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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: PROFILE	1
Introduction.....	1
Geography.....	1
Tripolitania (Western Region).....	2
Fezzan.....	2
Cyrenaica.....	3
Climate.....	3
Bodies of Water	4
Major Cities	5
Tripoli.....	5
Benghazi.....	5
Misratah.....	6
Sabha	6
Al-Khufrah	7
History	7
Early History	7
Ottoman Rule.....	8
Italian Colonization	9
Independence.....	10
Qadhafi's Libya	10
Qadhafi's Overthrow	11
Government	12
Media	13
Economy	13
Ethnic Groups	14
Languages	15
Chapter 1 Assessment.....	17
CHAPTER 2: RELIGION	18
Introduction.....	18
Islam	18
Islamic Sects.....	19
The Quran.....	20
Religion and Government.....	20
Religion in Daily Life.....	21
Religion and Gender.....	22
Religious Holidays.....	23
Al-Hijra (New Year's Day)	23
Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet's Birthday).....	24
Ramadan	24
Eid al-Fitr.....	25

Eid al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice)	25
Places of Worship	25
Chapter 2 Assessment.....	27
CHAPTER 3: TRADITIONS	28
Introduction.....	28
Honor and Values	28
Greetings.....	29
Male-Female Interaction.....	32
Hospitality and Gift-Giving.....	32
Food and Eating Habits	33
Dress Codes	34
Social Events	35
Weddings.....	35
Funerals	36
Non-Religious Holidays and Festivals	37
National Holidays.....	37
Festivals.....	38
Dos and Don'ts	38
Chapter 3 Assessment.....	40
CHAPTER 4: URBAN LIFE.....	41
Introduction.....	41
Urbanization Issues.....	41
Work Problems in Urban Areas.....	42
Healthcare	43
Education	45
Restaurants and Dining.....	46
Marketplace and Street Vendors.....	48
Transportation.....	50
Street Crime and Solicitation.....	51
Chapter 4 Assessment.....	53
CHAPTER 5: RURAL LIFE	54
Introduction.....	54
Tribal Distribution	54
Land Distribution.....	55
Rural Economy	56
Transportation and Lodging	57
Healthcare	58
Education	59
Different Regions and Ways of Life.....	59
Road Checkpoints.....	60
Land Mines	62

Chapter 5 Assessment.....	63
CHAPTER 6: FAMILY LIFE	64
Introduction.....	64
Typical Household and Family Structure	65
Gender Relations within the Family	65
Family and Peer Relationships	67
Children and Adolescents	67
The Elderly	68
Marriage & Divorce.....	69
Marriage	69
Divorce	70
Naming Conventions	71
Chapter 6 Assessment.....	72
FINAL ASSESSMENT	73
FURTHER READING	76

CHAPTER 1: PROFILE

Introduction

The modern state of Libya was established in 1951, when three historically distinct regions—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan—were consolidated into the United Kingdom of Libya. The newly independent country was poor, largely because of the limits on agriculture in its desert environment. With the discovery of oil, the Libyan monarchy soon received immense revenues. Popular dissatisfaction with the unequal distribution of those revenues contributed to the overthrow of the king in 1969. The country's new leader, Muammar Qadhafi, established a “stateless” state, in which power was theoretically vested in the people, but actually held by his regime. Qadhafi used oil money to fund socialist reforms at home while pursuing pan-Arab and anti-imperialist policies abroad. National oil revenues provided the general population with government jobs, low-cost housing, and social services. But the controlled economy lacked employment opportunities outside the public sector, and people lacked social freedoms and true political representation. Public discontent with economic inequality and political repression again led to the overthrow of the country's ruler in 2011.



© Samer Muscati
Boys in Tripoli

Arab culture—characterized by Islam and the Arabic language—is the basic social bond for the majority of the Libyan people. Most Libyans (and most North Africans) are an ethnic mix of Arab and Berber (*Imazighan*). Large numbers of sub-Saharan Africans have also contributed to Libyan culture and society as slaves, military recruits, and migrant workers. Libyan society is both traditional—emphasizing religious, familial, and tribal allegiances—and more modern than many Arab-Islamic societies, particularly in its treatment of women. In 2012, newly liberated Libya is a work in progress.

Geography

Libya is in North Africa, on the southern edge of the Mediterranean Sea. It shares borders with six countries: Tunisia to the northwest, Algeria to the west, Niger to the southwest, Chad to the south, Sudan to the southeast, and Egypt to the east. The Mediterranean Sea in the north is Libya's only natural boundary. Measuring 1,770 km (1,100 mi), Libya's shoreline is the longest of any African nation bordering the Mediterranean. Libya's area of 1,759,540 sq km (679,358 sq mi) makes it one of Africa's largest countries.



© Gordon/flickr.com
Border near Tunisia and Algeria

Libya is dominated by the Sahara, the world's largest desert.¹ The Sahara's rocky plains and enormous sand seas contrast sharply with the farmed lowlands along the Mediterranean.² Libya

¹ Sahara is the Arabic word for “desert.” Thus, while there are many *saharas*, there is only one desert named the Sahara. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Sahara,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/516375/Sahara>

is one of the least-densely populated countries in the world. The southern deserts are home to small populations of nomads, herders, and oasis farmers. About 90% of Libya's population of 6.7 million live near the country's long northern coastline, in less than 10% of the country's total land area.^{3, 4}

Tripolitania (Western Region)

Tripolitania, the most populous of Libya's three historical regions, covers Libya's northwest quadrant.^{5, 6} Libyans now commonly refer to the area as the "Western Region." The city of Tripoli lies on the Sahel al-Jefara, or Jefara Plain, that meets the Mediterranean coast. Inland from sandy beaches and marshes, the plain supports dry-land agriculture and irrigated farming.⁷ Groves of citrus, olives, and dates mingle with fields of grains and vegetables.⁸ South of the plain is the Jebel Nafusah, or Nafusah Plateau. The plateau's ridges and areas of loose gravel and sand rise to a southern escarpment, which reaches 975 m (3,200 ft) above sea level. Traces of ancient volcanoes are visible in the escarpment's black rock formations and lava fissures. *Wadis* (former water-runoff channels) deepened these fissures over time, creating many distinctive massifs (mountainous masses). Further south, other plateaus are swallowed by sand dunes.⁹

Fezzan

The least populated region, Fezzan makes up the southwestern portion of Libya.¹⁰ Fezzan is a large, elevated basin marked by numerous depressions that run east to west, and by vast *idehan* (sand seas) of the northern Sahara. Hidden in the region's dunes are oases with vegetation and small lakes. Common features of this desert landscape include *wadis* (dry riverbeds) that lead to basins (*sarir*) of large salt deposits, and *ergs* (dune fields) that are shaped by shifting sands. Exposed, wind-eroded rock plateaus known as *hamada* are another common feature of the Fezzan desert.¹¹ In southwestern Fezzan, the low mountains of the Jebel Acacus contain famous archaeological sites and ancient rock art from before the ninth century B.C.E.¹² Toward Libya's

² Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011,

<http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

³ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Libya," 9 March 2012,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

⁵ Gwillim Law, "Districts of Libya," Statoids.com, 28 January 2012, <http://statoids.com/uly.html>

⁶ World Gazetteer, "Libya: Administrative Divisions (Population and Area): Calculation 2012," n.d., <http://world-gazetteer.com/wg.php?x=&men=gadm&lng=en&des=wg&geo=-133&srt=npan&col=abcdefghinoq&msz=1500>

⁷ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Geography: Regions," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁸ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Appendix: Economic Libya," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 134–135.

⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Relief," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46539/Relief>

¹⁰ Ronald Bruce St John, "Fezzan," in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 75–76, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/50055633/Ronald-Bruce-St-John-Historical-Dictionary-of-Libya>

¹¹ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Geography," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 22–23.

¹² UNESCO, "Rock-Art Sites of Tadrart Acacus," 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/287>

center, the black basalt of the al-Haruj al-Aswad plateau spreads 40,000 sq km (15,400 sq mi) and holds dozens of volcanoes.¹³

Cyrenaica

Composing the eastern half of the country, Cyrenaica is Libya's largest geographical region. It is home to more than 1 million people. Similar to Tripolitania, Cyrenaica's topography contains a series of terraces that rise from the Mediterranean shoreline. Libya's second-largest city, Benghazi, is located on the lowest terrace, on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Sidra. South along the Gulf coast, the salt flat Sabkhat Ghuzayyil is Libya's lowest point at 47 m below sea level (−154 ft).¹⁴ Inland from the coast are the second and third terraces, sites of the ancient Greek cities of Cyrene and Barca. The land then rises into the Jebel al-Akhdar, or Green Mountains, which peak at 882 m (2,894 ft).¹⁵ Thereafter, the terrain descends into the Libyan Desert, which covers most of Cyrenaica. The Libyan Desert is a distinct sub-region of the Sahara that comprises three massive sand seas. The largest, the Great Sand Sea, originates in northeast Libya and runs southeast, deep into Egypt.¹⁶ At the southern edge of Cyrenaica bordering Chad, the Tibesti Massif mountain range contains Libya's highest point, Bikku Bitti, which reaches 2,267 m (7,438 ft).¹⁷

Climate

Two geographic features determine Libya's climate: the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara. To the north, the Mediterranean climate has two main seasons: summer, from April through September, is hot and dry; winter is cooler and sometimes wet. Tripoli experiences average temperatures of 11°C (52°F) in January and 28°C (82°F) in July. The region is prone to extreme highs—in 1922, the town of Al-Aziziyah near Tripoli reached 58°C (136°F), a world record.^{18, 19} South of the coastal region, a desert climate predominates. Temperatures vary dramatically from day to night, from highs of 38°C (100°F) to lows below freezing.²⁰



© Gordon/flickr.com
Sand dune in the Sahara

Libya receives less rainfall than other Mediterranean countries. The steppe regions in the north average less than 10 cm (4 in) per year, while the desert averages less than 2.5 cm (1 in)

¹³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Al-Haruj al-Aswad," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/256249/Al-Haruj-al-Aswad>

¹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011,

<http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

¹⁵ Edward Tawadros, *Geology of North Africa* (Leiden, Netherlands: CRC Press, 2011), 66.

¹⁶ Cassandra Vivian, "Chapter 1: The Natural World," in *The Western Desert of Egypt: An Explorer's Handbook* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 11–13.

¹⁷ Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011,

<http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

¹⁸ Arizona State University and World Meteorological Organization, "World: Highest Temperature," n.d.

<http://wmo.asu.edu/world-highest-temperature>

¹⁹ National Climatic Data Center (NCDC), "Global Measured Extremes of Temperature and Precipitation," 20

August 2008, <http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/oa/climate/globalextremes.html>

²⁰ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 2: The Land," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 12–13.

annually.²¹ The wettest place in the country, along the east-central coast of the Jebel al-Akhdar mountain range, receives as much as 60 cm (24 in) of precipitation per year.^{22, 23} East of these mountains, even the Mediterranean coastline is parched. West of the mountains, the north-central Sirte Desert reaches to the coast of the Gulf of Sidra.

Northern Libya periodically endures droughts that last 1 or 2 years. Drought is exacerbated by *ghibli*, desert winds that blow from spring through early summer, and then sporadically throughout the year. The sand-laden *ghibli* blow from the interior highlands toward the Mediterranean Sea.²⁴ They can form a moving sandstorm wall up to 610 m (2,000 ft) high, ruining crops and killing exposed livestock within a few hours.²⁵

Bodies of Water

Libya has no significant natural bodies of water or permanent rivers and streams. The desert climate reduces seasonal water runoff to a small region along the Mediterranean coast. Small saline lakes occur in depressions between sand dunes. The Zellaf Dunes in the Fezzan region contain lakes that formed when fractures in the bedrock released water from a deep aquifer. Levels of natron (a mineral found with other salts) in these small lakes are so high that buoyancy is exaggerated.²⁶



© Libyan Soup/flickr.com
Dawada Lake

Ancient aquifers underneath the desert hold large freshwater reserves (tens of thousands of cubic kilometers) that feed small southern oases.²⁷ The Great Man-Made River (GMR) project (Libya's "Eighth Wonder of the World") is tapping these aquifers to provide water for irrigated agriculture and cities to the north. Manmade reservoirs storing the collected waters of the GMR project are located near Benghazi, Ajdabiya, and Sirte.²⁸

²¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Land: Climate," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46542/Climate>

²² BBC Weather, "Country Guide: Libya," n.d., http://www.bbc.co.uk/weather/world/country_guides/results.shtml?tt=TT000330

²³ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 2: The Land," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 12–13.

²⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Climate," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46542/Climate>

²⁵ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Chapter 1: Geography," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 12–13.

²⁶ Louis Werner, "Libya's Forgotten Desert Kingdom," *Saudi Aramco World* 55, no. 3 (May/June 2004), <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200403/libya.s.forgotten.desert.kingdom.htm>

²⁷ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 5: Infrastructure in Libya," in *The Libyan Economy* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 163.

²⁸ John Watkins, "Libya's Thirst for 'Fossil Water,'" BBC News, 18 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4814988.stm>

Major Cities

Tripoli

Tripoli, also known as Tarabulus al-Gharb (“Tripoli of the West”), is Libya’s capital, business and cultural center, and main port.²⁹ About 1 million people reside in the city, and another 1 million live in the greater metropolitan area.³⁰ Called “The White City” for its brilliant white buildings that reflect the sun, Tripoli began as a trade route terminus for overland caravans and seagoing ships.³¹ Many historic buildings remain in the *medina*, the old walled quarter.



© Mohamed Shaban
Tripoli

Italians expanded the city with broad streets, parks, and colonial residences, and the modern section holds skyscrapers and factories. Planned use of the limited farmland provides the bulk of the region’s vegetables, fruit, tobacco, and grain supply, and fresh seafood abounds from nearby Mediterranean waters.³² Industries include tobacco processing, textile manufacture (especially carpets), auto assembly, and oil.

The city suffered physical damage and citizens were killed by both air strikes and street fighting during the 2011 civil war.^{33, 34} The transitional government, the National Transitional Council (NTC), moved its headquarters from Benghazi to Tripoli in late 2011. In 2012, sporadic violence continued in the city from armed militias.^{35, 36, 37} Nevertheless, some residents began to return, and refugees from conflicts elsewhere began to arrive.³⁸

Benghazi

Libya’s second-largest city was once a Greek outpost and the historic capital of Cyrenaica. The city was later named for 15th-century marabout (Muslim holy man) Sidi ibn Ghazi, who may be buried nearby.³⁹ Benghazi has two large, economically significant ports, and is a center for oil production and refining. The city endured protracted Axis-Allied fighting during World War II,

²⁹ Ronald Bruce St John, “Tripoli,” in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 254–255, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/50055633/Ronald-Bruce-St-John-Historical-Dictionary-of-Libya>

³⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Tripoli,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/605829/Tripoli>

³¹ Francesca Di Piazza, “Chapter 2: The Land,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 18.

³² Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 10–11.

³³ Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT), UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), “Annex IV: Satellite Imagery and the Libyan Conflict,” 23 February 2012,

http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session19/A_HRC_19_68_AnnexIV.pdf

³⁴ C. J. Chivers and Eric Schmitt, “In Strikes on Libya by NATO, an Unspoken Civilian Toll,” 17 December 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/18/world/africa/scores-of-unintended-casualties-in-nato-war-in-libya.html?_r=1

³⁵ Jomana Karadsheh and Talia Kayali, “Militia Storms Hotel in Libya after Guest Told to Pay Overdue Bill,” CNN, 25 March 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/24/world/africa/libya-militia-hotel/>

³⁶ Rami Al-Shaheibi, “Libya Ruler Speaks out against Militia Power,” Associated Press, 18 March 2012, <http://news.yahoo.com/libya-ruler-speaks-against-militia-power-2012142800.html>

³⁷ Oliver Holmes, “Rival Libya Militias Fight Gunbattle in Capital,” Reuters Africa, 1 February 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/libyaNews/idAFL5E8D14W020120201>

³⁸ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, “UNHCR Libya External Update,” February 2012, [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/%28httpDocuments%29/9A88168EE37F7A66C12579B400387905/\\$file/UNHCR+External+update+-+February+2012.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/%28httpDocuments%29/9A88168EE37F7A66C12579B400387905/$file/UNHCR+External+update+-+February+2012.pdf)

³⁹ Francesca Di Piazza, “Chapter 2: The Land,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 19.

including repeated Allied bombing.^{40, 41, 42} In 2011, it emerged as the headquarters of rebellion against Qadhafi, and again endured air strikes (from both Qadhafi and NATO) as well as ground battles.^{43, 44} Since the NTC moved from Benghazi to Tripoli, some regional leaders have urged Benghazi to take more autonomy in the new nation.⁴⁵

Misratah

Across from Benghazi on the western side of the Gulf of Sidra, Misratah is Libya's third-largest city. Once a caravan transit point, it is now home to one of the country's oldest carpet and textile industries, as well as a sizeable steel production facility.⁴⁶ Although located between Qadhafi's then power seats of Tripoli and Surt, residents of Misratah protested with Benghazi from the beginning of the 2011 uprising. When government security forces began shooting on 20 February 2011, the battle was on, and lasted until Misratan militia members captured and killed Qadhafi in October.^{47, 48, 49, 50} Misratans elected a local council in February 2012 and are taking over management of their port. The Misratan militia is accused of human rights abuses against Qadhafi loyalists.⁵¹

Sabha

The *de facto* capital of the Fezzan region, Sabha is Libya's largest oasis.⁵² The oasis soil is fertile enough to grow crops such as onions, barley, and wheat.⁵³ Sabha's location at the junction of two major caravan routes linking the African



© Sven-Erik Janc
Sabha

⁴⁰ *Argus* (Australia), "Harbour Works at Benghazi Bombed," 6 October 1941, Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8208866>

⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, "Liberators Bomb Benghazi," 29 September 1942, Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/17815114>

⁴² Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 19.

⁴³ Ola Galal and Massoud A. Derhally, "Qaddafi Bombs Benghazi as Son Says 'Too Late' for No-Fly Zone Over Libya," Bloomberg, 16 March 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-03-15/qaddafi-forces-near-benghazi-as-rebel-says-world-failed-us.html>

⁴⁴ Lane Turner, "The Big Picture: Libya: UN Air Strikes Aid Rebels," *Boston Globe*, 21 March 2011, http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2011/03/libya_un_airstrikes_aid_rebels.html

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Arrott, "Libya Deals with Divisions in Fallout from Arab Spring," Voice of America, 13 March 2012, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/middle-east/Libya-Deals-With-Divisions-in-Fallout-From-Arab-Spring-142642326.html>

⁴⁶ Francesca Di Piazza, *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 19.

⁴⁷ Xan Rice, "Libyan Rebels pay a Heavy Price for Resisting Gaddafi in Misrata," *Guardian* (UK), 21 April 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/21/libyan-rebels-heavy-price-misrata>

⁴⁸ Christopher Stephen and Caroline Alexander, "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Government is Hobbled as Misrata's City-State Thrives," Bloomberg, 28 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/libya-hobbled-as-misrata-s-armed-city-state-thrives.html>

⁴⁹ Hamid Ould Ahmed and Christian Lowe, "NATO Air Strikes Hit Misrata – Rebel Spokesman," Reuters, 3 May 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/03/libya-misrata-nato-idUSLDE7421OF20110503>

⁵⁰ Rob Young, "Libya's Commercial Hub Recovers Slowly," BBC News, 3 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-16366285>

⁵¹ Christopher Stephen and Caroline Alexander, "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Government is Hobbled as Misrata's City-State Thrives," Bloomberg, 28 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/libya-hobbled-as-misrata-s-armed-city-state-thrives.html>

⁵² Ronald Bruce St John, "Sebha," in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 227.

⁵³ Anthony Ham, "Sebha Region," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 216–217.

interior to the Mediterranean coast made it an important transit point. Nowadays, cargo travels in heavy trucks and camel trains on unpaved desert routes running southwest toward Algeria and southeast toward Niger and Chad. Sabha is home to many members of the Qadhadhfa tribe, and to immigrant populations from Chad, Niger, and Sudan.^{54, 55} The city houses a military base, and became a Qadhafi stronghold during the 2011 civil war. In 2012, Arab-African ethnic violence threatens to overwhelm the authority of the NTC.⁵⁶

Al-Khufrah

Al-Khufrah is a series of small oasis communities in Libya's southeastern desert. It was once the headquarters of the Sanusi Order, a Muslim brotherhood, and retains a Sanusi school in the town of Al-Taj.⁵⁷ The oases draw water from the underground Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System. This giant system may contain as much as 375,000 cubic km (90,000 cu mi) of groundwater in chambers below Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and Chad.⁵⁸ Al-Khufrah has become one of Libya's largest inland agricultural endeavors. The diversion of water to irrigated farms in the region may be causing some oasis lakes to dry up.⁵⁹ Al-Khufrah has been the site of repeated conflict since the onset of the 2011 civil war. Rebel and Qadhafi forces fought for its control in 2011.⁶⁰ In 2012, intertribal conflicts continued, and had killed more than 100 people.⁶¹

History

Early History

Neolithic peoples occupied Libya more than 10,000 years ago.⁶² The many different indigenous tribes came to be known collectively as Berbers, from the Roman word for barbarians, *barbara*, and the name *Barbary* for the North African coast.⁶³ The ancient Egyptians knew one of the early Berber tribes as the *Lebu*.⁶⁴ This is thought to be the root word for "Libya," the name that

⁵⁴ Agence France-Presse, "Battles Rage in Western Libya," ABC News, 13 June 2011,

<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-06-13/battles-rage-in-western-libya/2755950?section=justin>

⁵⁵ Hadeel Al-Shalchi and Maggie Michael, "Libyan Forces Fight Rebels on Several Fronts," Bloomberg Businessweek, 12 June 2011, <http://www.businessweek.com/ap/financialnews/D9NQG8B00.htm>

⁵⁶ Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Libya Struggles to Contain Tribal Conflicts," Reuters, 8 April, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-libya-violence-idUSBRE83702Z20120408>

⁵⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Al-Kufrah," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/324424/Al-Kufrah>

⁵⁸ International Atomic Energy Agency, "Nubian Sandstone Aquifer Project: Ancient Waters, Unique Landscapes," 15 March 2010, http://www-naweb.iaea.org/naweb/ih/IHS_projects_nubian_ancient.html

⁵⁹ Felicity Barringer, "A Rare Isotope Helps Track an Ancient Water Source," *New York Times*, 21 November 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/22/science/rare-krypton-81-isotope-helps-track-water-in-ancient-nubian-aquifer.html?_r=3&pagewanted=2

⁶⁰ BBC News, "Libya: NATO Strike 'Kills Rebels' in Misrata," 28 April 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13223197>

⁶¹ Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Libya Struggles to Contain Tribal Conflicts," Reuters, 8 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-libya-violence-idUSBRE83702Z20120408>

⁶² Jona Lendering, "Rock Art of the Fezzan," Livius.org, 25 May 2009, http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes_rock_art.html

⁶³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Berber," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/61465/Berber>

⁶⁴ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 2: The Libyan Past: Prehistory," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 91.

the Greeks and others later applied to all of northern Africa except Egypt.⁶⁵ Libya's Mediterranean coast became a crossroads for a succession of ancient empires—Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines—who connected via caravan routes to the interior desert empire of the Garamantes and to other Berber tribes. From these early civilizations arose Libya's historical geographic divisions: Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan.⁶⁶ Arabs entered Cyrenaica not long after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, and took most of Libya from the last of the Byzantine armies.⁶⁷ In the 11th century, a larger influx of Arab nomads, or Bedouins, cemented Arab culture and the practice of Islam throughout North Africa.⁶⁸ During the following centuries, Islamic dynasties and empires ruled Libyan territories.



Ottoman Rule

In 1551, Ottoman forces took Tripoli, beginning a long period of influence along the Libyan coast. Tripoli became a powerful regency of the empire.⁶⁹ Military units of janissaries soon dominated the region. They ruled by force and were only nominally subject to a local governor, or *pasha*, resulting in frequent military coups.⁷⁰ In 1711, Ahmed Karamanli, a cavalry officer of Turkish-Libyan descent, took control of Tripoli. His dynasty earned much of its income through piracy, extorting tribute from foreign ships in return for safe passage through Mediterranean waters.⁷¹ In 1800, the young United States Marine Corps and Navy were sent by President Thomas Jefferson “to the shores of Tripoli” to put a stop to the pasha’s demand for escalating American tribute for shipping.^{72, 73} Tripoli’s economy soon declined and civil war erupted.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁶⁶ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 26.

⁶⁷ R. Gleave, “Chapter 1: History and Movement of Peoples: The Prophet Muhammad,” in *World and Its Peoples: The Middle East, Western Asia, and Northern Africa: Vol.1, Arabian Peninsula*, ed. Ali Aldosari (Tarrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 26.

⁶⁸ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs: Hilalians,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁶⁹ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁷⁰ Anthony Ham, “History: Ottoman Rule,” in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 34–35.

⁷¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Tripolitania,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/605842/Tripolitania>

⁷² Stuart Murray, “Fighting Pirates on the Hostile Shores of Tripoli,” in *Atlas of American Military History* (Infobase Publishing, 2005), 46–47.

⁷³ United States Marine Corps History Division, “Brief History of the United States Marine Corps,” July 2006, http://www.tecom.usmc.mil/HD/Customes_Traditions/Brief_History_USMC.htm

⁷⁴ Stuart Murray, “Fighting Pirates on the Hostile Shores of Tripoli,” in *Atlas of American Military History* (Infobase Publishing, 2005), 46–47.

Ottomans reclaimed authority over the region in 1835, but their administration became less and less effective.^{75, 76}

The decline of Ottoman power allowed new leadership to emerge in Libya in the form of the *Sanūsīyah*, a Muslim brotherhood. Muhammad bin Ali as Sanusi (1787–1859), an Algerian-born Islamic scholar and holy man, found a receptive audience among Bedouins for his teachings. Sanusi promoted an ethic of extreme self-discipline, forbade fanaticism, discouraged reliance on alms, and stressed hard work instead.⁷⁷ Though he developed few followers in Tripolitania, by 1902 a network of 146 Sanusi lodges connected most Bedouin tribes in Cyrenaica with followers throughout Africa and Arabia.^{78, 79} Islam, filtered through Sanusi holy men, became the basis for settling intertribal disputes and for opposing the foreign occupations of the Ottomans and the Italians.⁸⁰



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Ottoman architecture in Tripoli

Italian Colonization

Italy declared war against the Ottomans in 1911 on the premise that Ottomans had armed Arab tribesmen in an effort to thwart Italy's commercial interests in Libya.^{81, 82} Libyans viewed the Italian takeover as an attack on Islam (not on the Libyan state), and the Sanusi brotherhood spearheaded decades of resistance through World War I and the 1920s.⁸³ After years of guerrilla warfare, the capture and execution of Cyrenaican rebel leader Sheik Umar al-Mukhtar in 1931



© Helen Goodchild
Old Italian railway

⁷⁵ Anthony Ham, "History: Ottoman Rule," in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 34–35.

⁷⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency: The Ottoman Revival," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁷⁷ B.G. Martin, "Chapter 4: The Sanusi Brotherhood in Libya and the Sahara," in *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

⁷⁸ Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 1: 'A tract which is wholly sand...' Herodotus," in *A History of Modern Libya*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19.

⁷⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency: The Sanusi Order," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁸⁰ Mansour O. El-Kikhia, "Chapter 2: Through the Eyes of History," in *Libya's Qadhafi: The Politics of Contradiction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 16–17.

⁸¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁸² David S. Sorenson, "Chapter 18: The Modern History of Libya," in *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East: History, Religion, Political Economy, Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 383.

⁸³ Ronald Bruce St John, "Chapter 1: Dismal Record," in *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 18.

ended the conflict.⁸⁴ Italy then encouraged mass emigration to their “fourth shore,” investing in roads, ports, and a 1,822 km (1,132 mi) trans-Libyan aqueduct.^{85, 86} Over 100,000 Italians emigrated, receiving land grants at the expense of Tripolitani and Cyrenaicans, whose farmlands and livestock were confiscated or destroyed. Libyan officials have since referred to the Italian colonial period as “virtual genocide” of an estimated 25% of the Libyan people.^{87, 88}

Independence

Independent Libya was created in the wake of World War II. The Allied Powers decided that Italy should not retain its colonial possessions, and assigned the task of making a new country to the newly formed United Nations. Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan were consolidated into the United Kingdom of Libya in 1951. Muhammad Idris, grandson of the Grand Sanusi, became king of one of the world’s poorest nations.⁸⁹ Libya was heavily dependent on the United States and United Kingdom for financial assistance until Standard Oil (the precursor to Exxon) discovered Libyan oil in 1959.^{90, 91} Within a decade, King Idris was suspected of funneling money to the Cyrenaican elite while most of the country remained impoverished.

Qadhafi’s Libya

On 1 September 1969, 27-year-old Army captain Muammar Qadhafi came to power in a bloodless coup. He established the Libyan Arab Republic governed by a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). His charisma contrasted sharply with the staid leadership of the ailing, 80-year-old King Idris. Qadhafi combined ideas of anti-imperialism and pan-Arab nationalism into visions of a future that inspired Libya’s youth. He deported some 20,000 ethnic Italians. Qadhafi declared 28 March and 11 June national holidays to mark the respective departure dates of the British and Americans from their military bases.^{92, 93} He tried to remake the Libyan economy by nationalizing oil and banking, and eliminating private businesses and



© Ammar Abd Rabbo
Qadhafi

⁸⁴ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism: The Second Italo-Sanusi War,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁸⁵ Dirk Vandewalle, “Chapter 2: Italy’s Fourth Shore and Decolonization, 1911–1950,” in *A History of Modern Libya*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 33.

⁸⁶ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 3: The Fourth Shore,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 118–119.

⁸⁷ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 3: The Fourth Shore,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 118–119.

⁸⁸ Francesca Di Piazza, “History and Government: Guerrilla War,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 29.

⁸⁹ John L.S. Simpkins, “Update: Libya’s Legal System and Legal Research,” GlobaLex (Hauser Global Law School Program, New York University School of Law), November/December 2010, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Libya1.htm>

⁹⁰ John Anthony Allan, “Chapter 1: Libya Before Oil,” in *Libya: The Experience of Oil* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), 19.

⁹¹ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 509–511.

⁹² Anna Momigliano, “Carrying a Heavy Load of History, Libya’s Qaddafi Arrives in Italy,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 June 2009, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2009/0610/carrying-a-heavy-load-of-history-libyas-qaddafi-arrives-in-italy>

⁹³ Ronald Bruce St John, “Chapter 1: Dismal Record,” in *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 4.

ownership. He reorganized government into People's Committees and Congresses to bring public opinion directly to him and to send his orders directly to the public.^{94, 95} (These groups soon required the oversight of Revolutionary Committees, where membership was determined by loyalty to Qadhafi.⁹⁶)

Qadhafi's goals extended beyond Libya. He supported a range of insurgencies, including rebels in Sudan, Chad, and throughout the Sahel, as well as several Palestinian groups, the Basque ETA, the Baader-Meinhof gang, and the Irish Republican Army.⁹⁷ When a Pan Am jet exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988, Qadhafi's refusal to hand over Libyan suspects for trial resulted in U.S. and UN sanctions against Libya. The sanctions slowed Libya's oil industry. Declining oil revenues decreased government spending on social services and public sector wages. Growing public dissatisfaction met with increasing surveillance and repression.⁹⁸

Qadhafi's Overthrow

In February 2011, the government's arrest of a human rights activist sparked protests in Benghazi that quickly spread throughout Libya.⁹⁹ When Qadhafi attacked the protesters from the air, the international community responded with a UN-approved, NATO-enforced no-fly zone.^{100, 101} NATO soon began air strikes against Qadhafi forces, in support of the rebels and the civilian population. By August, armed opposition groups drove Qadhafi and his supporters from power in Tripoli to his hometown stronghold in Sirte. On 20 October, social media went viral with images and videos of Qadhafi bloodied, captured, and dead. His body (along with his son's) went on public display in a cold locker in Misratah for several days.¹⁰² Although his tribe and his exiled family sought possession of his body for burial, the transitional government buried him in a secret location to prevent both veneration and desecration of the site.^{103, 104}

⁹⁴ Mary-Jane Deeb, "Chapter 14: Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. David Long and Bernard Reich (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 383.

⁹⁵ Lisa Anderson, "Subsidizing Qadhafi's Utopia," *Worldview* (Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs) 27, no. 8 (August 1984),

http://worldview.cceia.org/archive/worldview/1984/08/4201.html/res/id=sa_File1/v27_i008_a009.pdf

⁹⁶ Mansour O. El-Kikhia, "Chapter 5: Qadhafi's State," in *Libya's Qadhafi: The Politics of Contradiction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 87.

⁹⁷ Martin W. Slann and Cindy C. Combs, "Libya, State-Supported Terrorism by," in *Encyclopedia of Terrorism* (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 173–175.

⁹⁸ Ray Takeyh, "Qadhafi's Libya and the Prospect of Islamic Succession," *Middle East Policy* (Council on Foreign Relations) 7, no. 2 (1 February 2000), 154–164, <http://www.cfr.org/world/qadhafis-libya-prospect-islamic-succession/p7437>

⁹⁹ Reuters, "Timeline: Libya's Civil War," *Guardian* (UK), 19 November 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/19/timeline-libya-civil-war>

¹⁰⁰ *Al Jazeera*, "Nations Condemn Libyan Crackdown," 22 February 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122214042786138.html>

¹⁰¹ NATO, "NATO and Libya," 28 March 2012, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_71652.htm

¹⁰² Mary Beth Sheridan, "Libyans Line up to see Gaddafi's Body on Display; Groups Call for Probe into Death," *Washington Post*, 21 October 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/libyans-delay-burial-of-gaddafi-pending-inquiries/2011/10/21/gIOAZkTQ3L_story.html

¹⁰³ Ian Black, "Gaddafi Buried in Secret Desert Location," *Guardian* (UK), 25 October 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/25/gaddafi-buried-libya-desert>

¹⁰⁴ Reuters Africa, "Gaddafi Family Demands Body; NATO Ends Libya War," 21 October 2011, <http://af.reuters.com/article/energyOilNews/idAFL5E7LL4AT20111021>

Government

For some Libyans, the tribe has always been the only meaningful governing organization, and the local tribal leader the only acknowledged political power. Libya's constitutional monarch failed to transform Cyrenaican and Sanusi loyalties into a national identity.¹⁰⁵ Qadhafi, always mindful of his Bedouin roots, tried to make Libya a "direct democracy" in which "the people" governed as a nationwide group. He invented the word *Jamahiriya* to name his "state of the masses," and gave up his titles of authority to become known simply as "the leader" (or "Leader of the Revolution").¹⁰⁶ To replace tribal authority, he gave people's committees and congresses responsibility for making law and implementing it at local levels. But these bodies had neither budget allocation power nor any input into the petroleum sector, law enforcement, armed forces, intelligence agencies, or foreign policy initiatives.¹⁰⁷ In effect, Qadhafi was the government because there were "no institutions in Libya to share his power or challenge his behavior."^{108, 109}



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Libyan government building

In 2011, widespread defection among political and military officials contributed to Qadhafi's downfall. The National Transitional Council, an opposition governmental administration of business executives, religious and secular scholars, doctors, lawyers, royalists, and tribal leaders, quickly developed in Benghazi, with international exile and diaspora ties.¹¹⁰ It reconstituted Libya's national bank and national oil corporation in order to gain access to frozen funds and to sell embargoed oil.¹¹¹ It later achieved international recognition as a legitimate representative of Libya.¹¹² In 2012, the council and its appointed interim cabinet struggled toward elections, a new constitution, and centralized governmental authority over regional militias.^{113, 114}

¹⁰⁵ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Independent Libya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁰⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Independent Libya: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁰⁷ Frank Anderson, "Qadhafi's Libya: The Limits of Optimism," *Middle East Policy Council Journal* 6, no. 4 (June 1999), <http://mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/qadhafis-libya-limits-optimism>

¹⁰⁸ Michael Slackman, "A Leader Beyond Reproach Limits the Possibilities for Political Change," *New York Times*, 19 March 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/20/world/africa/20libya.html>

¹⁰⁹ Craig R. Black, "Deterring Libya: The Strategic Culture of Muammar Qaddafi," USAF Counterproliferation Center, Air War College, Air University, October 2000, <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cpc-pubs/black.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, "The Libyan National Transitional Council: Social Bases, Membership and Political Trends (Report)," Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 30 October 2011, <http://studies.aljazeera.net/ResourceGallery/media/Documents/2011/11/30/2011113072932155580Dr%20Ahmidas%20Libyan%20National%20Council.pdf>

¹¹¹ Bill Varner, "Libyan Rebel Council Forms Oil Company to Replace Qaddafi's," Bloomberg, 22 March 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-03-21/libyan-rebel-council-sets-up-oil-company-to-replace-qaddafi-s.html>

¹¹² Reuters Africa, "Excerpts from Libya Contact Group Chair's Statement," 15 July 2011, <http://af.reuters.com/article/commoditiesNews/idAFLDE76E0W120110715>

¹¹³ Azza Kamel Maghur, Fadel Lamien, and Marina Ottaway, "Transition in Libya: The Next Steps (Panel Discussion)," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace video, 91:17, 2 February 2012, <http://m.ceip.org/2012/02/02/balancing-political-powers-in-libya-s-transition/968c&lang=en>

Media

Qadhafi justified state-controlled media on the grounds that every citizen was directly involved in policy making, thereby negating the need for an independent press to report government affairs.¹¹⁵ His son, Saif al-Islam, headed the company One-Nine Holdings (named for the 1 September 1969 coup that brought his father to power). He was tasked with overseeing 21st-century media privatization initiatives.¹¹⁶ Libyans, bored with government broadcasts, found their way to international content and technology.¹¹⁷ Some information warriors used their technical and social media connections to announce and assist the 2011 revolution.¹¹⁸ In 2012, the country faced the repair of some 20% of its telecommunications infrastructure, and a doubling of demand for internet access.¹¹⁹ Libyans and international observers watched for new government actions to guarantee a “free, open, and independent media and communications system.”¹²⁰



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Laptop

Economy

Libya's economy is dominated by oil, which contributes about 95% of Libya's export revenues.¹²¹ Substantial revenues from the energy sector, coupled with a small population, give Libya one of the highest per capita GDPs in Africa.^{122, 123} Yet these numbers mask an unequal distribution of economic opportunities and benefits as well as high levels of underemployment, unemployment, and poverty (in 2012, the CIA reported that one-third of Libyans were at or below the national poverty line).^{124, 125} The once widespread subsistence occupations of farming,



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Oil vent

¹¹⁴ Associated Press, “Libya’s Ruling Council Keeping Cabinet in Place despite Criticism, No-confidence Vote,” *Washington Post*, 29 April 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/libyas-ruling-council-keeping-cabinet-in-place-despite-criticism-no-confidence-vote/2012/04/29/gIAHJ5cpT_story.html

¹¹⁵ Sarah Leah Whitson, “Tripoli Spring: How Libya’s Behind-the-Scenes Reformer Is Actually, Well, Reforming,” *Foreign Policy*, 27 May 2009, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4949

¹¹⁶ George Joffe, “Saif al-Islam: The Whole (Libyan) World in His Hands?” Sada (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 13 January 2010, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/2010/01/13/saif-al-islam-whole-libyan-world-in-his-hands/6bal>

¹¹⁷ Claudia Gazzini, “Libya: A New El Dorado? Not for Its Media,” *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, 2006, <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Gazzini.html>

¹¹⁸ John Pollock, “People Power 2.0: How Civilians Helped Win the Libyan Information War,” *Technology Review* (MIT), May/June 2012, <http://www.technologyreview.com/web/40214/>

¹¹⁹ Marie-Louise Gumuchian and Matt Smith, “International Telcos Eye Libya as Elections Near,” *Reuters*, 4 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/04/libya-telecoms-idUSL6E8F10DQ20120404>

¹²⁰ Northwestern University in Qatar, “Media Vision for Libya: A Good Offices Conference” (conference, Doha, Qatar, 10–11 December 2011), <http://mediavisionlibya.northwestern.edu/a-path-for-the-future/>

¹²¹ Central Intelligence Agency, “Libya,” in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

¹²² World Bank, “Data: Libya,” 2012, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/libya>

¹²³ UN Development Programme, “Human Development Reports: Indices and Data,” 2011, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics>

¹²⁴ International Monetary Fund, “Libya on Recovery Path but Faces Long Rebuilding Effort,” *IMF Survey Magazine*, 16 April 2012, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2012/car041612a.htm>

herding, and fishing now account for less than 20% of the employed labor force and contribute less than 5% to GDP. By contrast, industrial production (which includes oil and gas) contributes more than half of GDP with less than a quarter of the labor force (and industrial workers receive better compensation and benefits).¹²⁶ Before the 2011 conflict, the majority of the employed population worked in services, including the government-subsidized public sector. Yet unemployment rates were estimated as high as 30%.

In 2012, postwar recovery of the oil sector was more rapid than expected. It remains to be seen how the larger Libyan economy will evolve after decades of Qadhafi's control. The new government needs to attract continued foreign investment and expertise to further develop its extensive oil reserves for its small population.¹²⁷ More importantly, the new government needs to fairly redistribute oil revenues and reinvest surplus income.

Ethnic Groups

About 97% of the Libyan population is Arab-Berber.¹²⁸

Berbers, who call themselves *Imazighan* (singular *Amazigh*), are descendants of the native tribes of North Africa, whose presence there is thought to date at least 5,000 years.^{129, 130}

Arabs first migrated to the region roughly 1,400 years ago, bringing Islam and the Arabic language. Beginning in the 11th century, the large-scale immigration of Bedouins, or Arab nomads, led to the assimilation of most Berber tribes and the lasting Arabization of the region. Today, most Libyans share a predominantly Arab culture based on Sunni Islam and the Arabic language. Though the majority identify themselves as Arab, few can claim pure or even predominant Arab ancestry because of centuries of intermarriage with Berbers and the descendants of other peoples who occupied the region.¹³¹



A small percentage of Libyans (about 3–5%) continue to identify themselves as *Imazighan*, although they are typically of mixed ancestry.^{132, 133, 134} They speak Berber languages and live in

¹²⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, “Libya,” in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

¹²⁶ Lahcen Achy, “40 Years After al-Fateh Revolution, What Is the Future of the Libyan Economy?” Carnegie Middle East Center, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 8 September 2009, http://www.carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=24062&solr_hilite=

¹²⁷ Jason Pack and Katherine F. White, “Economic Future for Libya Brighter than in Tunisia, Egypt,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 August 2011, <http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Global-Viewpoint/2011/0829/Economic-future-for-Libya-brighter-than-in-Tunisia-Egypt>

¹²⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, “Libya,” in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

¹²⁹ Edwin Lane, “After Gaddafi, Libya’s Amazigh Demand Recognition,” BBC News, 23 December 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16289543>

¹³⁰ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

¹³¹ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, “Country Profile: Libya,” April 2005, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

¹³² Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, “Libyans: The Amazigh,” in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 65.

¹³³ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

small, tight-knit communities of farmers and pastoralists.^{135, 136} Most Libyan Berbers live in the Tripolitania region, although some live in scattered areas of Cyrenaica and Fezzan.

The category “Berber” tends to mask the diversity of the many tribes that it encompasses. A distinct subgroup of Berbers, the Tuareg, are desert nomads found throughout the greater Saharan region, from Mali to Algeria and Niger. In Libya, they are concentrated in the west (around Ghadames) and southwest (around Ghat and Murzuq). A hardy, independent people, the Tuareg are sometimes called “the blue people” because the blue dye in their robes stains their skin. They practice a folk version of Sunni Islam and give high social status to women, for whom the privilege of reading and writing was traditionally reserved.¹³⁷ In contrast to most Muslim communities, Tuareg men traditionally wear veils, while women are not required to do so.¹³⁸

Other ethnic groups include the Tebu (Toubou), farmers and herders in southeastern Libya. Tebu Islamic practices are heavily influenced by the Sanusi Order, the austere Muslim brotherhood established in 19th-century Cyrenaica. Also in Libya are black Africans, who are often migrant workers or the descendants of slaves. This group includes peoples from Mali, Niger, Chad, and Sudan.¹³⁹ Finally, Libya is home to Egyptian, Palestinian, and Tunisian immigrants, as well as small communities of Europeans such as Italians, Greeks, and Maltese.¹⁴⁰

Languages

Arabic is the most widely used language in Libya, and was the official language of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.¹⁴¹ There are three major dialects: Tripolitanian Arabic, Eastern Libyan Arabic, and Southern Libyan Arabic.¹⁴² Reflecting historical allegiances, the dialect spoken in western Libya (Tripolitania) is related to that of Tunisia, whereas the dialect used in the east is similar to Egyptian Arabic.¹⁴³ Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a formal version that is generally



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Sign in Cyrene

¹³⁴ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 28.

¹³⁵ Ronald Bruce St John, “Berbers,” in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 35, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/50055633/Ronald-Bruce-St-John-Historical-Dictionary-of-Libya>

¹³⁶ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

¹³⁷ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Ethnic Groups and Languages: Peoples of Libya: Tuareg,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹³⁸ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 29–30.

¹³⁹ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 30–31.

¹⁴⁰ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

¹⁴¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Libya: People: Ethnic Groups and Languages,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46545/People>

¹⁴² M. Paul Lewis, ed., “Languages of Libya,” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Libya

¹⁴³ Anthony Ham, “Language,” in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 246.

understood throughout the Arab world, is used for all official correspondence and signage. English is widely used as a second language, and French and Italian are used or understood, particularly in urban areas.¹⁴⁴

Berber languages—sometimes collectively named Tamazight—are spoken within Libya’s remnant Berber communities. The most widely spoken is Nafusi, which is the first language of Berbers in the Jebel Nafusah and other areas of Tripolitania, as well as in parts of nearby Tunisia. Nafusi dialects include Zuara and Jerbi.¹⁴⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, only a few Berbers in eastern Cyrenaica speak Awjilah. Though the men of the Awjilah tribe typically speak Arabic as a second language (especially in public), the women speak only Awjilah; women serve as the primary keepers of this dying language.¹⁴⁶ The Tuareg speak a Berber language known as Tamahaq or Tamashek.¹⁴⁷ The Tebu speak their own language; its various dialects are not mutually intelligible.¹⁴⁸ Most Berber and other native-language speakers also speak Arabic.

¹⁴⁴ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, “Country Profile: Libya,” April 2005, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

¹⁴⁵ M. Paul Lewis, ed., “Awjilah,” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=auj

¹⁴⁶ M. Paul Lewis, ed., “Nafusi,” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=jbn

¹⁴⁷ M. Paul Lewis, ed., “Languages of Libya,” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Libya

¹⁴⁸ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Ethnic Groups and Languages: Peoples of Libya: Black Africans,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

Chapter 1 Assessment

1. Before the discovery of oil, poverty conditions in Libya resulted in large part from agriculture and water scarcity.

True

Libya's farmlands are concentrated along a narrow strip of the northern Mediterranean coast, and around a few desert oases.

2. In Libya, dry riverbeds known as *hamada* are a common feature of the desert.

False

Wadis, dry riverbeds, are a common feature of the desert—as are *hamada*, which are exposed, wind-eroded plateaus.

3. The occurrence of *ghibli* has a severe impact on the coastal region in Libya.

True

Ghibli, which are hot, sand-laden winds that are present mainly from spring through early summer, can ruin crops and kill exposed livestock within a few hours.

4. At one time, Libya was part of the Roman Empire.

True

Successive Mediterranean empires of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines claimed Tripolitania and Cyrenaica until Arabs arrived in the 600s. Ancient Garamantes held interior Fezzan.

5. Muammar Qadhafi freed Libya from Italian colonization in 1951.

False

Allied Powers demanded Italy's withdrawal from Libya after World War II. Muhammad Idris became king of the independent constitutional monarchy of Libya in 1951.

CHAPTER 2: RELIGION

Introduction

Islam is the predominant religion in Libya. Arab armies introduced the religion to North Africa in the seventh century C.E. Its presence was firmly established in the region by the Bedouin tribes who began arriving in large numbers in the 11th century. Berbers and other native peoples such as the Tebu and Tuareg mixed Islam with their own religions, which sometimes included local saints, a belief in spirits, and magical practices.^{149, 150} Over the centuries, brotherhoods formed around charismatic holy men (like Libya's Grand Sanusi) who were believed to have spiritual power, or *baraka*.¹⁵¹ Under Qadhafi, Libyan Islam became progressive in some ways—Libyan women may even enter a mosque without covering their heads—but remained strict in others—alcohol is prohibited throughout the country, even within the non-Muslim, expatriate diplomatic and business communities. There are both hopes and fears about how the new Libya will incorporate *shari'a* (Islamic law) into a new constitution, new legislation, and a new society.^{152, 153}



Libya's non-Muslim minority are almost all foreigners. Christian congregations include Egyptian Coptics, Italian and Maltese Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Greek and Ukrainian Orthodox. Small nondenominational (Unity) churches serve migrant workers from sub-Saharan Africa and the Philippines. Other migrant workers from south and east Asia practice varieties of Buddhism and Hinduism at home.^{154, 155}

Islam

Islam is a world religion whose followers believe in a single deity. The Muslim community, or *umma*, calls this deity Allah. The Arabic term *islam* means “to submit” or “to surrender.” So a Muslim is one who submits to the will of Allah.¹⁵⁶ Muslims believe that Allah revealed his

¹⁴⁹ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵⁰ Ronald Bruce St John, “Libya,” in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices* (2006), Encyclopedia.com, 2 May 2012, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3437900155/libya.html>

¹⁵¹ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life: Saints and Brotherhoods,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵² Manal Omar, “Libya: Rebuilding from Scratch,” in *The Islamists Are Coming*, ed. Robin Wright (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2012), <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/islamists/node/23183>

¹⁵³ Souad Mekhennet, “For Women in Libya, a Long Road to Rights,” *New York Times*, 22 November 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/23iht-letter23.html?pagewanted=all>

¹⁵⁴ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, “Country Profile: Libya,” April 2005, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

¹⁵⁵ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Libya,” in *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report*, 13 September 2011, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168270.htm

¹⁵⁶ Frederick Mathewson Deny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994), 177.

message to the Prophet Muhammad, a merchant who lived in Arabia from 570 to 632 C.E. They consider Muhammad as the last in a long line of prophets including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Allah's message, as relayed by Muhammad, is delivered in the Quran, the sacred text of Islam. Additional doctrinal guides include the *Hadith*, a collection of the sayings of Muhammad, and the *Sunna*, which describes the behaviors or practices of Islam through Muhammad's examples.

The essential beliefs and rites of the Muslim faith are realized in the Five Pillars of Islam. The first and central pillar is the faithful recitation of the *shahada*, or Islamic creed (literally "witness" or "attestation"): "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah."¹⁵⁷ The remaining four pillars are: performing ritual prayers five times per day, giving alms to the poor and needy, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, and undertaking a pilgrimage to the Islamic holy city of Mecca.¹⁵⁸ Muslims believe that Allah will judge them for their actions on earth. This judgment determines whether the follower's afterlife is spent in either heaven or hell.¹⁵⁹



© Samer Muscati
Libyan men praying

Islamic Sects

After the death of Muhammad, the *umma* fractured, primarily over the succession of authority.¹⁶⁰ Some claimed that the community should choose a new leader, or caliph, from among the Prophet's trusted friends. Others believed the leadership should be hereditary and remain within the family of the Prophet. After the violent deaths of several caliphs and generations of battles, the Shi'ites broke away from the community to follow Muhammad's descendants. Sunni Islam then emerged as the majority branch of Islam, currently representing 80% to 90% of the worldwide Muslim community, including Libya.^{161, 162} Sunnis rely upon the consensus of the *umma* to determine their leadership in the office of caliph. This is the greatest defining element of Sunni Islam: the community is "the locus of religious authority."¹⁶³

Beyond the Sunni-Shi'a schism, other sects of Islam developed around particular doctrines, practices, or individuals. A North African sect, the Kharijites (or Ibadi), attracted Berbers with its doctrine that the caliph need not be a descendant of the Prophet, nor an Arab, nor a member of the elite.^{164, 165} (Sunni Arabs tended to privilege other Arabs as Muslim leaders long after their

¹⁵⁷ David S. Noss and John Boyer Noss, *A History of the World's Religions*, 9th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1994), 598.

¹⁵⁸ Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994), 118–136.

¹⁵⁹ Michael Anthony Sells, *Approaching the Qur'an: The Early Revelations* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 2005), 35–40.

¹⁶⁰ Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East 600–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 83–90.

¹⁶¹ The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population," 7 October 2009, <http://pewforum.org/Muslim/Mapping-the-Global-Muslim-Population%286%29.aspx>

¹⁶² Central Intelligence Agency, "Religions," in *the World Factbook*, n.d., <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>

¹⁶³ Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East 600–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 142–143.

¹⁶⁴ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

emigration from Arabia.) Practitioners of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, seek a direct encounter with the divine through meditation, chanting, or dancing, and revere their holy men endowed with divine grace.¹⁶⁶ In 19th-century Libya, the Sanūsīyah, a Sufi brotherhood, formed around the Grand Sanusi, a well-traveled Muslim scholar and holy man.¹⁶⁷ Sanusi combined an ethic of extreme self-discipline with a return to the fundamental teachings of the Sunna (the behavior or practices of Muhammad). His version of Islam was austere but not fanatic. It attracted Bedouins, Tebu, and other Cyrenaicans.^{168, 169} Independent Libya's first leader, King Idris, was a descendant of the Grand Sanusi.¹⁷⁰

The Quran

The Quran is the sacred text of Islam. For Muslims, the Quran is the literal word of Allah (or God) as revealed through the archangel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁷¹ Muslims handle Islam's holy book with respect: they wash their hands and face before touching the Quran, keep the Quran off the floor and out of latrines, place the Quran on a book rest or hold it above the lap or waist if sitting on the floor, protect the Quran with a dustcover when not in use, place the Quran on the highest bookcase shelf, and place nothing atop the Quran.¹⁷²

Religion and Government

Islam has been Libya's state religion since 1951.¹⁷³ In 1969, Muammar Qadhafi made his government the first explicitly Islamist regime in the eyes of the oil-importing world.¹⁷⁴ In 1977, he declared the Quran to be his country's constitution.¹⁷⁵ Qadhafi made himself a kind of Muslim Martin Luther: in his *Green Book*, he wrote that the Quran could be read and understood by anyone fluent in Arabic without reliance on clerics for interpretation, an idea that amounted to

¹⁶⁵ Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, Georgetown University, "Resources on Faith, Ethics, and Public Life: Countries: Libya," n.d., <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/countries/libya>

¹⁶⁶ Arthur John Arberry, *Aspects of Islamic Civilization: The Moslem World Depicted Through Its Literature* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967), 218.

¹⁶⁷ Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, Georgetown University, "Resources on Faith, Ethics, and Public Life: Countries: Libya: Organizations: Sanussi Sufi Brotherhood," n.d., <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/organizations/sanussi-sufi-brotherhood>

¹⁶⁸ B.G. Martin, "Chapter 4: The Sanusi Brotherhood in Libya and the Sahara," in *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

¹⁶⁹ Manal Omar, "Libya: Rebuilding from Scratch," in *The Islamists are Coming*, ed. Robin Wright (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2012), <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/islamists/node/23183>

¹⁷⁰ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life: The Sanusis," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁷¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Quran," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/487666/Quran>

¹⁷² Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Ft. Leavenworth, KS, "TRADOC DCSINT Handbook No. 2—Arab Cultural Awareness: 58 Factsheets," January 2006, <http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/army/arabculture.pdf>

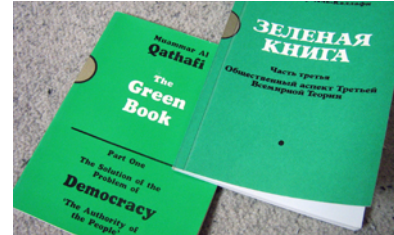
¹⁷³ Ronald Bruce St John, "Libya," in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices* (2006), Encyclopedia.com, 2 May 2012, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3437900155/libya.html>

¹⁷⁴ Lisa Anderson, interview by Bernard Gwertzman, "Libyan Expert: Qaddafi, Desperate to End Libya's Isolation, Sends a 'Gift' to President Bush," Council for Foreign Relations, 17 May 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/6617/>

¹⁷⁵ Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, Georgetown University, "Resources on Faith, Ethics, and Public Life: Countries: Libya: Essays on Libya: Religion in the Libyan Constitution," n.d., <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/countries/libya>

heresy in the eyes of the *ulama* (religious leaders).¹⁷⁶ He took on the role of a *mujtahid* (a Muslim jurist), making his word final on all religious matters.^{177, 178} The Qadhafi government outlawed the proselytization of Muslims, but ran the World Islamic Call Society, which trained students from outside the Arab world to become Muslim clerics in their home countries.¹⁷⁹ The government repressed Muslim groups that had divergent visions of Islam, whether moderate or extremist, yet it did not restrict public worship by non-Muslims.^{180, 181}

Since the end of Qadhafi's repressive regime, tensions among Islamic groups have re-emerged.^{182, 183} The National Transitional Council has indicated that Libya will continue to be run in accordance with shari'a—but exactly how remains to be determined in a new constitution and subsequent laws.¹⁸⁴ The Council banned political parties based on religion, ethnicity, or tribe weeks before national elections scheduled for June 2012, but reversed the ban a few days later.^{185, 186}



Courtesy of Wikipedia.org
Qadhafi's Green Book

Religion in Daily Life

Generally, Libyan adults faithfully observe the Islamic sacrament of prayer five times a day. Those with busy schedules may occasionally say all their daily prayers at once. It is acceptable, particularly for women, to pray at home. Friday is the Muslim day of worship, and noon prayer

¹⁷⁶ Ronald Bruce St John, "Qadhafi's Old Theories Facing New Realities," *Sada* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 4 December 2008, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/arb/?fa=show&article=22478>

¹⁷⁷ Shawky S. Zeidan, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Opposition to Qadhafi: Religious Opposition," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁷⁸ Though he was impatient with others' theological disputes, which he considered debilitating to Arab unity, some of Qadhafi's decisions seemed whimsical; in particular, his decision to move the first year of the Muslim calendar—marked by the Prophet Muhammad's migration (hijra) to Medina—forward 10 years to the time of his death.

¹⁷⁹ Tom Heneghan, "Special Report: Gaddafi's Secret Missionaries," Reuters, 29 March 2012,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/29/us-libya-missionary-idUSBRE82S07T20120329>

¹⁸⁰ Manal Omar, "Libya: Rebuilding from Scratch," in *The Islamists are Coming*, ed. Robin Wright (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2012), <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/islamists/node/23183>

¹⁸¹ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "Libya," in *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report*, 13 September 2011, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168270.htm

¹⁸² Associated Press, "Islamic Hard-Liners Attack Rival Shrines in Libya," USA Today, 13 October 2011, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2011-10-13/libya-religious-tensions/50750562/1>

¹⁸³ Tom Heneghan, "Freed from Gaddafi, Libyan Sufis Face Violent Islamists," Reuters, 1 February 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/01/us-libya-sufis-idUSTRE8101LA20120201>

¹⁸⁴ Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, "Resources on Faith, Ethics, and Public Life: Countries: Libya: Essays on Libya: Religion in the Libyan Constitution," n.d.,

<http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/countries/libya>

¹⁸⁵ Hadeel Al-Shalchi, Ali Shuaib, and Mark Heinrich, "Libya Bans Religious, Tribal or Ethnic Parties," Reuters, 25 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/25/us-libya-election-idUSBRE83O0Y620120425>

¹⁸⁶ Taha Zargoun and Michael Roddy, "Libya Drops Ban on Religion-Based Parties," Reuters, 2 May 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/05/02/us-libya-election-idUSBRE8411N020120502>

at the mosque remains an important event that is observed even by the less devout.¹⁸⁷ Business stops for part of the day, and it is wise not to plan activities during this time.¹⁸⁸

At appointed hours (dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and mid-evening), Muslims face Mecca and recite their prayers. While doing so, their body language reflects humility in the face of the Almighty.

Exchange 1: When do you pray?

Soldier:	When do you pray?	aamta tSalee?
Local:	We pray five times a day.	inSalee Khams awgaat fee il-yom

Libyans observe the Islamic prohibitions against alcohol, pork, and meat that is not *halal* (butchered humanely according to Muslim rituals).¹⁸⁹ Islamic notions of modesty influence clothing styles, though Libya's women are not required to veil.¹⁹⁰

In rural communities especially, pre-Islamic beliefs and practices have endured. Berbers believe in the *baraka* (spiritual powers) of *marabouts* (holy men), who may perform miracles or see into the future. Such holy men retain their powers even after death, and their tombs receive a steady stream of visitors seeking favors, such as help for attaining a high score on an exam or finding a suitable spouse.¹⁹¹ Tuareg men, considered vulnerable to magical attack, wear a veil to protect themselves from evil spirits.¹⁹²



© Frederique Harmsze
Waiting outside the mosque
for noon prayer

Religion and Gender

Islamic custom has long shaped gender attitudes and practices in Libyan society. Men dominate the public sphere, while women socialize in private spaces with other women. *Purdah*, the

¹⁸⁷ CultureGrams World Edition, "Libya: Religion" 2012, 2,

http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&name=Religion&snid=5

¹⁸⁸ Kwintessential, "Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette," n.d.,

<http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

¹⁸⁹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 63.

¹⁹⁰ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Libyans: What to Wear?" in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 69.

¹⁹¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life: Saints and Brotherhoods," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁹² Jeremy Keenan, *The Tuareg* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 134.

seclusion of women, is still practiced by segments of society.¹⁹³ Many women also adhere to the related practice of *hijab*, in which they cover their heads when in public.¹⁹⁴

Qadhafi tried to meld Islamic law with gender equality.¹⁹⁵ His government granted women the right to consent to their own marriages without parental approval.¹⁹⁶ A wife's consent was also required for a man to enter into polygyny (the practice of a man taking multiple wives). Libyan women also received enhanced divorce and property rights.¹⁹⁷ In newly liberated Libya, some women fear the possible return of patriarchal interpretations of Islamic law; for example, that a man may impose polygyny rather than seeking his wife's permission.^{198, 199}



©David Stanley / flickr.com
Women in hijab

Among minority communities where folk Islam is practiced, women have traditionally maintained a significant public presence and a status equal to or even greater than that of men.²⁰⁰ For example, Tuareg women are thought to be less susceptible to the attack of evil spirits via the mouth, and thus do not need to veil.^{201, 202}

Religious Holidays

Al-Hijra (New Year's Day)

When Muhammad began preaching in Mecca, socially prominent families and some merchants became concerned that his sermons would lead to changes in the social order. To remove this threat, they devised a plot to kill him. Sensing danger, he fled to Medina, where he created the first Muslim community in which spiritual and earthly concerns were merged. Muhammad's *Hijra* (migration) from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E. was later designated as the starting date of the Islamic calendar, and Muslims



© Tarek Siala
Burning candle

¹⁹³ William G. Dalton, "Libya: Gender Roles and Statuses," in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 3, eds. Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 1300, <http://www.everyculture.com/Ja-Ma/Libya.html>

¹⁹⁴ Alison Pargeter, "Libya," in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and Justice*, eds. Sameena Nazir and Leigh Tomppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 172–173.

¹⁹⁵ United Nations Development Programme, Programme on Governance in the Arab Region, "Gender: Libya," n.d., <http://gender.pogar.org/countries/theme.aspx?t=4&cid=10>

¹⁹⁶ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 60–61.

¹⁹⁷ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Society and Conduct," in *Libya* (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 38–39.

¹⁹⁸ Bloomberg, "Gender Discrimination Persists in Libya," Gulfnews.com, 1 October 2011, <http://gulfnews.com/news/region/libya/gender-discrimination-persists-in-libya-1.882641>

¹⁹⁹ Souad Mekhennet, "For Women in Libya, a Long Road to Rights," *New York Times*, 22 November 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/23iht-letter23.html?pagewanted=all>

²⁰⁰ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Society and Conduct," in *Libya* (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 38–39.

²⁰¹ Jeremy Keenan, *The Tuareg* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 134.

²⁰² Susan J. Rasmussen, "Veiled Self, Transparent Meanings: Tuareg Headdress as Social Expression," *Ethnology* 30, no. 2 (April 1991): 106–107 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3773404>

now remember the Hijra at the start of every year. The Islamic lunar new year is a quiet holiday and time to make New Year resolutions.

Most Muslims use the suffix “A.H.” to indicate “After Hijra” when citing historical years.²⁰³ When Qadhafi declared the starting date of the Islamic calendar to be Muhammad’s death in 632 C.E., the use of A.H. was dropped in Libya. Qadhafi’s eccentric calendar change is now likely to be dropped.²⁰⁴

Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet’s Birthday)

Muslims may observe the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday on the 12th day of the 3rd month of their lunar year. In Libya it may be a month-long celebration, when parents tell their children stories about Muhammad, public readings and prayers are conducted in his honor, and community festivities involve parades, music and dancing, and fireworks.^{205, 206} On the Prophet’s official birthday, Muslims generally restrict their activities out of reverence because the same date serves as the anniversary of his death.

Libyan Muslims of conservative Islamist sects (sometimes referred to as Salafist or Wahhabist) frown on the celebration of birthdays or other anniversaries, claiming that Muhammad left no example to follow for such activities. Nevertheless, Libyan Sufis continued their traditional celebration of this holiday in 2012. In Benghazi, armed militia accompanied parade marchers, and Tripoli reported a record number of injuries (more than 100 people) from falling bullets and fireworks.^{207, 208}

Ramadan

Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim calendar, is believed to be the time when Allah called Muhammad to be his Prophet. It is a month of fasting and prayer, and of trial through sacrifice.²⁰⁹ In Libya, all healthy adults are expected to observe the daylight fast. During the early hours of the morning, a drummer walks through the dark streets to awaken people who want to have a pre-dawn meal, known as *suhur*.



© Frederique Harmsze
Shops closed during Ramadan, Tripoli

²⁰³ BBC, “Religions: Islam: Holy Days: Al-Hijra,” 7 September 2009,

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/alhijra.shtml>

²⁰⁴ “The government observes the following religious holidays as national holidays: the birth of Muhammad (the Prophet), Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and the Islamic New Year.” Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Libya,” in *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report*, 13 September 2011, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168270.htm

²⁰⁵ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, “Islamic Festivals,” in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 119.

²⁰⁶ Omar Emhamed Elbendak, “Urban Transformation and Social Change in a Libyan City: An Anthropological Study of Tripoli” (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, National University of Ireland, June 2008), 155, http://eprints.nuim.ie/1332/1/Ph.D._Thesis.pdf

²⁰⁷ Tom Heneghan, “Libyan Sufis Mark Prophet’s Birthday Despite Tension,” Reuters, 4 February 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/04/us-libya-sufis-birthday-idUSTRE8130M320120204>

²⁰⁸ Libya Herald, “Over 100 Injured on Tripoli by Bullets and Fireworks Celebrating Mawlid,” 5 February 2012, <http://www.libyaherald.com/over-100-injured-on-tripoli-by-bullets-and-fireworks-celebrating-mawlid/>

²⁰⁹ Francesca Di Piazza, “Cultural Life: Religion,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 51.

Libya's desert climate requires planning in order to drink enough liquids between dusk and dawn.²¹⁰ Business hours are erratic during Ramadan and private shops may be closed. Moreover, people may be irritable from fasting.

Eid al-Fitr

The fast of Ramadan ends with the feasting of *Eid al-Fitr*. At the sign of the first moon following Ramadan, Libyans put on their finest clothes, and join family and friends in a celebration of renewal and joy. Gifts may be exchanged and alms are given to the poor. Traditional foods include spicy *samosa* pastries filled with vegetables and meats, sweet cream cakes, and date-nut cookies.²¹¹ Large banquets may last for days. But in August 2011, Tripoli had dried pasta and canned tuna for its first Eid al-Fitr without Muammar Qadhafi.²¹²

Exchange 2: Will you be celebrating Eid al-Fitr?

Soldier:	Will you be celebrating Eid al-Fitr?	hal tiHtifloo bee-'eed il-fuTur?
Local:	Yes!	na'am

Eid al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice)

The Feast of Sacrifice marks the end of *haji*, the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. It begins on the 10th day of the last month of the Islamic lunar calendar, and lasts for 4 days. It commemorates the Old Testament narrative of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son to God. Libyans traditionally slaughter a sheep and give meat to the poor. In November 2011, Tripoli residents struggled to find the cash to buy an animal, while shepherds in Sirte saw few buyers, suggesting subdued activities.^{213, 214, 215} Libya's transitional government released hundreds of war prisoners on the occasion of Eid al-Adha, to the objection of some local groups.^{216, 217}

Places of Worship

Mosques, the centers of spiritual and community life in Libya, are found in urban and rural areas. It is said that mosques echo the desert architecture of Muhammad's house: a courtyard shaded by

²¹⁰ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 120, 126.

²¹¹ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 121.

²¹² Luke Harding, "Libya Greets Eid al-Fitr without Gaddafi for the First Time since 1969," *Guardian* (UK), 31 August 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/31/libya-eid-without-gaddafi-1969>

²¹³ Agence France-Presse, "Tripoli Eases toward Normalcy Despite Cash Shortages," *Daily Inquirer* (Philippines), 5 November 2011, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/88735/tripoli-eases-toward-normalcy-despite-cash-shortages>

²¹⁴ Patrick Haimzadeh, "Libya Still Under Arms," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 2011, <http://mondediplo.com/2011/12/04libya>

²¹⁵ Alastair Macdonald, "In Gaddafi's Town, Grim Mood is Good for Sheep," Reuters, 5 November 2011, <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/news/in-gaddafis-town-grim-mood-is-good-for-sheep/>

²¹⁶ *Tripoli Post*, "NTC Frees Libyan Prisoners on Eid al-Adha, 7 November 2011, <http://www.tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=1&i=7249>

²¹⁷ Oliver Holmes, "Tense Reconciliation Begins with Libya's Saharan Tribes," Reuters, 9 November 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/09/us-libya-tuareg-idUSTRE7A82S020111109>

an archway of palm trees and branches.²¹⁸ Calls to prayer issue from the mosque tower, called a minaret. Inside, *imams* lead the daily prayers and give the Friday sermons.

Exchange 3: May I enter the mosque?

Soldier:	May I enter the mosque?	mumkin nudKhul il-masjid?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

In Libya, mosques have separate prayer rooms for men and women. Unlike Islamic communities elsewhere, a head covering (sometimes referred to as *hijab*) is not required for women in the mosque or in public.²¹⁹ Still, many women, especially the older generation, veil before entering a mosque.



© Sebastia Giralt
Men in front of a Tripoli mosque

Exchange 4: Do I need to cover my head?

Soldier:	Do I need to cover my head?	laazim inghaTee raasi?
Local:	No.	laa

To avoid causing offense, visitors should be mindful of mosque etiquette before entering. Mosques typically provide running water in the courtyard to cleanse with before prayer, and a place to leave shoes before entering the building.²²⁰ Avoid contact with members of the opposite sex while at the mosque.

Exchange 5: Must I take off my shoes?

Soldier:	Must I take off my shoes inside the mosque?	laazim inaHee kundortee daaKhil il-masjid?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

²¹⁸ Francesca Di Piazza, "Cultural Life: Religion," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 50.

²¹⁹ BBC, "Religions: Islam: Beliefs: Hijab," 3 September 2009, http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/hijab_1.shtml

²²⁰ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 85.

Chapter 2 Assessment

1. Qadhafi wrote the *Green Book* to gain the approval and support of the *ulama* (Muslim religious clerics).
False
Qadhafi wrote that anyone fluent in Arabic could read and understand the Quran without the interpretation of the *ulama*.
2. The second pillar of Islam is prayer.
True
For the prayer (*salat*), Muslims face Mecca and pray five times a day at appointed hours (dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and mid-evening).
3. In Libya, Berber peoples practice varieties of folk Islam.
True
Islamic monotheism (belief in Allah as the one God) coexists with folk beliefs that humans possess spiritual powers to perform miracles and help worshippers.
4. Muslims in Libya are required to pray in the mosque five times a day.
False
Praying at home or elsewhere is acceptable. But even the less devout attend mosque for Friday noon prayer. Shops and businesses close on Friday noon.
5. Libya is an Islamic state that outlaws all other religions.
False
The constitution secures freedom to practice other religions. Non-Muslim religions in Libya include Christianity (Copts, Catholics, Anglicans, Greek and Ukrainian Orthodox), Unity non-denominational, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

CHAPTER 3: TRADITIONS

Introduction

Almost all Libyans are Arabic-speaking Muslims, descended from Berbers and Bedouin Arabs who could survive in the harsh desert environment. The traditions of modern Libya are largely shaped by the country's nomadic heritage, the enduring influence of conquering civilizations, and the Islamic faith. Caravan traders spread goods and ideas from the interior of Africa. Berbers built settlements behind protective walls, but Romans and Greeks left an architectural imprint noteworthy for public space, and Italian colonists later did the same.²²¹ Arabs made fathers dominant in patrilineal families and a patriarchal society, while also introducing Islam, a source of tradition to both strengthen and challenge the family-based tribe. Oil wealth brought international consumer society to Libya (but did not end Libyan resentment against the colonizing West). The power of tradition is still evident in many aspects of society, from the patriarchal household, where the father's dominance is absolute, to the limited entertainment options where genders are segregated and alcohol is prohibited (as are Western music, movies, theater, and even boxing and wrestling).²²² It remains to be seen whether the changes of Muammar Qadhafi's regime will last, particularly the decline of tribal authority and the rise of women's rights.



© Felix Offickr.com
View of Ghadames

Honor and Values

In Libya, the family is the core of society, and family reputation is paramount.²²³ Libya is sometimes described as a "collective culture," where the individual is expected to subordinate personal interests and desires to the good of the group.²²⁴ Libyans value social harmony and hospitality. Because they are sensitive about how others view them, they learn to avoid actions that might publicly embarrass or offend others, such as failing to greet everyone upon entering a room, noting that someone is late, saying "no" to the requests of acquaintances, or ostentatiously displaying wealth or good fortune.^{225, 226} When one's



© Samer Muscati
Libyan families gather in the park

²²¹ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 4: Cultural Life," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 48.

²²² Debra A. Miller, "Society and Lifestyle," in *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 75.

²²³ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, the Individual, and the Sexes: Family and Household," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc>

²²⁴ Kwintessential, "Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette," n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

²²⁵ Culture Crossing, "Libya: Basics," n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=7&CID=238

²²⁶ CultureGrams World Edition, "Libya: General Attitudes," 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&name=General_Attitudes&snid=6

family, honor, or generosity is questioned, the damage is difficult (if not impossible) to repair, and extreme retaliatory measures may result. Libyans value the safety of privacy, and protect the family women from unrelated men, as well as protect the family's safety from government informers.²²⁷

In Libya, as in many parts of the Arab Muslim Mediterranean, the traditional honor of men in the family rests on the behavior of their women.²²⁸ The importance of female virtue is impressed upon girls from an early age.²²⁹ The paradigm for a man's loss of honor is a female relative having premarital sex; no exceptions are made for rape victims. Male honor (*sharaf*) can be impugned by the appearance of dishonor—a woman seen alone near unrelated men—or by a woman who chooses to challenge other community norms of feminine conduct. Honor killings of such women were the historical final penalty for unacceptable behavior. Honor killing now violates Libyan law and mandates a prison sentence.²³⁰ Such killings were reportedly uncommon in Libya in 2010.²³¹ They reappeared during the 2011 conflict in which rape was used as a form of combat.^{232, 233, 234}

Greetings

Libyans tend to be sociable and friendly. Greetings are often enthusiastic and warm, especially among family and friends. It is important for visitors to engage Libyans with a smile and direct eye contact.²³⁵ But eye contact between genders should be limited, particularly in public.²³⁶

Exchange 6: Good morning.

Soldier:	Good morning.	SabaaH il-Kheyr
Local:	Good morning.	SabaaH il-Kheyr

²²⁷ J. Henry, "Interpersonal Relations," in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life: Vol. 1: Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. Timothy L. Gall and Jeneen Hobby (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, Cengage Learning, 2009), 333.

²²⁸ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, the Individual, and the Sexes: The Traditional View of Men and Women," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc>

²²⁹ Alison Pargeter, "Libya," in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress Amid Resistance*, eds. Sanja Kelly and Julia Breslin (New York: Freedom House; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/inline_images/Libya.pdf

²³⁰ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, "Libya: Information on Honour Killings (1980-September 2004)," 21 September 2004, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher/IRBC,,LIBY,42df61242,0.html>

²³¹ Alison Pargeter, "Libya," in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress Amid Resistance*, eds. Sanja Kelly and Julia Breslin (New York: Freedom House; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/inline_images/Libya.pdf

²³² Pascale Harter, "Libya Rape Victims 'Face Honour Killings,'" BBC News Africa, 14 June 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13760895>

²³³ Richard Sollom and Katherine Close, "Witness to War Crimes: Evidence from Misrata, Libya," Physicians for Human Rights, August 2011, https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/Libya-WitnessToWarCrimes-Aug2011.pdf

²³⁴ Hilmi M. Zawati, "Libya: Hidden Deaths of Libyan Rape Survivors," *National Law Journal*, 9 January 2012, <http://www.stopdemand.org/afawcs0153418/CATID=5/ID=378/SID=572773169/Libya-Hidden-deaths-of-Libyan-rape-survivors.html>

²³⁵ Kwintessential, "Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette," n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

²³⁶ Culture Crossing, "Libya: Basics: Eye Contact," n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=10&CID=238

Upon meeting and departing, men shake hands. Handshakes among men can take a long time, and last as long as the initial verbal pleasantries take to complete.^{237, 238} Women often embrace and kiss each other's cheek. Men should not initiate a handshake or physical contact of any kind with women; they may shake a woman's hand if she first extends hers.²³⁹



© Carsten ten Brink
Libyan man

Exchange 7: Peace be with you.

Soldier:	Peace be with you.	salaamu 'aleykum
Local:	Peace be with you.	salaamu 'aleykum

The most common greeting in Islamic cultures is *as salaam alaikum*, “peace be with you.” The proper response is *wa laikum salaam*, “and peace be with you.”²⁴⁰ A polite conversation might continue:

Exchange 8: How are you?

Soldier:	How are you?	keef Haalik?
Local:	Fine, very well.	bee-Kheyr wa il-Hamdoo lilaah

It is best not to make specific inquiries about a man's female family members:²⁴¹

²³⁷ Kwintessential, “Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette,” n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

²³⁸ Culture Crossing, “Libya: Basics: Greetings,” n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=10&CID=238

²³⁹ CultureGrams World Edition, “Libya: Customs and Courtesies: Greetings,” 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=

²⁴⁰ CultureGrams World Edition, “Libya: Customs and Courtesies: Greetings,” 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=

²⁴¹ Culture Crossing, “Libya: Basics: Communication Style,” n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=10&CID=238

Exchange 9: How is your family?

Soldier:	How is your family?	keef Haal 'aayiltik?
Local:	They are doing fine, thank you.	hum bee-Kheyr shookran

During Ramadan, many businesses, restaurants, and government agencies are closed during the day. Some businesses and restaurants will open in the evening hours, when it is appropriate to engage in social gatherings or business discussions.



© Carsten ten Brink
Closed shops in Tripoli

Exchange 10: Good evening.

Soldier:	Good evening.	masaa il-Kheyr
Local:	Good evening.	masaa il-Kheyr

When visiting in Libya, remember that codes of hospitality dictate that your hosts not ask you to leave, and they will likely encourage you to stay longer even when you stand up to leave.²⁴²

Exchange 11: Good night.

Soldier:	Good night.	tuSbuH 'ala Kheyr
Local:	Good night.	tuSbuH 'ala Kheyr

Greet Libyans with their title if it is known. Otherwise, use the equivalent of “mister” or “miss;” never use their first name unless they ask you to address them that way.²⁴³

Exchange 12: Hi, Mr. Sheiki.

Soldier:	Hi, Mr. Sheiki.	ahlan yaa sayed sheyKhee
Local:	Hello!	ahlan
Soldier:	Are you doing well?	inta kwayis?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

²⁴² CultureGrams World Edition, “Libya: Customs and Courtesies: Visiting,” 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=Visiting&snid=26

²⁴³ Kwintessential, “Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette,” n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

Male-Female Interaction

Given the burden of family honor that women bear, any public interaction between unrelated men and women is potentially dangerous. Affection is not for public display, even between married couples, and any necessary touching between male and female family members is minimized. Conversely, the distance maintained between men and women in a group will be much greater than that in any same-sex group, in which men may hold hands while walking together, or women may link arms.²⁴⁴

Perhaps contrary to Western assumptions that “poor country folk” will be more traditional, male-female segregation is more obvious among wealthy urbanites. In cities, women go out in public well-covered and in pairs or groups. Some remain secluded (*purdah*) because urban life puts them in proximity to men outside the family. The lifestyles of nomads and farmers make it impractical for women to veil and always depend on others for propriety outside the home. Rural women often work outside and unveiled, but only where they are less likely to meet an unfamiliar male.



© Sven-Erik JANIC
Men in Sabha

Hospitality and Gift-Giving

For foreigners visiting a Libyan household, it is not necessary to bring a gift because the invitation has been extended without expectation of any type of reciprocity.

Exchange 13: I appreciate your hospitality.

Soldier:	I really appreciate your hospitality.	mutshakir 'aley Husun Deeyaartik
Local:	I am pleased that you came to visit.	ana mamnoon min zeeyaartik

If a man must give a gift to a woman, he should say that it is from one of his female relatives. Small gifts for the host's children are seen as thoughtful and are generally well-received.



© Frederique Hamsze
Bedouin tea ceremony

Exchange 14: This gift is for you.

Soldier:	This gift is for you.	haadee la-hadeeya leek
Local:	I cannot accept this.	ma-nigdarsh nagbalha

²⁴⁴ Culture Crossing, “Libya: Basics: Personal Space and Touching,” n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=10&CID=238

Gifts should be presented with both hands or the right hand alone. The giver should politely insist, in order to allow the receiver to refuse the gift at first. Most Libyans will ultimately accept a gift—although if it is wrapped, it will likely be opened later.²⁴⁵

Food and Eating Habits

Libyans take their food seriously, and they like to eat out as well as host dinner parties in their homes. When an invitation to join a family meal is extended, it is appropriate to initially decline by emphasizing how much effort it would be for the host. The host will insist and the guest should then accept the offer. When in the host's residence, guests should accept hospitality, including an offer of coffee or tea, since it is also an offer of friendship. Perfumed water may be passed around the table before a meal. Dip three fingers as a form of ritual cleansing, in silence. The host may utter a short prayer before and after the meal.²⁴⁶



© Carolyn Heathcote
Bread made in sand oven

Though many Libyan homes have a dining table, meals are taken in a separate room where the family sits on the floor. It is customary for the guest to start eating first. Otherwise, the oldest male starts first. Some families still observe the traditional practice of men eating first. In the presence of a foreign male guest, it is unlikely the women of the household will remain after serving the food.²⁴⁷ Nonetheless, they will ensure he is well fed, whatever their financial circumstances.

Exchange 15: This food is very good.

Soldier:	This food is very good.	haada iT-Ta'aam kwayis halba
Local:	It's couscous.	hoowa kiziksee

Before the food is served, bread (*kesrah*) is placed on each plate; it is used to scoop up food. Communal dishes are placed in the center. Since cutlery is not used, it is important to take food and drink exclusively with the right hand, since the left is used only for bathroom activities. Do not touch your fingers to your mouth because this is considered unsanitary.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Kwintessential, "Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette," n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

²⁴⁶ Kwintessential, "Libya: Language, Culture, Customs and Etiquette," n.d., <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/resources/global-etiquette/libya.html>

²⁴⁷ CultureGrams World Edition, "Libya: Customs and Courtesies: Eating," 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=Eating&snid=10

²⁴⁸ Eve Zibart, "North Africa," in *The Ethnic Food Lover's Companion: Understanding Cuisines of the World* (Birmingham, AL: Menasha Ridge Press, 2001), 129.

Exchange 16: Making *bazeen*

Soldier:	What ingredients are used to make <i>bazeen</i> ?	shin il-mawaad il-mustaKhdima li-'amel il-baazeen?
Local:	Dough, lamb, eggs, and spices.	'ajeen, laHem Kharoof, daHee, wa-bhaaraat

Spices and herbs are essential to Libyan cuisine. The most common spices include saffron, ginger, chili peppers, and salt. It is not considered rude for guests to inform the host they cannot eat spicy food. Indeed, unfamiliarity with the types of food Libyans eat can serve as an excuse to decline further helpings.



© Carolyn Heathcote
Libyan women eating lunch

Exchange 17: Only mildly spiced, please.

Soldier:	Could I have the food only mildly spiced, please?	min faDlik nigdir naaKhid maakla Haara shwaya bis?
Local:	Of course.	Tab'an

Conversation is minimal during the meal.²⁴⁹ Afterward, another prayer will be offered. It is important to compliment the host for the food that the family put much time and effort into preparing.

Exchange 18: The food tastes so good.

Soldier:	The food tastes so good.	il-akil Ta'maa kwayis halba
Local:	Thank you.	shookran

Dress Codes

Libyans have traditionally dressed according to Islamic norms. Men wore white tunic robes with a turban knotted to convey where they were from. Females began to veil at puberty, and married women appeared outside only in black, to denote their marital status.²⁵⁰ Older Muslim women may still wear the *burqa*, a veil-like head cover, when outside the home in the presence of unrelated men. A blend of modern and traditional styles is now visible, especially in the cities along the Mediterranean coast. For special occasions, young men may wear a traditional tunic without the religious headwear. Otherwise, they typically dress in casual Western clothing. Traditional Islamic dress for adult women combines a long black outer garment, the *abayah*,

²⁴⁹ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Food," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 124.

²⁵⁰ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "What to Wear?" in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 69.

with a headscarf. Younger women wear blouses and even form-fitting jeans, but in deference to social mores, they wear the *abayah* as a coat in public. Bare arms and legs are inappropriate, and female visitors should avoid sleeveless blouses, miniskirts, and shorts.

Exchange 19: How should I dress?

Soldier:	How should I dress?	keef laazim nalbis?
Local:	Wear loose fitting clothes which cover your body.	albis malaabis waas'a ilee bitghaTee jismak

Since the 1980s, there has been a trend toward veiling in Libya. It has been viewed not as a reflection of increased piety but simple economics. A fashionable wardrobe costs money and, until recently, few households had such disposable income in Libya's deteriorating economy.²⁵¹ Visitors will encounter a surprising amount of risqué fashion on sale in the *souk* marketplace, though it is worn exclusively within the home.



© Carolyn Heathcote
Berber woman

Exchange 20: Is this acceptable to wear?

Soldier:	Is this acceptable to wear?	haada maqbool lee-libis ?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Non-Muslim visitors, both male and female, can wear pants in public. It is permissible for men to wear Western-style sportswear during sporting and leisure activities. In practice, younger generations of men go shirtless on the beach, wearing only shorts or swim trunks.

Social Events

Weddings

Libyan weddings are increasingly costly affairs, lasting several days and with hundreds of guests.²⁵² At the opening banquet, male and female guests are entertained separately with music and dancing.

²⁵¹ Rana Jawad, "Libyan Women Consider the Veil," BBC News, 16 December 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6170411.stm>

²⁵² Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 4: Cultural Life," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 45–46.

Exchange 21: Congratulations on your wedding!

Soldier:	Congratulations on your wedding!	alif mabrook 'aley zafaafik
Local:	We are honored you could attend.	tasharafna bee-HuDoorik

In the following days, the groom provides henna dye for the bride to be decorated with patterns on her arms, hands, and feet; female well-wishers bring gifts for the white-clad bride; the groom lunches with his male friends; the bride moves into her new home amid a procession of honking horns and teasing friends; finally, the newly linked extended family shares an elaborate brunch.²⁵³



© Carolyn Heathcote
Berber wedding party

Exchange 22: I wish you happiness.

Soldier:	I wish you both happiness.	nitmanaalkum is-sa'aada
Local:	We are honored.	tasharafna

Wedding photography is also gender-segregated and not for public sharing.²⁵⁴

Funerals

At the moment of death, the deceased's eyes are closed in accordance with the *hadith*, "when the soul (*ruh*) is taken, the eyesight follows it." This is intended to ease the soul's fear of leaving the body.²⁵⁵ Family members of the same gender as the deceased wash the body in clean water or sand, and wrap it in clean linens in preparation for burial. Only men attend the funeral. The deceased is buried in a shallow grave, the body's right side facing Mecca. Women grieve, wailing, at the home of the deceased.^{256, 257} They may visit the grave separately later.



DLIFLC Image
Cemetery in Ghat

Exchange 23: Please be strong.

Soldier:	Please be strong.	shid Heylik
Local:	We will try.	binHaawloo

²⁵³ Jason Athanasiadis, "Libya: Purity of Tribal Wedding Tradition Endures," *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 August 2009, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2009/0807/libya-purity-of-tribal-wedding-traditions-endures>

²⁵⁴ Carolyn McIntyre, "The Libyan Wedding," *Girl Solo in Arabia*, 7 July 2006, http://girlsoloinarabia.typepad.com/girl_solo_in_arabia/libyan_weddings/

²⁵⁵ Oliver Leaman, "Death," in *The Qur'an: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 171.

²⁵⁶ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Lifestyle: Death and Burial," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 79.

²⁵⁷ J. Henry, "Libyans," in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life: Vol. 1: Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. Timothy L. Gall and Jeneen Hobby (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, Cengage Learning, 2009), 333.

It is appropriate to extend condolences after burial, to help the next of kin accept that the death was part of Allah's plan. People gather at the home of the deceased for three nights after the burial. Men read the Quran aloud and make supplications on behalf of the deceased. On the last evening, the family serves a meal; part of it will be donated to the local mosque for the poor. Clothing of the deceased may be distributed to the poor as a final means to accrue merit. After the passage of 40 days, all immediate members of the deceased's family visit the grave. In the evening, they will host another prayer session and provide a meal for those who attend.²⁵⁸

Exchange 24: I would like to give my condolences.

Soldier:	I would like to give my condolences to you and your family.	in'azeek wi-n'azee 'eltik
Local:	Thank you.	shookran

Non-Religious Holidays and Festivals

National Holidays

During Qadhafi's rule, holidays changed often. For example, in 2005, when bilateral reparation negotiations over Italy's colonial legacy were stalled, Qadhafi proposed a Vendetta Against Italians Day. After an agreement was signed by Qadhafi and Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in 2008, Qadhafi proclaimed a Libyan–Italian Friendship Day.²⁵⁹

Libya's holiday calendar will probably continue to change during the next few years as the country's new government evolves. In addition to the major Muslim observances (the Islamic new year, the Prophet's birthday, Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha), national holidays announced for 2012 are:^{260, 261}



© Gordon/flickr.com
Revolution day posters

Holiday	Date	Commemorates:
Revolution Day	Feb. 17	Start of the 2011 revolution (new in 2012)
May Day	May 1	International labor day (new in 2012)
Martyr's Day	Sep. 16	Libyans who died for their country

²⁵⁸ Abduljalil Sajid, "Death and Bereavement in Islam," Muslim Council for Religious and Racial Harmony, Brighton (UK), 20 May 2003, <http://www.mcb.org.uk/downloads/Death-Bereavement.pdf>

²⁵⁹ Jeff Israely, "Italy Pays Reparations to Libya," *Time*, 2 September 2008, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1838014,00.html>

²⁶⁰ Q++ Studio, "Bank and Public Holidays for Libya," 2012 (accessed 1 May 2012), <http://www.qppstudio.net/publicholidays2012/libya.htm>

²⁶¹ Anthony Ham, "Facts for the Visitor: Public Holidays and Events," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 75–76.

Liberation Day	Oct. 23	End of the 2011 revolution (new in 2012)
Day of Mourning (Deportation Memorial Day)	Oct. 26	Libyans who were killed and exiled during the Italian occupation
Independence Day	Dec. 24	Defeat of Italy in World War II, and 1951 proclamation of independent Libya (restored in 2012)

Apparently discontinued are holidays that commemorated the creation of the Jamahiriya (2 March), the evacuation of military bases by Great Britain (28 March) and the United States (11 June), and the 1969 revolutionary coup (1 September).

Festivals

Local annual events celebrate ethnic traditions.²⁶² Every year between November and January, Tuaregs meet in the remote, southwestern border town of Ghat at the Acacus Festival to share food, music, dance, handicrafts, camel racing, and wrestling. In the north, Berbers of the Jebel Nafusah region hold the Qasr Festival honoring their traditions. The residents of the ancient caravan settlement of Ghadames mount an international festival each autumn. Ghadames is a UNESCO



World Heritage site, where homes are joined by covered passageways that protect residents from the desert climate's extremes. During the three-day festival, the walkways are lit and people welcome each other and travelers into their homes for music and singing late into the night. Outside the settlement walls, horses and camels are adorned in ceremonial saddles and attire, and compete in racing contests.^{263, 264}

Dos and Don'ts

Do show deference to the elderly.

Do show respect for a person's family, and gratitude for their generosity.

Do shake hands when greeting men; be prepared for a prolonged handshake.

Do keep your hands out of your pockets while talking to people.

Do smile and make direct eye contact, although eye contact should be intermittent rather than constant.

Do be punctual, but don't expect that from your host, who may be running behind with previous engagements.

²⁶² Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 4: Cultural Life," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 55.

²⁶³ Anthony Ham, *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet, 2007), 162, 173, 197, 219.

²⁶⁴ Temehu (Travel Agency), "Libyan Anniversaries, Public Holidays, Festivals and Tourist Events," 2012, <http://www.temehu.com/Calendar.htm>

Do remove your shoes when entering a mosque or private residence.

Do ask permission before taking photographs of people.

Do be careful of what you admire: you may be forced to accept it as a gift.

Don't extend your hand when greeting a female, but reciprocate if she initiates contact.

Don't make specific inquiries about a man's female family members.

Don't show the soles of your feet.

Don't use your foot to point at any person.

Don't touch your fingers to your mouth while eating.

Don't wander around eating or drinking; consumption is restricted by law to appropriate venues.

Don't eat or pass items with your left hand, which Muslims reserve for activities conducted in the bathroom.

Don't wear clothing that is tight or bares shoulders, arms, or legs.

Don't offer money in exchange for assistance from a Libyan, if the help was extended in the spirit of hospitality.

Chapter 3 Assessment

1. In public settings, Libyan men and women greet each other by shaking hands.
False
Men shake hands when meeting, and women may embrace each other. A man may only shake a woman's hand if she first extends hers.
2. In Libya, the importance of female virtue is impressed upon girls from a young age.
True
Male honor rests on female conduct. The shame of extramarital sex, even rape, sometimes causes honor killings, when men murder an offending female relative.
3. Libyan women must wear the *burqa*, a veil-like face and head cover, when in public.
False
Older Muslim women might wear the *burqa* outside the home in the presence of unrelated men. Many Libyan women wear headscarves in public.
4. Tuareg women, like other rural folk, are more traditional and conservative in their dress and public behavior than city residents.
False
Rural women work outside the home unveiled, where they are less likely to meet unrelated men. Urban women venture outside home well-covered, and only in groups.
5. An important wedding ritual for a Libyan bride is the henna decoration process.
True
The groom provides henna for decorating the bride with patterns on her arms, hands, and feet. Libyan weddings, which last several days, are increasingly costly.

CHAPTER 4: URBAN LIFE

Introduction

Libya's coastal cities have long, cosmopolitan histories, and continue to be the political, economic, and cultural centers of the country. The desert environment may have limited the size of interior oasis cities, but not their importance to economic trade, oil and agricultural production, and military strategy. Under Italian colonization, rural migrants began to arrive in the coastal cities, where they created communities of people from the same place.²⁶⁵ These urban communities retained patterns of social organization of particular tribes (or clans).

Although many urbanites no longer live together in extended families, kin often live near each other, providing a family support system. The oil boom of the 1960s and 1970s brought migrant workers from outside Libya. The makeup of urban neighborhoods shifted from tribal affiliation to economic class.²⁶⁶ In Qadhafi's cities, Libyan nationals enjoyed state-provided, high-rise housing. By contrast, migrant workers lived in squatter settlements. They took jobs that Libyans consider undesirable, and Qadhafi welcomed them in an effort to improve his stature throughout Africa.



© Gary Denham
View of Tripoli

Urbanization Issues

Libyan cities have not kept pace with the infrastructure needs of their inhabitants. The government organized and financed major projects to supply water, power, and housing.^{267, 268, 269,}

^{270, 271} Similar to the oil industry, urban development depended on foreign expertise and labor. These efforts were not enough to meet the population growth from both migration and high birth rates. The effects of fluctuating oil prices and international economic embargoes interfered with the implementation of urban development projects. Most recently, civil war damaged most Libyan cities.



© Sven-Erik Janc
Telephone company in Sabha

²⁶⁵ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Structure of Society: Evolutionary Changes in a Traditional Society," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

²⁶⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Structure of Society: Evolutionary Changes in a Traditional Society," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

²⁶⁷ Great Man Made River project

²⁶⁸ Langdon D. Clough, ed., "Energy Profile of Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 25 August 2008, http://www.eoearth.org/article/Energy_profile_of_Libya

²⁶⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Health and Welfare: Housing," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

²⁷⁰ J. Henry, "Living Conditions," in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life: Vol. 1: Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. Timothy L. Gall and Jeneen Hobby (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, Cengage Learning, 2009), 333.

²⁷¹ Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 197.

Updating the telecommunications sector was a priority in recent years.²⁷² The government reported that the average Libyan used two mobile phones in 2010. Outside analysts believed the figure to be lower, although the uneven service of mobile networks across the country led many Libyans to have two phones.²⁷³

Exchange 25: What is your telephone number?

Soldier:	What is your telephone number?	gidaash raqem taleefonik?
Local:	My phone number is 91-220-3239.	raqem taleefonee hoowa tis'a-waaHid-ithneyn-ithneyn-Safir- tlaatha-ithneyn-tlaatha-tis'a

In 2011, war damage to the networks cut phone contact between east and west Libya for a time. In 2012, mobile phone cards were in short supply, and internet access was sluggish and intermittent.²⁷⁴ Plans to open Libya's state-owned phone companies to international participation were on hold, and media policy was not a priority of the transitional government.²⁷⁵

Exchange 26: May I use your phone?

Soldier:	May I use your phone?	nigdir nistaKhdim taleefonik?
Local:	Sure.	Tab'an

Work Problems in Urban Areas

Libyan cities face many social problems of urbanization: there are not enough opportunities or services for the growing population. Youth unemployment is a particular challenge. Not only is the percentage of the youthful population rising, but the younger generations learned to expect government-subsidized, public sector jobs. Libya's transitional



© Michael Edwards
Libyan craftsmen

²⁷² African Development Bank et al., "Libya: Fiscal Policy (Full Country Note)," in *African Economic Outlook 2011*, 6 June 2011,

http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/Country_Notes/2011/Full/Libya.pdf

²⁷³ Marie-Louise Gumuchian and Matt Smith, "International Telcos Eye Libya as Elections Near," Reuters, 4 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/04/libya-telecoms-idUSL6E8F10DQ20120404>

²⁷⁴ Borzou Daragahi, "Uncertainty Hampers Business in Libya," *Financial Times*, 10 February 2012, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/45dac3bc-53ce-11e1-9eac-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1uQ4N5mod>

²⁷⁵ Marie-Louise Gumuchian and Matt Smith, "International Telcos Eye Libya as Elections Near," Reuters, 4 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/04/libya-telecoms-idUSL6E8F10DQ20120404>

government announced a substantial youth job training support package in 2012.²⁷⁶ Some analysts warn that continued government subsidies are not sustainable.²⁷⁷

Meanwhile, Libya continues to depend on foreigners for highly-skilled and unskilled labor. Libyans periodically call for the expulsion of migrant workers.^{278, 279} Non-Muslim Africans are especially vulnerable and often fear for their safety.^{280, 281} During the 2011 conflict, hundreds of thousands of migrant workers fled Libyan cities. Tens of thousands found themselves blocked from returning to their home countries, and some were forced to return to their work.²⁸²

Some 40% of city women work outside the home, largely in “pink collar” service professions like teaching, nursing, and secretarial support. Separate workspaces are maintained for men and women (a particular challenge for female healthcare workers).^{283, 284} Women report being excluded from business meetings and work opportunities on the basis of their gender. The Qadhafi government did not subsidize daycare for working mothers, a provision that would likely have caused a backlash from more conservative quarters of society. As a Libyan woman explained, “The husband still depends on her to take care of the children, the housework, and cooking.”²⁸⁵ Consequently, the phenomenon of the single career woman has emerged in Libya, challenging the social norm that women should not live alone.²⁸⁶

Healthcare

Libyan healthcare improved greatly in the first years of Qadhafi’s socialist government. Residents of Tripoli and Benghazi gained access to major public hospitals, which were staffed by

²⁷⁶ Libya Herald, “LD 1.25 Billion for Youth Job Training,” 7 May 2012, <http://www.libyaherald.com/ld-1-25-billion-for-youth-job-training/>

²⁷⁷ International Monetary Fund, “Libya on Recovery Path but Faces Long Rebuilding Effort,” *IMF Survey Magazine*, 16 April 2012, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2012/car041612a.htm>

²⁷⁸ *African Business* 259 (November 2000), “African Immigrants Flee Libya,”

17.

²⁷⁹ Rana Jawad, “Marching Orders for Migrants in Libya?” BBC News, 23 January 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7194544.stm>

²⁸⁰ Human Rights Watch, “Libya: Stemming the Flow: Abuses Against Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees,” *Human Rights Watch* 18, no. 5(E) (September 2006), <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/libya0906webwcover.pdf>

²⁸¹ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “2010 Human Rights Report: Libya,” 8 April 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154467.htm>

²⁸² Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State, “Trafficking in Persons Report 2011: Country Narratives: Countries G Through M,” 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/164232.htm>

²⁸³ CultureGrams World Edition, “Libya: Family,” 2012, 4, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&name=Family&snid=4

²⁸⁴ Chris Stephens, “Misrata Nurses Battle for Gender Equality Amid the Fighting,” *Guardian* (UK), 28 July 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/28/misrata-nurses-equality-libya>

²⁸⁵ Rana Jawad, “Women’s Lib Takes Off in Libya,” BBC News, 29 April 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7360541.stm>

²⁸⁶ Richard Werly and David Wagnieres, “Feminism in Libya: After Gaddafi’s Glass Ceiling, New Risk is Islamist Repression,” *Le Temps/Worldcrunch*, 26 February 2012, <http://www.worldcrunch.com/feminism-libya-after-gaddafis-glass-ceiling-new-risk-islamist-repression/4752>

foreign specialists and linked to medical schools. Clinics opened in smaller cities as well.^{287, 288, 289}

Exchange 27: Is there a hospital nearby?

Soldier:	Is there a hospital nearby?	fee mustashfa grieeb min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes, in the center of town.	na'am fee wasT il-madeena

From the late 1980s, declining government revenues led to supply shortages and hygiene issues, such as the reuse of syringes.²⁹⁰ In the late 1990s, the HIV virus spread among more than 400 children in a Benghazi hospital. Because Benghazi is a city of extended clans, many people considered themselves kin to any one of the victims.²⁹¹ Public outrage escalated after a Libyan magazine, which was quickly shut down, publicized the children's plight.²⁹² The Qadhafi government accused expatriate hospital staff from Bulgaria and Palestine of deliberately infecting the children. (Subsequent investigation suggested that the hospital's infection more likely originated with sub-Saharan guest workers and spread through poor medical practices.) The accused spent years in prison fighting convictions that mandated the death penalty.²⁹³ After international outcry, they were allowed to leave the country in the summer of 2007.²⁹⁴



©BRQ Network / flickr.com
Doctors in a hospital

Exchange 28: Do you know what is wrong?

Soldier:	Do you know what is wrong?	hal ta'rif shinu il-ghaliT?
Local:	No.	laa

Spurred by quality of care concerns and the ability of wealthy Libyans to pay, the country's free health care in urban areas evolved into a mixed system. Private clinics with superior equipment

²⁸⁷ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 67.

²⁸⁸ Hani T.S. Benamer, Amin Bredan, and Omran Bakoush, "The Libyan Doctors' Brain Drain: An Exploratory Study," *BMC Research Notes* 2, no. 242 (2009), <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1756-0500/2/242>

²⁸⁹ CultureGrams World Edition, "Libya: Health," 2012, 6, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=Health&snid=6

²⁹⁰ Richard J. Roberts et al., "An Open Letter to Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi," *Nature* 444, no. 146 (9 November 2006), <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v444/n7116/full/444146a.html>

²⁹¹ Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Quiet: Libya Has an AIDS Problem," *New York Times*, 29 July 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/29/weekinreview/29rosenthal.html?fta=y>

²⁹² Dieter Bednarz et al., "Pay Up or Die: Bulgarian Nurses Face Death Penalty in Libya," *Spiegel Online*, 9 November 2005, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,383903,00.html>

²⁹³ BBC News, "Libya Death Sentence for Medics," 6 May 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3689355.stm>

²⁹⁴ Peter Popham, "Bulgarian Nurses Home after Eight-Year Ordeal," *Independent* (UK), 25 July 2007, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/bulgarian-nurses-home-after-eightyear-ordeal-458605.html>

and services appeared.²⁹⁵ Doctors employed in the public sector moonlighted for additional income by operating private clinics offering services on a fee-per-treatment basis.²⁹⁶

Exchange 29: Is Dr. al-Barouki in, sir?

Soldier:	Is Dr. al-Barouki in, sir?	id-duktor la-baarooke mawjood daaKhil?
Local:	No.	laa

In the aftermath of the 2011 civil war, hospitals continued to rely on foreign staff and funds.²⁹⁷ New health needs included psychosocial support for traumatized war victims (Libya had only 14 psychiatrists in February 2012).²⁹⁸ Tens of thousands of Libyans were referred for treatment available only outside the country.²⁹⁹



© BRQ Network / flickr.com
Libyan hospital

Education

Like housing and public healthcare, education is free. Schooling is mandatory until the age of 15, and many Libyans go on to vocational schools or universities.³⁰⁰ For the September 2011–2012 school year, the new education ministry removed Qadhafi-era textbooks from the classroom and provided temporary replacement materials, including simple pamphlets describing concepts such as human rights, citizenship, and voting.³⁰¹ In most cities, boys and girls attend school together, and universities are coeducational.^{302, 303} Benghazi is home to Libya's first modern university (est. 1955). The university's Tripoli campus later became a separate institution, with over 120,000 students enrolled in early 2012.³⁰⁴



© Internews Network / flickr.com
Students studying

²⁹⁵ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 4: Social Policy and Trends," in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (New York: Springer, 2007), 119.

²⁹⁶ Omar Emhamed Elbendak, "Urban Transformation and Social Change in a Libyan City: An Anthropological Study of Tripoli" (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Maynooth, June 2008), 242, http://eprints.nuim.ie/1332/1/Ph.D._Thesis.pdf

²⁹⁷ Asmaa Elourfi, "Doctors at Forefront of Libya Recovery," *Magharebia*, 25 January 2012, http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/features/2012/01/25/feature-04

²⁹⁸ World Health Organization, "Rebuilding the Libyan Health System, Post-Revolution," February 2012, http://www.who.int/features/2012/libya_health_system/en/index.html

²⁹⁹ Rebecca Murray, "Libya Faces Health Check," *Inform Africa*, 7 April 2012, <http://www.informafrika.com/health-africa/libya-faces-a-health-check/>

³⁰⁰ Nick Clark, "Education in Libya," *World Education and News Review* 17, no. 4 (July/August 2004), <http://www.wes.org/ewenr/04july/Practical.htm>

³⁰¹ Clare Morgana Gillis, "The End of History in the New Libya," *Foreign Policy*, May-June 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/the_end_of_history_in_the_new_libya?page=full

³⁰² Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 68.

³⁰³ Clare Morgana Gillis and Joseph Eid (photographer), "Qaddafi's Classrooms (slide 7/10)," *Foreign Policy*, 23 April 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/Qaddafis_Classrooms?page=full#6

³⁰⁴ Alfred Hackensberger, "The Desolate Wasteland of Gaddafi's Education System," *Qantara.de* (Germany), 13 January 2012, <http://en.qantara.de/The-Desolate-Wasteland-of-Gaddafis-Education-System/18316c500/index.html>

Restaurants and Dining

In the years before the 2011 uprising, a growing stream of businesspeople improved the economic outlook for the hospitality industry in Libya's urban areas.³⁰⁵ Getting a decent table at one of Tripoli's better seafood restaurants became increasingly difficult.³⁰⁶ Even in postwar Libya, visitors are likely to find certain Libyan dietary rituals. According to an American traveler, "Restaurant meals, dinners in hotels, even sandwich lunches eaten at truck-stop cafes while our driver refueled his little bus—all began with a bowl of Libyan soup."³⁰⁷



© carolyn/flickr.com
Café in Libya

Exchange 30: I'd like some hot soup.

Soldier:	I'd like some hot soup.	law tasmaH sharba sKhoona
Local:	Sure.	HaaDir

The soup is typically spicy and includes a combination of Libyan cuisine staples: tomatoes, onions, lamb, chilies, saffron, and paprika.

Exchange 31: What type of meat is this?

Soldier:	What type of meat is this?	shin naw' il-IHam haada?
Local:	Lamb.	Khroof

Drinking sweetened mint tea is another ritual most Libyans practice several times a day. Visitors are invariably offered tea. Coffee is also widely available in instant and Arab "thick" varieties.

Exchange 32: I would like coffee or tea.

Soldier:	I would like coffee or tea.	nibee gah-wa aw shaahee min faDlik
Local:	Sure.	HaaDir

Restaurants usually accommodate a patron's request for particular types of meals.

³⁰⁵ Euromonitor International, "Travel and Tourism in Libya," June 2011, <http://www.euromonitor.com/travel-and-tourism-in-libya/report>

³⁰⁶ Bloomberg Business Week, "The Opening of Libya," 12 March 2007, http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/07_11/b4025061.htm

³⁰⁷ Florence Fabricant, "In Libya, for Starters, It's Soup," *New York Times*, 4 January 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/04/dining/04liby.html>

Exchange 33: Are you still serving breakfast?

Soldier:	Are you still serving breakfast?	maazilt itwaza' fee li-fToor?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Although alcohol is unavailable, Libyans drink a variety of sodas and carbonated fruit juices, including a locally produced, bright-red drink called *bitter*.³⁰⁸ Because water is scarce, it must usually be asked for.

Exchange 34: May I have a glass of water?

Soldier:	May I have a glass of water?	min faDlik kubaaya maya
Local:	Yes, right away.	na'am Haalan

Libyans are known for their sweet tooth. Desserts dripping with honey, sugar, and almonds are preferred. *Basbousa* is a popular almond-flavored sweet cake made with semolina.³⁰⁹

Exchange 35: Do you have a dessert?

Soldier:	Do you have a dessert?	'indik Halaweeyaat?
Local:	Yes, we have <i>baklava</i> .	na'am 'indna baqlaawa

Whoever organizes a meal typically pays for the group. The concept of splitting the check is alien to Libyans.

Exchange 36: Put this all in one bill?

Soldier:	Put this all in one bill?	HuT haada kulah fee faatoora waaHda
Local:	Okay.	HaaDir

Restaurant meals are often leisurely, rather than a prelude to other entertainment. Conversation can run long over post-meal coffee or tea. Hence, you may need to summon the food server when you are ready to depart.

Exchange 37: Can I have my total bill, please?

Soldier:	Can I have my total bill, please?	nigdir naaKhid majmoo' il-faatoora min faDlik?
Local:	Yes, of course.	na'am bit-ta-keed

³⁰⁸ Francesca Di Piazza, *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 57.

³⁰⁹ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 131.

Marketplace and Street Vendors

The *souk* is the traditional marketplace in the Arab world. Outlawed for a time during Qadhafi's early years in power, *souks* have re-emerged, although with less variety of goods. In rented stalls, merchants often group together by trade; some are even found in specialized *souks*. In some cases, the stall has been passed down within the family.



© Carsten ten Brink
Souk in Tripoli

Exchange 38: Is the souk nearby?

Soldier:	Is the souk nearby?	is-soog greeb min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes, over there on the right.	na'am eh-naak 'al yameen

Souks are typically open for long hours, though merchants may close their businesses midday on Friday for prayers.

Exchange 439: How much longer will you be here?

Soldier:	How much longer will you be here?	gidaash ibtug'ud eh-ney?
Local:	Three more hours.	tlaath saa'aat uKhra

Libyans dislike bargaining. Merchants may be offended if asked for a discount, or if a buyer offers a ridiculously low price in anticipation of bargaining.³¹⁰ Bargaining may be done with some non-Libyan merchants, who initiate the exchange.

Exchange 40: Can I buy a carpet with this much money?

Soldier:	Can I buy a carpet with this much money?	nigdir nishree sijaada bee haadi li-floos?
Local:	No.	laa

Vendors may even press foreign shoppers to take an inexpensive item as a goodwill gift. One startled visitor explained, "[This] is Libya, where tourists are more a source of mild curiosity than wallets on legs."³¹¹

³¹⁰ Omar Emhamed Elbendak, "Urban Transformation and Social Change in a Libyan City: An Anthropological Study of Tripoli" (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Maynooth, June 2008), 157, http://eprints.nuim.ie/1332/1/Ph.D._Thesis.pdf

³¹¹ Joanne O'Connor, "Libya: Souk It and See in Old Tripoli (+photos)," *New Zealand Herald*, 8 December 2007, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/travel/news/article.cfm?c_id=7&objectid=10480191

Exchange 41: Do you sell copper trays?

Soldier:	Do you sell copper trays?	hal tibee' fee is-sfur in-nuHaaseeya?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Craftspeople, who now find themselves competing against imported, mass-produced goods (“sea goods”), are especially receptive to foreign visitors. They take great pride in their work and encourage prospective buyers to examine products carefully to appreciate the quality.

Exchange 42: May I examine this close up?

Soldier:	May I examine this close up?	nigdir nafHiS iS-Soora haadee?
Local:	Sure.	na'am

The equipment, such as looms, used to create the items may be present in the shop. Needless to say, handcrafted items are not mass-produced.

Exchange 43: Do you have any more of these?

Soldier:	Do you have any more of these?	'indik aktar min hadooma?
Local:	No.	laa

Merchants will likely have a modest amount of cash on hand, so bring small bills.

Exchange 44: Can you give me change for this?

Soldier:	Can you give me change for this?	tigdir tSarif-lee haadee?
Local:	No.	laa

Moreover, *souk* shopkeepers will probably only accept dinars, the Libyan currency.

Exchange 45: Do you accept U.S. currency?

Soldier:	Do you accept U.S. currency?	taaKhid 'umla amreekeeya?
Local:	No, we only accept dinars.	laa ma-nagbalsh ilaa fee id-deenaaraat

Transportation

Public transportation, except trains, is well developed. Flying is convenient given the size of the country, although domestic flights are often fully booked long in advance.

Exchange 46: Which road leads to the airport?

Soldier:	Which road leads to the airport?	ay Treeg yarfa' lil-maTaar?
Local:	The road heading east.	iT-Treeg il-mutajah shargan

Long-distance buses travel coastal routes between cities on a frequent basis. Service to the oases of the interior is less frequent.

Exchange 47: Will the bus be here soon?

Soldier:	Will the bus be here soon?	il baaS beejee eh-ney feesa'?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

If you rent a car in Libya, you may also want to hire a driver. Road signs are only in Arabic, and one-way streets are common. Before the 2011 civil war, foreigners were permitted to travel unaccompanied through the urban areas of the Mediterranean coastline, but an escort was required for groups of four or more when traveling to the interior. In 2012, the presence of independent militias made unaccompanied travel risky in most Libyan cities.



Courtesy of Wikipedia.org
Tripoli International Airport

Exchange 48: Where can I rent a car?

Soldier:	Where can I rent a car?	imneyn nigdir nikree sayaara?
Local:	Downtown.	wasT il-madeena

The ratio of car ownership to citizens in Libya is comparable to many Western European countries.³¹² In 2007, 76% of registered vehicles (about 1.4 million) were private cars.³¹³ Government-controlled gasoline prices have kept driving affordable.³¹⁴

³¹² Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 5: Infrastructure in Libya," in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 155.

³¹³ Department of Violence and Injury Prevention and Disability (VIP), World Health Organization (WHO), "Global Status Report on Road Safety: Country Profiles: Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," 2009,

http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/road_safety_status/country_profiles/libyan_arab_jamahiriya.pdf

³¹⁴ Anthony Ham, "Getting Around," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 92.

Exchange 49: Is there a gas station nearby?

Soldier:	Is there a gas station nearby?	fee maHaTit binzeen greeba min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

There is no shortage of repair shops to service private cars.

Exchange 50: Is there a good auto mechanic nearby?

Soldier:	Is there a good auto mechanic nearby?	fee mikaaneekee sayaraat greeb min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

“Seven-seater” yellow and white minibus taxis travel fixed routes and are easy to find.³¹⁵ Overcharging is rare and more likely the result of the language barrier than any intent to trick a foreigner. Taxi drivers generally do not accept tips.

Exchange 51: Where can I get a taxi?

Soldier:	Where can I get a taxi?	weyn nigdir nitHaSil 'aley taaksee?
Local:	Over there.	eh-naak

There are also private taxis to specific destinations. Meters are rarely used. The fare and a passenger's special requirements must be negotiated and made clear beforehand. Taxi drivers have varying degrees of skill, which contributes to hazardous travel on coastal roads.

Exchange 52: Can you take me there?

Soldier:	Can you take me there?	tigdir taaKhidnee ghaadee?
Local:	Yes, I can.	na'am nigdir

Street Crime and Solicitation

Toward the end of Qadhafi's rule, the streets of Tripoli were full of unemployed, loitering young men.³¹⁶ Though beggars were rare, foreign tourists were likely to be confronted by persistent salesmen or African migrant peddlers.

³¹⁵ Pascal Belda et al., “General Information About Libya,” in *eBiz Guide: Libya* (Madrid: eBiz Guides [World Investment News {WINNE}], 2006), 46.

³¹⁶ Business Week, “The Opening of Libya,” 12 March 2007, http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/07_11/b4025061.htm

Exchange 53: Buy something from me.

Local:	Please, buy something from me.	min faDlik ishree Haaja minee
Soldier:	Sorry, I have no money left.	mit-asif ma 'indeesh floos mitbageeya

In 2012, the young men filling the streets of Tripoli were most likely armed militia members, angry that the new government had not paid them for their services during the revolution. Libya has a long-standing human trafficking problem, as both a destination and transit country.³¹⁷

Unscrupulous operators try to force migrants into unskilled domestic and construction labor. Port cities attract individuals trying to leave Africa for Europe. Be alert to strangers who approach you, and consider their possible motivations.



© Carsten ten Brink
Tripoli street scene

Exchange 54: Give me money.

Local:	Give me money.	'aTeenee floos
Soldier:	I don't have any.	maa 'indeesh floos

³¹⁷ Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report 2011: Country Narratives: Countries G Through M," 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/164232.htm>

Chapter 4 Assessment

1. The Libyan medical establishment is renowned for its locally trained specialists.
False
Foreign doctors and medical personnel staffed most of Libya's hospitals before the 2011 conflict. In 2012, many Libyans must travel abroad for specialized medical treatment.
2. Cosmopolitan Tripoli has road signs in Arabic, Italian, and English.
False
Libyan road signs are in Arabic only, and unmarked, one-way streets are common.
3. Libya depends on foreigners for both highly-skilled and unskilled labor.
True
In times of economic or political difficulties, Libyans call for the expulsion of migrant workers, especially those from sub-Saharan Africa.
4. The telecommunications sector has expanded in recent years with increasingly widespread cellular service.
True
The 2011 civil war interrupted service between the east and west of the country. Reconstruction and international development await the approval of the new government.
5. Schools and colleges in urban Libya are coeducational.
True
Boys and girls attend classes together. But they sit at separate desks in primary schools, and on opposite sides of university lecture halls.

CHAPTER 5: RURAL LIFE

Introduction

The Sahara has long served as a buffer between the historical regions that became modern Libya. Each tribe of Tripolitania (Western Region), Cyrenaica, and Fezzan developed a particular way of life. Desert subsistence made a certain amount of exchange necessary for food security. Pastoralists (herders) exchanged animal meat with farmers who grew crops around the oases. Nomadic traders shepherded exotic goods along tribe-controlled caravan routes.



In the 19th century, Tripolitania's rural herders and farmers began to supply meat and grain to the British navy in Malta.³¹⁸ Later, *halfa*, or esparto grass, became Libya's first major cash crop grown solely for export (to European papermakers).³¹⁹ It contributed to the rise of a class of wage laborers whose survival depended on the market, rather than their tribe.³²⁰ Oil, discovered in 1959, replaced *halfa* as Libya's primary export and generated non-farming employment opportunities.³²¹ Rural migration to the cities eventually led to a decline in agricultural production (despite government efforts to settle nomads and resettle farmers).³²² Today, only about 20% of Libya's population live and work in rural areas.³²³

Tribal Distribution

Libyan society is based on a complex tribal system, with 140 tribes.³²⁴ Most tribes are considered Arab, the descendants of migrants who began to arrive over 1,000 years ago. Viewed from outside Libya, these tribes merge into the Arab-Berber ethnic group that makes up 97% of the population. Inside the country, Libyans recognize differences among the tribes. Although many tribal members live in the urban coastal areas, tribes maintain rural and interior bases. Some analysts suggest that tribal



³¹⁸ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, "Chapter 2: Ottoman Social Formation: A Trading and Communal Political Economy, 1830–1911," in *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 37.

³¹⁹ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 38, 170.

³²⁰ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 67–68.

³²¹ Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Libya: Cereal Production," 13 May 2004, <http://www.fas.usda.gov/pecad/highlights/2004/05/libya/index.htm>

³²² LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³²³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³²⁴ Ronald Bruce St John, "Libyan Myths and Realities" (paper presented at the Security Policy Course on the Middle East 2011, Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defence College, Copenhagen, 2011), 7–8, http://www.forsvaret.dk/FAK/Publikationer/Research%20Papers/Documents/Libyan_Myths_and_Realities.pdf

differences are more important in rural areas than in urban areas.³²⁵ Traditional (and shifting) rivalries between tribes account for many historical and current conflicts between Libya's cities and regions. Some tribal groups that may play significant roles in Libya's postwar reconstruction include the Abu Llail, Misurata, Senussi, and Obeidat to the east, and the Warfalla, Magariha, Zuwaya (or Zawiya), and Bani Walid to the west. (The Qadhafah and Al-Awaqir groups, once allied with Qadhafi, may also be heard from.)³²⁶ Some tribes, including the Berber, Tuareg, and other minority groups, remain in rural areas and persist in their way of life.³²⁷

Land Distribution

Historically, land in Libya was divided between tribes and treated as communal property.³²⁸ The Ottomans introduced a system of land ownership in 1858, to create an efficient structure for individual taxation by monetizing the value of a family's property.³²⁹ During the subsequent period of Italian colonization, the government claimed formal ownership of the land in order to resettle Italians in a "land to the tiller" program—an effort to revive Libya's ancient Roman past.^{330, 331} Still, tribal claims remained.



© Libyan Soup/flickr.com
Old community in Ghat

Exchange 55: Do you own this land?

Soldier:	Do you own this land?	timlik haadee il-ariD?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

At independence, King Idris relied on tribal leaders to oversee local affairs, although their authority was no longer undisputed. When Muammar Qadhafi overthrew the monarchy in 1969, he viewed ancient tribal loyalties as *an obstacle* to his revolutionary agenda. To undermine these traditional lines of authority, he divided the country into zones that lumped different tribes together. Moreover, entire villages were relocated when they were declared to be no longer

³²⁵ Peter Apps, "Factbox: Libya's Tribal, Cultural Divisions," Reuters, 25 August 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/25/us-libya-tribes-idUSTRE77O43R20110825>

³²⁶ Steven Kurczy and Drew Hinshaw, "Libya Tribes: Who's Who?" *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 February 2011, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Backchannels/2011/0224/Libya-tribes-Who-s-who>

³²⁷ Temehu.com, "Libyan People," 2012, <http://www.temehu.com/Libyan-People.htm>

³²⁸ Dante A. Caponera, "Chapter 6: Development by Region," in *Principles of Water Law and Administration: National and International* (Brookfield, VT: A.A. Balkema Publishers, 1992), 99.

³²⁹ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, "Chapter 2: Ottoman Social Formation: A Trading and Communal Political Economy, 1830–1911," in *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance, 1830–1932* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 36.

³³⁰ Roberta Pergher, "Cultivating Italy's 'Fourth Shore'" (presentation, Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Atlanta, GA, January 2007).

³³¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: History: Italian Colonialism: The Fourth Shore," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

viable farming communities.³³² Rural residents' fraying tribal ties and growing dependence on the state for social services enabled the police to become the local authority.

Exchange 56: Is the police station close by?

Soldier:	Is the police station close by?	markiz il-bolees greeb min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

With the end of the Qadhafi regime, tribal land claims are likely to be reasserted, and rural law enforcement may be in the hands of local militias for some time.³³³

Exchange 57: Can you take me to the police station?

Soldier:	Can you take me to the police station?	tigdir tarfa'nee li-markiz il-bolees?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Rural Economy

Libya's rural populations traditionally practiced subsistence herding, farming, and coastal fishing. Men's work took them far from home: for example, following camels and cattle. Women worked closer to the camp or homestead, but also herded smaller animals and tended crops, as well as cared for children and elders.

Exchange 58: Where do you work?

Soldier:	Where do you work?	weyn tiKhdim?
Local:	I am a farmer.	aaney muzaari'

Colonial and national governments tried to scale agricultural activities to industrial levels, to meet rising populations. Now, major field crops are wheat, barley, and sorghum. The Italians introduced olive trees. Other tree fruits are almonds, citrus, apricots, and figs. Southern oases specialize in dates. In Cyrenaica, herders raise sheep, goats, cattle, camels, horses, donkeys, and mules.³³⁴ In 1958, before the influx of oil revenues, agriculture contributed about 26% of GDP, and Libya was self-sufficient in food production.³³⁵ By 1978 agriculture had plummeted to 2% of GDP, and domestic food production eventually dropped to only about 25% of

³³² LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³³³ Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Libya: Country Specific Information," 18 November 2011, http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_951.html

³³⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46550/Agriculture-forestry-and-fishing>

³³⁵ U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Libya: Cereal Production," 13 May 2004, <http://www.fas.usda.gov/pecad/highlights/2004/05/libya/index.htm>

consumption.^{336, 337} The government tried to increase domestic agriculture with the Great Man-Made River project (GMR), which taps aquifers under the southern desert for irrigated farmlands.^{338, 339}

Transportation and Lodging

Libya's 100,000 km (62,000 mi) of roads connect all the cities and settlements along the northern coast. Three main arterials run south from the coast: two in the west to the Sabha oasis and on to Ghat near the Algerian border, and one in the east to the Al Khufrah oases. Over half the roads have been paved (although some were damaged in the 2011 conflict).³⁴⁰ Heavy trucks have joined camel trains on desert trade routes, connecting remote rural settlements to economic and social benefits concentrated in urban areas.



© Carsten ten Brink
Road in Libya

Exchange 59: Do you know this area very well?

Soldier:	Do you know this area very well?	ta'rif il-manTiqa haadee kwayis?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Driving in rural areas can be especially hazardous. Traffic laws are not enforced and roads merge into single-lane highways without warning. Sand deposits and roaming wildlife (particularly camels) pose additional travel hazards after dark.³⁴¹ Crimes of opportunity, in which unattended vehicles are targeted for break-in, are far more prevalent than armed robbery.

Exchange 60: Did these people threaten you?

Soldier:	Did these people threaten you?	in-naas hadooma hadidook?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

³³⁶ David S. Sorenson, "Chapter 18: The Modern History of Libya," in *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East: History, Religion, Political Economy, Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 389–390.

³³⁷ The CIA reported that agriculture contributed 1.5% of Libya's GDP in 2008 when the price of oil hit new highs. Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 5 March 2009, <http://web.archive.org/web/20090311020434/https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³³⁸ John Watkins, "Libya's Thirst for 'Fossil Water,'" BBC News, 18 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4814988.stm>

³³⁹ *Economist*, "Plumbing the Sahara (Graphic Detail)," 11 March 2011, http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/03/libyas_water_supply

³⁴⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya: Transportation," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³⁴¹ Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Libya: Country Specific Information," 18 November 2011, http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_951.html

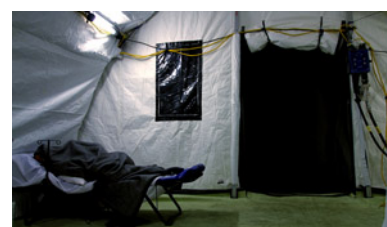
In rural areas, Libyan hospitality generally far exceeds the level of accommodations. In various rural areas around interior oases, visitors can camp in their own tents. Hotel facilities range from tents with remote, shared toilets to mud-brick cottages with thatched roofs—some with private baths that may have bathtubs.³⁴²

Exchange 61: Is there lodging nearby?

Soldier:	Is there lodging nearby?	hal fee manzil mafroosh lil-eejaar?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Healthcare

Healthcare is free to all Libyans. It is less accessible in many rural areas, particularly where minority populations are not identified as Libyan. Mobile medical units travel to remote areas to provide basic healthcare.³⁴³ For more serious health needs, rural patients must travel to small town clinics, city hospitals, or even abroad.³⁴⁴



© Internews Network / flickr.com
Rural health clinic

Exchange 62: Can you help me?

Soldier:	My arm is broken, can you help me?	draa'ee maksoor, tigdir itsaa'idnee?
Local:	Yes, I can help you.	na'am nigdir insaa'dik

Residents and travelers to smaller cities, villages, and rural areas in general should be vaccinated against hepatitis A and B, typhoid, and rabies. (Americans should update their routine vaccinations, such as measles, mumps, and rubella [MMR]; diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus [DPT]; and polio.)³⁴⁵ Malaria was reported in Al Kufra in 2010.³⁴⁶

Exchange 63: Is there a medical clinic nearby?

Soldier:	Is there a medical clinic nearby?	Hal fee 'eeyaada greeb min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes, over there.	na'am, eh-naak

³⁴² Anthony Ham, "Fezzan and the Sahara," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 226–227.

³⁴³ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 67.

³⁴⁴ Centre for Administrative Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, "Welfare in the Mediterranean Countries: Great Arab Popular Socialist Libyan (*sic*) Jamahyria," June 2004, 13, <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/CAIMED/UNPAN019179.pdf>

³⁴⁵ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Health Information for Travelers to Libya," 2012, <http://wwwnc.cdc.gov/travel/destinations/libya.aspx>

³⁴⁶ Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK), "Travel & Living Abroad: Travel Advice by Country: Middle East and North Africa: Libya," 11 June 2012, <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/middle-east-north-africa/libya>

Rural healthcare is likely to lag behind urban health care for some time in the aftermath of the 2011 civil war. Cultural traditions of folk medicine might be filling the gap. Older family members, with knowledge and stores of medicinal plants, use herbal remedies to treat common ailments. Knowledgeable local specialists practice herbalism, bone-setting, circumcision, traditional midwifery, and spiritual healing through the recitation of Quranic verses or magic formulae.³⁴⁷

Education

Before Qadhafi's reign, schools were few and illiteracy was high, especially in rural areas. Qadhafi's government introduced mobile schools to provide educational access to extended areas in the Sahara.³⁴⁸ The rise in national literacy rates and attendance at vocational schools and universities suggest this outreach was successful.



© mvongrue/flickr.com
Libyan schoolchildren

Exchange 64: Is there a school nearby?

Soldier:	Is there a school nearby?	fee madirsa greeba min eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Past enrollment rates suggest that rural parents traditionally sent girls to school only long enough to acquire basic literacy and numeracy. Such skills were deemed to enhance their marital prospects.³⁴⁹

Different Regions and Ways of Life

In contrast to Libya's urban majority, rural peoples traditionally produce their own food, shelter, and clothing. Subsistence activities—herding, farming, fishing, cloth-weaving, hide-tanning, tent-pitching, brick-making—fill the days and nights. Berber tribes continue to live in the Jebel Nafusah region of Tripolitania (Libya's western region), where they still farm and raise animals. They no longer live underground or in caves, but their ancient *qasrs* (fortified cave-like granaries) attest to their long history in the region.³⁵⁰ Long discriminated against by Qadhafi, they joined the revolution early and were essential to rebel victory in Tripoli.³⁵¹



© Patrickw1 / flickr.com
Libyan caravan

³⁴⁷ Ahmed Regai El-Gendy, "Regional Overview: Eastern Mediterranean Region," in *WHO Global Atlas of Traditional, Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, vol. 1, eds. Gerard Bodeker and C.K. Wong (World Health Organization, 2005), 153–158.

³⁴⁸ Amr Hamdy, "ICT in Education in Libya," in *Survey of ICT and Education in Africa*, vol. 2, InfoDev, World Bank, June 2007, 8, <http://www.infodev.org/en/Document.412.pdf>

³⁴⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Education," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

In southern Tripolitania (around Ghadames) and deep into the Fezzan region (in oasis towns such as Ghat), the nomadic Tuareg continue their pastoral way of life, moving freely across the Sahel and the borders of Libya's western neighbors. During his rule, Qadhafi recruited many Tuareg into the Libyan armed forces.³⁵² In 2011, Tuareg leaders in Niger (and Mali) urged Tuareg migrant workers and soldiers in Libya to transfer their support to the rebel government.³⁵³

In southeast Cyrenaica, deep in the Sahara, the Tebu (Toubou) live an extremely isolated existence in family and clan affiliations. They are farmers and pastoralists in the Tibesti mountain region and maintain their traditional practice of folk Islam. In 2012, Tebu groups fought Arab tribes for control of territory in Al Kufra and over a carjacking in Sabha.³⁵⁴

Road Checkpoints

Road checkpoints operated by armed personnel are common. During the Qadhafi era, green-uniformed army forces searched for deserters while blue-uniformed local police looked for unlicensed drivers and illegal immigrants.³⁵⁵

Exchange 65: Where is the nearest checkpoint?

Soldier:	Where is the nearest checkpoint?	weyn agrub nuqTut taftesh?
Local:	It's two kilometers away.	tub'ud zoz kilomeetar

Since the 2011 uprising, some local militias are operating checkpoints independently of the national transitional government. They have arrested and detained individuals without authoritative oversight.³⁵⁶

Exchange 66: Is this all the ID you have?

Soldier:	Is this all the ID you have?	haadee kul il-wathaa-iq ilee 'indik?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

³⁵⁰ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Population and People," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 31–32.

³⁵¹ Peter Apps, "Factbox: Libya's Tribal, Cultural Divisions," Reuters, 25 August 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/25/us-libya-tribes-idUSTRE77O43R20110825>

³⁵² Peter Apps, "Factbox: Libya's Tribal, Cultural Divisions," Reuters, 25 August 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/25/us-libya-tribes-idUSTRE77O43R20110825>

³⁵³ Scott Stearns, "Tuareg Leaders in Niger and Mali Urge Tuareg in Libya to Work with NTC," Voice of America, 5 September 2011, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/Tuareg-Leaders-in-Niger-and-Mali-Urge-Tuareg-in-Libya-to-Work-With-NTC-129253488.html>

³⁵⁴ Peter Apps, "Factbox: Libya's Tribal, Cultural Divisions," Reuters, 25 August 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/25/us-libya-tribes-idUSTRE77O43R20110825>

³⁵⁵ Anthony Ham, "Getting Around: Car and Motorcycle," in *Libya* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 92–93.

³⁵⁶ Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. State Department, "Libya: Country Specific Information," 18 November 2011, http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_951.html

Even before the 2011 conflict, visitors encountered checkpoints every 40 km (25 mi), so that vehicles had to pass through one whenever they entered or exited a town.³⁵⁷ Checkpoints effectively prohibited foreigners from traveling at night.

Exchange 67: Please get out of the car.

Soldier:	Please get out of the car.	min faDlik aTla' bara mis-siyaara
Local:	OK.	baahee

In 2010, Libya reintroduced tourist visas for U.S. citizens, to be obtained through licensed Libyan travel agencies.³⁵⁸ As of spring 2012, visas were good only for travel along the northern coast (and travelers were advised to consider insurance coverage for “war zones”).³⁵⁹ Travel to the interior used to involve a government-required escort as well as an experienced desert guide.^{360, 361}



© neon.mamacita/flickr.com
Libyan driver's license

Exchange 68: Show us the car registration.

Soldier:	Show us the car registration.	wareena ktayib is-siyaara
Local:	OK.	baahee

Libyan customs authorities strictly enforce laws relating to firearms, religious materials, antiquities, medications, and currency.³⁶²

Exchange 69: Are you carrying any guns?

Soldier:	Are you carrying any guns?	hal taHmil ay slaaH?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

³⁵⁷ Grant Johnson and Susan Johnson, “Grant and Susan in Libya,” Horizons Unlimited, 4 May 1997, <http://www.horizonsunlimited.com/johnson/Libya.shtml>

³⁵⁸ Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. State Department, “Libya: Country Specific Information,” 18 November 2011, http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_951.html

³⁵⁹ Temehu.com, “Libya Tourism News,” 22 April 2012, <http://www.temehu.com/news-Libya.htm>

³⁶⁰ Sahara Overland, “Libya,” April 2012, <http://www.sahara-overland.com/country/libya.htm>

³⁶¹ Temehu.com, “Libya Tourism News,” 8 May 2012, <http://www.temehu.com/news-Libya.htm>

³⁶² Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. State Department, “Libya: Country Specific Information,” 18 November 2011, http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_951.html

Land Mines

Landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) of both Allied and Axis origins have been a danger in Libya since World War II. Qadhafi-era forces laid more mines during the conflicts with Egypt (1977) and Chad (1980–1987). Human Rights Watch has also reported the use of mines to protect facilities such as ammunition storage areas. In 2011, Qadhafi loyalists reportedly used antipersonnel mines extensively, and rebel forces used antivehicle mines early in the conflict. (The National Transitional Council later agreed to stop the use of landmines.) International demining operators exist to serve oil companies and other commercial interests. An international consortium formed in 2011 to address public safety needs for mine clearance and education programs.^{363, 364}



© Thierry Gregorius
Field cleared of mines

Exchange 70: Is this area mined?

Soldier:	Is this area mined?	hal haadee il-manTiq mlaghma?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

³⁶³ Landmine and Cluster Munition Monitor, “Libya,” 27 October 2011, http://www.the-monitor.org/custom/index.php/region_profiles/print_profile/515

³⁶⁴ Sahara Overland, “Landmines,” September June 2010, <http://www.sahara-overland.com/mines/index.htm>

Chapter 5 Assessment

1. The Sahara long served as a buffer zone between the tribes of Libya.
True
Their geographic isolation allowed Libya's rural tribes the relative autonomy to develop their own ways of life.
2. The Berber tribes of Tripolitania's Jebel Nafusah region remained loyal to Qadhafi in the 2011 civil war.
False
Berbers in Tripolitania, long repressed by Qadhafi, joined the 2011 rebellion.
3. The Libyan government introduced mobile schools to provide educational access to extended areas in the Sahara.
True
As part of Qadhafi's push for universal education, the government introduced mobile schools to provide educational access to extended areas of Libya's interior.
4. Because of a successful removal program, landmines are no longer a danger along Libya's borders.
False
Landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) have been a danger in Libya since World War II. Both sides used mines during the 2011 civil war.
5. Thanks to oil wealth, the vast rural Libyan road network is almost entirely paved.
False
Although the Qadhafi government's emphasis on expanding transportation infrastructure promoted a dramatic increase in roadways, almost half of Libya's total road network remains unpaved.

CHAPTER 6: FAMILY LIFE

Introduction

The family is the core of society, according to traditions of Libya's peoples.³⁶⁵ Extended families intermarry into clans. Family relationships among clans connect tribes (and tribal conflicts often have roots in family enmities). In Libya, family background is central to personal identity, and determines how others judge character.³⁶⁶ Most Libyans eventually come home from migrant work or education abroad, whether home is a tent in the desert or a high-rise apartment on the Mediterranean coast.^{367, 368}



© Gordon/flickr.com
Libyan girls

Exchange 71: Did you grow up here?

Soldier:	Did you grow up here?	trabeyt eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Powerful economic and political forces shaped Libyan families in the 20th century. Large-scale rural-to-urban migration occurred after the discovery of oil and made the immediate (“nuclear”) family more important than the extended one.^{369, 370} When Qadhafi tried to weaken tribal authority and emancipate women, his laws challenged the traditional absolute family control by fathers. Under Qadhafi, the elimination of private businesses, professional associations, and many leisure activities strengthened the family as a focus of social activity, as well as a private refuge from the dangers of political participation.^{371, 372} During the 2011 civil war and in the aftermath, Libyan family life was affected in many ways (most unfortunately in the reappearance of honor killings).^{373, 374, 375} Libyans are watching for the changes that a new constitution may

³⁶⁵ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, the Individual, and the Sexes: Family and Household,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc>

³⁶⁶ CultureGrams World Edition, “Libya: General Attitudes,” 2012, 3, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=General Attitudes&snid=6

³⁶⁷ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, “Bedouin,” in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 65.

³⁶⁸ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 58–59.

³⁶⁹ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, The Individual and the Sexes,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁷⁰ Nikki Keddie, “Chapter 6: 1945–Today: New States and Trends, Women’s Activism, and the Rise of Islamism,” in *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 148–149.

³⁷¹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 58–59.

³⁷² Lisa Anderson, “Qadhafi’s Legacy: An Evaluation of a Political Experiment,” in *Qadhafi’s Libya, 1969–1994*, ed. Dirk Vandewalle (New York: St. Martin’s, 1995), 229–230.

³⁷³ Pascale Harter, “Libya Rape Victims ‘Face Honour Killings,’” BBC News Africa, 14 June 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13760895>

make to government policies toward the family, and wondering how the implementation of those changes will affect their families.^{376, 377}

Typical Household and Family Structure

The typical Libyan household comprises a man, his wife, their married and unmarried sons, and their unmarried daughters.

Exchange 72: How many people live in this house?

Soldier:	How many people live in this house?	gidaash shaKheS yuskun fee haada il-Hosh?
Local:	Eight.	tmaaniya

Traditionally, married sons remain part of their father's household until the father dies.³⁷⁸ More recently, young couples establish a separate household when they are financially able.^{379, 380} Adult children prefer to care for their elderly parents at home.³⁸¹

Exchange 73: Is this your entire family?

Soldier:	Is this your entire family?	haadee kul 'aayiltik?
Local:	No.	laa

Gender Relations within the Family

In the private world of the Libyan home, men and women live together and interact freely.³⁸² It is primarily when the public world intrudes upon family privacy (for example, when guests visit) that public formalities such as gender segregation must be observed.³⁸³

³⁷⁴ Richard Sollom and Katherine Close, "Witness to War Crimes: Evidence from Misrata, Libya," Physicians for Human Rights, August 2011, https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/Libya-Witness-to-War-Crimes-Aug2011.pdf

³⁷⁵ Hilmi M. Zawati, "Libya: Hidden Deaths of Libyan Rape Survivors," National Law Journal, 9 January 2012, <http://www.stopdemand.org/afawcs0153418/CATID=5/ID=378/SID=572773169/Libya-Hidden-deaths-of-Libyan-rape-survivors.html>

³⁷⁶ Souad Mekhennet, "For Women in Libya, a Long Road to Rights," *New York Times*, 22 November 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/23iht-letter23.html?pagewanted=all>

³⁷⁷ Ian Martin, Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, "Speech at Benghazi University," 10 April 2012, <http://unsmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3543&ctl=Details&mid=6187&ItemID=167811&language=en-US>

³⁷⁸ J. Henry "Libyans," in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life, Vol. 1: Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. Timothy L. Gall and Jeneen Hobby (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, Cengage Learning, 2009), 334.

³⁷⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, The Individual and the Sexes," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁸⁰ Francesca Di Piazza, *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 46.

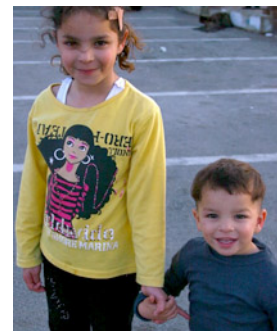
³⁸¹ CultureGrams World Edition, "Libya: Family," 2012, 4, http://online.culturegrams.com/world/world_country_sections.php?contid=1&wmn=Africa&cid=202&cn=Libya&sname=Family&snid=4

³⁸² William G. Dalton, "Libya: Gender Roles and Statuses," in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 3, eds. Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 1300.

Exchange 74: Does your family live here?

Soldier:	Does your family live here?	'aayiltik tuskun eh-ney?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Libyan tradition assigns to men the public activities that support the family—herding and other distant work, representing family interests in public venues, and protecting the family honor. Fathers are patriarchs whose power derives from their position as head of the family. Women traditionally draw their sense of identity and accomplishment from activities in the private sphere on behalf of the family—especially bearing and raising children.³⁸⁴ Qadhafi emphasized the natural power of mothers in his *Green Book*.³⁸⁵ In 2010, a new law granted Libyan nationality in principle to the children of Libyan mothers and foreign fathers.³⁸⁶ Some believe the law will bring Libyan government benefits to these (formerly uncovered) children, while others await proof of its implementation.^{387, 388, 389}



© Mireille Raad
Siblings

Exchange 75: Are these people part of your family?

Soldier:	Are these people part of your family?	hadooama in-naas min 'aayiltik?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

Libyan culture appears to condone physical discipline within the family, and Libyan law does not prohibit domestic violence.^{390, 391} Libyan girls and women who attract the attention of unrelated men may bring shame upon their families.

³⁸³ William G. Dalton, "Libya: Etiquette," in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 3, eds. Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 1302.

³⁸⁴ Debra A. Miller, *Libya* (Modern Nations of the World series) (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 58.

³⁸⁵ Francesca Di Piazza, *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 46.

³⁸⁶ Social Institutions and Gender Index, "Country Profiles: Libya," 2012, <http://genderindex.org/country/libya>

³⁸⁷ African Development Bank et al., "Libya (Full Country Note)," in *African Economic Outlook 2011*, 17, http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/Country_Notes/2011/Full/Libya.pdf

³⁸⁸ Magharebia, "HRW Commends Libya for New Nationality Law," 3 September 2010, http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2010/09/03/newsbrief-04

³⁸⁹ Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP), Open Society Justice Initiative, "Libya," in *Citizenship Law in Africa: A Comparative Study, Updates and Corrections*, October 2010, http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/articles_publications/publications/citizenship_20091009/citizenship-updates-20101221.pdf

³⁹⁰ Human Rights Watch, "Libya: A Threat to Society?" 28 February 2006, 11, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/libya0206webwcover.pdf>

³⁹¹ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "2010 Human Rights Report: Libya," 8 April 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154467.htm>

Exchange 76: Is this your wife?

Soldier:	Is this your wife?	haadee zojtk?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

As a form of protective custody against the prospect of familial retribution, Qadhafi's government opened "social rehabilitation" facilities for women and girls accused of *zina* (extramarital sex), or those "vulnerable to engaging in moral misconduct."³⁹² (Men are rarely prosecuted for *zina*.³⁹³) Even rape victims are at risk of detention if their families reject them. Detainees have no means to challenge their confinement, and detention can be indefinite. Detainees can only be released to the custody of a male family member or a man who is seeking a spouse.³⁹⁴ Few families are willing to bear the stigma of taking their daughter back. Thus, in the words of a Libyan official, "[T]he only answer is marriage. That is the only way to leave the [social rehabilitation] home."³⁹⁵ Whether these facilities continue to operate under the transitional government is unknown.



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Women mourning

Family and Peer Relationships*Children and Adolescents*

Libyans love and value their children. About one-third of the current population are under 14 years of age.³⁹⁶ Procreation and securing the family lineage are the main purpose of marriage in Libya (and other Arab societies). Boys are often favored over girls, and a wife's place is not secure until she gives birth to a son.³⁹⁷ Children are typically raised to put their family's requirements before their own desires for autonomy and independence. Parents, especially fathers, tend toward an authoritarian communication style, using anger and punishment. Crying children later



© R Barreaz D'Luca
Boys in Tripoli

³⁹² Alison Pargeter, "Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa 2010—Libya," Freedom House, 3 March 2010, http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?page=country&docid=4b99012091&skip=0&coi=LB&querysi=nondiscrimination&searchin=fulltext&display=10&sort=date#_ednref11

³⁹³ Human Rights Watch, "Libya: A Threat to Society?" 28 February 2006, 12, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/libya0206webwcover.pdf>

³⁹⁴ C. Scott Marvill, "Chapter 8: Libya," in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Children's Issues Worldwide: North Africa and the Middle East*, eds. Irving Epstein and Ghada Hashem Talhami (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2007), 144.

³⁹⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Libya: A Threat to Society?" 28 February 2006, 18, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/libya0206webwcover.pdf>

³⁹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³⁹⁷ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 76.

learn to respond with self-censorship or deception.³⁹⁸ While grandparents may help with childcare, it would be unseemly for a grandfather to prepare food for his grandchildren. That remains the responsibility of their mother or, in her absence, their grandmother.

Exchange 77: Do your children go to school?

Soldier:	Do your children go to school?	iSghaarik yimshoo lil-madirsā?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

The government's emphasis on education—mandatory for boys and girls, ages 6 to 15—could change the size of families in Libya.³⁹⁹ (International statistics indicate that the more educated the mother, the fewer children she tends to bear.) UNICEF reported 1.2 million Libyan children returned to school in January 2012.⁴⁰⁰

In 2010, UNICEF reported 17% of Libya's population between the ages of 10 and 19, and an adolescent birth rate of 4 in 1,000.⁴⁰¹ For a girl's parents, early marriage was the traditional way to ensure their daughter's virginity (and preserve their family's honor). For a young man, the high cost of marriage could delay his achievement of full adulthood for years. Qadhafi's government lengthened adolescence (for girls in particular) by mandating secondary education and military service, and raising the legal marriage age to 20.

The Elderly

Libya reports a long life expectancy at birth of almost 75 years.⁴⁰² But fewer than 5% of the current population are 65 or older.⁴⁰³ Adult children are still considered by society to be responsible for the care of their elderly parents. The question of which child should assume primary responsibility is decided within the family in consultation with the parents. Thus, while the state provides elder care facilities, in reality only those who are childless go to a retirement home. Should an adult child attempt to place a parent there, he would be asked why it is impossible to care for the parent in the home. Acceptable answers would include serious illness such as a stroke or dementia. The parents may distribute their property as they wish among their next of kin. If they failed to leave a will, the state would divide their property in accordance with *shari'a* law.

³⁹⁸ Nuha Abudabbeh, "Chapter 31: Arab Families," in *Ethnicity and Family Therapy*, eds. Monica McGoldrick, Joe Giordano, and Nydia Garcia-Preto (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 426–429.

³⁹⁹ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 4: Social Policy and Trends," in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (New York: Springer, 2007), 146.

⁴⁰⁰ Yosi Burckhardt, "Over 1.2 million Libyan Children Return to School after Months of Conflict," UNICEF, 13 January 2012, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/laj_61299.html

⁴⁰¹ UNICEF, "At a Glance: Libya: Statistics," n.d., http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/laj_statistics.html - 96

⁴⁰² UN Development Programme, "Human Development Reports: Indices and Data," 2011, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics>

⁴⁰³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

Marriage & Divorce

Marriage

For Libyans, marriage is a rite of passage. It represents a union between families rather than an arrangement between two individuals. Therefore, the families are involved in identifying appropriate partners. Traditionally, marriage between the children of brothers was preferred.⁴⁰⁴ This enabled the family to avoid incorporating outsiders, which would dilute its assets. Rural-to-urban migration has reduced this trend, although marriage within the tribe is still the norm.

Exchange 78: Do you have any brothers?

Soldier:	Do you have any brothers?	'indik Khuut?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

The law now requires both parties reach the age of 20 before marriage, though a judge can grant permission for minors to marry. In addition, the betrothed have the right of consent to the union.⁴⁰⁵ Yet the biggest obstacle to matrimony is the prohibitive cost. A Libyan wedding can cost USD 10,000 in a country where the average government salary is less than USD 300 a month.⁴⁰⁶

Exchange 79: Are you married?

Soldier:	Are you married?	inta mitzawij?
Local:	No.	laa

The cost of a wedding is high because of the Libyan tradition of inviting the entire village and clan to celebrate the union. Multiple banquets must be hosted, often spread out over a week. The groom's family might also provide the new couple with their own housing along with the sizeable dowry (*mahr*) to the woman. The amount and payment schedule is negotiated between the two families. In addition to these formidable initial costs, many young men face bleak employment prospects, casting doubt on their ability to support a family.⁴⁰⁷



© carolyn/tickr.com
Bride and wedding guests

⁴⁰⁴ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, The Individual and the Sexes," in *Libya: A Country Study*, 4th ed., ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁴⁰⁵ Social Institutions and Gender Index, "Country Profiles: Libya," 2012, <http://genderindex.org/country/libya>

⁴⁰⁶ C. Scott Marvill, "Chapter 8: Libya," in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Children's Issues Worldwide: North Africa and the Middle East*, eds. Irving Epstein and Ghada Hashem Talhami (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2007), 148.

⁴⁰⁷ Ellen Knickmeyer, "For Young Libyans, Old-Style Marriage Is a Dream Too Far," *Washington Post*, 14 November 2007, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/13/AR2007111302067.html>

Exchange 80: Are you the only person who has a job?

Soldier:	Are you the only person in your family who has a job?	inta il-waHeed fee 'aayiltik ilee yiKhdim?
Local:	No.	laa

Polygyny (multiple wives) is permissible in Libya, though it is relatively rare. It requires a man to get the permission of his first wife and to demonstrate the ability to support additional families. Women in newly liberated Libya are concerned that men may revert to imposing polygyny rather than seeking permission.⁴⁰⁸



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Family gathering

Divorce

Islamic law allows a man to divorce his wife simply by verbally declaring three times in front of witnesses that the marriage is dissolved. But a court decree of divorce is necessary for it to be legally binding in Libya.⁴⁰⁹ Judicial divorces can be granted at the behest of either party or the court, though the latter typically is restricted to the dissolution of incestuous unions or those between a Muslim and non-Muslim. The grounds for fault-based divorce include mental illness, contagious illness, infertility, and impotence. In the case of a no-fault divorce, the court will usually require some reconciliation attempt before granting a decree. Representatives of each side, typically male members of the families, negotiate the terms and conditions of the property settlement.

Although the husband is legally allowed to end the union without grounds (*talaq*), by doing so he assumes responsibility for his ex-wife's maintenance and forfeits legal claim to the dowry. In reality, if he fails to pay alimony, the woman usually has limited legal recourse.⁴¹⁰ For the wife, dissolution of the marriage contract without reason (*khul*) requires her to repay her dowry and other expenditures assumed by the husband's side. The negotiated time frame for repayment often stipulates repayment of the dowry upon the wife's remarriage. In effect, her new husband discharges her debt to the old one.⁴¹¹



© Carsten ten Brink
Busy street in Tripoli

If there are children, the father is their natural guardian (*al waley*); the mother is the physical custodian—a role distinct from legal custodian—of minor children, who must be supported by their father. In the event of divorce, the Libyan Family Code gives initial physical custody to the mother; if she were unable to fulfill the responsibility, it is assumed by her mother; if she is

⁴⁰⁸ Souad Mekhennet, "For Women in Libya, a Long Road to Rights," *New York Times*, 22 November 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/23iht-letter23.html?pagewanted=all>

⁴⁰⁹ Human Rights Watch, "Libya: A Threat to Society?" 27 February 2006, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11468/section/2>

⁴¹⁰ Alison Pargeter, "Libya," in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and Justice*, eds. Sameena Nazir and Leigh Tomppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 171.

⁴¹¹ Ahmad Atif Ahmad, "Divorce/Khul in Islamic Law," in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

unable, then the children's father; and then his mother if he becomes incapacitated.⁴¹² Women cannot be coerced into waiving their custody rights in exchange for a divorce. Moreover, a mother can assume the financial obligation of maintaining minor children, though if she fails, it reverts to the father.⁴¹³

Naming Conventions

Libyans follow Arab conventions in naming their children.⁴¹⁴ It is mainly the father's duty to select a fitting name. Boys' names include Mourad (desired) or Saif (sword). Girls' names are often poetic, like Noura (light), or Bisma (smile). Names from the Quran are also popular, such as Muhammad (the Prophet), or Fatima (his daughter).⁴¹⁵



© Samer Muscati
Libyan girls

Traditional Amazigh (Berber) names are meant to represent the identity of the child. Not necessarily of Islamic or Arabic origin, Amazigh male names include Berkan (dark) and Uzmir (powerful). Female names include Tayyurt (moon) and Tizemt (lioness).⁴¹⁶ The Libyan government tried to assimilate non-Arab tribes by requiring civil registration of names in Arabic and banning the use of non-Arabic names (and non-Arabic languages).^{417, 418}

Exchange 81: Are these your children?

Soldier:	Are these your children?	hadooama Sghaarik?
Local:	Yes.	na'am

⁴¹² Social Institutions and Gender Index, "Country Profiles: Libya," 2012, <http://genderindex.org/country/libya>

⁴¹³ Lynn Welchman, "Chapter 9: Divorce," in *Women and Muslim Family Laws in Arab States: A Comparative Overview of Textual Development and Advocacy* (Holland: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 121.

⁴¹⁴ UK Government and Interpol, "A Guide to Names and Naming Practices," March 2006, 8–9, http://www.fbiic.gov/public/2008/nov/Naming_practice_guide_UK_2006.pdf

⁴¹⁵ James Azema, *Libya Handbook: The Travel Guide* (Bath, England: 2000), 284.

⁴¹⁶ Hsen Larbi, "Amazigh Names," Amazigh Cultural Association in America, n.d., http://www.tamazgha.org/uploads/4/2/2/3/422318/aaaa_amazigh_names.pdf

⁴¹⁷ Libyan Working Group, "Violations of Linguistic and Cultural Rights of Amazigh Population in Libya," Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 30 May 2005, 1, http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/minorities/docs/11/Libyan%20WG_3a.doc

⁴¹⁸ Hsain Ilahiane, "Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)," in *Historical Dictionaries of Peoples and Cultures*, No. 5 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006), xxviii, <http://chapters.scarecrowpress.com/08/108/081085452Xch1.pdf>

Chapter 6 Assessment

1. Young married couples often live with the husband's parents.

True

Married sons establish their own households upon their father's death, or when they have the necessary financial resources.

2. Libya under Qadhafi marked motherhood as a woman's most important social role.

True

Qadhafi's *Green Book* emphasized the natural power of mothers. He also promoted education, military service, and public employment for women.

3. Libyans celebrate marriage as a union of two individuals.

False

For Libyans, marriage is a union between families rather than individuals. Fathers traditionally arranged marriages between children of brothers to avoid incorporating outsiders.

4. Libyan girls are eligible to marry at 16 years of age.

False

The current law requires both parties to be 20. This law gives girls a longer adolescence (and a lengthier period of responsibility for the family honor).

5. Despite government social welfare programs, Libyan families care for their elderly.

True

Each family decides which adult child is best positioned to assume primary responsibility for the care of an aging parent.

FINAL ASSESSMENT

1. Tripolitania, the “Western Region,” is Libya’s most populous area.
True / False
2. There are no natural, surface bodies of fresh water in Libya.
True / False
3. Libya’s historical regions lost their separate identities during the Italian colonial period and adopted a homogenized, European culture.
True / False
4. The population of Libya is mostly Tuareg.
True / False
5. Most Libyans speak Tamazight, the native Berber language.
True / False
6. In Libya, the practice of separating men and women at public events is attributed to Islamic custom.
True / False
7. Libya’s Sanusi Brotherhood is a Shi’ite Muslim sect that follows the descendants of Muhammad.
True / False
8. Mawlid al-Nabi, the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, is the most widely celebrated of the Muslim holy days in Libya.
True / False
9. The folk Islam of Libya’s minority communities isolates and subordinates women more severely than the Sunni Islam of the Arab majority.
True / False
10. Libya’s transitional government of 2012 announced that the newly liberated country would be run according to *shari’a*, Islamic law.
True / False
11. Libya is sometimes described as a “collective culture.” The individual is expected to subordinate personal interests and desires to the good of the group.
True / False
12. Fridays are the best time to make business arrangements to meet with a Libyan counterpart.
True / False

13. It is acceptable for guests to tell their Libyan host that they cannot eat spicy food.
True / False
14. On 1 September, Libyans celebrate Revolution Day, the establishment of the Qadhafi regime.
True / False
15. Weddings and funerals are traditional social events where men and women are allowed to mingle.
True / False
16. Libya is known to be a transit and destination country for human trafficking.
True / False
17. Libyan women cannot work outside their homes in the cities—the risk of encountering an unrelated male is too great.
True / False
18. Libyans bargain for items when shopping in the local *souk*.
True / False
19. Public transportation is poor in Libyan cities because most urban residents own government-subsidized cars.
True / False
20. Libya's problem with youth unemployment ended with recruiting efforts of local militia during the civil war.
True / False
21. Despite the conversion of nomads to settled farmers, agricultural production declined during the 1970s.
True / False
22. Road checkpoints are common in Libya's interior.
True / False
23. The Berber, Tuareg, and Tebu are the last remaining tribes of Libya.
True / False
24. Mobile medical units travel to more remote areas to provide basic healthcare.
True / False
25. Traditional (and shifting) rivalries between tribes account for many recent conflicts in Libya.
True / False

26. In the 20th century, social changes reduce the average size of the Libyan household and family.

True / False

27. Polygamy is permitted in Libya.

True / False

28. Libyan law prohibits the use of non-Arabic names.

True / False

29. Only Libyan men are allowed to initiate a divorce.

True / False

30. Libyan children are brought up to look after the family lineage and reputation.

True / False

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