been developed since 1960, Latin American urban studies are more plentiful than urban studies in Africa and Southwest Asia or even in Southeast Asia. This may be related to the fact that urbanization has progressed more rapidly in Latin America than in either Africa or Asia.

According to Conkling and McConnell:

The forces contributing to urban growth and change in Central America are much the same as those operating in other developing countries except for certain elements unique to the Isthmian region. In addition to their distinctive blends of Iberian and native

²⁵E. F. Gossett, "Social Ecology in a Contemporary City: Taichung, Taiwan," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Los Angeles, California: University of California, 1980), p. 78.

²⁶Y. Hsu, "Intra-Urban Movement and Spatial Structure in a Developing Economy: A Case Study of Taipei," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia, 1980), p. 94.

American culture, the countries of Central America bear the imprint of numerous accidents of history and physical geography.²⁷

Using Guatemala City as their example of one of the largest cities in Central America, Conkling and McConnell pointed out that many high income people continue to live in separate quarters near the core.

. . . and low income housing spreads outward to the city margins. Nevertheless, the rising incomes of the expanding middle class and flood of rural in-migrants have brought important changes to the residential patterns. Unlike North American cities, central population densities remain high in the Central American metropolis. Those families recently added to the urban population must therefore form new communities along the periphery.²⁸

In a recent study, Tupper has discussed the land-use change, specifically the spatial patterning of residential land-use in Santo Domingo over a 27-year period (1947-1974).²⁹ He concludes that the city, entering the early stage of industrialization accompanied by extensive urbanization, exhibits a sectorial pattern of land-use change. He added that the single example of a zone was found for high-income residential areas that had aggregated at what had been the urban fringe about 1948:

. . . before the inception of the present phase of modernization. A general absence of filtering, little suburbanization, and extensive marginal housing at the city's edge are evidence that this Caribbean capital departs from the morphological patterns identified for Anglo-American cities of comparable size and importance.³⁰

²⁷ E. C. Conkling and J. E. McConnell, "Dynamics of Urbanization in the Central American Common Market," (In: B. J. Berry (ed.), (1976), p. 267.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 294.

²⁹ M. H. Tupper, "Urban Morphological Theory and Spatial Differentiation in a Caribbean City: Residential Land Use From 1948 to 1975 in Santo Domingo, the Dominican," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1970), p. 160.

³⁰ Ibid.

Baker's study is considered to be one of the longest and most comprehensive studies concerned with the land-use patterns of Mexican cities.³¹ His model shows that the Mexican city "faithfully mirrors the socio-economic transition of the entire nation in that its internal land-use patterns are a composite of pre-industrial, transitional, and industrial elements and processes." The author postulated that a dual city might be developed in the future, but its creation would depend upon:

... a sector of affluent residential neighborhoods supporting their own high quality shopping centers, schools, social clubs, recreation centers and other cultural institutions. The separation from the surroundings masses of economically lower class citizens would be socio-economic and not ethnic as it was in India during the British rule.³²

From the above discussion on land-use patterns of Third World cities, one may conclude that the applicability of Tripoli land-use model to other cities in the Third World non-socialist countries is very limited because of the disappearance, as previously mentioned, of the common residential land-use phenomena of most Third World cities, i.e., the squatter settlements or shanty towns which resulted in significant reduction in residential segregation in terms of housing opportunities.

The Model in Relation to Third World Socialist Cities

The term "Third World Socialist City" refers to the socio-economic fabric of cities in the Third World socialist countries as exemplified by cities

³¹Baker, 1970, p. 301.

³²Ibid., pp. 312-313.

in Libya, South Yeman, Singapore, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and Cuba.³³ In these cities, communist or socialist ideology has altered the urban structure to a point where it shows some difference from those found in cities in Third World non-socialist countries.

Third World socialist cities and their differences from and similarities to other cities in the Third World non-socialist countries have been almost completely ignored. The urgent need to investigate the spatial structures of such cities has been mentioned by Frensh and Ian Hamilton (1979). They pointed out that "There is no doubt, however, that they (Third World socialist cities) offer examples of yet other forms of socialist cities—perhaps from the viewpoint of developing world-forms more acutely in need of investigation than those examined here,"³⁴ (industrial socialist cities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe).

One of the few and most interesting studies conducted on what may be called Third World socialist cities in non-communist countries was McGee's study.³⁵ According to McGee:

³³It should be noted here that despite the fact that some Third World countries claimed a socialist political system, such as Tunisia, the governmental elite and the "small, Western-educated groups indulge an expensive exercise in the pseudo-investment of nationalism aimed at establishing and holding the custody of their states," (McGee, 1976, p. 161). The majority of the urban population remained involved in the family-based activities of the bazaar sector, living either in the crowded slum area of the Old Madina or in the expanded squatter settlements in the periphery of the city, and this inhibits the social change which might aid the progress of economic growth.

³⁴Frensh and Ian Hamilton, (1979).

³⁵T. McGee, "Beach-Heads and Enclaves: The Urban Debate and the Urbanization Process in Southeast Asia," (In): Yeung and Lo, (1976), pp. 60-75.

In 1960, the city of Singapore revealed many of the features of Southeast Asian cities of the 1950s. . . . The majority of the population was concentrated in the crowded, dense tenements close to the central core of the city or in the squatter settlements in the interstices of the inner city or the fringes of the city.³⁶

In 1969 Singapore was undergoing a rapid transformation. Many of the squatter settlements were demolished and their inhabitants re-housed in new, high-rise apartments built by the Housing Development Board. According to Yeung,³⁷ "This housing, located in an arc around the periphery of the old city, has added an entirely new element to the morphology of the city." Another attempt has been made by Lo to investigate the residential structure of one of the Third World socialist cities in non-communist countries in his study of Hong Kong. Lo noted an important aspect that emerges from the Hong Kong urban pattern—the high class residential districts. "This high class residential zone is determined by elevations that vertical dimension correlates positively with economic status. It appears to be very near to the central business district but in reality is quite aloof."³⁸

Despite the scarcity of data on Third World cities, especially those within the communist countries, it is the author's speculation that there are both similarities and differences among them. Three types of Third World socialist cities can be found. First, the Third World capital-rich socialist city:

³⁶Ibid., pg. 64.

³⁷Y. M. Yeung, "The Marketing System in Singapore," (In): Yeung and Lo, (1976), p. 153.

³⁸C. P. Lo, "A Typology of Hong Kong Census District: A Study in Urban Structure," Journal of Tropical Geography, (1972), 34:24.

Tripoli, Libya, may represent this first category, wherein oil revenues have offered a strong economic base for its economic development. Second, the Third World capital-poor city: Havana, Cuba, and Adan, South Yeman, may represent this category. Their economy is mostly dependent on poor agricultural land and foreign aid (mainly from socialist countries, i.e., USSR). Third, the Third World rich-socialist city in non-communist countries which has for a long time been ruled by a socialist local government. Singapore and Hong Kong may represent this third category.

The similarity between the first and third categories of Third World socialist cities can be found in the complete disappearance of the squatter settlements, which are considered to be one of the major elements of the residential structure of most Third World non-socialist cities and their replacement by publicly built apartments. However, one major difference between the first and third categories is their economic systems. In Tripoli, the free market economy has almost disappeared; whereas, urban lands, as well as private commercial and industrial activities, have been confiscated by the government and replaced by public urban land and public commercial and industrial activities. In the Third World socialist city under non-communist governments, such as Singapore, the free market is still its main economic system. Furthermore, the city's economy is heavily dependent on local and international private trade and industry. There are also some differences and similarities between the first type (Tripoli) and the second type (Havana) of Third World socialist cities. Despite the obvious reduction in the number and expansion of the squatter settlements in the second type of Third World socialist city, their poor economy did not allow the complete disappearance of

the squatter settlements from their residential land-use patterns. Further, public transportation is the most dominant type in the second type of Third World socialist city; whereas in Tripoli, a private type of transportation is dominant, and the rate of car ownership is much higher than in the second type of Third World socialist city. Finally, city growth in the second type of Third World socialist cities has not been associated with a fast enough rate of economic growth to absorb the rapidly increasing population of these cities in their labor market. In contrast, Tripoli's growth has been associated with a rate of economic development which is fast enough not only to absorb the rapidly increasing population of the city into its labor market but also to absorb some of the labor force from other Third World cities.

Conclusion and Further Research

What may one conclude about Tripoli now and in the future? The first five chapters of this study review the historical development of Tripoli. In the sixth chapter the factorial ecology of Tripoli has been analyzed. In the seventh chapter an attempt is made to create a geographical model which explains the contemporary urban land use patterns of the city of Tripoli.

It has been found that the city passed through several stages of urban transformation, from a pre-industrial to a colonial stage, then to an industrial stage, and finally, to a socialist city stage. The author's argument has been that land-use models of Western cities cannot be usefully applied to the contemporary urban land-use patterns found in Tripoli. It has also been pointed out that it is nearly impossible to understand Tripoli's urban land-use patterns without reference to the particular historical development of the

city and the consequent impact of past development on the present structure of the city. It has been necessary, therefore, to review the historical development of the city to illustrate the particular array of forces, namely economic, political, and social, which set the stage for the development of Tripoli.

Prior to 1969, there were inequalities not only in Tripoli but also in all Libyan cities in terms of urban land ownership, which in turn reflect the patterns of residential segregation between the have's and the have-not's. Some parts of the city, especially its periphery where the affluent lived, were characterized by planned high income residential areas. Because of the rapid population growth during the 1960s, which came primarily as a result of a high birth rate, a decline in the death rate and an increase in numbers of in-migrants from the backwards areas, the Old Madina and the expanded shanty towns in the periphery of the city were characterized by high population density, lower income groups, poor sanitation and sometimes the absence of electricity. The period of the 1970s was one of both urban and economic growth for Tripoli. El-Shakhs pointed out that about one-half of Tripoli's urban growth occurred between 1969 and 1975.³⁹ The socialist revolution of 1969 and the ideology of its leader, Kaddafi, had a great impact on the city's spatial structure.

During the period from 1969 to 1982, Tripoli entered the stage of what may be called a "socialist type city." The confiscation of urban lands by the government and their allocation to individuals, the decline of the shopping and

³⁹S. El-Shakhs, "Urbanization and Spatial Development in Libya," Pan-African Journal, (1975), 6:371.

office function of the central business district, the reduction in residential segregation in terms of housing opportunities by providing low income shanty town dwellers with free publicly built high-rise apartments, and public commercial activities as well as the public industrial activities, all of these have been judged to be characteristics of a socialist city.

The general statements about the future land use patterns in Tripoli should be used with some degree of caution due to the political instability not only in Libya but also in all Southwest Asian and North African states. First, it is the author's speculation that Tripoli's population growth will continue but at a lower annual rate than at present.

Using the continuous compounding method of population projection, Tripoli's natural population growth has been estimated to be 3.7 percent per year in 1973. It has also been estimated that Tripoli will double its population by 1991; in other words, Tripoli will have a population of about 1,100,000 in 1991.⁴⁰

In spite of several factors which, in theory, are expected to lower the fertility rate, such as increased education, increased female participation in the labor force, improved living conditions, and other aspects of socio-economic development which are related to lower fertility rates, the natural

⁴⁰ Tripoli's population estimation has been obtained by applying the so-called continuous compounding equation as follows:

$$P_t = P_0 e^{rt}$$

where P_t is estimated population in 1991, P_0 is the population of the city in 1973, r is the rate of growth, and e is the base of natural system of progression.

For more information about population see: E. G. Stockwell (ed.), The Method and Materials of Demography, (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 497-482.

population growth does not seem to be decreasing. However, migration from the rural areas to the city will hopefully decrease because of the attempts of the Libyan government to improve rural life and to keep the population on the land through the establishment of agricultural reclamation projects which have already met with some degree of success. In the Garaboli agricultural project, located about forty kilometers east of Tripoli, the reclamation of unused agricultural land and its subdivision into small farms and the distribution of these new farms among the semi-nomadic people in that area, followed by the establishment of the rural village with complete amenities, such as primary school, mosque, health center, and small market, all give a good example of the current government's efforts to reduce the pressure of rural migration on large cities such as Tripoli. Furthermore, the call for diversification of the economy, recent national plans for the creation of new middle size cities, and the encouragement of growth in those already established may reduce the immigration pressures on Tripoli.⁴¹

According to the Five-Year Plan (1980-1985), six middle sized cities will be established in different parts of the country with complete urban amenities (such as electricity, sewage system, water, cinema, hospital, schools and recreation areas). These six cities are: Zantan, Gwarsha, Sarer, Wasat, Brega, and Ras lanof. The first three cities are located in the southwestern part of Libya; whereas, the remaining three cities are located on the coast-line. Both Brega and Ras lanof are oil port cities. About 3,000 housing units

⁴¹The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiryia, Secretariat of Housing, Five-Year Plan for the Housing Sector: 1980-1985, (Tripoli: Government Printing Office, July 1980), p. 10.

will be constructed at Brega City to house the oil workers and faculty, staff, and other employees of the newly established technical university of Brega. Also, some 3,000 housing units with complete amenities are expected to be completed in 1985 in Wasat, Ras lanof, Gwarsha, Zentan, and Sarer Cities.

The establishment of a new steel plant at Misrata, the cement plant at El Khums, the new oil refinery at Zawia, and the huge complex of the chemical industry at Zwara, are all indicators of spreading the benefits of socialism through removing regional inequalities and fostering the urban-industrialization of traditionally backward regions.

Second, the socialist city type of residential, commercial, and industrial land use will continue and may dominate the land-use patterns not only in Tripoli but in all Libyan cities.

In summary, evidence gathered during preparation of this study permits the author to state that classical models of both Third World and Western city development are rather too simplified to describe adequately the reality of Tripoli's spatial structure. The present stage of research allows the author to conclude that Tripoli in 1982 had a complex spatial structure. This spatial structure probably reflects a city still in a transitional stage and results from imposition of a new structure upon an old one. Despite the recent elimination of private property and the attempts by the current government to create a classless society, the operation of economic factors cannot be completely ignored in modifying and replacing the spatial structure already formed. The recent socialist policy adopted by the Libyan government eliminates residential segregation by providing low income dwellers with publicly built apartments, as well as by the confiscation of private urban land and its allocation

to individuals. Such a policy allows the author to assume, however, that the complex spatial structure of Tripoli probably will become stabilized, resulting in a structure which may be described as that of an affluent Third World socialist city.

When information becomes available, it will be interesting to compare Tripoli's land-use patterns with those of what may be called Third World socialist cities in communist countries.

APPENDIX A

**QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE SURVEY OF TRIPOLI'S MAHALLAS:
ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND ARABIC ORIGINAL**

APPENDIX A

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Geography Department

Faculty of Education

El Fath University

P. O. Box 13499

Tripoli, Libya

Survey of Tripoli's Mahallas

No. of Questionnaires _____

Street _____

Mahalla _____

Branch of Municipality _____

Interviewer's Name _____

SURVEY OF TRIPOLI'S MAHALLAS

1. How many years have you been living in this place of residence?
Number of years _____
2. Did you have a previous place of residence in Tripoli?
Yes _____
No _____
3. Did you own or rent this place of residence?
(If owned) How much do you evaluate this place of residence in
Libyan Dinnares? _____
(If rental) How much do you pay for monthly rent in Libyan
Dinnares? _____
4. How many rooms in this place of residence?
Number of rooms _____
5. What kind of facilities do you have in this place of residence?
Arab Bath _____ European Bath _____ Water _____
Hot Water _____ Electricity _____ Telephone _____
T.V. _____ Video _____
6. How old is this place of residence?
Number of years _____

7. In general, what is your degree of satisfaction with this neighborhood?

1 - Satisfied_____ 2 - Very Satisfied_____ 3 - Not Sure_____

4 - Not Satisfied_____ 5 - Not Satisfied at all_____

8. What kind of transportation do you use?

1 - Private Car_____ 2 - Bus_____ 3 - Taxi_____ 4 - Other_____

9. What kind of information did you use in searching for this place of residence?

1 - Relatives and Friends_____

2 - Others_____

10. What is the birthplace of the household head?

Born outside Tripoli in_____

(ask questions 11, 12, 13, and 14.)

Born inside Tripoli_____ (ask question 14)

11. When did the household head move to Tripoli?

Year_____

12. Why did the household head move to Tripoli?

1 - Economic reasons_____

2 - Education reason_____

3 - Social Reason_____

13. With whom did the household head live when he/she moved to Tripoli?

1 - Private house_____

2 - With relations_____

3 - With friends_____

14. Please state the age, sex, marital status, occupation, occupational rank, and the education level of each member of the household (use Table 1).

15. Type of housing unit:

1 - Arab courtyard house_____

2 - Flat_____

3 - Villa_____

4 - Others_____

16. Interview completed: hour____, day____, month____, 1982.

TABLE I

Member of Household	Age	Sex	Married	Single	Divorced	Widow	Occupation and Rank	Unemployed	Student	Education Level
1-Head of Household										
2-										
3-										
4-										
5-										
6-										
7-										
8-										
9-										
10-										

الجامعة العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية
جامعة الفاتح - كلية التربية
صوب ١٣٤٩٩ طرابلس

دراسة احيا" مدينة طرابلس

اسم الباحث : محمود محمد الجليلي
اسم الشارع : البلدية
اسم المحلة : الحاج محمد الجليلي
اسم الفرع البلدي : طرابلس الحرة

_____ התאחדות העובדים התאחדות העובדים
 1 - התאחדות העובדים

_____ התאחדות העובדים התאחדות העובדים
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 3 - התאחדות העובדים

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 1 - התאחדות העובדים

31

21

21

11

• 1

45

6 -

Y-

人

١٥ - نوع الكفن من قبل عريس س افرنجى — شقة — فيلا — نوع اخر
الذكره .

١٦ - تمت المداينة عند الساعة ٤ - يوم المحرم التاريخ ١٥ / ١٠ / ١٩٨٢ م .

جدول 3
-4-

الترادف الاسرة	العمر	الجنس ذكر او انثى	متزوج	انثى	مطلق	ارمل	الوظيفة فيها	مطل	طالب	السنين الدراسية
(١) رئيس العائلة	٤٦	ذكر	—				مدرس			—
(٢) الابنة	٣٦	انثى	—				معلمة			—
(٣) الابن	٣٥	ذكر		—			معلم			دبلوم تجارة
(٤) ابنة	١٢	انثى		—						ثانوية خراسان
(٥) ابنة	١٦	انثى		—					—	ثانوية خراسان
(٦) ابنة	١٥	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٧) ابنة	١٤	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٨) ابنة	١٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٩) ابنة	١٢	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٠) ابنة	١٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١١) ابنة	٩	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٢) ابنة	٨	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٣) ابنة	٧	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٤) ابنة	٦	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٥) ابنة	٥	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٦) ابنة	٤	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٧) ابنة	٣	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٨) ابنة	٢	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(١٩) ابنة	١	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٠) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢١) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٢) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٣) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٤) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٥) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٦) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٧) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٨) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٢٩) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٠) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣١) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٢) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٣) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٤) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٥) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٦) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٧) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٨) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٣٩) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٠) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤١) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٢) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٣) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٤) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٥) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٦) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٧) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٨) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٤٩) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية
(٥٠) ابنة	٠	انثى		—					—	المرحلة الثانوية

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