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through the neo-Malthusians and up to the new broader perspectives as reflected in the World Population Plan of Action, which was adopted by the 1974 Bucharest Conference. The major changes introduced in the theory are presented, namely the shift from rates to distribution, the redefinition of development and its barriers and revisions in the theories of migration. The study concludes by applying change in theory to conditions in the Arab world, highlighting uneven population distribution and unorganized migration of workers in the Arab world. It further emphasizes the promising potential for development in the region embodied in both its human and capital resources. It advocates an approach involving Arab common policies and action for the solution of many of the problems and for a better Arab world.

✓ Ali Faour. Population Movements and Prospects for Development in South Lebanon

This study aims at clarifying the relationship between population movements and planning for regional development in South Lebanon. It includes an account of these movements, their different paths and destinations and the causes that led to both voluntary and forced emigration from the South, which has suffered from the deterioration of its natural resources and lost a large proportion of its human resources. The study analyses the repercussions of these movements on the condition of the inhabitants in this region. It aims at focussing attention on the magnitude of the emigration phenomena with a view to arresting the trend and its ensuing dangers.

It is expected that this study will help in formulating a population policy that will ensure development programmes for the deprived areas in Lebanon, especially in South Lebanon, which has been almost emptied of its people as is apparent from the

findings of the field studies. There is an urgent need for an overall integrated development programme in the South, with special emphasis on development of poor rural areas and small villages.

Mostafa El-Shalakani. Level and Pattern of Mortality in the Kuwaiti Population, 1980.

Vital registration data together with 1980 census data were used for assessing the mortality level among the Kuwaiti male and female population in 1980. Under the eclectic approach adopted in this paper, mortality estimates for different sections of age-spans are derived through various indirect techniques. For early childhood mortality estimates, the method developed by Brass utilizing data on children born and dead by age of women collected in the 1980 census has been employed, whereas, for old age, mortality estimates are derived through Coale's method. The estimates of mortality thus derived are evaluated before being fitted together and graduated for constructing the life-table depicting the overall mortality in 1980. The results show that, as in the developed societies, Kuwaiti females have lower mortality compared with Kuwaiti males. The expectation of life at birth in 1980 was 66.80 years for Kuwaiti males, and 71.23 years for Kuwaiti females.

Fauzi Gomah Torki. Occupational Mobility of Primary Male Migrants to Urban Areas in Egypt

This study has used the results of the 1979 sample survey in Egypt to show that rural to urban male migrants in 1979 have achieved relatively more steps towards upwards occupational mobility than urban to urban male migrants, as compared with the situation at origin (before migration). The age composition,

Action: Report of the Secretary-General", (E/CONF.76/PC/10, 2 December 1983); and the Various "Recommendations of the Expert Group on Fertility and Family" (E/CONF/76/PC/6, 25 July 1983), "Recommendations of the Expert Group on Population Distributions, Migration and Development" (E/CONF.76/PC/7, 27 July 1983), "Recommendations of the Expert Group on Population, Resources, Environment and Development", (E/CONF.76/PC/8, 17 November 1983), and "Recommendations of the Expert Group on Mortality and Health Policy", (E/CONF, 76/PC/9, September 8, 1983).

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POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH LEBANON

Ali Faour *

Introduction

For many years, South Lebanon has been the scene of large scale population movements. These are reflected in three trends, namely rural migration (especially in the agricultural sector), emigration to foreign countries and forced mass migration. The last trend is increasing in both significance and size (Faour 1981c), not only because the South is becoming increasingly unsafe and living conditions there are extremely precarious, but also because of declining economic activity coupled with the uneasiness of the inhabitants as to their future. Years of war since 1975 and Israeli aggressions against the South, which have resulted in complete control over its material and human resources have demonstrated that the South has survived only because of the strong attachment of its people to their land. Despite all the efforts to dislodge them, they have remained on their land. Yet although South Lebanon has suffered from neglect and deprivation ever since Lebanon's independence, it is still not receiving its fair share of development projects on the pretext that local security is precarious.

This study focuses essentially on the link between migratory movements and development planning in the South of Lebanon. The region's potential in natural and human resources has been eroded by neglect and South Lebanon has recently become an exporter of manpower relying for existence and survival upon the efforts of

* Original Arabic

its emigrants and the money they earn abroad. The formulation of a development policy for the South of Lebanon must be incorporated into an integrated plan, the first stage of which would consist of a study of all the various aspects of the demographic situation. This would provide a basis for the identification of the main trends in migratory movements which, in turn would make it possible to analyze the repercussions of such trends on the demographic situation. Such a study should be conducted with a view to formulating detailed programmes designed to rectify trends and reduce the extent of prospective problems to which they are likely to give rise.

The sort of development needed in South Lebanon is one which requires precise knowledge of prevailing demographic, economic and social conditions, particularly knowledge about the different population distribution patterns. Such development must be integrated, comprehensive and primarily people-oriented i.e. to the solution of problems confronted by them as well as to the satisfaction of their basic needs. Moreover, it must be understood, that integrated development at the local level is envisaged as an integral part of national development in Lebanon. Furthermore in South Lebanon, the main emphasis should be placed on rural development which is not only a weak point but also a basic area of development without which no real and successful development can take place.

Although the study of migratory movements is crucially important in planning, such studies are bound to present difficulties in Lebanon, and even more so in the South, owing to rapid changes in the situation and general instability. The present stage in the history of South Lebanon is likely to have far reaching and complex consequences because the current situation is prompting many indigenous inhabitants to emigrate to

other countries, leaving behind them sparsely populated towns and villages whose fate continues to depend on political vicissitudes and strife.

In most parts of the South deprivation is the main cause of emigration, particularly in poor rural areas foresaken for years by the Central Government. In addition landlords, associated with various political pressure groups, strive to maintain hegemony and control to the detriment of the poor classes whom they are supposed to represent but who are left to solve their own problems. In this context, emigration, and particularly that of workers seems to offer the only means of escape from the trap of deprivation, towards better living conditions.

At this point, attention should be drawn to the paucity of statistical data which provides the essential basis for both planning and formulation of development programmes. There has been no population census in Lebanon for nearly half a century and especially in the South it is still impossible to collect precise and detailed data on either internal or external migratory movements. In addition, recent events have led to the almost total break-down of the statistical machinery of certain government agencies and, information concerning the population can no longer be given the coverage it deserves (Faour 1981a).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that there have been many attempts to remedy the acute shortage of population statistical data (particularly in respect of distribution in the various regions of Lebanon, migration and emigration). These include development studies (such as the study by the Erfid Mission, 1959-1960, and the 1972-1977 Six Year Plan) and a number of demographic surveys (Economic and social) carried out on

samples of the population in 1964, 1970 and 1971 (Faour 1981a). Yet, although such sample surveys are useful in that they provide a reflection of the population as a whole in a given period, it cannot possibly provide accurate and detailed information. Moreover, the relevance of such work is lost with the passing of time and it cannot provide a sufficient basis for the formulation of development programmes and plans.

In order to explain the migratory movements currently taking place in South Lebanon and the interaction between such movements and possible development activities in the area, this study examines migratory movements in South Lebanon in the light of available data and focussing on the following three points:

First, the identification of the main trends in migratory movements in South Lebanon on the basis of their distinctive features, and of past and present migratory patterns,

Second, an analysis of the repercussions of such movements on the demographic situation with particular reference to their relation to development,

Third, the presentation of a number of proposals that could be adopted in the planning for integrated development projects at the governorate and village levels.

I. Main Trends in Migratory Movements in South Lebanon

Migratory movements in South Lebanon fall into two distinct categories, namely emigration to foreign countries and migration to other regions of Lebanon. These movements are briefly examined below.

Emigration from Lebanon

Emigration from Lebanon began long ago. It took various forms and proceeded intermittently in response to changes in the social and economic situation in South Lebanon. Emigrants departed for more or less distant lands at various stages in history and a distinction can be drawn between the "early migrations" which took place in the latter quarter of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century and, the "recent migrations" which took place in the second half of the 20th century.

The dividing line between these sparsely intermittent migratory movements is accepted to be 1950. This division is an approximation based upon the historical developments in the region and the geographical situation of South Lebanon.

A. Early Emigrations

Early emigration began in the 19th century and continued at intervals with fluctuating intensity. Emigrants headed for various destinations, near and far, which were usually unknown to them. However, their destinations could be subsumed under the following three headings:

1. Emigration to the New World

South Lebanon experienced intensive emigration to the New World as of approximately one century ago, and more specifically, in the last quarter of the 19th century (at the time of the Mutasarrifiya) when the first wave of emigrants set out. At that time, emigration was difficult and fraught with danger. Indeed, most of these emigrants did not know what they were heading for; they were the first pioneers to the New World.

Subsequently precocious industrial development and abundant natural resources in North America (particularly in the United States) and, later in Latin America (Brazil, Argentina) gave rise to a specific and growing need for manpower. In this respect, emigrants from Lebanon as well as other countries met the needs of the New World. This wave of emigration swept over most parts of South Lebanon. Many left for want of a means of subsistence at a time of widespread famine and devastating epidemics compounded with the economic decay of the region under Turkish Rule. By contrast, news from abroad brought reports of rapidly acquired wealth, ample job opportunities and rising wages in the West.

Characteristically, this migration was one of "individuals", consisting of young, unskilled workers who were prepared to assume the risks of a quest for a new livelihood to escape the compulsory military conscription imposed by the Turks. However, this tide of migration soon began to ebb, gradually, because of the lack of news from emigrants owing to the long distances and difficult communication. Indeed, the registries of most South Lebanese towns and villages are replete with the names of emigrants to America from whom nothing was heard after they settled there and broke off their family ties.

2. Emigration to West Africa

The vanguard of the second migration left South Lebanon in the aftermath of the First World War. The majority of these emigrants headed for Africa and more specifically to the West African States (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Abidjan, Ghana, Nigeria, etc) which were still under colonial rule. These countries encouraged immigration and granted extensive facilities to new arrivals to meet their need for manpower. Most Lebanese emigrants

found employment in the services and trade sectors, especially in the precious metal trade. They distinguished themselves in various areas of economic activity while at the same time they maintained ties with their native country, thereby contributing to the development of rural areas and the edification of villages in South Lebanon.

The bulk of the emigrants were from Nabatiyya, Al-Khiyam, Bint Jbeil, Tyre, Qana, and Jwayya. A large number of small villages were also drained of their inhabitants. This emigration reached a climax in the 1930s when remittances received by the relatives of emigrants were accompanied by reports of quick profits, tales of successful young adventurers and prosperity. Very few southern towns or villages were unaffected by this emigration and entire families left to join expatriate relatives.

However, the situation changed when most of the West African Countries had gained independence and began to make plans to control their own resources. In the process, they enacted legislation regulating the activities and movements of immigrants and restricted further immigration. The migration consequently lost momentum and, most of those who had emigrated earlier returned to invest their earnings in Lebanon.

3. Emigration to Neighbouring Arab Countries

Emigration to these countries was the result of an overflow of manpower from South Lebanon into regions of Palestine, Syria and Jordan. Palestine was the main recipient of such emigration from South Lebanon especially at the time of the British mandate when vigorous economic growth was fuelled by the inflow of Jewish capital from all parts of the world and, demand for manpower consequently increased (such as for dockers in the sea-ports of Akka, Haifa and Jafa or workers on Jewish plantations or the northern agricultural plains bordering on South Lebanon).

The districts most affected by this migration were Marjayun, Tyre and Bint Jbeil all of which are close to the border with Palestine. This trend can be attributed to a combination of proximity, convenient commuter transport and the stimulation of the migratory movement itself, particularly through the extension of facilities to workers commuting across the border.

This migration was concomitant with acute economic and social crisis affecting parts of South Lebanon. Indeed, the movement gathered momentum after the outbreak of the First World War because of widespread epidemics (such as the Plague), famine and the compulsory military service imposed by the Turks. This migration had reached its climax by 1920. However, it was not restricted to the families which had emigrated to Palestinian towns but also comprised emigration to towns in Jordan (Irbid, Az-zarqa and Ar-ramtha) and to Huran in Syria.

The migration continued in successive waves until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and the closure of the southern border with Palestine, which isolated South Lebanon from the rest of the world*. Its isolation was reinforced by the closure of both the inland road to Syria (from Al-Khiyam to Al-Kuneitra) and the coastal road to Palestine as well as by the decommissioning of the railway which connected the southern coastal towns to North Africa via Palestine. These developments paralyzed commercial activity in the landlocked towns along the Palestinian border and, caused them to turn to Beirut which became their main outlet to Syria, via the Beirut-Damascus highway, and the rest of the world.

* Except for a few families that preferred to settle permanently in Palestine, most of the emigrants returned to Lebanon.

B. Recent Migrations

Emigration from South Lebanon began to take on a new dimension as of the second half of this century. Following the closure of the southern borders with Palestine, it was rechanneled towards the Gulf States, particularly after the discovery of their vast oil reserves which stimulated physical development and general economic growth and, consequently gave rise to a need for additional manpower in various sectors of the economy.

Early migrations from South Lebanon have been difficult to quantify on the basis of available information, because of the poor recollections of the emigrants themselves and the inaccuracy of historical sources. However, the recent migrations which took place during the past thirty years can quite feasibly be gauged on the basis of field studies. The findings of a number of such studies covering various parts of South Lebanon are presented below:

1. A field study (Atwy 1979) conducted on 1801 migrants (from Qana, Hanawaya, Saddikin) in the Qana area of the district of Tyre, indicated that approximately only 13 per cent of the emigrants had left before 1948, whereas 87 per cent of them had departed in the 30 years between 1949 and 1979. Moreover, approximately 929 people, i.e. over 51 per cent of the sample, left during the recent troubled events between 1975 and 1979. This clearly illustrates the extent to which migratory movements can be affected by developments in South Lebanon, and that southern towns and villages might be completely depopulated as a result of these events.

With regard to the destinations of emigrants by host country, it should be pointed out that the proportion of emigrants heading

for Arab countries in the latter period was only about 20 per cent of the total in contrast with the mass of emigrants flocking to Africa (especially West Africa) which, alone, received approximately 75 per cent of those from the Qana area (Ivory Coast: 38 per cent, Senegal: 13 per cent, Sierra Leone: 8 per cent).

The main distinguishing feature of this migration was that it involved whole households whose members accounted for roughly 60 per cent of all the emigrants. This reflected a new trend in the composition of emigration which, in recent years, had developed into one of entire households as opposed to one of individuals in the younger age groups which had characterized most of the early migrations.

2. According to another field study (Ala' Eddine 1980) which was conducted on a sample of 1209 emigrants from the southern hinterlands in the region of Majdal Silm (Majdal Silm Qabrikha, Tulin, Al-Siwana, Al-Jumijuma, Safad Al-Battikh), Arab countries received more than 40 per cent of the emigrants, who for the majority, went to the Arab oil-producing countries during the 1950s whereupon they proceeded to send for their families and, in some cases, their close relatives, after settling down and securing an acceptable livelihood. Emigration from Majdal Silm to foreign countries accounted for approximately one third and internal migration for roughly two thirds of the entire movement.

3. According to a study (Bazzi 1982) conducted on 1078 emigrants from the town of Bint Jbeil inside the strip of border land in the extreme South of Lebanon), the pattern of migration since 1950 has been as follows:

15 per cent of the emigrants departed between 1950 and 1959;

11 per cent of the emigrants departed between 1960 and 1969;

30 per cent of the emigrants departed between 1970 and 1975;

44 per cent of the emigrants departed between 1976 and 1981.

Approximately half of the emigrants departed during the years of recent trouble and over 74 per cent of them emigrated during the past ten years. With regard to distribution by host country, the study indicates that the United States of America received about 70 per cent of the emigrants (Detroit in particular) on account of the facilitation of immigration to the United States during the period of trouble. The proportion of emigrants who departed to Arab countries and Africa was about 19 per cent and 5 per cent respectively.

As a result of all the migratory movements, the town of Bint Jbeil retained only slightly more than one quarter of its original population; approximately half of its inhabitants migrated to other parts of Lebanon, mostly to Beirut which now accommodates about 90 per cent of them. The remainder, amounting to approximately one quarter of the original population of the town, emigrated to foreign countries.

4. The fourth field study (Faour 1981b) was conducted on a sample of 974 people who emigrated from the town of Al-Khiyam (a southern border town in the district of Marjayun) in 1979. According to this study Arab States received approximately 80 per cent of the emigrants from this town (44 per cent to Kuwait, 15 per cent to Saudi Arabia) and most of them were either engineers, skilled workers, craftsmen or traders.

5. In order to provide a clear and comprehensive picture of migratory movements in South Lebanon, taking into account differences between regions as to their geographic location and

demographic composition, a field study was conducted in July, 1983 on 200 households comprising a total of 772 members living in the town of Hasbayya*.

In the above sample, 62 individuals emigrated. They were mostly men between the ages of 20 and 40. This figure reflects a decline in the rate of individual emigration from Hasbayya as against the other regions of the South. However whole households are emigrating at an increasing rate. A census carried out in the area covered by the study revealed that 256 households comprising a total of 1135 individuals had emigrated. The distribution of these households by host area is indicated in Table (1).

According to table (1) more than half the emigrant households (56 per cent) from Hasbayya left Lebanon completely. As to the distribution of their members by host country, it is noted that Kuwait was the main recipient (27 per cent) followed by Venezuela (17.5 per cent), Brazil (16.5 per cent) and Abu Dhabi (6.5 per cent). Ninety per cent of the families that migrated inside Lebanon headed for Beirut and its suburbs, which took precedence over the rest of Lebanon in this respect.

* Details of this field study have not yet been released but it was conducted in the Al-Saraya and Al-Aiyn quarters of the town of Hasbayya. It provides a typical example of a small South Lebanese town which also happens to be the seat of the district of Hasbayya. Significantly, the trouble which erupted between 1975 and 1983 had little impact on emigration from Hasbayya, by comparison to other villages.

Table (1) Distribution of Emigrant Households from Hasbayya by Host Region and number of Emigrants, July 1983.

Host Regions	Emigrant Households		Total Number of Household Members	
	Number of Families	Percentage of Total	Number of Members	Percentage of Total
Other parts of Lebanon	113	44	505	44,5
Arab Countries	56	22	254	22,5
Other Countries	87	34	376	33,0
Total	256	100	1135	100

Source: Sample study by the author.

Judging by the distribution of emigrant households according to the number of years lapsed since their departure from Hasbayya as shown in table (2), migration was active in the periods 1950-1959 and 1960-1969, but declined from 1970 to 1974. However its momentum was regained during the later years of troubled events.

C. A General Overview of Emigration

On the basis of a comparison of all the migrations from Lebanon to foreign countries, changing migratory patterns point to the following conclusions:

- Violence has stimulated emigration in most regions of South Lebanon. Significantly, emigration from Lebanon,

which had hitherto barely amounted to 10,000 individuals per annum, increased to more than 50,000 during the events of 1975-1980 and in the early 1980s. Indeed, 1975 and 1976 witnessed what could be called "The Mass Migration", i.e. the departure of an estimated 400,000 people at least, of which approximately 300,000 returned in 1976-1977 in what could be referred to as "The Mass Return". This was followed by another intensive emigration in 1978-1979 when approximately 86,000 people left Lebanon. However, this movement was not followed by a massive return as had been the case earlier. On the contrary net emigration in 1979-1980 was still in the region of 49,000 (Tabbarah 1983).

Table (2) Distribution of Emigrant Households from Hasbaya According to the Time and Duration of the Migration, July 1983.

Time of Migration	Number of Emigrant Households	Percentage
Prior to 1950	41	16.0
1950-1959	70	27.3
1960-1969	73	28.5
1970-1974	15	6.0
1975-1979	50	19.5
1980-1983	7	2.7
Total	256	100

Source: Field study by the author.

- Characteristically the early migrations had consisted of young individuals, including economically active manpower, whereas migration now involves whole households and families*. This trend is the consequence of the instability, persistent trouble and mounting pressure endured by the population of South Lebanon. The modification in the composition of migration bound to result in a decline in the amount of financial remittances transferred to Lebanon by emigrants. It should be noted here that construction and development in South Lebanon depended for a long time on these resources.

- In spite of the fact that the destinations of migrants are determined to some extent by their place of origin and their foreign connections, as indicated earlier, more and more of them are heading for the Arab oil-producing countries (particularly the Gulf States) and a few other countries in which they have been granted facilities during the years of recent events (such as the United States of America, Canada, West Germany and Australia).

Estimates indicate that about 110,000 people from a sample of 276,000 emigrants who left between 1975 and 1980, i.e. about 40 per cent of the emigrants from Lebanon, went to the Arab oil-exporting countries and particularly those of the Gulf. Significantly, about 80 per cent of them, i.e. 89,000 people, settled in Saudi Arabia. However, the majority of the Lebanese who emigrated during the years of trouble headed to non-Arab countries. Indeed, the American Continent received approximately 97,000 Lebanese immigrants i.e. two thirds of those who emigrated outside the

* This is true despite the restrictions imposed on immigrants by certain host countries to prevent them from bringing in their families which constitute an obstacle to the reunification of displaced families whose homes were destroyed during the Israeli occupation.

Arab world, while Australia and Africa received 17,000 and 16,000 respectively (Tabbarah 1983).

A large proportion of the emigrants who left Lebanon during the years of trouble were wealthy people working in specialized fields such as engineers, doctors and other skilled professionals. Information released in the United States indicates that in the period 1975-1980, approximately 48 per cent of the total number of economically active emigrants from Lebanon were working in specialized fields or in administration, i.e. seven times the corresponding proportion of Lebanese working in Lebanon itself and approximately twice the corresponding proportion of those inside the United States (Tabbarah 1983).

Migration Inside Lebanon

Although the flow of internal migration from South Lebanon only began to grow substantially after the Second World War, it had already been under-way for more than half a century. Indeed, it developed in response to the succession of historical events which took place in the various regions of Lebanon and other accompanying factors such as economic depression, growing famine and compulsory military enlistment. Yet, the features of this migratory movement have become still more salient since the early 1950s. This recent migration from southern villages towards cities, and especially to Beirut, was concomitant to recent emigration. Migration continued intermittently with fluctuating intensity until the early 1960s, whereupon it gradually began to decline. However it regained its former momentum with the emergency migration of 1967 which was the immediate result of deteriorating security conditions in the region of Hasbayya. Migration was also stimulated by demand for manpower in Beirut. This demand was generated by the economic

prosperity in Lebanon and the concentration of services in Beirut, which developed into a business centre and received a substantial share of oil profits as well as capital transferred by emigrants returning from abroad.

Despite the considerable influence of economic and social factors (including, in particular, economic and social inter-regional disparity) political factors played an overriding role in determining migratory movements in the South. At this juncture, therefore, migration must be considered in close connection with historical developments and their demographic repercussions. Following the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, and the beginning of Fedayeen operations in South Lebanon, a growing number of migrants (particularly from Habaria, Kafer Hamam, Shebba, Kafer Shouba in the District of Hasbayya began to seek refuge in the outskirts of Beirut, (in the district of Al-Sullem for example) where they clustered in the slums. Migrants from the south account for approximately 63 per cent of the total number of Lebanese living in the slums. And according to a field study on the subject (Bassal 1981) migrants from the village of Hubaria account for about 11 per cent of all migrants living in Al-Sullem, a district which began to expand in the 1960s and whose population doubled during the years of recent events.

A sample study conducted on the resident population of Lebanon by the Department for Regional Activities of the Ministry of Planning in 1964 indicated that migration in the Governorate of South Lebanon involved approximately 19 per cent (86,900 people) of the entire registered population i.e. 458,959, by the end of 1964. However the proportion varies from one district to another, as shown in table (3).

Table (3) Distribution of Migration by District Expressed as a Percentage of the Registered Population of the Governorate of South Lebanon, end of 1964.

District	Officially registered population on 31.12.64	Number of migrants at the end of 1964	Migrants as a percentage of the total population
Sidon	90,131	26,200	29.06
Jazin	52,399	5,800	11.06
Nabatiyya	68,991	12,200	17.68
Tyre	83,374	11,900	14.27
Bint Jbeil	69,950	10,300	14.72
Marjayun	61,851	16,900	27.32
Hasbayya	32,262	3,200	11.15
Total	458,958	86,900	18.93

Source: Statistics on a sample of the resident population of Lebanon in 1964, Department for Regional Activities, Ministry of General Planning.

According to a study carried out in 1972 by the FAO, in collaboration with the office of the Litani Project, in connection with an irrigation project for the South, 60 per cent of the registered resident population, i.e. 279,992 people, was concentrated in five southern districts and the proportion of migrants and emigrants was 28.5 per cent and 11.5 per cent respectively. This implies that about 40 per cent of the population of the southern regions had already migrated prior

to the outbreak of violence. Table (4) illustrates how the intensity of migration differs from district to district.

Table (4) Rates of Migration and Emigration in Five Southern Districts (1972) -

District	Resident population as a percentage of registered population	Percentage of migrants	Percentage of emigrants	Total
Nabatiyya	60	32	8	100
Bint Jbeil	49	35	16	100
Marjayun	52	33	15	100
Tyre	60	25	15	100
Sidon	72	22	6	100
Total	60	28.5	11.5	100

Source: Estimates by FAO in collaboration with the Office of the Litani Project, 1972, study for the irrigation project in the South.

The outbreak of the troubled events in Beirut in 1975 produced a reverse migrations towards other towns and rural areas particularly away from the suburbs of Beirut towards the towns and countryside of the South. This sudden surge of migratory activity involved some 160,000, people who were originally from the South. They left their homes in the city and suburbs of Beirut and moved back to the South where, as a consequence, the

population increased from approximately 200,000 to more than half a million. But as violence spread to the South and local conflicts broke out, the population was forced to migrate again. Violence gained ground and affected more than 200 towns and villages, particularly in the five southern districts of Marjayun, Hasbayya, Bint Jbeil, Tyre and Nabatiyya. As a result of forced migration these districts lost approximately three quarters of their population and only about 28 per cent of the registered population continued to live there (Faour 1981c).

According to a field study conducted in May, 1978 in the region of Majdal Silm, comprising the combined population of the villages of Qabrikha, Al-Siwana, Al-Jumijuma, Safad Al-Battikh and Tulin, i.e. approximately 14,000 people (Ala' Eddin 1980), insecurity is the main cause of migration from South Lebanon. However, the study also points other factors, the most important of which were the backwardness of the agricultural sector. This is attributed to the prevalence of traditional farming methods, widespread unemployment, insufficient support from the Government and its failure to meet its obligations in terms of development and reconstruction which would have settled the inhabitants on their land and helped them to overcome their various social and economic problems (job opportunities, education, health care, etc.).

The area of Majdal Silm has been the scene of an uninterrupted succession of incidents since 1969, when it witnessed a general surge of migration in the immediate aftermath of the Israeli aggression which was launched against the southern villages in pursuit of Palestinian Resistant. In 1972, the Israelis devastated and occupied the region for four consecutive days before withdrawing. Most of the inhabitants were therefore

forced to migrate, but by 1977 two years of destructive war in the capital were causing a reverse migration from Beirut. Indeed, most of the early migrants returned to their towns and villages and the South came back to life. Agriculture was revived and the economic situation improved as reflected in the return of traders and skilled professionals and the resurgence of certain light industries.

However, this state of affairs did not last long and in 1978 the Israeli occupation of large areas of South Lebanon (as far as the Municipality of Bazorja, near Tyre, in the north), lasted four months and caused vast migration from the South to Beirut and other cities and towns. Furthermore in 1978, the establishment of the mini boarder-state of "Free Lebanon", with Israeli support and protection, caused the inhabitants of certain frontier villages to migrate and, consequently, large areas were depopulated. In 1982, the massive Israeli onslaught which went beyond the boundaries of the Governorate of South Lebanon to reach Beirut provoked widespread migratory movements which exceeded the usual range and a large number of households actually left the country altogether.

This brief review of the repeated Israeli aggressions highlights the distress endured by the inhabitants of southern towns and villages who are constantly forced to migrate. For example, 60 per cent of the inhabitants of the municipality of Majdal Silm left in 1978 (the field study was conducted in May, after the Israeli withdrawal) and approximately two thirds of those migrants left Lebanon altogether (see table 5).

The distribution in table (5) shows that 67 per cent of all emigrants from the municipality of Majdal Silm moved to other

Table (5) Distribution of Emigrants from the Municipality of Majdal Silm According to their Destination in Lebanon or Abroad, 1978.

Destinations	Number of Migrants	Percentage
Beirut	1,266	55.2
Other towns and villages in Lebanon	276	12.1
Arab Countries	721	31.4
Other countries	31	1.3
Total	2,294	100

Source: Adjusted from a field study in the Majdal Silm region (Ala' Eddin 1980).

towns and villages in Lebanon, including about 55 per cent to Beirut. The remaining 33 per cent left Lebanon and, for the most part, headed for other Arab countries. Despite some disparity between villages the study on the region of Majdal Silm also revealed a high rate of migration and emigration. The field study was conducted on people registered in the residents' registry (local authority) and new arrivals to an area comprising four villages in the District of Marjayun (namely Majdal Silm, Tulin, Qabrikha and Al-Siwana) and three other villages in the District of Bint Jbeil, (namely Kherbet Salem, Al-Jumijuma and Safad Al-Battikh). In 1978, these villages had a combined population of 10,321 people distributed as shown in table (6).

Table (6) Overall Distribution of the Population of Seven Southern Villages in 1978 (Majdal Silm, Tulin, Qabrikha, Al-Siwana, Kherbet Salem, Al-Jumijuma, Safad Al-Battikh) Expressed in Numbers and Percentages.

Population distribution	Number	Percentage
Residents	5,000	48.5
Migrants	3,596	34.5
Emigrants	1,216	12.0
New arrivals	509	5.0
Total	10,321	100

Source: Adjusted from a field study on the Majdal Silm region (Ala' Eddin 1980).

According to table (6), only about half of the population resides in those villages and rates of migration and emigration are rising despite the adverse consequences of this trend. The area used to be characterized by demographic stability because of its central location in South Lebanon. Indeed, it had few links with coastal areas or big towns and comprised a number of small villages whose inhabitants lived in isolation relying primarily on agriculture for a living. Commercial activity was restricted to buying and selling basic consumer goods, following the disintegration of handicraft industries. The younger generation therefore has no other option but to migrate to make a living.

Table (7) indicates that rates of emigration and migration vary from one village to another in the South. This is largely attributable to the following causes:

- The shortage of irrigation water and widespread resort to dry farming to ensure bare subsistence. For years, high hopes had been pinned on the Litani Project but since it was never carried out, people left the region. Similarly, in spite of its desperate need for land reclamation, the South received only a small share of the financial resources deployed and seed distributed under the "Green Project" which was implemented throughout Lebanon from 1965 to 1977.

- The neglect of vast tracts of land appurtenant to large estates in certain villages, such as Al-Siwana for instance, where land is left "fallow" and uncultivated, simply to wait for its value to increase. As a result, large areas in the hills have been overgrown by thorn bushes. Such areas are being stripped of their topsoil by erosion and are gradually turning into waste-land where the strata of beared rock give the hill sides the appearance of a desert. Desertification of this type is spreading extensively and the Government must take immediate action to reclaim this stony land and build reservoirs to irrigate the foothills and make vegetation grow there in order to expand agricultural production and developed rural areas and, thereby, enable people to return to their villages.

- Excessive specialization in tobacco farming which requires many human skills but only profits big land owners. Indeed competition in this field now centers around the leasing, selling and transferring of tobacco licences which puts small holders at a marked disadvantage. Qabrikha and Tulin alone produce approximately one third of the tobacco grown in the area of Majdal Silm. At the same time, however, the output of animal husbandry has declined although this sector used to be one of the main sources of income. This shift can be attributed to the mountainous

Table (7) Percentage and Number of Residents, Migrants and Emigrants in Six Southern Villages in 1978.

Population composition	Magdal Silm		Qabrikha		Tulin		Jumijuma		Al-Siwana		Safad Al-Battikh	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Residents	1,434	38.5	1,333	65.2	769	45.6	394	60.2	735	59.1	335	44.6
Migrants	1,542	37.0	564	27.6	676	40.2	117	17.8	383	30.8	314	41.8
Emigrants	752	19.0	113	5.6	123	7.3	82	12.5	72	5.8	74	9.8
New Arrivals	215	5.5	33	1.6	117	6.9	62	9.5	54	4.3	28	3.8
Total	3,943	100	2,043	100	1,685	100	655	100	1,244	100	751	100

Source: Adjusted from the field study on Majdal Silm Region (Ala' Eddin 1980).

geography of the region, insufficient rainfall, the scarcity of suitable pastures and the proliferation of thorn bushes. Large scale goat farming is expanding, as a result particularly in Majdal Silm and Safad Al-Battikh where goats are being raised instead of sheep and cattle.

Thus there is a causative link between the different trends and features of migration on the one hand, and disparity in conditions characterizing each region or village on the other. Likewise, social relations and family ties are also influential in determining migration and channelling it towards other parts of Lebanon or foreign countries. The rate of migration from the villages of Qana, Hanawya and Saddikin, in the district of Tyre, is approximately 53 per cent of the combined population and in Qana, for instance, three quarters of the migrants actually left Lebanon, implying that for each migrant settling in another part of Lebanon, three others departed to foreign countries. In Hanawya which is characterized by an increasing rate of emigration, the ratio was one migrant to seven emigrants whereas in the village of Saddikin, it was two to one in favour of those moving to other parts of Lebanon.

The cases examined in the field study which was carried out in geographically different regions of South Lebanon (coastal, central and border strip) indicate that heavy migration from South Lebanon has continued for want of a comprehensive development policy. The government is pursuing a centralized administrative and development policy, focussing on the city of Beirut, its surroundings, and a few other towns that happen to be nearby or simply fortunate, for political reasons. As a consequence, migratory movements have clearly become streamlined. The city of

Beirut alone is receiving about half of the emigrants from the southern towns and countryside (allowing for slight fluctuations from one year to the next). Roughly one third of the registered population of South Lebanon has taken up permanent or temporary residence in Beirut, particularly in its southern suburbs, namely Ras Al-Naba', Ziqaq Al-Balat, Khandaq Al-Ghamiq, Al-Musaytaba, Al-Basta, Borj Abu Haydar and Al-Mazra'a.

In June, 1982, the High Authority for Relief of the Department for Social Reconstruction carried out a field study in these seven suburbs of Beirut. The study covered the area of Al-Awzaiy extending from the Imam Al-Awzaiy mosque in the north to the boundary of Beirut International Airport in the south (an area of one square kilometer), and the district of Al-Raml Al-Aly, from the limits of the camp of Borj Al-Burajena in the north, to the airport in the south (an area of more than one square kilometer). According to the study, these two districts, comprised 6,747 households consisting of 40,546 individuals. The study revealed an increase in the number of households migrating from the South (37.39 per cent). By order of importance they were followed by households migrating from the Bekaa Valley (30.23 per cent), while the number of households whose origin could be traced to Beirut, its suburbs or Mount Lebanon amounted to less than one quarter of the total, namely (20.29 per cent). This highlights the numerical significance of migration from poor rural areas in South Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley.

II. The Causes and Consequences of Migratory Movements in South Lebanon

The facts presented above indicate that migration from South Lebanon has continued to the extent that most towns and villages, particularly in remote areas, have lost more than half their

original population. Moreover, because of the drain on their potential, rural areas worst affected by migration are at risk of losing their vitality in the long run because of the departure of the young elements of their population. These areas would thus become places of retirement and idleness, accomodating only old people living off the remittances transferred by emigrants. Considering the various stages in both early and recent migrations, the depopulation of the South appears to have been a continuous process, unrelated to violence in recent years despite the consequent insecurity and hardship. Indeed, depopulation is the product of an economic system centering primarily around towns and sharp social disparity between the various regions of Lebanon, as illustrated by the study on migration carried out in 1972 in five southern districts which revealed that 90 towns and villages had already lost more than half of their inhabitants. Moreover, some of the smaller towns and villages lost two thirds of their population because of migration after 1972.

Causes of Migratory Movements in South Lebanon

Migration from the South can be attributed both to general causes, the most important of which is social and economic disparity between regions, and particularly between rural and urban areas, and to more specific causes such as the geographic location of South Lebanon, constant unrest and the instability of living conditions in the area.

In other words migratory movements in South Lebanon can be attributed to two main causes. The first is related to the primacy of towns, particularly that of Beirut which exercises formidable attraction over all the other regions of Lebanon. And the second stems from the disintegration of the infrastucture

of rural areas and small towns whose population is migrating to make a living elsewhere, in Lebanon or abroad. Besides Beirut, a number of other big towns dominate the country from North to South on account of their economic structure and the assets with which they are endowed. Rural areas and small towns in the South are gradually yielding to the pressure of big-city attraction. Small villages and towns are the most endangered, after most of their population has migrated to Beirut. Indeed, such rural areas are threatened with complete depopulation while the resulting sharp increase in the population of the capital and major cities poses problems of housing, health care, transport and others inherent in big towns.

Internal migratory movements are causing major problems because they are jeopardizing the economic functions of South Lebanon, the foundations of rural life there and the cohesion of its infrastructure. Indeed, the area is beginning to suffer not only from depopulation but also from a shortage of agricultural labour and specialized workers in various professions. The economic functions of small towns in South Lebanon are crystalizing around marginal activities connected with trade whereas agriculture is losing importance and handicraft industries are in gradual recession. This in turn destabilizes the rural population and impels people to move to towns or emigrate to foreign countries. The desintegration of the infrastructure of South Lebanon is an increasingly critical problem which stems from the government's neglect of large areas, particularly in the countryside. The alledged justification for this is that security conditions are unsuitable for the implementation for development plans. As a result, social and economic disparity between the South and other parts of Lebanon is increasing and the vicious circle of destitution is maintained.

Therefore, planning aimed at the improvement of economic conditions and the provision of social services in South Lebanon is clearly a crucial and essential task since it would be conducive not only to the consolidation of basic infrastructure in the area but also, and above all, to settling people in their towns and villages. Consequently, special attention must be devoted to the need to control the course of migratory movements if the extent of their potential danger is to be reduced. This is reinforced by the fact that such movements have a dramatic impact on the composition of the population; they determine its structure in terms of age, for example, and entail a rising rate of dependancy coupled with a declining fertility rate, both of which have serious consequences for future population growth in the region.

Consequences of Migration from the South towards Towns

Migration from the South towards the towns in Lebanon is a somewhat peculiar phenomenon which needs to be properly understood in order to provide a basis for the formulation of a comprehensive demographic and development policy, especially since more than half the total population of Lebanon is at present clustered together in Beirut, in an area comprising less than 1 per cent of the total area of Lebanon. For this reason it might be useful to sketch a rough outline of the characteristics of migratory movements from a few southern villages in order to clarify some of the problems caused by migration to the city.

According to a field study on migrants living in the southern suburbs of Beirut (Bassal, 1981) 7,784 out of 13,983 residents in the Al-Sullem district were new arrivals from the South, i.e. roughly 56 per cent of the resident population of that district. Table (8) presents the distribution of these emigrants from the South according to their native district.

Table (8) Distribution of South Lebanese Migrants Living in the District of Al-Sullem According to their District of Origin

District	Number of towns and villages for which people migrated	Migrants	
		Total Number	Expressed as a percentage
Sidon	12	198	2.5
Bint Jbeil	26	1,897	24.5
Tyre	33	543	7.0
Marjayun	16	1,419	18.0
Hasbayya	6	1,183	15.0
Jazin	7	381	5.0
Nabatiyya	25	2,163	28.0
Total	125	7,784	100

Source: Field study on the district of Al-Sullem (Bassal, 1981).

The distribution of southern migrants living in the district of Al-Sullem shows that they originally came from 125 small towns and villages. A more refined distribution of southern migrants was compiled on the basis of their villages of origin in order to bring the most depopulated areas into sharper focus. It appeared that over one third of the emigrants (2,890 i.e. 37.1 per cent) came from seven small towns and villages as shown in table (9).

Table (9) Distribution of Migrants from Seven Villages Living in the District of Al-Sullem According to their Villages of Origin, Expressed as a Proportion of Total Migration

Village	District in which the village is located	Number of Migrants	Percentage
Habaria	Hasbayya	821	10.5
Al-Tayyiba	Marjayun	597	7.6
Jarju'	Jazin	487	6.2
Bint Jbeil	Bint Jbeil	299	3.8
Shaba	Hasbayya	250	3.2
Marun Al-Ras	Bint Jbeil	246	3.1
Shaqra	Bint Jbeil	235	3.0
Total		2,895	37.5

Source: Field study on the district of Al-Sullem (Bassal, 1981).

Migrants from the village of Habaria in the district of Hasbayya account for 10.5 per cent of total migration to Al-Sullem. In this respect, Habaria provides a typical example of a virtually deserted southern village whose population has migrated to make a living in Beirut and escape the tension and insecurity which have beset the district of Hasbayya since 1967.

III Conclusions and Suggestions

The drain on human resources currently experienced by South Lebanon is an abnormal phenomenon which is likely to have dramatic consequences for the future. People provide the link between the land and the nation but to do so, they need sufficient opportunities and a solid infrastructure to establish themselves on the land. Indeed, the link between the people and their land is the lynchpin of development planning in South Lebanon.

The current imbalance between rural and urban areas and even between the small towns and the primate city of Beirut (Faour 1978) is a consequence of economic and social disparity. This imbalance has turned South Lebanon into a pool of manpower where agricultural activity is declining and desertification spreading. And the countryside is consequently being drained of its productive capabilities. The most basic objective of development is therefore to restore the balance and remedy the existing disparity so as to retain and utilize human resources, notably in land reclamation and reconstruction. By the same token, development planning must proceed within the framework of a comprehensive, integrated development plan covering the whole of Lebanon, in which priority would be given to the establishment of conditions enabling the population to enjoy life in safety after the liberation of South Lebanon from occupation. This would brighten prospects for the future of the South.

The constituent elements of the development plan itself must be worked out on the basis of a careful and detailed study of conditions in South Lebanon. One such study should be aimed at the identification of the social, economic and demographic

features characterizing the population on the one hand and familiarization with the natural peculiarities of the land on the other. This would provide a basis for the formulation of a plan for the utilization of natural and human resources as well as for the elaboration of solutions to tackle social and economic problems and above all that of depopulation which is threatening to bring about the eventual ruin of the South.

Conditions in South Lebanon

Through these preliminary studies, it was possible to identify some of the characteristics features of South Lebanon which ought to be taken into consideration in development planning for the region. These characteristics can be summed up as follows:

1- Owing to its location on the border, South Lebanon has been unsafe since independence. This accounts for the migration or emigration of most of its population. The priority today is therefore to liberate South Lebanon from Israeli occupation and restore its former stability and security.

2- More than half the population of South Lebanon, i.e. about 900,000 people has either migrated or emigrated and the number of actual residents has consequently fallen to about 400,000 at present (Faour 1981 b). Moreover, most migrants and emigrants are economically active people whose departure adversely affects future development throughout Lebanon.

3- More than half the resident population makes a living from agriculture and particularly from tobacco and citrus fruit growing which are running short of manpower because of heavy migration. In addition traditional agricultural methods coupled with insufficient mechanization have resulted in a loss of

productivity because vast tracts of land are neglected and left uncultivated.

4- Unemployment is rising (especially in the agricultural sector) as a result of the deterioration of security conditions, and per capita income levels are declining because of the rising cost of living and the constant exacerbation of economic difficulties confronting households.

5- The region is suffering from the disintegration of its infrastructure and a shortage of basic services and utilities in towns and villages, particularly in the smaller ones which are even more neglected and gradually becoming places of retirement for old people as the young move to big towns or emigrate to seek a better life.

6- Clearly, the secret of survival for South Lebanon lies in the close link which binds a people to its land and the migrant to his home town or village. Wherever they go, South Lebanese remain attached to their families, their land, and their towns or villages despite any hardships they might endure and problems which accumulate. In this respect, migration can even be useful in times of hardship, as illustrated in migrants both inside and outside Lebanon, receiving and assisting their fellow southerners who were forced to emigrate.

7- Rural development must be given priority because approximately two thirds of the entire population of South Lebanon is rural. Yet, despite this high percentage of rural population, the countryside is being neglected by comparison with urban areas. Indeed, per capita income in rural areas is less than one quarter of per capita income in towns, because of declining productivity in the agriculture sector. The rate of

illiteracy is also much higher among the rural population than it is in the towns. Public facilities are a lot scarcer in the countryside than in towns; for example, there is a shortage of good roads, schools are not enough, and in many rural areas hospitals are virtually non-existent. Such are the social and economic conditions which make the development of rural areas in South Lebanon a matter of priority so as to improve living conditions and arrest migratory movements.

8- Nature has endowed South Lebanon with potential for a variety of human activities. The land is fertile and rich in natural resources and water, not to mention its climate which provides for good living and working conditions. These factors offer a solid basis for development—provided that there is a will to utilize them in the framework of a comprehensive, integrated development plan. For example, the water of the Litani flows uselessly into the sea while the land along the river banks is parched for want of rainfall and the population barely subsists on dry farming.

Development and The Population Question in South Lebanon

The characteristic features of this question hardly lend themselves to detailed typification. However, certain aspects of the development process should receive special attention in the framework of the overall development policy - or strategy - pursued by the Government. And the following elements must be incorporated into the basic components of that strategy.

1- Land in South Lebanon must be cultivated in order to increase agricultural production and stem the tide of migration. This presupposes the establishment of co-operatives, the extension of agricultural advisory services, the development of marketing

facilities, the granting of loans and the launching of experimental agricultural centres.

2- Rising unemployment in rural and urban areas of the South must be checked, and jobs must be created to cater for the needs of young people in agriculture, agro-industry and in light industry by promoting local industries and related marketing facilities already operating in some parts of the South, such as footwear and clothing industries and handicrafts.

3- The wide social and economic gap between the respective productive sectors of urban and rural areas must be reduced. Income must be more equitably distributed and structural changes must be introduced in favour of the rural population. In addition, the system of land ownership must be readjusted and stability must be secured for the farmers*.

4- Living conditions in South Lebanon must be improved through the establishment of health centres and hospitals, the expansion of educational facilities, the implementation of a comprehensive programme to eradicate illiteracy, the introduction of family planning methods, the provision of child care facilities and the adoption of measures for the protection of the environment.

* The nature of land ownership has been known to have a considerable influence on migratory movements. Some southern villages experienced early migration owing to the exiguity of available agricultural land (such was the case of Zibdin and Namiriya in the district of Nabatiyya). Migration was also affected due to the existence of large estates (such as Al-Sharqiya and Arnun in the district of Nabatiyyah), where most of the agricultural land is owned by a single family or one person. What is worse, such estates are conducive to the desertification of large areas which become over-grown with thorn bushes because the land owners are not interested in agriculture and neglect the land while they wait for its price to rise.

Since it would have been difficult to examine all the different aspects of development in so short a study, this paper focuses on only one fundamental, priority area of the planning process, namely the development of small towns and villages in South Lebanon. Indeed, the development of villages constitutes the first, basic step in comprehensive national development and in the edification of a modern state. To be successful, a development policy must be geared to a comprehensive, integrated development plan. Only on the basis of this approach can the geographic distribution of the population be controlled and the imbalances resulting from bad distribution, remedied.

For these reasons, a detailed study of migratory movement would provide an essential and indispensable basis for development planning. Indeed, such a study could serve as a valuable indicator which would have to be taken into account for comprehensive and integrated planning in Lebanon to be successful. Migratory movements and labour emigration (particularly that of qualified and skilled manpower) impelled by ten years of virtually uninterrupted war in Lebanon can be expected to have dramatic consequences in the near future as well as seriously to impede the reconstruction effort which calls for the participation and, therefore, the return, of skilled Lebanese manpower, if the economy is to function properly since even foreign labour will be needed in vast quantities. However, the main problem remains that of physical development in poor rural areas and construction work in the villages and small towns of South Lebanon which have been drained of their human and economic resources as a result of the disintegration of their infrastructure. Lastly, it should be pointed out that a balanced geographic distribution of the population is the key to success in the formulation of a demographic

policy and development planning, particularly in a small country like Lebanon.

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LEVEL AND PATTERN OF MORTALITY IN THE KUWAITI POPULATION, 1980.

Mostafa El-Shalakani*

I. Introduction

Kuwait is one of those developing countries which can be considered to have developed its civil registration system to the extent that it can be safely compared with those prevailing in the developed countries. There are many reasons for this. First, after the enactment of the 1969 Act, registration of births and deaths in the country became compulsory for all sections of the population failing which there were provisions for penalties under the Act**. Secondly, a death certificate is needed for burial purposes in addition to its legal and inheritance values. As such it is safe to assume that the coverage of deaths and births under the registration system is fairly complete though there is no current field study on the coverage of births and deaths and the extent, if any, of under or over registration of births and deaths.

Thus, assuming that the registration of deaths is fairly complete, the mortality statistics will still have the types of errors due to misreporting of the age of the deceased, though

* Original English

** The civil registration law for the compulsory registration of vital events was enacted only in the year 1964 and it was implemented from 1967. In order to improve civil registration another law was passed in 1969 by which certain modifications of registration were introduced. According to the 1969 law, all events must be recorded within two days. Late foetal deaths born after a gestation period of 28 weeks and over are included in the compulsory registration.