FAMILY AND MARITAL IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY OF LIBYA.

by

SAMIRA GUIU ABD
B.Sc. (hons)
Khartoum.

A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Social Anthropology

University of Khartoum,
Faculty of Economic and Social Studies,
Department of Anthropology & Sociology.

April, 1978.
TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY DECEASED FATHER.
CONTENTS

ABSTRACT........................................................................................................ 1

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.............................................................................. 111

PREFACE....................................................................................................... v

INTRODUCTION.............................................................................................. 1

CHAPTER I: General Framework: Historical, Ecological and Social Background. 14

CHAPTER II: Intra-Familial Structure................................................................. 48

CHAPTER III: Inter-Familial Structure: Neighbourhood Relations.............. 176

CHAPTER IV: Marriage: Mate Selection and Bridgeworth.................... 182

CHAPTER V: Marriage: Ceremonies and the Position of Women............. 219

CONCLUSION.................................................................................................. 295

APPENDIX...................................................................................................... 309

BIBLIOGRAPHY............................................................................................... 313
The main aim of this study is to examine the family life and marriage in two different areas in the town of Tripoli, Libya. It is a utilization of the comparative method in the study of a changing society. This is accomplished by observing the similarities and differences in the family structure and marriage in the two different areas. Some statistical data has been of benefit for the analysis. The social aspects of family intra-relations are discussed by reference to the family organization called Lajlat system, to kinship relations and role analysis in terms of sex segregation and the position of women. The study also examines neighborhood relations as inter-familial relations to test the effect of those relations on the Lajlat system. The changing aspects of family and marriage are studied by examining traditional structures and the effect of the overall socio-economic changes. Marriage is studied through the analysis of three substructures namely, mate selection, bridewealth and marriage ceremonies.

The introduction is a general account of the study and how it has been approached. Chapter I gives a detailed account of the setting from a historical, ecological and
social points of view. Chapter II examines the intra-
relations of the family members and analyses the role
expectancy in both traditional and contemporary family
system. The position of women is also examined. Chapter
III provides case studies of neighbourhood relations and
the process of assimilation into effective neighbourhood
which is an extension to the state of incorporation into the
family. Chapter IV gives an analysis of the marriage system
with respect to mate selection and bridewealth. Chapter V
describes and analyses marriage ceremonies and rituals
relevant to sex relations and the position of women. The
conclusion summarizes the main findings of the study.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Post Graduate College for providing me with some finance to carry on with my research. My gratitude and thanks to the University of Tripoli for the help and advice which I have received during my fieldwork period. I particularly thank the members of the Department of Sociology and Psychology for their valuable supervision and advice for conducting the questionnaire. I am also grateful to the members of the University Computer Room Department who have permitted analysing my data in the computer free of charge.

My special thanks to the people of Ben Haar and the MCT Town for their help, generosity and tolerance for my lengthy queries and investigations.

I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Nida Abas who supervised, read, commented and directed the first draft of my thesis.

My special indebtedness to my supervisors, Dr. Abbas Alamed and Dr. Taj al Abdia Almadi for supervising patiently the writing and finishing up of my thesis.

My special thanks to my mother, brother and children who have encouraged me throughout my study.
My special gratitude for all my teachers, colleagues and friends who have encouraged and helped me indirectly. I am also grateful to Ayd/Abdel Nasser El Siddig for typing the thesis.

Lastly, my thanks to my husband who has encouraged and facilitated the continuity of my work especially with his tolerance of my absence during the writing up of the thesis.
PRELIM.

The duration of the research on which this study is based is approximately two years divided into two phases. The first is primarily an enquiry carried out from February 1977 to July 1978. The second has been intended for more intensive study and it covered the period from January to July, 1978.

I have always been interested to study a foreign society in contrast to the tradition of Sudanese scholars in limiting their research to Sudanese studies. So this study is primarily an experiment in fieldwork research outside the Sudan. It is also prompted by the fact that I had the opportunity to live in Libya before I have gone officially to Tripoli, the area where I have carried out my fieldwork. Other reasons behind the study pertain to the general conditions in Libya which are undergoing a high pace of change as a corollary to the oil discovery. The socio-economic changes have their impact on family life. This in turn is part of the readjustments in the country's social, political and cultural structures.

Besides these reasons, there are other additional reasons:
(a) A study of family and marriage patterns is basic for the study of a whole structure in a specific social system. Understanding the family and marriage is part of understanding the society's cultural standpoint.

(b) The problem of family and marriage within the urban context has rarely been approached by the Libyan researchers. Such a research will enhance a basic reference for forthcoming studies among Libyans. This is a corollary to the underlying researches on the impact of oil on socio-economic aspects.

(c) The interesting type of marriage ceremonies attracts attention for fieldwork research.

(d) The research on the position of women in a wholly male-dominated society is also a developing branch of science. This study will make a provision for such a development of research.

I have chosen two areas in Tripoli for the purpose of comparison. The old town is chosen because it represents the
traditional style of residence, living and social communica-
tion between co-residents. Ben Ahoor, on the other hand, is
chosen because it represents the modern sector of Tripoli.
It shows a clear diversity from the old town. To the Libyans
the relationship between the two areas is a dichotomy of rotten
versus clean, old versus new, poor versus rich and conservative
versus liberal. Conservation here is not a strict terminology
for adherence to traditions only. It again reflects an
informal overall set of relationships relative to a formal set
of relationships in Ben Ahoor.

I have managed to collect my data and information by
the following methods:—

1—During the first phase of my stay, I have tried to
make myself somewhat accepted as a foreigner who is interested
to learn about Libyan customs and beliefs, etc. This has
not been as easy as it first appears. However, I have
managed to establish friendly rapport with my informants.
I have participated in solving some neighbourhood disputes,
and aid in family crisis. This has been accomplished through
a cautious attitude towards the neighbours' gossip, secrets
and by gaining their confidence.
2 - By participant observation and interviews with informants, I have found some difficulty in gaining the collaboration of men who have not felt like discussing their family affairs with a "female".

3 - Official documents and local library work.

4 - Questionnaire conducted in both areas for quantitative analysis. The difficulty in this part has been how to get both husbands and wives present to cancel their attitude.

5 - Recording and photography. The main problem concerning this has been in taking photos of women who normally fear their husband's objection.

It is important here to note that I was dealing with a typical town community called by the Libyans as Tripolitans. This term denotes the conflict between ḥar (townmen) and Bedouins rather than a residential differentiation. The people who have originally come from the old town do claim themselves as ḥarayen (true) i.e., Tripolitans by descent. Yet all town people claim superiority by adhering to the Tripolitanian category. I have written the colonial Libyan words as they are pronounced and have followed the system of transliteration in Sudan Notes and Records in most parts of the thesis.
INTRODUCTION.

Family and marriage are two overlapping institutions within the same contextual framework. This is best illustrated by the controversy over which is first, the chicken or the egg. The incomprehensible attitude of separating one from the other necessitates a combined sociological framework for their analysis.

The aim of this thesis is to combine both functional and structural approaches for the analysis of both institutions. This is attempted with a further comparative approach in two areas of the research. Meaningful comparisons are made to the social reality of both areas. In addition, the provision is made for the investigation of the traditional values and institutions as a useful introduction to the study of social change. A major contribution of this thesis is the discussion of the changing aspect of social systems of family and marriage.

To avoid sociological conclusions incompatible with social realities, a general background framework is drawn in
Chapter I. It analyses the structural similarities and
disimilarities of the historical, ecological and social
characteristics of the two research areas. This is presented
in uniformity with the overall social structure and not in
a pattern of discreteness. It is the conception of what is
Libyan and Tripolitain rather than al-Mashad al-adnaa
(the Old Town)\(^1\) and Ben Aghoor\(^2\) (Son of labour) as a
separate entity. The changing aspect of the structure is
studied by reference to statistical evidence.

The second chapter gives a discussion of the changing
structure of family intra-relationships. This is accomplished
through an interactionist approach of analysis. This is
concerned with both structure and function of family life.
The first section of the chapter outlines the earlier analysis
of family systems. Another section summarizes previous studies
on Libya and related societies. Most of these studies were
confined to rural and tribal communities. The section that
follows analyses the type of interaction within the context
of the traditional family system. By comparing the tradition-
al pattern of intra-relations with the contemporary one, the
\(^1\) Old Town is the name that will be used throughout the
\(^2\) Ben Aghoor is the other area.

Ehama for one area of the research.
effect of the changing structure on new role relationships is pinpointed. The husband/wife relationship is a basic form of interaction to trace the position of women in the changing structure. The socio-economic changes due to the introduction of oil are partly responsible for the changing position of women. They are no longer stigmatized by their submission to the influence of men. The concept of decision-making is analysed in terms of these changes and how for the power structure within the family is maintained. The influence of women is best illustrated by a study of the conception of

This is a mechanism of obtaining equilibrium between role expectation and role performance between husband and wife.

Corollary to the intra-familial relationships is a study of interrelationships with other families. These external family affairs are studies within the context of neighbourhood community. Chapter III is designed to show how inter-familial relations could be seen as an extension to the intra-familial relations. Incorporation into an effective neighbourhood relations is like the process of rite of passage in its structural framework. The stages
of incorporation into the neighbourhood resemble those of rituals. The continuum between being an outsider, barazi, and an ibn baad (son of a country) stimulates the pattern of incorporation described. Reputation (including ethnic origin), public opinion, gossip and disputes are all factors of assimilation in the inter-familial relations. Disputes should not be understood as negative factors allowing for fragmentation. An important contribution of this thesis is to show how disputes conform with unity objectives. The method of case-study has shown that disputes between families in the neighbourhood restore unity to the community. That disputes occur between people who have effective relations between them.

The intra-inter-familial relations discussed are micro-sociological explanations of the marriage system. By this is meant the immediate operative causes that explain a social situation. Chapter IV analyses the town marriage in terms of its changing structure. Islamic principles relating to marriage are presented to test the dichotomy of the ideal versus the actual. Three major aspects have been dealt with.
In this section of the introduction, I attempt to draw a summarized account of the general socio-economic changes that have taken place in Libya. This has largely been an effect of the oil discovery after 1959. Another section will also be an account on the sample of survey that has been approached in the fieldwork.

The local problems and conditions which have influenced the rule and nature of change are as follows:

1. The Libyans themselves lack the capacity to direct and finance their own economic development.
2. The climatic and political fluctuations have continually encouraged the Libyans to take short term views.
3. The power problem has emerged as a constraint on a continued non-inflationary economic growth.
4. The problem of scale where the scattering of more than two millions persons presents grave difficulties of production and supply.

The oil benefits did not provide an easy or a complete solution to these problems. Moreover, families and institutions have been drawn into an urban framework. Libya's process
of adjustment from one socio-economic system to a new equilibrium is taking place within well-defined and reasonably stable geographical boundaries.

The Libyan urban structure does not appear to be a function of the level of economic development, industrialization or urbanization. To some extent, the Libyan urban structure is similar to other countries, e.g., Tunisia, Morocco which are smaller than average, have a short history of urbanization and are economically and politically simple.

Migration has been a necessary element of normal demographic and economic adjustment to a new equilibrium (See Table No. 1). This migration has allowed Libya's traditional economic system to be altered. The modern economic sector is enlarged. The inter-provincial migrations tend to weaken the provincial distinctiveness which is wholly ethnic and a characteristic of Libya. This is a long-term potential. Also, the redistribution of the economically active population has produced both social and economic disruptions. In rural areas, the release of pressure on meagre resources has been offset by the lack of a youthful labour force. In cities, pressure on urban housing has created the slumy towns while educational, medical

and transport facilities have been stretched to their present limits. Localization of economic functions in Tripoli and Benghazi; the two main cities, would affect economic growth elsewhere.

Profound changes affect the family, in its cohesion as well as in its functions. The main symptom especially in cities is the change over from extended to nuclear family type. As to marriage, nowadays parents play more of a role especially urban youngsters while traditionally the initiative and other preparations are a family affair. Still the extended family is the unit of security and loyalty. The nuclear family in towns, have existed side by side with the extended one but the relative importance of the two types has been or is being reversed due to considerable shifts in the occupational pattern in the towns.

Authority of fathers is waning, women's emancipation is a factor for nuclear family type because it is where she pre-dominates in her own sphere. At the same time, the nuclear family cannot function as the locus of security as the extended

Modern culture as opposed to traditional culture.
The former characterized by logical thinking and scientific interpretation, the latter characterized by mysticism, legends and the supernatural. This still persists in some rural, beduin and tribal areas e.g. sewage, hadiah(1) for a sick person. So the opposition between the two types of culture has been indispensable. The surviving, continuity and convincing characteristic of the former might suggest replacing the latter.

3 - The development of individualistic personality especially among the young. The phenomenon of early marriages, arranged by families, the satisfaction by the minimum living requirements and education is radically changing. A readjustment is taking place where liberal attitude is taking over and independence from family's authority is also dominating.

4 - A major sphere of the socio-economic change is that of bridewealth. The conditions for concluding the marriage contract are booming both in monstary terms as well as status wise. This is considered one of the major problems facing the new society after all i.e. how to pay bridewealth.

(1) hadiah: ecstatic dancing with special music and rhythms practiced in religious brotherhoods and among women too.
On the whole, the general socio-economic changes have characterized the society by disequilibrium and instability. The sudden radical change from a poor closed society to a healthy open has its effect on integration of all substructures. The effect cannot be assessed as negative or positive because of the ambiguous state of change that is taking place.
The method of research used is participant observation, personal interviews, case histories, and indirect observation. Statistical data is used for some quantitative analysis in different sections of the thesis.

The number of households interviewed for the purpose of collecting the questionnaire data has been hundred. This has been half distributed between the two areas of the research i.e., fifty households for each of them. The choice has been based on random selection to avoid bias interpretations. The number fifty has been considered as sufficient for a detailed specialized analysis. It has also been purposely confined to fifty households in each township for the difficulty of access to more than that. The difficulty arises from non-acceptance of being interviewed. It is a new field of contact unknown to them until recent years. Again the sample has been randomly chosen with the intention of including most of the categorical sets within the community. Workers, professional, illiterate, educated, poor and wealthy households have been interviewed to give a full picture. Also the follow up of cases has been more specialised among the fifty households. Houses interviewed all.

(1) Indirect observation has been through listening behind doors, in case of mens' groupings.
CHAPTER II.

GENERAL FRAMEWORK: HISTORICAL, ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

"The name Libya is derived from ancient Libyan tribes who lived in Cyrenaica. The word appears in ancient Egyptian Inscriptions dating back to the end of the 3rd Century B.C. and especially those of the period of the 18th Dynasty which indicate that the area located to the west of the Nile was settled by the tribes (Libiu) or (Libi).


In this chapter, a general account is given about Tripoli and the two selected areas for the research. This includes information on historical, ecological as well as social background.

Historically, Tripoli is a Phoenician city established in the 7th, 6th centuries B.C. It has been a centre of struggle for colonization throughout the centuries. This has been due to its strategic position where it is bounded by a long coast of the Mediterranean Sea on the north and located

[3] Tripoli comes from a Greek name Tripoli that used to be the name of three famous towns in Phoenician Times. The Arabs have added Algar (The West) to differentiate it from Tripoli of Al-Din (Middle East) and to indicate its direction. See M. El Dijani, 1971, P.1-30.
in Central North Africa. Its history is a series of invasions which could be understood as colonization periods. Four main stages are clear in the history of Tripoli: 1) The ancient history (1) of occupation by Phoenicians, the Roman Empire and the Spanish. 2) The Islamic history of the Ottoman Empire. 3) The modern history of the occupation by the Italian, British and French forces. 4) The history of Independence and lately the revolutionary council of the Military government still in power. Tripoli is the main Muḥāfaẓah (literally county) of the ten Muḥāfaẓāt (2) or administrative units and serves as a capital, a port and a residential place for the population.

During the Phoenician and Roman Empires, Tripoli, under the name “Awya” served as a commercial centre linked by roads to the main cities of the Empire. “Ibnokha” was the name given by the Phoenicians to the commercial centre of the three main cities named Libye, Awya and Subrata. (3)

During the Ottoman regime, (4) Libya was divided into two major areas, Wilāyat Tripolī (literally State of Tripoli) and


(2) Muḥāfaẓāt: in the plural of Muḥāfaẓah.

(3) Libye and Subrata are two centres of relics of the Roman and function as touristic sightseeing.

Benghazi. Tripoli was the Wāli (guardian, governor) centre who was appointed by the Sultan. (Turkish head office). During the Italian occupation, Tripoli continued to maintain its position as a capital and a major administrative unit other than Misrata, Benghazi, Bensas and the desert which was a military area. After independence and up to now, Tripoli has been the main centre of civic, political and recreational life.

Ecologically, Tripoli's pattern of settlement has changed greatly during the last one or two decades. This has been largely due to the increased rate of migration in Tripoli compared to the other Libyan towns. (Table No.1). In the old times of the early establishment of the city, the main settlement area was the old town at the northern eastern borders reaching the sea. This was a route out to the sea port which has been functioning as a major commercial centre. Nowadays, certain changes have transformed the structure of the city differently. The old town has remained as it used to be a self-sufficient, residential, commercial and all purposes centre. Changes have taken place in other parts of

(2) Benghazi is the second main city in Libya; lies in the eastern part.
the city which used to be the outskirts of the old town. According to Homer Hoyt\(^{(1)}\) who has developed the sector theory, the most fashionable residential areas in American cities tend to shift from the central locations towards the periphery. This is also consistent with "rindoli where new quarters of modern and sophisticated structures have been established towards the outer zones of the central business centre. The latter remains similar to what Burgess has defined as zone I or Central Business District which is a focus of commercial, social and civic life. Although the old town is part of the Central Business District area, yet it should be counted as distinct. It represents the traditional feature of the old Bog (market), of crowded lanes and goods on show outside shops. Other commercial businesses are conducted in small retail shops, agencies and petty traders shouting for customers to "buy the last place" type of selling. So the area outside the Old Town zone could be called a modern sector. This includes apartments for residence, offices and clubs. As one moves towards the outer zones of the city, the situation changes. Many residential areas have

\(^{(1)}\) S. F. Perry, 1968, P. 227.
opening into different directions are known to have existed since the Roman impact.

Historically, דָּבָא אלbage (Door of the Sea) to the North East was one of the main gates to the town. It faces the famous Roman antiquities and relics of the arch of ARCHES OTTOMAN (1) (See plate 1). It bears its significance from its commercial importance as the nearest entrance to the port. The rest of the gates open into other directions and have changed names several times during the different occupation periods.

דָּבָא אלbage (The new door) that opens to the North East, has been previously called הב אלsetImage (Door of Setimts, a famous tribe). The naming of gates after tribes' names was an identification with the tribe which was known to have settled at that specific direction. הב אלsetImage (Door of Freedom) used to be called הב אלsetImage (2) (Door of Arabs). Other gates still exist; הב אלsetImage (Door of the town) opens eastward and was the main gate during the Ottoman times. This importance was derived from its nearness to the תל אדר (red palace) which

(1) ARCHES OTTOMAN was a Roman structure during (106-126) B.C.
(2) הב אלsetImage here is meant those Arabs who have come from the desert.
Plate No. 1. The arch of Marcus Aurelius in the old town, the only remaining wall from the ancient Tripoli in the area of Jebel al-Bahr in the South West of the Mediterranean.
was the official residence and office of the Governor. The
(sanqa (palace) is a castle-shaped building and was used for
defensive purposes. It had been a barrier for the attacks by
the sea. It is surviving as a distinctive feature of the
old town and the whole city as well.

Inside the town, everything was arranged almost the
same. The sanqa (a Libyan word for lane) is the active part
of the kārā (part of a quarter). Some sanqa(s) still take
the names of famous battle, names of historical events or
significant leaders, tribes or ethnic groups, e.g. kūra-
kuwās (Jews' kārā), sanqa by Faggā (lane of the Faggā).

Those sanqa(s) are very narrow and rarely penetratable by cars
or buses. No public transport or traffic system is observed in
kārā(s). Rarely are there public squares and when found are
very small. Houses, cafes, shops all open into the lanes.
So people reside near places of work. Those of the same craft
or trade work together in the same street. There is, as such,
a visible concentration of particular categories of craftsmen
such as goldsmiths, weavers, carpenters, cloth-sellers etc. There
(1) Sarūqah was built by the Spanish in 1510. Now it is used
as a national museum.
(2) By Faggā, a name of a famous merchant who used to trade
with Sudan and Chad.
are many mosques inside the town and the other ones still exist e.g. **qub’al in’al** (mosque of the camel). They built more than one thousand years ago. There are also a number of public baths which were constructed when the town was first established. They are still used by some people especially passing-by travellers. These baths are usually meant for men. On the other hand, there are baths for women; **hammam turki** (Turkish bath). It is reserved for women on Sundays when they are brought with singing and yawning. The mosque and baths have always acted as two cultural centres. Meeting there gives a chance to chat about family affairs, religion, food, fashion, and politics, thus creating a social club gathering without formal membership.

In the past, residents of the Old Town used to identify themselves as typical **misk'elliya** (Tripolitaniants). They consider rural dwellers as **mustariyen** (unrefined arabs). This is derived from the social conflict of townspeople versus tribesmen.

---

(1) The name is a gift from the French rule to the people of Libya when he visited Tripoli and named it at that same place of the mosque. The people built the mosque as a memorial. See N.C. Alkhb, 1971, p.208.

(2) There are sports clubs, religious schools but one has to be a formal member.
Sketch-map No. 2.

- Women's Room
- Unroofed Courtyard
- Bathroom
- Bedroom
- Maroon's
- Toilet
- Entrance of House
- Kitchen
- Bedroom
that does not exceed two and a half meters wide and six meters long. At the end of the room, there is the _sudra_ (Libyan word for bed), underneath it is a wooden _khurash_ (1) (safe) which contains all utensils, consumption goods and previously all clothes, gold etc.. Over the _sudra_ all the family sleeps especially the mother, father and young children. Elders sleep in another similar room. This main room functions both as sleeping and a sitting room. The floor of this room is usually covered with woolen or straw carpets or whatever the family could afford to buy. The reason for this is the custom of sitting on floor which is preferred to sitting on chairs. Also a number of _manadas_ (cushions) surround the covered floor to help masters lean on them. Another piece of furniture is the _hurba_ which is a traditional sofa made of wood and is meant to keep the husband seated while he is smoking the _gharsa_ (oriental pipe) or while dressing. Walls are also covered with embroidered pieces of cloth especially the wall facing the door. Another piece is the _shimlaish_ (chest of drawers) which is newly introduced. The other rooms do not have more furniture.

---

(1) "Hududat ‘Arabug 34 liyad ‘un" (in Arabic), 1975, p.340.
(2) A similar piece of furniture in Sudan is _mawara_.
(3) Most of the traditional bed style and pieces of furniture were known to Libyans through the Turkish impact.
if not less. The multi-floory house was meant for extended families. The upper floor, with its rooms open into the same courtyard, is resided by a married son. There are no gardens or garages because of the lack of space and because in the past there was no economic ability to provide for both.

The common room for women (jagalti'mal) (room for sitting) is a meeting place for the organized groupings of women called mash'adi (appointment). In these meetings, shait'arbi (arabic tea) is served and is meant to prolong the visit. Similarly the room of men is a meeting place for their tabiyat (staying late at night) during which they play cards, chit, sing and sometimes dance. These two grouping places are not only for the purpose of gathering together but function as informal associations. Reciprocal expectations of hospitality, exchange of gossip and critical public opinion are chief issues of these groupings. In such, neighbourhood relations, family affairs and entertainment activities are affected by the issues discussed in those groupings. Again

(1) Jalti'mal is a Libyan word meaning sitting for a long time.

(2) Shait'arbi: a strong tea made of tea + mint + sugar and boiled for a long time.
many rituals and rites are performed in these rooms especially
the women's. Family affairs are discussed with the purpose of
solving problems. Rites for curing diseases and different rites
of passage are performed as well. Tashbeh, Fargad and Tajaf
are examples of such practices.

The closely-knit type of relations found in the Old Town
make it appropriate for kin, neighbours and friends to know
much about each other. In the Old Town, there are no formal
appointments for such visits nor a specific etiquette for
reception. This diverges from the norms of other quarters of
the city who are, relatively speaking, loose-knit in relations
e.g. Ben Tanour, Gargyish.

The quarter where I have conducted my questionnaire is
Bab Alriyash. It opens northward into one of the main streets
of Tripoli: Qsar Almouhtar.\(^1\) It lies on the north eastern
side of the Old Town. The questionnaire has been distributed
in a lane called Almaz's target (the four arches). This has
been the main road to commercial centre for more than two
hundred years back. The lane has many exits westward and is

\(^{1}\) Qsar Almouhtar is a famous charismatic leader who fought
the Italians and was executed by their hands.
connected to other famous trading centres through those
exists e.g. Sqa eltarık (Turkish market) Sqa ildirriyel(1)
(Stairs market). Though the lane does not look like a
residential area, (See plate No. 2 & 3), yet many houses
exist side by side with the shops. Multiple-floored build-
ings serve both purposes of residence and shopping. Two
structures constructed in the old style of building still
perform their functions being in easy access to the
residents, shopkeepers and passersby. The lane is a
crowded centre of commerce and shops open into it. There
are tailoring, tins, metal workshops, cloth selling shops etc.

Indeed this crowd, no place is provided for children's
games and play. So the sanga is part of a house in that most
children of the sanga spend their spare time playing outside
houses. Active times of the lane are from early morning till
early afternoon. The hadrasa fi fam (father in law, a shot
at the mouth of the house) is preferred by the women of the
narrow lanes. This gives an opportunity to watch and collect
the news of the lane without formal visits. Before it gets
dark, all types of neighbourhood contacts could be performed.

(1) Sqa ildirriyel is a top floor flat with open stairs leading
to it.
Plate No. 2: The arch's entrance of the Old Town.
These are the four arches at the beginning of the lane.

Plate No. 3: Though the lane does not look like a residential area, yet many houses exist side by side with the shops.
Covestidents are connected by a number of interlocking role sets. The mode of connectedness depends, to a large extent, on three factors: (a) duration of stay in the locality, (b) kinship ties, (c) economic and social differentiation. From the sample(1) over half (52%) are settlers for more than ten years, (28%) are settlers for one to five years and (20%) have been residents for more than twenty years. With such a rate, the population could be described as settled. The multiplex relations due to the long duration of stay, make it unnecessary for kinship ties to be basic in influencing those relations. This is not meant to surpass the effect of kinship relations. In fact the jati system is a significant characteristic of the whole kinship system. The jati who have been residing on the basis of extended family system have lost that heritage now. This has been due to either a split of the jati into nuclear families who have moved to reside somewhere else, or to the shortage of space or to the insufficient economic resources to provide for a big jati. Yet, those jati still keep their name especially in cases where only one member of the original jati is living. Smaller nuclear

(1) A note about the sample is given in the introduction section.
families also bear the title of the original single founder. So the socio-economic changes have affected the structure of close social relations, but have not caused complete establishment of the system. People in the old town are closely banded up as a coexisting group in a network of mutual dependence. They play different roles towards the same set of people e.g. a shopkeeper could also be a member of a mahizah group, a religious adviser, a head of family. Women, too, have different roles: as neighbours called upon in crisis, as paid assistant, wazirat (1) (literally those who stand), or members of a mufid grouping.

Before oil discovery most of the Old Town residents, (of the sample) were workers (40%), (See Table 2). After oil discovery, those who occupied the highest jobs, are civil servants (36%), next are petty traders and businessmen who ass to (34%).

(1) Wazirat is an occupation for service of food during crisis usually undertaken by divorced, widows and poor women.
Table No. 2

Occupational Distribution of Old Town and
Ban Ashour Before and After the Oil
Discovery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Merchants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Civil Servants</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6(12%)</td>
<td>2(10%)</td>
<td>13(26%)</td>
<td>11(22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban Ashour</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>21(42%)</td>
<td>24(48%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>17(34%)</td>
<td>12(24%)</td>
<td>18(36%)</td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban Ashour</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13(26%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30(60%)</td>
<td>6(12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.P.: Discrepancy in the total is due to "no-response" items.

It is a change from one strata of workers categories to
another of government officials and private business. The change
is to be understood as a change in the ranking structure and not
in the structure of social relationships. They will keep to
their normalized behavior towards each others. The reason for
this slow social change in the interaction between people, is
that the overall economic change has been rapid and sudden due
to the discovery of petroleum. An attempt to study how social
relationships have changed radically needs a longer duration. It is
possible to observe a wholly stratified society when the boom
of economic changes reaches its apex and when all strata have
made benefits of this.
The change in the ranking system has been enforced by the overall economic change. The redistribution of offices after oil is based on the quantity of officials to run the growing business. It is not based on quality or specialisation and the definition of task. Most clerical and administrative jobs are occupied by low-educated people. The workers in the Old Town are undertaking administrative offices—rather in the government units or in private business.

In the other quarter studied, Ben Ashoor (see Sketch map No. 3), it is centered on the south east of the Old Town. It is part of a famous area around the People's Palace (Republican previously) and Madina Alhoudig (Garden City).

Historically, it used to be called Mashiyah (literally garden). One Tunisian traveller has described Tunis in 1895 saying:

"The Old Town is built according to the traditional Arabic design previously known in Tunisia... The new town known as Mashiyah is constructed according to modern design." (2)

It was privately owned farms. The kings' lords used to possess land over these too. Now, a great part of the area is occupied by foreign embassies. It is both a residential area and an

(1) Previously it used to be an oasis and took the name from the plantation of gardens over the area.

Office centre but no much shopping activities.

The quarter is linked to the rest of the city by long roads passing through other famous quarters e.g. Al-Azhar, Al-Mu'izz, Kasr Al-'Ali, Giza's Necropolis. The latter leads to the coastal road which reaches Egypt in the north west.

The quarter is a residential area of high income groups. This is so because residents are either owners of houses or renters who could afford high rents. Businessmen of large enterprises reside near high civil servants or professionals e.g. engineers, doctors, etc. It is an attempt to be members of a high ranking strata or residents of a first class area which makes officials rent apartments and live near the wealthy owners. The characteristic feature of the quarter is its middle road Ben Ashour Road. This has modern structure of buildings, spacious flats and European style of shops and multi-storey buildings. In fact, the quarter as a whole is not consistent in the type of building structure. This is different from the Old Town which has almost similar, if not identical, type of house structure; the traditional type described above. In Ben Ashour and behind the middle road, there are houses of middle and low classes, especially there
the quarter reaches the main road to Fez which is a
low class residential area. So economic differentiation
in the ranking system, gives the dissimilarity of outlook.
This is not the case in the Old Town.

The road, Ben Ahoor, has been the focus of the study.
Similar to the Al'Arab's 'arjag  lane of the Old Town, it
is also a busy road of traffic. That of the Old Town is
occupied with walkers, residents, children and shops while
Ben Ahoor connects the main traffic to the rest of the city
and has all types of transport. People do not form a great
part of the crowd as that in the old Town. The length of
Ben Ahoor is approximately five kilometers and that of
Al Arab's 'arjag is about three kilometers. The traffic is
easier in Ben Ahoor because it is a straight road while
Al Arab's 'arjag is narrow and non-continuous in many parts.
To the north of Ben Ahoor road is the sea and southeast is
the Republican Palace (now Socialist Union). At the centre
of the road is a big mosque, two pharmacies, three shops and
two women hairdressers. (See Plate No.4).
Plate No. 54. Ben Ashor Road. Modern style of Structure and spacious roads.
Inside the houses of Ben Aşşoor, there is an admixture of both modern and traditional styles of furniture. The common room for women is a necessity. So, the idea of separating sexes also exists. In Sudan too, there is still Hauş Al Nehal and Hauş Al Miswah (literally, men’s quarter and women’s quarter). In Ben Aşşoor there is one difference: the mushur’a of men is not existent as in the Old Town. Instead a modern sitting room performs the same function. But all houses are fitted with carpet to suit the traditional jinazah (sitting down) on the floor. When rooms are furnished with modern fashions of beds rooms, reading rooms, kitchen etc... Interestingly enough, they prefer to sleep on floor and leave the pieces of furniture for show. There is always a place for car parking and a garden. Nowadays, apartments in one building is the pattern of residence. Nuclear families reside in these and village (1) could accommodate extended families but they are normally also resided by small families. (See Table No.3).

(1) Villages are defined by Libyans to mean single houses with a garden and garage and resided by one family whether nuclear or extended.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Apartment of</th>
<th>Terraced house</th>
<th>Semi-detached house</th>
<th>Vills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>39 (16%)</td>
<td>41 (22%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Achoor</td>
<td>26 (56%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>28 (46%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ownership:
- Old Town: 26 (52%) Owned, 21 (48%) Rented, 2 (4%) Government
- Ben Achoor: 21 (52%) Owned, 29 (56%) Rented, 0% Government

There is not a single traditional House 'amabi style of building in the main road of Ben Achoor. Similarly there is not a single villas in the Old Town. This is of course the particular connotation of the difference between the traditional and the modern.

Unlike the Old Town, the children of Ben Achoor have special rooms in the houses. Children are not part of the houses as in the Old Town. "Children of the gangs" is a stigma here and neighbouring children play together in each other's garden. There is a lack of contact between residents of Ben Achoor relative to that of the Old Town. The reasons behind this lack are two:
Firstly, the relatively short period of stay compared to the Old Town make it necessary for people to keep short and such minds in their own business. (See Table No.4):

Table No. 4.

Residence in the Old Town & Ben Ashoor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-20</th>
<th>More 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Ashoor</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*Note: Discrepancy in the total percentage is due to non-responsive attitude of informants.

Secondly, based on this "keep to yourself" principle, there is an attempt of preserving the 'tahlīl' system by having stronger ties with the procreation home. Most wives interviewed spend their spare time in visiting their parental homes. Thus, like the Old Town, although the emergence of nuclear families is predominant, yet the 'tahlīl' system still survives in terms of allegiance and membership. It is not based on the residence principle. Relations between men are less strong than in the Old Town, because gathering together is formalized by previous appointments. The type of 'akhrījah' in the Old Town rarely exists here. Instead, there are evenings out which are not necessarily
conducted inside the quarter. There are some secret mahriyahs outside the neighbourhood whose membership is not confined to men only. The type of secret-lovers relationships is known through gossip but no one declares it publicly. Husbands and wives go out together to visit other families and during the visit, the women stay in a separate room. Visits are not as long and late as in the Old Town because relations in Ben Ashoor are more formal than the Old Town. Also because there is a sort of disciplining amongst those of Ben Ashoor where the rules of etiquette and sense of time is essential.

The type of groupings outside houses of Ben Ashoor is an extension to the type of relations between the people. The effect of gossip and public opinion is so strong that the reaction to this is the emergence of secret groupings. The attempt to keep one's status position as free from criticism allows for the implicit behaviour. The type of secret mahriyah outside the area gives the feeling of freedom from criticism. Again it is a reflection of the effect of material possessions on social change and the attempt to follow western suit.\(^{(1)}\) By material possessions, I refer to the high income obtained by the

\(^{(1)}\) By western suit, I mean here the socially recognised freedom of personal behaviour.
Libyans after oil discovery. In fact, there are certain changes in normalized behaviour. The emergence of drinking alcohol, dating, having girl friends, dancing etc., had previously been rejected types of behaviour.

The community of Ben Taher is a competitive sort of community. Competition is based on possessions, ranking and ethnic superiority. Explicitly, "we are the same" in the predominant principle but implicitly the mechanisms of gossip, criticism and public opinion is working against this principle. The apex of competition and denial of previous acquaintance in the occupation of Tripoli. Before September 1959 the Libyans were almost forbidden to live there and they were deprived from enjoying citizens' social rights. Now, to acquire a living in those areas, gives one prestige because such places were first-class residential areas selected for foreign governors. Those who leave Ben Taher seek the acquisition of such a privilege. At the same time they gain a

(1) Garapish is situated in the south eastern outskirts of the city.
better off position by renting their original houses in Ben Achoor.

The women of Ben Achoor have most of their contacts with their home of procreation. The feeling of insecurity from public opinion is facilitated by the heterogeneous type of co-residents. This, added to the short periods of stay, create lesser effective contact. Based on this assumption, there is an evidence as to why the foreign wives (non-Libyans), in this quarter who are married to Libyans, make their children oriented towards the mother's culture. In the Old Town, on the other hand, non-Libyan wives are much attracted towards their Libyan husbands' sphere of contact and culture. They speak the Libyan accent and dress like them. They are also much acquainted with the way of cooking and housekeeping than in Ben Achoor.

The farasha (a garment) which is the national costume of Libyan women is the common style of dressing amongst women of the Old Town. In Ben Achoor, on the other hand, the farasha is losing its social significance not only among.

(1) See Chapter III on neighborhood relations.
(2) About seven cases have approved this.
non-Libyan wives but also among the Libyans. European fashions are the feature of dressing among young girls and the women of Ben Scharar.

The majlīd of the women in Ben Scharar is not a customary part of a daily schedule of events. It is not an ad-hoc groupings as it is in the Old Town. Rather, it is pre-organized and membership is exclusively a personal issue. As such, there is a competition feature reflected on these groupings. Certain groupings of women in a majlīd would face another grouping especially when there are members who are common in both majālīd(s). The fashion, cooking, family affairs and disputes of groupings are dealt with in these occasional meettings. The type of service of tea and food in these groupings differ much from the Old Town. The difference is a matter of concern concerning what is served and how. The unexpected type of service initiates grounds for criticism.

Finally, the general contrast between the Old Town and Ben Scharar is a dichotomy of dual relationships. It is the traditional versus the modern, the informal versus the formal type of relations and the poor versus the rich. Nevertheless
CHAPTER II.

INTRA-PARTIAL STRUCTURE.

"The family is the unitary group of domestic association. The domestic group is both a family and household. As the former, it is a unit in social composition, as the latter, it is an econoic, purportive association engaged in the process of livelihood". (1)

Franklin M. Giddings (1856-1937).

In this chapter, I will deal with family as a composite unit of different relationships in the Old Town and Ben Ashoor. An introductory theoretical part is outlined, then some previous studies about Libya and related societies are presented with reference to the sociological material produced by these researches. A section about the traditional family system is presented in order to assess the sort of changes which have taken place in relation to the overall socio-economic changes. This is accomplished with reference to the contemporary family system of relationships. A specific consideration is given to the husband/wife relationship and the changing situation of the traditional *iskalat* system. Detailed statistical analysis is utilized in assessing the arguments and attitudes towards certain family affairs. The section on contemporary family

(1) Franklin M. Giddings, 1897.
relations in designed first to give an account of the differential characteristics of the dwellers of the two townships especially with reference to education and general economic characteristics.

The thesis considers the interrelationships between these variables and family structure, marriage, neighbourhood and the position of women.

Theoretical Introduction:

There have been several attempts to analyse the family. On the theoretical level of these attempts I present:

1 - The anthropological interpretation of family as a social institution. My analysis of the traditional family in Tripoli is almost similar to what Sir Henry Maine (1) had conceived of the primitive family as being to a great extent similar to the Roman family. The latter headed by the patriarch as king and priest of the household. The family was a larger group than the modern institution, or the nuclear family, containing not only all descendants but all united to it by adoption including slaves, clients and other dependents. The aggregation of houses composed the tribe, that of tribes (1) Henry Maine, 1879.
established the common wealth whose social union was thus based upon the bond of kinship. My deviation from Maine's conception of primitive family is that I am dealing with traditional family of Tripoli in a changing context and not as rigid as that Maine has called Roman family. The institution of extended family system is a main theme of comparison and its changing conception is another. Giddings (1) has analysed family as a social institution by approaching the domestic group as both a family in its social composition and as a household when engaged in the economic behalf of getting a living. This is relevant as far as the set of relations within the unit are analysed especially the household relations.

2 - The universal functions approach is another approach to the theoretical analysis of the family. It specifies that in all societies the family is organized to perform certain functions for the society, that each role (organization of activities by an individual) is conceptualized around specific functions. Moreover, each role implies a reciprocal role. (2) Murdock (3) posits four universal functions: sexual, reproductive, economical and educational. He says "The family is a social

(1) Franklin Giddings, 1907.
(2) Bernard Berber, 1966.
(3) George Murdock, 1949.
group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction "and marriage" is a complex of customs centering upon the relationship between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family.\(^1\)

3 - Another approach is the structural one which encompasses a greater scope of family roles in its definition. It is concerned more with kinship relations than with the nuclear family itself. The focus of the structuralists is on the content of the family roles associated with each status and on the controls instituted by the family and society to maintain this content.\(^2\) So it is the ability of the family to control the individual and to prepare him for his existence in the larger society. Evelyn Duvall\(^3\) is one of those who approached the study of the family through structural methodology. She regards the family as the focus for a series of what she calls developmental tasks: as the individual learns to conform to norms of social relations, he achieves success in the family and the community.

4 - The interactionists approach to family sociology is concerned with the diversity of both structures and functions.

(1) See Murdock's article on the universality of the nuclear family in Bell & Vogel, 1966.
(2) C. Goody, 1963.
(3) Evelyn Duvall, 1962.
in the family life i.e., studying the way in which these variations affect the relations between members of the family group. But they have focused more on contemporary western society which shows much variation in both family structure and function among various social classes and ethnic groups. Burgess (1) claims that the major problem confronting the contemporary family is the maintenance of unity in the face of an environment hostile to this unity. We consider the organization of rural societies conducive to the maintenance of family units because of the operation of a variety of external pressures including public opinion and the ability of relatives to apply sanctions. The focus of the interactionists is on the extent to which the husband and wife in contemporary families have developed a modus operandi to maintain a unity within the family. (2) This unity for them was concerned with the personal adjustment of husband and wife. This personal adjustment indicates that the husband and wife have developed ways of relating that are mutually satisfying and that there is little conflict in what they want out of life. They attempt to

(1) W. H. Burgess, 1957.
(2) Bemard Berber, 1966.
discover which aspects of interaction are important for personal adjustment e.g., decision making and the presence of high empathy between husband and wife. In brief, the universal functionalists are concerned with the maintenance of ends of family life. They emphasize the establishment of liaison with other institutions. The structuralists are concerned with the different ends that maintain a similar organization of family statuses and the interactionists with personal adjustment in the family.

In my analysis of the family in Tripoli, I utilize the above-mentioned approaches to where they are best suited. This combining effort is not an easy task to do. But it takes the appropriate basic of theory for the corresponding part of traditional analysis. The family for modern is seen as a collective enterprise based on relationships defined by birth and marriage. The focus on husband/wife relationship is not an underestimation of other kin relations but rather taken as part of a whole system of relations.

Approaches to the study of Libyan society and related studies:

Some studies have been carried out in some North African societies which I consider as relevant for the purpose of comparative data.
A study on the traditional family system of Tripoli and society during the eighteenth century had been developed by Miss Sally (1) a member of the British Consulate family at that time. She had analysed the family structure in the Tripolitania society with particular reference to the relations within the royal family. Ceremonial and social events have been described during a stay of ten years in Tripoli.

E.L. Peters (2) had conducted a study on the tribes of Cyrenaica (3) and the concept of feud among them as governed by the nomadic evaluation of social norms and tribal cohesion.

Later, some anthropologists and sociologists have undertaken some researches on Libya and related societies. J. Coudenier (4) study of Tunisian traditional family organization has brought out an outlook of how relations within the household are manipulated around the economic proposition. M. Abuzebra (5) has also conducted a research on family and kinship in a Tunisian peasant community.

(1) Miss Sally, 1967.
(2) E.L. Peters, 1965.
(3) Cyrenaica: Originally one of the main provinces of Libya which were Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fez. After 1961 Libya was divided into 10 Muhafazat and the region of Cyrenaica includes now Benghazi, Derna and Misratah constituting the Sharqia (eastern) provinces.
Vanessa Maher(1) had also studied the position of women and the market among the Berber region in Morocco. In Libya J. Hilal(2) contributed to the study of social reality in a village named Tafara, and concentrated on the study of family and kinship relations.

Similarly, David Seldon(3) had brought out some material on family structure in a Moroccan rural community of Zato. Dr. A. Alshir has also commenced a study on the mountain area or Jabal Nafusa(4)(mountain of Nafusa) where he compared two social systems, one representing a settled civilization of Nafusa, the other representing nomadic civilization and movements of the nomadic Tamars.(5)

Studies in the urban context are rare in most North African societies. Other related societies are those of the middle east because of the similarity of cultural backgrounds. In Lebanon for example, there has been some studies on family structure. Varsoun(6) had brought out a proposition of inter-

Relationship of substructures in economy, religion, stratification

4. Jabal Nafusa in the name of the mountain as well as the people of Berber origin and speak Berber too. Nafusa is a name of a woman. See A. Alshir, 1969.
5. Tamars are nomadic tribes living in deserts and have been tamedized at a later period than other tribes. They are strong fighters and have their own social norms.
etc., with the traditional extended family system. Rosenfeld (1) had also contributed to these series by analysing the social and economic factors in explaining the high rate of patrilateral endogamy among Arabs of a village in Israel. In Libya, studies in towns are lacking. The research done by a team of teachers and students of social anthropology in Azizia (2) have dealt with the social changes introduced by the impact of oil discovery. It also included a study on migration. Studies about Turkish family are also relevant for comparison especially because of resemblance in many ways. The intra-familial relations dealt with in this thesis are dealt with by reference to the changing factors. Muouscal Kiray (3) has accounted for this too in his study of a small Turkish town, Bragli.

Of all these studies, the one on the Tunisian traditional family seems to be useful especially for the traditional family. It is similar to transeberg and Kimball’s classic study of the Irish family. In this study the writers show that there is a close relationship between family roles and the economic system.

(1) M. Rosenfeld, 1969.
(2) Azizia, a town about 600 km. from Tripoli near the city of Tripoli famous for oil company.
(3) Muouscal Kiray, 1962.
(4) Aranerberg, 0. and Kimball, Schoo, 1969.
and long traditional-values etc., or that economic and community sanctions are crucial in maintaining family patterns.

The Traditional Tripolitanian Family

The traditional Tripolitanian family was similar in composition and function to the middle eastern family of the extended type. The ideal type of the big domestic community as referred to by Guizaner is similar to what the Libyans call 'Jaila'. Here a single household under the authority of the head of the family ras-el-Zila dominates. The Jaila was the congregation of parents, married sons and their respective nuclear families, Tilat, too. Maine's conception of the primitive family holds true as far as the components of the household and the head of the authority in the family are concerned. His analysis suits rural or tribal family system. The authoritative position of the head of the family was a sole right endowed by herdsman. In Tripoli, the big domestic unit was that of the household of the father and his married sons. The extended family Jaila was a unit in which a person would feel secure and would expect loyalty and afford to be loyal in turn. The nucleus of the family refers to
the family as well as to the building it occupies. This is similar to the dichotomy of 

darah as analysed by Abouham in a study of a peasant community in Tunisia. The social 

function of both as units through which membership of the 

community can be claimed is the essence of the dichotomy. The type of intra-relations and the reciprocal set of rights and 
obligations is far more relevant than the composition. The 
domestic unit whether being called sila, dar or sarah involves 
an atmosphere of brotherhood between each separate household 
and a touch of the ummah (community) of Nusn. 

In fact, individual members of both households and the 
domestic unit where the budget is organized, are linked by ties of kinship and/or affinity and could be seen as what Renier has called "kinship associations". Actually, kinship in terms of patrilineal descent was the ruling model of traditional social organization. Even within the urban context, this model is almost close to the organization of a tribe as a segmentary lineage system as explained by Evans-Pritchard and Peters.

(1) Dar is an elementary or extended family composed of parents and their married sons.
(2) Darah is composed of members of related dars which claim descent from the same founding ancestor.
(4) Evans-Pritchard, 1946.
The traditional family pattern of kinship was not entirely on tribal basis but actually on socio-cultural entity structured in terms of patrilineal descent. The kinship terminology in appendix has been (up to now to some extent) an obligatory system of addressing people. Now, there are some variations, not in the terms but in the denotation of the terms. Two terms are linked into one term to denote a certain set of relationships, e.g. nasi is addressed both for a son-in-law and a father-in-law. The terminology coincides generally with the type of relationship between members of the family.

A head of a family could be addressed as a waliqul by his sons if he was old enough, as sad by his daughters-in-law and as naqeb by all his affines and finally as haji or hool by his children when he was young enough to reduce all other relations. The head had all the authoritative powers in his hands. He was respected and served by all members of the family especially his son's wives. The latter respected him more than they respected their husbands. His say was final for them. This must be understood in relation to the sanction of the father-in-law towards his son's wives e.g. he could compel his son to
divorce his wife. Thus the attempt to get his consent had established a competitive atmosphere among the kanāyn(1) (son’s wives). The mother-in-law was always in a privileged position because her load in the house work had always been undertaken by the kanānah(2).

This was not always as simple as that. The competitive state between the kanāyn had sometimes produced a hostile feeling and disputes. The consequences of daily disputes hasten the splitting up of the household thereby creating a fragmentation process. Otherwise, the main household continued as one unit but with frequent quarrels and hostility. Most of the disputes centered on children’s problems or about the distribution of the house work or with the mother-in-law. The latter though should feel free from the duties of the house after her son’s marriage, yet she was not. The change of authority over supervision of the household, from her head to the son’s wife, foreruns other problems. She would criticize the wife(s) or burden her with work and disputes accumulate more. Ashurah(2) has attributed most of the impairment of patrilineal solidarity

(1) Kanāyn is the plural of kanānah.
(2) Ashurah, 1957.
formal one while with the grandparenta (alternate generation)\(^{(1)}\) it was a joking relationship. That is, the father/son relationship was more or less formal. This is particularly emphasized in the presence of grandparents. At the same time the relationship between the husband and wife(s) in the public context was one of avoidance e.g. the man was not supposed to meet his wife during childbirth\(^{(2)}\) period of forty days, \(\text{mifun}\)\(^{(3)}\). Apart from the respect/formal relationship of the son and father, there were some cases of splitting up from the father's household because of the conflict over authority. This conflict could or between the married son and the father or between brothers.

The avoidance relationship between the husband and his wife in the traditional family structure had been described by Tolly\(^{(4)}\). She had remarked that upper class women were accustomed to serve their husbands and wait near their meals while husbands were eating their meals. They were not used to join them in eating. The women of the lower classes were not similarly accustomed but were not used to join their husbands.

---

\(^{(1)}\) See P. Brown, 1956.
\(^{(2)}\) This information has been collected from recorded interviews with old Tripolitanian women.
\(^{(3)}\) \(\text{mifun}\): a period of seclusion of the wife after delivery for both social as well as health reasons.
\(^{(4)}\) See Tolly, 1967.
in outing too. She also explained how a father was not expected to see his newly born child before eight days of birth. She also described the prohibition of entering the room of the husband or that of the wife unless by permission. The husband used to avoid entry to his wife’s room when there were slippers or shoes outside the room. Recently and up to now, men do not enter women’s quarters without permission. All these ideals have been enforced by Islamic ethics and the inherent proposition of sex segregation.

Most traditional marriages were of the first cousin type, especially father’s brother’s daughter, halime al’umma. It has been explained by some researchers as purely economical in terms of preserving possessions within the context of the patrilineal unit to reduce the high bridewealth payment. Others have been explaining this preference to be highly political, the father gets the lineage solidarity by allegiance with affinal relations with brother’s son. The competition for status was the main operative force in the politics of villages.

(1) The incident she gave was the birth of a baby boy to the Bashe’s (governor’s title) daughter.
(2) See Granquist, 1931, Rosenfeld, 1969.
Another approach stressed the importance of the social function of this phenomenon as a fusion medium whereby smaller kinship units become independent from other units.\(^{(1)}\) This had been true as far as tribal beduin areas were concerned. There has been some attempts of explaining the patrilineal endogamy according to the type of relations which exists within the *kalash* system of Libya.\(^{(2)}\) The relation between a man and his father's brother, *hamra*, was one of respect and avoidance conneted by the kinship terminology. He called him *sidl* (master) indicating a dependent formal relationship while with the mother's brother the relationship was rather informal and almost of a joking type. Thus to marry the father's brother's daughter would create a new set of relationships between kin and the rigid formal relations with the *hamra* would be one of fines.

Most explanations have been based on rural or and village context. Traditional family structure resembles that of village/rural intrarelations with the exclusion of the tribal segmentary system. These theories hold true in certain periods of time e.g. when there was homogony of descent treatment. Immigration into

\(^{(1)}\) Kasdan, Burshya, 1959.

towns calls for other explanations. I think the adherence to the Ijala system principles deserve more organic explanation. The fact that traditionally females of the Ijala were restricted from moving freely by the males of the Ijala, shows that, they had had lesser opportunities, than village women, of meeting men outside the Ijala. However, at least the women of the village had a chance to do services outside the family household, although that explained village endogamy too. So the women of the town are dependent on men. To hasten the process of marriage within the family, the men of the Ijala transferred their right over their female cousins to an obligation of marriage. This had been one of Rosenfeld’s explanation.

Another reason for patrilocal endogamy in the old days was that the groom’s age of marriage was an age of dependence on the extended family and its property which was normally under the father’s control.

So a first marriage for a young man was dictated by his father and paternal relatives. This explains the thesis that polygamous marriages take place after the age of thirty[2].

(1) Rosenfeld, 1957.
(2) Rosenfeld, 1969.
family's wealth was kept together and not distributed among heirs. It is clear from this pattern that women were excluded from inheritance although religiously they have the right to inherit. However, it all depended on the head of the family. If his aims were to keep the property together, he would arrange collective production and consumption. On the other hand, where an older son was in a position to set up his own home, then fragmentation is inevitable when the share of heirs was small for subsistence. This agrees with Cuissanier's role of domestic community in the traditional family in Tunisia.

(1) A similar situation is accounted for by Munier where second marriages have more freedom reflected in the polarity (test) (virgin), conceding different stages especially with reference to consent to marriage.

(2) J. Cuissanier, 1967.
In fact there had been a close endogamy among certain occupational groups. The Old Town was famous for certain crafts, manufactures. There were weavers, carpenters, goldsmiths, etc. These occupations were organized under a formal association of a head of craft \textit{aman sin} (1) (secretary).

This was usually an office appointed by the government. The production of every craft should be checked and stamped by him before being sold or taken outside the Old Town. This office has been monopolized by certain families who had originally started the trade. Although the appointment was through the government, yet it was an indirect decision of the Old Town people. This could be an explanation for the paternal endogamy whereby the secret of the trade was preserved and inherited. The solidarity of the family was above personal ambitions. There are still some houses which take the name of the founder because they have not been sold or fragmented among heirs.

The above account on traditional family undergoes a process of change which has been manifested by the discovery of petroliers. The relevance of this is explained by an analysis of the substructures that form the overall social structure. This is illustrated by an account on contemporary family system of relations.

\footnote{1} \textit{Aman sin} was the name given to the men who knew the potency of trading. For example, the constituents of compounds etc., \\
\textit{Aman} is the name given in Hindi tradition for the same meaning.
Contemporary Family Relations

This section deals with the different characteristics of
the dwellers of the two areas of the research. These differen-
tials are treated with reference to their changing characteristics.
The interrelationship between the variables and family structure,
marriage and position of women is brought for analysing contempo-
rary familial relations.

1.- General Differential Characterizing:

From tables No. 2 and 6, it is clear that in both areas
there is a turnover in the general category of professional
services (others). It has increased by 16% in the Old Town
and 36% in Ben Taher. This change is accompanied by an
increase in businessmen and civil servants categories which
means profitable occupations especially after the oil discovery.
Again this is because the overall Libyan traditional economic
system has been eroded by enlarging the modern economic sector
which has given importance to trade and services employment
and "get-rich-quick" entrepreneurs. (1)

Table No. 5.

Educational Structure of heads of household in
The Old Town and Ben Achoor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1st (18%)</th>
<th>2nd (16%)</th>
<th>3rd (10%)</th>
<th>4th (8%)</th>
<th>5th (6%)</th>
<th>6th (4%)</th>
<th>7th (4%)</th>
<th>8th (4%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>11(22%)</td>
<td>4(8%)</td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
<td>2(4%)</td>
<td>1(2%)</td>
<td>1(2%)</td>
<td>1(2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Achoor</td>
<td>4(8%)</td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
<td>6(12%)</td>
<td>2(4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Where there is discrepancy in the total percentages it is due
to non-responsive attitude of informants.

This is not as simple as saying that both townships have
similar dominant occupational categories. In fact, most of the
businessmen in the Old Town are small-scale sellers and hawers,
those of Ben Achoor are some of the wealthiest in Tripoli as a
whole, e.g., Geage family. On the civil servants in the Old
Town are in the majority of cases, clerks, secretaries and small
administrators. In Ben Achoor, most of them included university
staff members, highly educated administrators and teachers.

Generally, the impact of oil discovery is seen in the disruption
of the old occupational hierarchy.1

There is a desired prestige of being a civil servant or businessman similar to the
"white collar" stigma of East London.2

As to the educational characteristics, the largest group
in the Old Town is the "intermediate" and "reads and writes", 12

(1) Workers were the highest group in the Old Town and the civil
servants in Ben Achoor.
(2) W. Young and P. Willmott, 1962.
Ben ashoor is "secondary" and "university". No "illiterate" or "reads and writes". (1) It is important here to note that these classifications apply only to male heads of households. Women will be dealt with later. The percentage of secondary and university graduates in the Old Town (16%) does not account for the socio-economic changes taking place in that part of the Town. It can be explained by referring to the fact that the avenue studied in the Old Town was originally a center of civilization and cultural diffusion being the main road. So both samples in both townships could be regarded as an educational elite.

The extended type of family residence is much more emphasized in the Old Town than Ben ashoor. In the Old Town, 82% live in the traditional house 'arabi style of houses. Out of these 64% accommodate relatives as permanent residents. In Ben ashoor, on the other hand, only 4% have relatives living as permanent residents in apartments and 18% have relatives living with them in villas. Although the relationship is one of economic dependence yet the nuclear family is the predominant unit. The difference is significant in the study of kinship

(1) According to the Libyan education system, elementary 5 years, intermediate 3 years, secondary 3 years, and university minimum 4-5 years.
relations especially when one realises the structural difference in housing. The comfortable spacious houses of Tsoa which are much more convenient for accommodating relatives than the narrow lanes of the Old Town.

This does not mean that the interaction between members of one family is the only significant variable for understanding multiplex or diffuse relations. In fact, it is the interaction between members of the whole locality or community which is much more essential. But, since I am dealing here with intra-familial relations, the kinship factor will be major in understanding the type of relations prevalent within the context of the household or the family. Later in studying inter-familial relations I pay more attention to neighbourhood and other relatively wider social relations.\(^{(1)}\)

The general economic characteristics favour Tsoa asha as a developed township with facilities of modern equipments. Almost 96% of Tsoa asha residents have one car and about 30% have more than one. In the Old Town, 60% have cars. For other items (television, refrigerator, recorder, air condition, telephone, washing machine, sewing machine) \((\text{See Table No. 7})\).

\(^{(1)}\) See Chapter III.
## Table No. 7.

Family possessions versus educational differences in the Old Town and Raw Ashopur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ashopur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In fact certain items are considered a necessity in both townships like car, frigidaire, and television. But most items are a necessity in Ben Achar with the exception of air-conditioning which is not needed in the moderate weather of Libya. The difference in the appreciation of necessity versus luxury is derived from the mode of living rather than the ability to pay. For the Old Town, a fan (fan) is the air-conditioner and a washing machine "does not wash as clean as our hands". Telephones is a sign of high status in the Old Town. "We don't need to contact through telephone because everyone is in reach of the other". Those who possess telephones tolerate the difficulty of fixing in an old area not prepared for that form of technology. There is similarity in material possessions but this does not suppose the difference in quality and sophistication. Ben Achar equipments of electric machines, utensils, furniture are up-to-date facilities while in the Old Town degree of sophistication is much less. So in Ben Achar it is a means of status and prestige while in the Old Town it is a utilization for the purpose of easy living.

The above general differential characteristics have their impact on intra-relationships in both area of the study.
3. Husband/Wife Relationships

In Uganda, the contemporary family structure is analyzed as being different from the prior traditional one as undergoing a process which makes change comprehensible. In such a family analysis, searching for the emergence of new intra-family relations is done by linking the aspects which have changed, those which have not and those in the process of change. Women, in particular, function as buffers in providing a smooth change in intra-family relations, while serving to adjust and integrate the family within a changing society.

The relationship between husbands and wives is derived from two principles regarding the relationship of men to women.

1: The superior versus inferior position of men over women. This is argued by some scholars (1) to be a derivative of Islamic Law where the position of the wife is threatened with the possibility of other wives sharing her marital life. Some texts of the Qur'an (2) support this principle too, where men are responsible for women both economically and morally. The men are given the right to punish disobedient wives. Again, the

(2) See Part 33 of the Holy Qur'an, Women Sermon.
right of divorce is in the man's hands, although this is
the ideology but in practical terms sanctions provided by
religion and society give the woman a sort of security and
provide for the protection of her rights and privileges. The
text "... Marry women of your choice, two, or three or four;
But if ye fear that you shall not be able to deal justly
(with them), then only one..."(1) This injunction has been
interpreted in most Islamic countries as forbidding polygamy
indirectly.(2) Again society condemns divorce and since
marriage in most Islamic societies is a family issue, the
divorce would disrupt relations and affect a man's reputation.
A practical means is when the right of divorce is written in
the marriage contract to be the request of the wife.(3)

ii - The replacement of the extended household by that
of the nuclear or conjugal family. This delimits the influence
of the first principle since the wife will be in a position to
exert more authority over her conjugal family than on the extend-
ed family. Women would adopt a firm attitude vis-a-vis their
husbands in conjugal arguments. In actual fact they become

(1) See The Holy Qur'ān, Sūra IV, Verse 3, translated by
(2) See J. Diarmuid, 1965, p.66.
(3) In Sudan, it is called al'imation, among Malays it is N Pelik.
ibid., p.111.
Domestic in certain situations. Peristian (1) calls it "feminine conception of the family" and identifies women to become pregnant more in their progeny and their husbands while they remain strangers in their husbands' extended households or their parental family. I add that in Tripoli, the relationship with parental homes of both husbands and wives still reflect a strong attachment which ranges from respect to dependence. The former is emphasized by the separate living of spouses and the other by the remaining extended family residence.

With the above theme in mind, I approach the new husband/wife relationship in a changing society. A typical daily life in both townships is presented and related with attitude of both husbands and wives towards family affairs.

A Typical Day Life in the Old Town:

A typical day for a husband and a wife in the Old Town is described by my informant Fatma (2). She says:

"In the Old Town, a wife gets up earlier than the other members of the family so that her children could not watch her.

(2) Fatma is 45 years old. She is a resident of the Old Town and considers herself a typical Tripolitane, married to her paternal cousin 25 years ago and have 8 children, illiterate farmers of goatherd.
coming out of her husband's sleeping room. She prepares an early breakfast (usually kejim 1) which was a must in the old days but now people hurry to work and there is no time to prepare it always. The husband leaves without notifying the rest of the family. Older children leave to school and the mother is left with the young children. The wife stays at home all day cooking, sweeping and feeding children. She uses modern equipment and can finish in a lesser time than in the old days. The main dish for most of the week is kuskus. 2 Macaroni or rice. During day hours, she gives frequent quick-chat visits to her neighbours or go to borrow something. It is common to see women standing chatting in front of doors with unveiled faces. They cover half of the face when a man passes by. Mothers in the Old Town are not keen to keep their children tidy before their husbands arrive from work, a sign of carelessness and lack of sophistication. Most husbands return home after three o'clock in the afternoon and those who work as craftsmen or as sellers do not come before sunset.

A husband at work never mentions his wife's name or shows her photo to his colleagues. When he arrives home, he sits with

(1) kejim: A popular dish made of boiled flour of wheat and presented in the form of a pyramid and aided by either soup, eggs or honey, the latter preferred in the morning. A similar dish in Sudan is tagazzil.

(2) kuskus: Another popular dish prepared by boiled grains mixed with onion soup, meat and tomatoes.
older sons or male relatives staying with him. A wife prefers to eat with her daughters or mother-in-law in the kitchen, in
the presence of the father children are obedient. The son/
father relationship is one of fear more than respect. The
father beats the disobedient children but does not deprive
them from money. (The sanction of deprivation of money is
limited by the fact that the mother has the control over the
finances of the household. This is not a direct, publicly
provoked role but rather a "behind the curtain" influence)
brackets by the author.

The husband leaves in the afternoon to meet his friends
in the nearby eateries or go back to work. Sometimes, but
rarely, he accompanies his wife to visit her relatives. Husb-
ands and wives do not go together in social occasions but the
young ones do. A husband in the Old Town stays late with his
friends in the nahrigha (growling). On the other hand, a wife
cannot stay late outside the house or people will start gos-
ing about her.

In the Old Town, women are not seen frequently in public
places and husbands undertake most of the shopping. A husband
bought gold for his wife on occasions and cannot refuse her demands
the plenty of money in their possession. So demands on gold and whatever could disturb the budget is the predominant policy of wives. Possessing gold and material property is the new status and prestige criteria. So this has enhanced the attitude of always demanding wives'. This is a contrast to the explanation of Djamour gift-giving among the Malays of Singapore. The husband in the latter case offers jewelry to his wife with the indirect intention of saving for crisis. When there is a need for money the wife is not reluctant to provide her husband with the jewelry. Again, the husband would make sure, if divorced or dead, that there will be a source of income for the wife and the children. In Tripoli, the divorce or death is a case in the shura (1) (conditions).

(1) shura: in the plural of shari'a, i.e., a condition. These are prepared by the bride and groom's families before the marriage contract is concluded.
emphasized by the amount of gold the women of the family wear. The only limitation in this process of assimilation into a special status group is the fact that gold could be borrowed or hired. To hire (1) or wear artificial (2) ornaments that look like gold is a break through in the process and reduces the qualification on either the rich or else do not participate.

The above phenomenon is a typical Tripolitanian one. It is being diffused to the nearby towns which consider Tripoli as a center of civilization. Thus to maintain a safety guard against the remarriage of the husband, women resort to such an institution of the guidance. The situation is different and complicated when it concerns rich families. They have not the ability to buy. More demands means more fashion and an inflation in the demand for gold. The newly introduced fashions of gold pieces is a major issue of a mal'ud grouping. Disputes arise when husbands refuse to buy and resorting to hora (3) is the normal reaction of wives.

On the whole, the husband/wife relationship in the Old Town is undergoing change. The traditional submissiveness of the

(1) The hiring rate is, on average, 25 Libyan piasters per hour.
(2) Most of the old ornaments are some of the rural type one of copper (silver) which is cheaper than gold. This is dipped into a liquid to shine like gold.
(3) See the section on the mal'ud wife.
wife is reduced but not very much. Still husbands do not talk to their wives about their work, they still live in a sort of separate worlds. This is reduced since the nuclear family is the predominant form. So subervience to relatives living under the same roof is reduced too. The sharing of advice and cooperation between husbands and wives is undergoing more understanding. This is brought out in the attitudes towards family affairs (see statistical section). The wife's buffer functions of stressing her position provide an avenue for smooth change in intra-family relations. This is in accordance with Kimer (1) when speaking about the changing role of mothers in Brazil, a Turkish town.

A Typical Day Life in Ben Achar

Another informant, Khadiga (2) from Ben Achar has provided me with the following information:

"A wife in Ben Achar is assisted by the modern facilities in keeping her house. There are also women-workers who come to help once or twice a week. They sweep, wash dishes and clothes, and sometimes they iron. They are paid for these services. (3) A wife prepares her husband's breakfast which is normally a quick

(1) Khadiga is about 33 years, has lived in Ben Achar for ten years, married and have four children. Originally she comes from Benghazi. Level of education is intermediate. She has travelled outside Libya many times.
(2) Average payment of a day's service is 150p.t.
(3) Ibid., 1976.
sandwich and a glass of milk. If both husband and wife work, they leave the house together. Younger children are taken to kindergartens or nurseries. Some have full-service maidsena. Who keep the young children at home. Some wives drive their own cars. A wife staying at home does not leave the house for quick visits to neighbours because most husbands come early for lunch. Again the attitude towards neighbours is formal and the convenient time for visiting is scheduled to be the afternoon. A husband sometimes calls from office to ask if the wife needs anything or tell her about visitors in the evening.

Lunch is usually houmous as a main dish but some other dishes are also prepared in modern ways. Husbands eat with the rest of the family. Older husbands eat with their elder sons separate from women. The afternoon is always a quiet time for men in Cairo because people take a rest after lunch. Businessmen, who come for a short while to have lunch leave early to work driving their own cars. Many husbands care for teaching their children and helping their wives with the duties of the house. The evening is a free time for most of them. Some husbands leave with male friends to some entertainment places but wives

\[1\] Most of the maids are foreigners, mostly Egyptian and Tunisians.
rarely accompany them (34% of the sample accompany their husbands). Brackets by the author. Wives do not stay late outside the house unless attending a party or a wedding known to the rest of the family. Husbands, too, do not always stay late in the shop. And many of them prefer to stay at home watching the television. Husbands tell their wives about their work. They also discuss their family problems together. Shopping is partly done by the husband and sometimes by both of them, especially the downtown shopping. The day ends by the children sleeping in separate rooms from parents.

The economic relationship between the husband and his wife is similar in both townships. Husbands buy gold which is a persisting nagging issue with the husband. The latter does not refuse, especially when the tension of nagging is reduced. Again a wife with much gold is the best advertisement of a husband's prosperity and a great source of prestige for him.

The spare time of wives in Ben Shalom is usually spent in housekeeping and with the home of procreation. A wife sometimes leaves the house from the morning and would not
come back till evening when the husband is back. This is true especially amongst wives of businessmen. At her parental home, a wife is served and welcomed, her children are watched and she is relaxed. The exchange of gifts with her family is an expected custom. So, the husband's relationship with the wife's kin is necessary because a woman can always depend upon their support when there are conjugal disputes with the husband. They can keep their daughter if she is harmless and support her until she gets her demands fulfilled. Also, the husband's reputation is degraded when his relation with affines is of hostility. So, the relationship with houses of procreation has a direct effect on the husband/wife relationship. (1)

In the Old Town, conjugal disputes are discussed openly between neighbours, friends and kin (see the case of the Tunisian wife in Chapter III).

Generally, there is more communication between married couples in Ben Ashoor than in the Old Town. The absolute authority of the husband is on the one and cooperation between husband and wife directly indicates this. This is applicable, though to a lesser degree, in the Old Town.

(1) This is similar to Young and Willmot study in East London. See Young and Willmot, 1962.
Statistical Data on Family Intra-relations

This section provides a test to the previous propositions of family intra-relations. This is accomplished by enumeration and statistical analysis of the data collected. From the survey sample of the fifty households in both townships, the attitude of the husband and wife is tested towards family affairs. There are general family issues and private family issues. The distinction between the two is not an ideological one but rather a structural one. General family affairs concern intra-relations which are structurally part and parcel of the outside societal public opinion. These include issues of establishment of families and what could be criticized by society. Private family affairs are also intra-relations which are personal behaviour between married couples only. Thus, a comprehensive analysis necessitates the combination of the two. This is to be understood within the context of social change and Islamic principles.

Husband's Attitude:

The general family affairs examined include the following:

1. Who decides the choice of spouse.
2. Who decides a daughter's and a son's education and occupation.
3: Who decides naming of the children, choice of furniture and clothes.

The private(1) family affairs examined include:

1: The attitude of the husband towards contraceptives used by the wife for organizing pregnancy.

2: The attitude of the husband towards sleeping of children with parents.

3: The attitude towards the wife meeting men in the absence of the husband.

4: The attitude towards eating customs: whether a wife eats with the husband or not.

The statistical information is based on assembling the informant's responses in simple and cross-classified correlations. A total percentage is maintained in relation to the total number of the sample.

The Old Town: General Family Affairs:

In terms of general family affairs, the Old Town has given the following responses of husbands:

46% of husbands(2) have actually chosen their wives through their family arrangement. It is usually the collective decision of the parents and other relatives e.g. parental agents.

(1) By private I mean the personal relationship between husband and wife concerning sex and behaviour.

(2) There has not been found a considerable difference of responses according to the difference of age.
Friends are sometimes consulted especially those in the
neighbourhood. It is normal that older brothers and sisters
arrange the selection of the brother's wives. Older brothers
contribute in the choice through their wives. Women have the
chance to search for a suitable girl for their sons and brothers.
They can see unmarried girls in social occasions and are
allowed to enter the women's quarter at least as guests. The
rest 54% have different responses; 20% have stated that they have
chosen their wives by themselves and the families had nothing to
do with the selection. This does not mean that the families
were against the marriage. Actually they have accepted the
decision of their sons and arranged the rest of the marriage
procedure. It is still a societal issue. 16% have answered
by saying that they have married without the intrusion of
their families. That it has been arranged and completed by the
two spouses only. Their families have been against the whole
affair and have boycotted the wedding ceremonies.

Marriages arranged through friends have a considerable
percentage of 18%. This means that the couple concerned met
before marriage. After they are contented, then the families
have a minor function i.e. of finalizing the contract and
celebrations. So, still the family has the role of concluding
the contract.
Decision concerning the education of the girls have been liberal to some extent. The heads of the households consider the education of the girls of the family a criterion of status. They give the girl the liberty to decide her own education level. 65% of them have actually allowed their daughters to decide their own education. 35% have been sent out of school by their fathers. The majority of these cases have been for marriage purposes. Some heads have argued that in a certain age the girl should be kept at home to learn housekeeping and be secluded from meeting men.\(^{(1)}\)

A son's education and occupation are his own decision. Fathers do not indulge themselves into arguments about education because most of them are not highly qualified. In fact, they prefer that their sons get the maximum opportunities of education so that their children can be assimilated into a higher status group. 85% actually give the son the sole authority in deciding his own education and occupation. On the other hand, a girl is not imbued with an equal privilege. About 52% of the heads have indirectly affected their daughter's decision on the choice of occupation. This conservative attitude is

\(^{(1)}\) Some of them have stated that teenagers should be kept at home so the intermediate school is quite sufficient.
much more felt in the case of occupation than in education. The reason for this is that, certain occupations are not socially approved for women e.g. lawyers, engineers, some new posts like journalism, television programming etc. Military Jobs are almost rejected by the whole sample. Reasons given for this have been because these jobs are not suitable for the woman's physique. My own interpretation to this attitude is that such jobs emphasize the recognition of the equality of sexes which is against the predominant principle of sex segregation.

Naming of children is becoming an issue of fashion. Public opinion affects the naming of children especially with traditional names which are signs of non-modernized families. The process of naming children involves relatives, friends, and neighbours. In fact, it connotes a strong joking relationship. 48% have actually named their children in a joking manner. Relatives and friends would gather to select names. The group continues to exchange jokes on names suggested. Some families organize a sort of naming game. This is done by writing down names suggested in paper including funny names and closing the papers. They select one of the closed papers to finalize the game. Sometimes a name is chosen by the voting of such gatherings.
Wives have some say in naming especially when they do not consult their husbands. Husbands, on the other hand, sometimes decide the name of the child by which is socially approved and expected. This is of course derived from the essence of patrilocal descent principles, especially when fathers insist on naming (1) children after their grandfathers.

The choice of furniture and clothes is a joint decision of the head of the household and his wife. Usually, the wife chooses, and the husband agrees and pays the money. 62% have confirmed this proportion of decision taking. 22% have stated that it is only the head of the household who decides.

The explanation for such an attitude is the fact that the father still has the central position in decision taking. This is the persisting norm amongst many families. Again the husband has got an easier access to the market and so can choose the best of what he can afford to pay.

Generally speaking, the general family affairs are decided by the families of the Old Town in a collective manner. The influence of other members of the family, neighbours and friends is part and parcel of the public opinion. The Household

(1) Popular house names are Hild (birth), Hul (ker) especially for the first child born.
emphasizes its unity. The absolute authority of the father in the traditional family structure is on the wane. Fundamental changes are taking place with respect to the location of authority in the family. This is dealt with later.

The Old "Own Private Family affairs."

From Table No.2, the response of husbands is directed in relation to their educational standard. (1) The reason for such a correlation is the fact that the effect of education is firstly reflected inside the family, and later diffused to the outside society. The general family affairs have been cited as to how far public opinion affects intra-family relations. The effect of education has been found as more significant in private affairs. It is a two-way process.

70% have confirmed using contraceptives for family size planning. The highest percentage of users has been in the higher education strata. 60% do not use any contraceptives now. 24% of those are planning to use them in the future. 8% use contraceptives irregular. The reasons given by non-users are:

1. Some have accounted their refusal to religion. It is considered as haram (religiously illegal). (2)

(1) The effect of education on general family affairs has been found as been direct and considerable as on private affairs.

(2) Some people still believe that contraceptive techniques are not recommended by religion because of the debate over that.
b. The government is encouraging large family size because of the low population rate. \(^{(1)}\)

c. The economic development, brought about by the oil discovery, have stimulated a trend to increase family size since the problem of afford no longer persists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Total: Contr.</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Husband</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs only</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total %          | (1)         | (31%)    | (30%)  | (16%)  | (26%)   |

(227) Discrepancy in the total of 57 is due to non-response of informant.

With education, there is a considerable change of attitude because of the understanding of the advantages of family planning.

\(^{(1)}\) The population census of 1973 has enumerated the total population of Libya to be 7,259,497.
With regards to the question of allowing children to sleep with their parents, there is also a tendency towards the traditional. 44% of the fathers have stated that their children sleep with them in the same room. 32% do not allow children to sleep with them and 24% agree in principle but in certain situations only, e.g. when the child is sick or is of a young age. The reasons for a high percentage of allowing children to sleep are: the lack of space in the houses of the Old Town. Young children sleep with parents to take care of them at night. I think the main reason behind this attitude is the nature of the role-relationship of the husband and wife in the Old Town. The division of labour within the context of the family makes a clear cut conjugal segregation as defined by Bott. (1) The male tasks (2) as separated from the female tasks during day time make it possible for a complementary attitude of both spouses during the night. This is best performed by devotion towards children in sleeping with parents. It is clear from Table No. 8 that as the education level gets higher, the rate of allowing children to sleep decreases.

---

(1) Bott defined conjugal segregation as "a relationship in which complementary and independent types of organization predominate." See E. Bott, 1971.

(2) Male tasks are the provision of the necessities of the household and the protection of the females of the family. Female tasks are child care and complete household supervision.
As to the questions relating to the honour of the family, a similar attitude has been deduced. In asking about the best punishment for an adulterous wife, a majority of 72\% have reacted by choosing "to return her home" or "divorce her". Out of the seventeen cases of the successive marriages, there has been two cases of adultery. The sanction has been divorce only. The general attitude towards adultery follows Peristiani's conceptualization of honour and shame as social evaluations and as reflections of the social personality in the mirror of social ideals. On the basis of preference rather than actuality, only six husbands have stated they would forgive an adulterer wife. The reason for forgiveness has been attributed to the desire for the stability of the family, protecting it from bad reputation. It is the position of the individual family as situated in the whole social structure that counts important. So reputation is not a matter of pride but rather of practical utility. This again assumes the same idios of Peristiani's approach analyzing honour in the study of Western Europe. (2) It is interesting to note here that education has no considerable effect in terms of the type of sanction on an adulterous wife. It rather concerns (1) J.C. Peristiani, 1947.
(2) J.P. Rivers, 1958.
strongly with the majority's sanction. This emphasizes more
the idea of honour as an ideal.

With regards to allowing wives to meet men in the
absence of their husbands, 70% of the husbands do not allow
their wives. This high percentage especially when it is not
directly affected by the educational differences. On the other
hand, this confirms the previous proposition on honour. Also
the emphasis put on the necessity of wearing the traditional
costume for women, paraghysh, backs the above statement too
(60% of the men insist on this).

50% of the household heads in the Old Town, are their
males with their wives. The others eat with their older sons
or males of the family. With higher education level, the
tendency to eat with the wife increases which is a sign of
mutual understanding between spouses.

On the whole, the private family affairs have proved a
tendency towards change which is facilitated by the progress
of education. The persisting traditional ideals are those
upholding the honour of the family. There are aspects of
family life which have undergone change, some of which have
not and others under the process of change, with changing
living conditions, higher education, a liberal attitude of
inter-relations is expected.

Ben Ashoor: General Family Affairs:

Ben Ashoor has responded to the questions regarding
general family by the following:

About 60% of the heads of households have stated that
they have arranged their marriages by themselves, i.e., they
have selected their wives without consulting their families.
Yet, the rest of the arrangements[1] are agreed upon by their
families. Most of those (40%) are of an age less than forty
years and are of a high educational level. Older husbands
have stated that they have not even seen their wives until
after the marriage. Their families have arranged everything.
A majority of the latter category have been married to their
father’s brothers’ daughters[2] (56%). The rule followed by
the family has been found to be considerable. The fact that the
community of Ben Ashoor is not as closely knit-related as the
old town, makes the choice of marriage partners somewhat more
complicated. People are acquainted in a pattern of formality.

---

[1] By arrangement, I mean three stages before consummation or
of the marriage: mate selection, agreement on conditions of
the marriage contract and arrangements of celebrations.

[2] See the analysis of Father’s brother’s daughter’s marriage
at the beginning of this chapter.
The society in Ben ashour is more demanding in terms of material possessions. To marry from a distinctive family is a long process of investigations about the future gifter, especially for fear of status differentiation. So, the decision making in such an issue will be a group collective one reached by the members of the families concerned. Consultation with friends and neighbors prolong the process. Among husbands of an age less than 30-35 about 80% have been married through their family's choice.

The education of both girls and boys has been found to be wholly an individualistic choice. Over 60% of the households have confirmed that they actually allow their children full freedom on the choice of education, occupation irrespective of age or sex. A girl in Ben ashour is allowed to reach the maximum of education she could attain. She is also permitted to go abroad for postgraduate courses.\(^1\)

Naming of children is a joint decision of the father and the mother. A majority of 60% have named their children as such. Usually, the father and the mother prepare the preferred names before birth. This is different from the

---

\(^1\) There are three cases of girl students attending for high degrees abroad; two are married and one single.
Old Town because of the difference in the husband/wife relationship. In the Old Town, there is no privacy about family affairs. The close contact between the members of the community makes the effect of public opinion part and parcel of the overall structure of relations. In Ben Ashoor, the household is a private compound. The relatively distant contact makes the individual family as a separate entity from the rest of the society. Public opinion is in the shape of overt social pressure than direct criticism or intrusion. So, family affairs become private to some extent.

The choice of furniture and clothes is again a personal concern of the spouses. 68% have stated that they select their new furniture and clothes by a joint agreement. Relatives and friends have a say (22%) but actually do not exert a strong influence. Some of the wives have confessed that their families of procuration have an indirect influence in the solution of their conjugal affairs. They may advice or initiate a sort of pressure over the daughter to demand from the husband. The dependence on the wife's family for assistance is part of the already existing contact of wives with her parental home. It is also a stage in the socialization process of a girl who is brought up to accept the idea that
she will have to adopt herself to her husband's family. 
Kirig (1) mentioned the status of the wife in such a situation as 'second class member'.

Generally, there is no dispute between the married couple when the need arises for obtaining new possessions. There is more communication between married couples especially the young ones. The education, emancipation of women have contributed in the breaking down of the rigid traditional segregation between husband and wife. There is still a preference for the traditional in certain aspects e.g. the choice of spouse and the conception of the 'girl' which is a derivative of the conception of honour in the Mediterranean.

Ben Ashour: Private Family Affairs.

In Ben Ashour, there is an evident difference from the Old Town in the attitude towards private family affairs. This is mainly due to the education categories distribution. Whereas the Old Town have a majority of "illiterate" and "read and writes" categories, Ben Ashour has none of those two.

From Table No. 9, 56% of the sample have confirmed using contraceptives for family planning and only 14% do not use them. The remaining 30% use them but not regularly.

(1) Itzd., 1978.
(those 55% are not interested in increasing their family size so they use continuous contraceptives). (1) Some traditional factors, as mentioned previously, have been effective in the Old Town. This is to a lesser degree in Ben Yehoer because of higher education level attained. Not only because of this, but also by modernisation and openness to the outside world. This is not so in the Old Town because of the conservative attitude of preserving the traditional.

As to the issue of allowing children to sleep with parents, 65% of Ben Yehoer do not allow such a practice, 15% replied that "sometimes" that allow children to sleep with them especially a sick child or one who fears nightmares. The other 20% did not respond. Reasons for this are obviously the availability of space in the houses of Ben Yehoer. Also there is the trend towards modern upbringing of children. Ben Yehoer people are trying to be assimilated to the modernized, westernized and liberal communities.

The question of adultery of the wife has not found real cases that have taken place. The only two cases of adultery have been sanctioned by divorce and returning the wife home.

(1) By continuous contraceptives, I mean non-stop usage of diaphragms, safety pins, etc...
(2) Here I mean parents who do not allow children to sleep with them.
10% have stated that they would submit the wife to the police and they fear no scandal. Another 6% have chosen the beating of the wife and divorcing her afterwards. Only one husband has said that "I will kill her if such a thing happens". His case has been special because he has been married to a non-Libyan woman and with such a response is meant to overcome the situation of frustrating himself by being married to a non-Libyan. The difference of education in both townships has not been directly effective in terms of the different sanctions of adultery. This confirms the previous agreement of honour.

54% of the men of Ban Salhoor do not allow their wives to meet men in their absence. This is relatively a high percentage in relation to the enlightened community of Ben Salhoor. 80% of husbands take meals with their wives and only 20% do not. The rest 80% sometimes accompany the family in meals but in most cases they eat in their working places.

Only 30% insist that their wives wear the traditional costume and most of them are of old age.
Table 3

Attitudes of husbands towards private family affairs versus education level in Ben Schoor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Divorce</th>
<th>Wife sets men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially litera</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Discrepancy due to no response of informants.

In the whole, the two townships have some differences with regards to the husband's attitude towards family affairs. The major factor of differentiation being education. As to the issues concerning family planning, sharing of children to each sex as parents, preference of traditional costumes, a considerable difference is cited. The Old Town gives a conservative attitude and preserves a traditional conception. Ben Schoor on the other hand, emphasizes a modern attitude and observes a
tendency towards social change. This is derived from enlightenment and education factors. As to the issues concerning the honour of the family, there is a similar assessment by both townships. The sanctions and restrictions on the wife’s behaviour are two corollaries to the conception of honour.

The Wife’s Attitude

The main issues that have been presented to wives have included intra-relationships within the household. These issues are:

a) The division of labour in the household and how far the husband participates.
b) The range of authority and decision making as perceived by the wife to get her demands fulfilled.
c) How far the wife knows about her husband’s financial situation and other private matters.
d) The mechanism of bases as perceived by the wife.

As to (a), there is a clear cut division of labour between the wife and the husband in both townships of the research. In the Old Town 84% of the men always help their wives in housework and 16% in Ban Ashoor. This is a highly segregated conjugal role relationship, referring to Bott’s conception.
But there is one deviation from her. She takes activities performed by both husband and wife in general terms, while I prefer to take them from another point of view. These activities practised by spouses in Trineli are derived from the principle of superiority of men over women. The women of the Old Town have confirmed that the tasks undertaken by their husbands in the house never included cleaning, feeding children or cooking. They would never "wash the dishes" for example, only supervising the children while the wife was busy. Some help the children with their school homework. Some husbands do some painting in the house or hole in fixing broken equipments. The wives prefer to perform their female tasks by themselves because husbands are not specialized in such a field. They would turn everything into a crisis: was the comment the husband who volunteered to help in the house.

In Ben Yehud, husbands help their wives in some ironing, teaching the children and go some shopping for the house. They never wash the dishes, cook or feed the children. Young couples and the highly educated spouses have a relatively different attitude and also a relatively jointconjugal role relationship. This is again derived from the effect of education.
which is in contrast to Sall who refuses to accept one
factor as affecting another, e.g. when she correlates
social class or occupation categories with expression
of conjugal roles. In one township out of the 44 who
"sometimes" help their wives, 40% are secondary and
university graduates.

In testing how far wives impose their authority over
husbands, there has been direct questions like "Do you impose
authority over your husband?", "Do you get your wishes fulfilled?".
The general overt attitude has been a denial of such
discussion, yet covertly the situation is different. In the
other town, 45% of the women have replied by saying "sometimes"
and in the town 56% have replied similarly. The relevance
of this is directly related to the educational differences in
both townships. (See Table No. 10).
Table No. 10.

The relationship between the extent of wife's imposition of authority over husband by education level in the Old Town and Zan Zeboor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reads and Write</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
<td>24(48%)</td>
<td>15(30%)</td>
<td>42(84%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Zan Zeboor     | Illiterate      | 2   | 2   | 3         | 6     |
|                | Reads and Write | 1   | 7   | 2         | 10    |
|                | Elementary      | 1   | 2   | 3         | 6     |
|                | Intermediate    | 1   | 4   | 4         | 9     |
|                | Secondary       | 0   | 6   | 3         | 11    |
|                | University      | 0   | 4   | 4         | 8     |
|                | Total %         | 4(8%) | 27(54%) | 19(38%) | 50(100%) |

(12) Diapermary in the total is due to the non-responsive attitude of informants.
the majority must have their consent (see Table 11).

Table 10a. 11

Relationship of Wife's authority and asking permission to visit neighbours.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife's authority: Husband's permission:</th>
<th>Husband's permission:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>over husband</td>
<td>necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35(70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7(14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8(16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1(2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7(14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32(64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13(26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12(24%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Discouragement in total is due to "no-response" attitude of informants.

The wives in both areas have a considerable knowledge about their husbands' financial situation. A majority of 50% in the Old Town and 56% in Banulupor. So the wives can put pressure on husbands on the basis of this knowledge.

The wives resort to what is called baraj so that their demands are fulfilled. Husbands in this case, are not obedient
but rather liient so that a stability in family life is maintained. On the other hand, wives in both areas, respect their husbands' views. The dependence on haraj is both a defensive and an attacking mechanism for the restoration of peace in the family. This is the essence of next section.

(1)

(3) The Marianah Wife:

This section analyses how married women, in Libya generally and Tripoli specifically, exert some social influence over husbands by a socially recognized mechanism called haraj. J. Hilal, in his study of a Libyan village, Hasalabba, has defined haraj as "A social system by which the conflict between the husband's family and the wife's family is resolved. Conflict is reduced and brought into a state of peace in some cases through the same system".

A wife exerts pressure on a misbehaving husband or one who does not fulfill his marital role as expected. This is done by showing dissatisfaction and severing relations with him. Dissatisfaction varies from simple silence to departure to the parental home.

(1) Marianah is an Arabic adjective from the noun haraj (literally embarrassment). In Sudan a similar word for an upset wife is harianah.

(2) J. Hilal, 1987.
In the rural context, where residence is patrilocal, a wife departs in case of conflict to her family of procreation to get its support. The conflict in many cases is between the husband’s family and the wife’s. A wife, lost in between, will resort to this mechanism. So, she benefits from her position as a daughter or sister and gets the support of her family in any conjugal dispute.

The wife’s family may encourage her to press on for her demands to be fulfilled. An issue of conflict between the two concerns between issues of families. The tension of the same are in the hands of the wife. She demands according to (a) her relationship with her husband, i.e., the way he behaves and treats her, (b) her relationship with affines especially her mother-in-law, (c) her aspirations which are not met satisfactorily by the husband. Demands of a husband’s wife are acute when she is pregnant or a mother, especially of boys which maximizes her chances of demands fulfillment. This is so because boys emphasize the patrilineal descent system. A pregnant woman practises wehem which is a psychological interpretation to whatever the wife desires to possess. The better that she would deliver an abnormal child if her desires are not met, makes the wehem another weapon for the demanding wife.
...husband is the loser, even if temporarily in both ways. He loses a working hand in the house when the wife deserts him resulting in an economic loss. Economically, he also loses when he intends to return the wife because then he has to fulfill the promises of her demands, which are mostly material things.

Affines are also losers when a son's wife gets haramah. They lose the services provided by the daughter in law. They lose the role of a son's wife and that of a mother for their grandchildren. At the same time they may break relations with the son's wife's family who are the closest kin to their grandchildren.

A haramah wife, would then go on maneuvering avoiding on her urge to possess certain material requirements. It also depends on her estimation of the gain and loss in the game. This is done by testing the limitations of the same. There are: (a) ignoring the wife's haram at its initial stage which is, in the majority of cases, a simple silence from the wife's side or sexual abstinence (b) ignoring her desertion of the marital home and going back to family (c) marriage of the husband after she leaves the house (d) divorce which factor is the terminating of the marital life.
Realizing the above limitations, the wife makes an assessment of how profitable the game will be. She behaves accordingly. The sanctions on the husband in case of unfulfillment of his role are sexual abstention, reputa-
tion loss through the gossip of the community and the loss of the wife. Sometimes the loss of a chance to get another wife is another limitation. Usually the community condemns the husband and backs the wife and her family. The reason for this is the fact that however strong the position of the wife in the household, the husband has got the sole right of divorce in his hands. A simple case of haram could also be simply changed to a case of complete desertion by divorce.

In rural Libya, there is a high rate of divorce due to haram because the conflict involves the kin of both spouses. Both exert relatively a similar pressure and since none of the parties would surrender, divorce becomes the final state.

In the urban context, the situation is different. Families are not of the traditional extended type as in the rural areas. Kin networks are not as closely connected as in the rural area. Those who have relatives living with them do not indulge them in conjugal conflicts. The relative's presence
resembles the status of guests and usually they do not have a say as the rest of kin in the family. They have a sort of advisory attitude. They may intrude as mediators only. This is so because they do not have a defined role of either a dependent relationship or a stranger status. Their position is rather transitional, temporary and undefined.

The type of conflict in town is more of an individualistic nature than a societal one. The latter is the typical pattern of conflict in the rural area. In town, it is a conflict between the married couple or a nuclear family then between families of the extended type. Actually, the situation is as follows: The conflict in the rural area comes from within the nuclear family and diffuses to involve the rest members of the family (of the extended type), the local community and the society at large. In the town, the conflict comes from without the nuclear family, e.g., the effect of fashion, the interest of imitating. Then it becomes a private concern of the married spouses only.

Economic independence of the nuclear family in town, creates the basic differentiation of status acquisition. People imitate each other especially women. They run after
material possessions and this is a base for conjugal disputes. The type of conduct and behaviour of one's social network reflects his own pattern of behaviour. The type of surviving groupings in town may be a direct cause of intra-familial disputes. The members are not necessarily relatives or neighbours as they are not keen enough in solving these disputes.

For both these factors of limitation and the misconduct of husbands, the process of huri begins to take shape. The wife starts nagging for satisfaction of needs. She expects how far she loses by keeping silent. Then she demands according to this assessment. With the expectation of gain, she might miscalculate the limitations to her maneuverings and the result will not be to her favour. A husband might be unwilling to fulfill the wife's demands and this would prolong the rest of silence and sexual abstinence. Again it depends on where the wife would stay. An unwilling husband might be indifferent and the longer she stays with her family, the more she loses. So another wife might take over. Some wives leave their children behind with the husband so that their role in child care is missed by their absence. Yet, for an unwilling husband
this is no problem and another wife could undertake that expected role. So a harranah wife loses both her marital life and children since the right of upbringing the children gives the husband the priority. Taking another wife might have been a costly matter in the past but with the oil discov-

(1) ery, the ability to acquire bridewealth has increased.

The game of maneuvering in the harran mechanism is also played by the husband. A willing husband would surrender to the demands of his wife. The compliance ranges from simple apology to the fulfillment of the demands. Again there is a limit to the extent to which a husband surrenders because harran could be repetitive throughout the marital life. A husband could enforce some conditions or “no further repetiti-

ion of harran” from the wife’s side. A wife in most cases, rarely but sometimes only after getting a promise from the husband to fulfill his expected role, may how, the accumulation of further demands and the natural conjugal conflicts, emphasize the repetitive characteristic of harran. This successive pattern of practicing harran is the ideal for a stable marital life.

(1) This can be generally accepted but it needs further statistical data since bridewealth is alsonoming.
From another point of view, *hadi* can be seen as an extension to the principle of *hajib* in marriage proceedings. The institution of *ahadoor* (conditions) is basic for the conclusion of the marriage contract. The conditions laid by the bride's family resemble, in their social function, the conditions laid by a wife when practising *hadi*. The social function of both is the assessment of certain social values in terms of money. The traditional Libyan saying that a man is *wakib* (literally has bought) a woman, emphasizes the economic relationship of buying her as a member of a specific family with a certain status.

About 78% of the wives in the Old Town have practised the *hadi* and 80% in Ben Aboor irrespective of their education background. Without a specific social context when the *hadi* has been practised, the reasons for it involve: (a) divorced husbands, (b) jealous husbands, (c) adulterous husbands and have taken another wife for marriage, (d) bad relations with others especially the mother in law. The socially recognized pattern of action is to back the wife and convince the husband to comply to her demands. This does not mean that *hadi* is a localized system for the dominance of wives. Husbands too, ...
their abstention from wives, in criticising them or in forbidding them from demanding, are in a sense also practising nargal. This is practised in a different manner. It is only because husbands do not depart from the conjugal home that there is no sense of bargaining when they start their nargal.

Thus, the nargal could be seen as a power redistribution in the family. Lewin (1) tended to define power as the ratio of compliance and resistance while Cartwright (2) has defined power in terms of the difference between compliance and resistance. The power within the family may be according to the control of resources. (3) That the more control a member of the family has over the resources, the stronger is his/her power role position. Supplying a need is an activity, and all activities require resources for their performance. These views regard the relationship as between two persons or two groups of families.

I see that the nargal mechanism defines power in the family. This power is neither the ratio between compliance of the husband and wife and/or the resistance of the husband

(1) Lewin, 1951.
(3) C.C. Harris, 1969, p.164.
and wife, nor is it the difference between the two. It is rather the socially recognized aspect of social relations by those who form the basic social groups. It is not the individualistic attitude of separating the husband/wife relationship but rather a societal defined pattern of relations.

The haram could also be interpreted in terms of sanctions and rewards in the family context. This is measured by reference to role expectations \( ^{(1)} \) and role performance. \( ^{(2)} \) If the role performance of one of the husband and wife is in agreement with the role expectations of the other, then positive sanctions are the end result of the interaction. Otherwise negative sanctions are a resultant. Haram could be seen as a negative sanction, adjustment occurs when both role expectations and role performance coincide.

4: Other Non-kinship Relations:

In the contemporary urban community of Tripoli, although members of the nuclear family form the basic kin group, yet there are still numerous other interrelated ties. These vary according to the kinship ties with the nuclear

\( ^{(1)} \) Role expectations are the ways one person feels the other should behave. See T. Parsons, 1951, p. 78.

\( ^{(2)} \) Role performance is what actually one does, i.e. how a particular function should be carried out. See T. D. Wier, 1962, p. 71-75.
Family and its social status in the community under study.

Family relations of members other than husbands and wives range from respect to joking types of relations, in Tripoli, and in most Arab communities, respect relationship is based on sex rather than on generation difference. Women respect men and in fact avoid them. Men joke with each other and similarly women joke with each other but joking relations rarely exist between sexes.

The design of houses in the Old Town and the provision for women’s separation in Ben Ashur accelerates the segregation of sexes. An avoidance relationship is existent even between close affines. A wife needs her husband unveiled but none of his brothers unless a younger one. Her relationship with brothers in law is on respect basis. Affines who could be, in the case of the death of the husband, filiated through marriage are treated similarly. This is the type of “compensation marriage” in which a brother of the deceased marry his widow or the reverse i.e., a sister marries the husband of her deceased sister. Still, there is a very mild

(1) Arab community is not an ideological definition. It refers to the middle east and related Arab communities.

(2) Filiation here is taken from Liech’s generalization pattern of correlating both the relation with mother and with father as typological variables rather than measurable quantities. See Liech, 1980, p.19.
joking relationship between the wife and her younger brother in law. This is a corollary to the burhian/wife or sister relationship. It is here where the joking relationship between sexes becomes a function of age. As a generational differentiation resembles that of grandparent/child relationship.

Avoidance of conflict between wilātif (1) (the term given to the husband's brother's wife) creates an obligatory joking relationship as that where the conflict situation is inevitable, where there is the social necessity of avoiding it but where no differences of generation are involved. The wilātīf are in a competitive situation to emphasize their position as daughters in law and as wives to the same siblings.

The obligation to maintain affine relations is added to the provision of services for them. At the same time demanding from the husbands whatever other wilātīf have got, creates the basis for the competitive nature of relations. This again is a direct cause and effect of conflict with husband issues like "why does your brother treat his wife better than you treat me?" Why has he brought such and such and you don't?" On the other hand the direct conflict between

(1) Wilafī the plural of wilātī (from balafī, to give help by providing loans.)
"the brothers' wives is avoided, so a relatively obligatory joking relationship is the resultant.

Generally I think relationship with affines may be thought of as a temporary relationship. This is so because in case of the death of the husband, a mother in law is no longer a mother in law. The remarriage of the deceased wife creates a new set of affinal relations. The previous mother in law is now only a grandmother to the deceased's children and so the affinal set is transferred to a filial set. This set abolishes the difference between what is being called network and affinal set. Whereas network is defined in relation to a particular person at random, affinal set is defined with reference to a particular situation of interaction. (1)

E.L. Peters states "that there is a plurality of types of affinity and any affinal link is liable to change both in the sense that the general social standing of any people confined in a particular links alters."

The patrilineal descent system of Libra gives the deceased's kin the right of sociological paternity (2) over children. Thus the relationship with a khael (mother's brother)

(2) Sociological paternity is used by Malinowski to show the relation between parents and children and groups as derived from customary rules. See Malinowski, 1913, p.170-83.
in Tripoli, is one of affection and joking, while that with the 'amm or amm (father's brother or master) is one of respect and avoidance. Mother's brother/son relationship is derived from the mystical link with mother's patrilineage. It is an affinal link between male lines as Firth(1) has propounded about the filopoi.

This mystical link interpretation of mother's brother relationship and that of Leach's topological set of "uncontrolled mystical(2) influence" explain the sacredness of the son/mother's brother or father's sister relationship. On the other hand the son/father's brother relationship derives its significance from the authoritative attitude of the father towards children. The cidi (master) terminology stresses the dependence relationship which is attached to the father's brother/son relationship and to the mother's brother. In contemporary Libya, this dependence is not in money laws but rather in social dependence.(3)

Relations with grandparents is one of the joking type because of the generational differentiation and the

---

(1) Firth, 1936, p. 213.
(2) Ibid., 1936.
(3) Cidi. In Tunisia, my master is addressed to the eldest brother who is most respected by younger brothers and sisters. See N. Abusahra, 1966.
diminishing control over grandchildren. Ghudhd and farsus (both mean old) denotes a teasing attitude meaning the hopeless and is used by grandchildren.

Brothers/sisters relations is one of awkwardness when there is an age difference but of joking in the reverse case. Privately, it is a brother/sister relationship (for instance among university students, some brothers drive back home without taking their sisters with them especially when accompanied by male friends). But publicly it is a male to a female relationship.

On the whole, intra-familial relations are undergoing a changing process which is reflected in a sort of disequilibrium. This disequilibrium characterizes the type of conflict that arise between husbands and wives, between offspring and between individual persons who attempt to interact in an individualistic pattern of relations is undermined by the force of interaction on the basis of the 'iljat. The characteristic of being 'abn balad (one of a country) is a focal meeting point for interaction in the context of the family and the outside society. This is a process of interrelating both intra-familial relations with inter-familial ones. The next chapter deals with this issue.
CHAPTER III.
INTER-FAMILIAL STRUCTURE: NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONSHIP.

"The social relations observed between neighbours, friends, kinmen, fellow tribesmen and others in one avenue were often found to be part of broader sets of social relations extending outward beyond the immediate environ to the wider neighbourhood or the township, to places of work, to the urban community as a whole and even to the town's hinterland."

Valdo Fosu, 1969.

This chapter deals with neighbourhood relationships in both areas of the research. It is also a study of neighbouring social gatherings and groupings. It studies the structure and composition of these social groupings and their relevance to the fitting of families in the neighbourhood. Families' membership to an effective neighbourhood is studied by analysing the different phases of incorporation into the neighbourhood. The focus on disputes between families in the same neighbourhood is interpreted as an index of incorporation rather than of conflict. The role played by women in structuring neighbourhood relations finds more scope because of my easier accessibility to women domains. Men's groupings are only approached through indirect observation.

(1) Indirect observation is by listening at the back of doors which is practised by women when men gather in the maroon's or in the nearby.
to the family organization in the two areas concerned is brought about in an isomorphic pattern. That is, both family and neighbourhood relations affect each other in such a way as to induce similar structural pattern in both spheres. The significance of an event or object in one sphere is comprehensible only with reference to the other sphere as well. By neighbourhood, (See sketch maps 1 and 2), I refer to the houses that open into Ben Achor road and the narrow streets of the Old Town. Houses at the back and the nearby lanes are also added.

By effective neighbourhood, (1) I refer to the structural pattern of maintaining mutual exchange of visits, gifts and daily interaction. The tasks inherent in such a pattern affect the subsequent structuring of neighbourhood and family interrelations or otherwise one feels a stranger to the neighbourhood.

By groupings, I mean the informally organized meetings of men and women which are held separately. These groupings are specifically the gat'ud and the mahreph. Scout, as an effective means of social control, and the influence of public

(1) Effective neighbourhood here derives a similar significance as what Bott has called intimate kin relationships. See Bott, 1971, p. 1st.
opinion on family affairs are social functions of these groupings.

By social gatherings, I mean the wise or ceremonies which are socially and formally recognized as religious, social or entertainment gatherings, e.g. marriages, mournings, festivals etc.

By *marragi* (literally outsider), I mean the shifting conception of being a member of an effective neighbourhood in one context and in another an absolutely recognized outsider e.g. by birth.

By disputes is not intended to include conflict which involves the settlements by courts or official means. Disputes here refer to the conflict within the family context whether that being conjugal or inter-familial. This is tested in relation to the neighbourhood structure.

**General Structure of Neighbourhood Relations**

The residence pattern in both areas is based on two main principles, economic position and ethnicity. Both are interwoven to produce differential characteristics according to which the pattern of relations is structured.
The Old Town is basically a low income residential area with a majority of the working class. On the other hand, Ben Achoor is a high income residential area where the main groups of co-residents are business men and civil servants. Preference coincides with actuality, where the co-residents tend to live beside the same ethnic groups in both areas (see Table No. 12). Owners in the Old Town have a majority of residents from the same county (ambāfasāh) as next door neighbours. This is specially emphasized by the Tripolitanian category of residents who have owned houses long time ago. It also explains why the rate of residents of the same tribe is relatively low. Only seven owners are from outside Tripoli and have the same tribal origin.

Ben Achoor residents prefer to live beside relatives or people from the same ambāfasāh. Actually, they encourage each other to buy adjacent pieces of land. This is recognized as an index of tribal cohesion. Renters in the Old Town are basically migrants who have arrived in groups from their tribal areas. They prefer, in most cases, to live near each other. In Ben Achoor, renters are not wholly migrants but are rather heterogeneous groups of civil servants who might
## Table No. 12.

### Ethnic Distribution of "Non-Jews" Neighbours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ownership</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Same Country</th>
<th>Same Tribe</th>
<th>Same Sub-division</th>
<th>No Relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Town</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Ben Ashok**     |       |              |            |                   |              |
| Owners            | 21    | 17           | 10         | 7                 | 8            |
| Renters           | 35    | 15           | 10         | 5                 | 14           |
| Government        | 0     | 0            | 0          | 0                 | C            |
| **Total**         | 56    | 32           | 20         | 12                | 20           |

These figures are calculated by house-to-house survey. No duplication of counting. Total number of households is fifty.

(*) Discrepancy in total is due to "no-response" informants.
have incidentally come from the same tribal area.

For the difficulty of tracing extra neighbourhood relations, I have concentrated on the effective neighborhood relations between some families of Ben ashur and the Old Town. This does not invalidate the fact that relations in one local area are often part of broader sets of social relations. In fact the relationship between each family and the other neighbours is found to be subject to the same cultural and normative values. Family structure is necessarily affected by the external factors which add to the establishment of the social structure of the community. I am dealing with effective relations within the neighbourhood context rather than with general social relations.

Effective neighbourhood is not necessarily due to permanent or long residence. There are also migrants who maintain effective relations which they do not seem to continue maintaining after they leave the area. It is after all a matter of connectedness (1) or degree of density (2) in the social network of the family. The social network is one between households

(1) Bourdieu classifies connectedness of social network to be either close-knit or loose-knit depending on whether neighbours, friends, relatives know each other or not.

(2) Degree of density has been used by Warner instead of connectedness. See T. L. Bourne, 1959
and not individuals. Households are taken as recognized by Libyans whether that being nuclear or extended.

Generally speaking, families in the Old Town have close-knit networks, so producing more connected relations with neighbours than in Ben Haour. A beréni is not always looked upon negatively. It is the degree of��urGeness of relations initiated by a beréni which counts for membership to an effective neighbourhood. Assimilation of an outsider head of family into the effective neighbourhood is usually initiated by him. He accepted then he show interest. The idea of role expectancy and role performance which is necessary for intra-familial relations is extended to include inter-familial relations. When discrepancy occurs in the equilibrium of the two, some sanctions are performed and mostly negative ones. In the case of neighbourhood, there are sanctions to the attitude of an outsider in initiating relations which differ according to the different phases of incorporation. An outsider remains an outsider however long duration he stays in the neighbourhood, if he does not initiate contact with neighbours. This is different from the conception of strangers in Pentreifiaith. (1) In the letter

(1) Pentreifiaith: a welsh village studied by Frankenberg. See H. Frankenberg, 1957.
case, a stranger's status is permanent in spite of one's position in the decision-making of the village disputes. So strangeness is a sort of stigma in terms of physical locality. In Tripoli, a barūni remains a stranger until he is accepted as a member of an effective group. Then, he is reckoned as an ibn balad (literally son of a country). When assimilated he is not excluded as a participant or as a subject of gossip and backbiting which is the case in Fezra. Yet, when the situational context necessitates tracing of descent, the outsider remains an outsider. In the family context, there is also the conception of barūni. Two closely connected families, sometimes refrain from discussing personal issues between them. Though there is kinship tie relating them. They may call each other as barūni(s). The rigidity of the term is observed when affines are considered barūni(s) if they have no blood relationship with the family.

A foreigner i.e., non-Libyan, is rarely and less quickly assimilated as an ibn balad. In some contexts, they are referred to as ibn balad e.g., in exile when they perform the

(1) Ibn balad is generally used in the masculine but there is a feminine conception of bint balad (daughter of a country).
expected role of the bald. In other contexts, they are called outsiders e.g. when speaking about their value system, customs, ethnic origin etc. The prerequisites for being the bald are docility, generosity and conformity to customary norms. It is these social characteristics reflected in social relations which count more for defining an bald than the physical characteristics. Although bald is attributed to the physical existence within the boundaries of a village, a tribe, a town, neighbourhood or a family, yet it is the social personality which is necessary for the acceptance of the bald.

For an effective neighbourhood structure, it is found that similar economic position is a prerequisite too. The type of role performance within the family is extended to the neighbourhood. Husband who provide wives with their demands and gifts are found to be involved in a reciprocal exchange of gifts and services with neighbours. Wives too, exchange gifts, services, visits with other women who are capable to reciprocate. Unequal economic stratum affects ability to exchange and so creates distant neighbourhood relationships. I add to Bedri's (1) definition of distant neighbourhood relationship that (2) Bedri defined distant neighbourhood as exchange of visits, gifts in family criteria only. See B. Bedri, 1974, an unpublished M.Sc. thesis.
this true of relationship is sometimes unintentionally created because of economic differentiation or social differentiation.

The informal structure of social relationship in the Old Town is partly a cause and effect of the similar economic position of the neighbours community being of a relatively low income groups.

This is directly reflected in the relations between families in the same social groupings and gatherings in the Old Town. The members of a Shebiyah (1) or Ma'at grouping are in most cases close neighbours who maintain effective relations. Membership to these groupings is as informal as the overall set of social relationships. This informality reduces the negative sanction due to the unfulfillment of timing, attendance or services expected. In Ben Ashoor, on the other hand, the pre-arranged Shebiyah and Ma'at groupings give some formality to the structure of these groupings. The community of Ben Ashoor is rather competitive over resources of status ranking and so makes relations rather formal. Effective neighbourhood relations are not directly related to the membership of these groupings. There are some groupings membership.

(1) Shebiyah, sometimes refers to women's groupings during marriage ceremonies and Ramadan (fasting month) in staying late after mid night. See Chapter 9 on wedding ceremonies.
Fig. 1 (a)  
The Structure of Membership to men's Finishah  
grouping in the OA Town.

(b)  
The Structure of Membership to men's Finishah  
grouping in Ben Pahoor.
of Ben Ashoor which are not part of the neighbourhood membership. The sahriyah groupings of men in Ben Ashoor do not meet so frequently as in the Old Town. This is because the former community is in a more privileged economic situation to provide for alternative entertainment than the latter.

Considering the structure of these groupings (See Fig. 1 A & B), the inner zone comprises those who have most contact with ego. Their effective membership to the grouping is measured by their frequency of meeting, exchanging of mutual aid and services and by their joking relationships with ego. Discussion of private intra-familial relations of ego with the members of the groupings is another measure of the effective membership of the outer zone denotes lesser effective membership to the grouping. It is clear that the Old Town neighbours have much more effective relationship with each other than Ben Ashoor.

The Old Town structure of relations is a close-knit network as well as self-sufficient groupings. This is again dependent on the informal set of relationships between neighbours. In Ben Ashoor loose-knit networks is the reverse structure of relations. This

---

(1) Ego here refers to the head of a family and the owner of the house where the sahriyah is being held. The figures of Ben Ashoor and Old Town have been collected from the data of 5 sahriyah groupings attended.
is explained by the competition over higher economic status. The outside members that add to "50" is an empirical evidence. Generally, relations between neighbours can be compared to that between kin because of the similar functional role of both of them i.e. of maintaining solidarity of the group. In fact, effective neighbourhood is traditionally preferred to kin relation. This is not confined to Tripoli only. Both in analysing the factors affecting behaviour and contact towards kin has considered the economic tie to be essential. She treats the economic tie between kin to be one of dependence. That once this dependence relationship is lacking, then contact is lost. She says "The greater the degree to which relatives hold property rights in common enterprises and the greater their expectancy of inheriting property from one another, the closer will be the ties among them". This emphasizes superordination versus subordination. In fact, kinship ties as well as neighbourhood relations are effective only when contact is mutually exchanged. The economic factor in maintaining such relations is also an exchanged prerequisite. It is only of importance when a reciprocal.

(1) A Libyan proverb says "La tla'ist mara wa la ta'asir bi ta'asir. "I.e. Do not live near your relatives or lodge those with whom you have beneficence. A Sudanese proverb says: "Warak alqarab al la wad waq alqarab, i.e. Your near neighbour is better than your far brother.

relation exists. This is facilitated by either similar economic status or in terms of the exchange of services or economic aid between kin or neighbours.

The principle of intra-familial relations is that members of a family interact with each other within the context of the family organization. This ethico-interpretative is extended to the external environs. Families interact together in an intra-familial structure. The neighbourhood effective relations are found to be in accordance with the family basis rather than with an individual one. Conformity to the societal value system is a two-way process where each of the family and the neighbourhood are in an isomorphic mode. The segregation of activities on sex basis in the household is extended to the larger environs of neighbourhood. The groupings of men and women are separated in the neighbourhood and rarely, if at all, are there joint groupings for both sexes. Public opinion and gossip act as sanctions of a positive or negative nature. The adjustment of role expectations and role performance in the family is expected to be also acquired in the neighbourhood. The resultant sanction vary with the situational context of the case. The process of socialization within the family provides for the
assimilation of an individual. In the neighborhood, effective neighborhood relations could be also interpreted as a socialization continuum. This continuum is between the two polar positions of barangi and ibn balad. Through long residence and reflection of certain social characteristics, a barangi may become an ibn balad. A process which takes three phases, initial contact phase, transitional phase and incorporation phase. This is also an extension to the socialization process within the family. Byer(1) has analyzed the formation of a new family in terms of marital adjustment which depends on four factors. These are: normative orientation i.e., understanding of cultural norms, perceptions of one role in the new family i.e., husband and wife's duties defined normatively, role expectations i.e., the definition of what an individual member thinks the other's duties are and sanctions administered by one person to another in failure to meet role expectations.

The changing structure of intra-family relations, mentioned previously, is again reflected, without exception, in

inter-familial relation. This is expressed by the relative flexibility of contact between neighbours. In Ben Acheur, there is a trend towards organized picnics between neighbours. This may take the form of joint sex groupings. Still it occurs within the context of the families i.e. some families go out in groups and not in individual basis. Among the youth, there is a trend of change which is relatively liberal. Unmarried brothers and sisters go into ashrafah outside the neighbourhood. They sing and dance together. University students organise camping for a few days outside Tripoli. They perform all recreational activities jointly. In such picnics no segregation of activities occur. Some students from the Old Town practice the same functions. In Ben Acheur visits between families are taking the form of husband and wife joint visit and meeting in the sitting room with other spouses. So the formality of relations in Ben Acheur is centered in the timing of visits, in appearance and the type of services provided for visitors. Cases, clean dishes and modern service are expected in Benz Acheur. In the Old Town, the informality of relations characterizes the above and people interact simply. The least service provided is accepted. A cup of arakis tea is quite
sufficient. No formality versus liberal attitudes is the pattern of inter-family relations in San Achoor. And informality versus conservatism is the general pattern in the Old Town.

The process by which inter-family relations are structured is that of incorporating neighbours into effective relations. This will be the task of the following section.

INITIAL CONTACT

The first stage is the recognition of a new family as a potential neighbour. This is emphasized by greetings, welcoming gestures and exchange of invitations such as “Please come for tea” (1) or “you are welcome at any time”.

Generally, the type of relationship which exists at this phase is what I reproduce from Bott’s definition of non-effective relationship when analysing relations with kids (2). In fact old residents would know about new arriving families before the latter actually arrive in the neighbourhood.

The ethnic origin, the reputation of the arriving family is investigated upon. At this stage the new family is referred to as non-effective relatives are defined by Bott as “those with whom there was no contact but about whom informants had some knowledge such as name and occupation”. See Bott, 1968, p.120.
to by the previous tenant's name. The neighbours say "All yishkin fi housh Bargaigah" (those who live in Bargaigah's house). A new family, is in a status of a barajul in terms of being uninvolved in effective relations with neighbours.

In the Old Town, the initial contact is not necessarily the expected duty of the new family. Next-door neighbours visit the new family and introduce themselves. In Ben Ashour, the stage of welcoming new families outside doors of houses and occasional greetings takes a longer duration. Before actual visits take place, the new neighbour is expected to visit old residents and invite them for the exchange of visits. Women are less insistent in this because they have lesser chances than men to meet outside the houses. An organized Mal'a between old residents is arranged for meeting the new neighbour.

A new family at the initial stage, is an issue of the gossip around the Arabic tea gatherings. Members of the new family are not participants of the gossip but only a subject of the back-biting. Back-biting is an essential part of the process of incorporating new families because through gossip, old residents get information about the new comers.
The division of labour and outsiders in Tripoli is not applicable to the case of Tripoli. In the case of Fentra, the division is based on cultural, religious and some certain social aspects. In Tripoli, there is homogeneity in ethnic origin, economic status and cultural background based on common religion. This makes the division of barani and old residents less acute.

This structuring of neighbours affects intra-familial relations. A new channel of relations is created for old residents. Wives become involved in initiating contact with the women of the arriving family. Husbands do the same by including the men of the new families in their social groupings. So, a relative segregation of roles within the family occurs and a tendency to have separate connected networks. In fact, effective and intimate neighbourhood relations are encouraged by both religion and social norms. The relative informality of relations in the Old Town makes this stage relatively easy to establish. This informality creates a sort of competition between neighbours. This competition is

(1) Reis, 1957, p.45.

(2) A famous Libyan proverb says: "Who criticizes his neighbours is like one who misses without dinner."
activated by the attempt to incorporate the new comer.

Being a barati is not always a negative stigma. An outsider
with good reputation is targeted for competition to get him
incorporated. In Ben Ashoor, the relatively formal structure
of relations makes it less easy to incorporate the new family.
The appearance of new families with equal, if not similar,
economic position creates a threat to old residents. Business-
men and high civil servants are cautious in establishing contact
with the new family who may compete with them in commerce or
ranks. Women, too, are subject to the same attitude towards
arriving women who may be competitors in the women's sphere of
activities e.g. fashions, cooking, services and mixed groupings.
The case of a family who lived in Tunde for forty years and
has come back to Tripoli is an evidence. The family
consists of an old father over sixty, a mother over fifty and
three unmarried children. They have not been out to their
neighbours six years before the time of the research. Men have
not entered their house all these years. The women in the
neighbourhood sometimes send their children to play with that
family's children. This has been a means of getting news for
gossip. The reason given by the neighbours for their attitude

Towards that family is that the latter is not interested to have relations with the old residents.

This is attributed to the different cultural background. This is not actually the main reason because the foreigner who is completely an outsider to the Libyan society, is regarded in certain situations as an "ibn bulud." I think the reason for such a behaviour lies in how old residents conceive the different cultural background of that family. There is the fear of breaking through the normalized pattern of ranking, which is based on economic situation, to another pattern based on cultural background, especially when that is a foreign culture.

A new family's initial contact is structured according to the pre-existing social characteristics of the neighbourhood community, the type of intra-familial and inter-familial relations which predominate, affect the nature of contact between new comers and old residents. Boycottted families, reputed positively or negatively and role position of each family are examined by new and old residents. The relationship is isomorphic and the resultant structure is based on this relationship between inter and intra-familial contact. The following case is an illustration.
The Case of the Zanāmah. *(1)*

The informant is a traditional zamānah, sixty years old. She is residing in the old town all her life time. Her elder married daughter lives with her. The daughter, over forty, and has been married twice. The last husband is staying in the same house now, but they do not have children from the union. The daughter is adopting two of her brother’s children who are also staying in the house. A son, from a previous marriage of the daughter’s husband, is married and stays with his family in the same house. His wife is a relative of the zamānah too. This family attracts an observer’s attention by the way other neighbours behave towards it. My guide to the house was a young girl who just pointed to the house and would not enter into it. She is forbidden by her family not to go beyond pūsam al mana (the head of the lane) because “they are bad people” as she says.

The zamānah, her daughter and the latter’s husband have been better hostesses to me than many of the other neighbours. There has been no problem in getting a joint

---

*(1)* Zanāmah is a traditional name of a woman who sings in ceremonies. She is paid and officially registered in the municipality records. She uses the *lir* (a drumming instrument) for singing.
conversation with both men and women of the house. The
daughter comments on her last marriage as a successful match
because "we have arranged it ourselves... there has been no
complications of conditions or lengthy ceremonies". In fact
second marriages are less rigid in terms of economic expenses
or mate-selection than first marriages. This will be elabor-
ated later when analysing the marriage system. A halîlah
(Libyan word for divorced) or a widow is permitted by
religion and custom to participate in selecting a husband and
preparing conditions.\(^{(2)}\) The daughter is a social worker
although she is illiterate. The house, a traditional style
but kept maintained well. The family has got a telephone\(^{(2)}\)
and some modern electric equipments, a modern sitting room
for guests, and so is the rest of the furniture. The
zamānāni has been singing for the last sixty years and is
still recommended as the best performer in all Tripoli.
Intra-familial relations between them seem to be a combination
of understanding, cooperation and respect. The effect of the
avoidance attitude of neighbours towards them is instantly

\(^{(1)}\) For more detailed analysis see Chapter IV and V.
\(^{(2)}\) Only four telephones have been found in the town.
predictable. They do not talk about neighbours and rather avoid to do so. They seem to be more connected in relations internally to withstand the external pressure of criticism and back-biting. The members insist on confirming their honour and lack of shame. They attempt to suppress all intra-family tensions and conflict in order to preserve neighbour's gossip. This has produced extreme tension and there seems to be more fragmentation behind this disguise.

To the neighbours, the attitude is one of exclusion. The members of the family are excluded from informal social contacts and are neither participants but always a subject of the gossip and back-biting of the community. The neighbours describe the woman's job as similar to begging. The coincidence is that usually after every session of singing, the woman goes around with her dū (drum) to be offered money. This is considered an act of shame although she is actually being paid for entertaining people. Neighbours do not marry from that family because "the daughter has had a love affair with her present husband before marriage, those adopted children are not her brother's but actually illegal children".
This gossip on personal behaviour is effective in binding the neighbourhood community with its links and divisions. The exclusion of the zanāmah from informal relations does not mean that the family is wholly discounted. In bad times of crises, neighbours unite as people of one home. In times when they need the zanāmah performance, they arrange it with her and priority is given to neighbours. A special price is lower for neighbours. The share of mutual experiences in good and bad times, unite them as neighbours of the Old Town.

In short, an act of shame or honour becomes a rigid conception. It remains for new owners as well as old residents. The stigma brought about by the occupation of the zanāmah has affected the overall set of relations with her family. The mere reference to the family by a woman's occupation is in itself degrading in such a society. The type of relationship between neighbours in both settings provide evidence to the correlation between intra/inter-familial relations. The inter-family contact is evident in the neighbourhood relations observed round the focal families. The initial contact is maintained through the conception/family rather than the
individualistic one. Even when contact comes through one individual, still there is a social recognition to one's membership of a family. General reciprocity at this stage is denoted by non-calculated gifts, invitations and mutual aid. Expectation of mutual exchange of the above initiates contact and the selection of the closest/distant relations. The process of assimilation continues from the family to the outside community. The second phase in the process explains this.

TRANSITIONAL STAGE.

This is the second stage of incorporating new families into effective neighborhood relations. It is a state of partial incorporation marked by frequent exchange of visits, mutual aid and some joking relationship. Contribution in gossip making is also a marked characteristic of this stage. The groupings to which new comers are introduced are basis for potential informal relations. Familiarity brought about by this informality produces a reciprocal exchange of gifts, visits, and gossip.

In the Old Town, men meet around the public waterers and exchange news about other neighbors. Joining the
(described in Chapter 1) is part of the process of incorporation. The structure of the membership to umahyah groupings, described previously, begins to take shape. Family affairs are discussed freely in these groupings. A new head of family starts to consult his friends in these groupings about issues concerning his family. Old heads of families discuss matters like bank savings for their married girls or boys, young heads of families discuss issues concerning education of their children, work problems etc. Advice given by the members of groupings is respected and in most cases, the head of family react accordingly.

In Pen Schoor, actual visiting takes a longer duration than in the Old Town. Men exchange news about the locality, politics, and the market, among businessmen especially. The community of Pen Schoor follows a principle of get-quick modernized and westernized. The informal "drop in for a chat" is relatively missing in Pen Schoor for the above reasoning. Yet, another mechanism is used for maintaining a continuous reciprocal relationship. This is what I call balanced reciprocity of gifts, visits, and aid in family crisis. By balanced reciprocity is meant the equivalent exchange of gifts and
services. This is a cause and effect of how far effective relations has been accomplished. The transitional stage is a period of instability and incomplete identification with the new neighbourhood community. A new family is susceptible at this stage to be discounted as a member of the neighbouring community. The new neighbour is still under the "microscope" for full acceptance. The danger of not being fully incorporated makes relations based on economic transactions. The balanced reciprocity is this type of transaction. Other types of reciprocity are postponed for later stages. (1) A neighbour presenting a gift to the new comer expects a return of gift. The gift returned is equivalent in value to the first so that if the relations are disturbed, no obligation is left on the back of the new neighbour. It is a means of searching for acceptance in exchanging reciprocal relations with neighbours. The new family emphasizes its role position in the neighbourhood by being involved in such transactions. Thus both inter and intra-familial relations affect each other. New roles are open to the members of arriving families. The demands to fulfill the expected role are a two-way process. "Give and demand (1) See analysis on excessive reciprocity next section."
reciprocal exchange of food confirms the continuity of relationships. The lack of balanced reciprocity weakens relations. So, food is seen as a symbolic medium which is used to express social relationships between members of the neighbourhood. Distant neighbours are approached by food exchange for establishing relations. This is done when visiting is a more tedious practice than sending food.

In addition to food exchange, there is partner reciprocity of alirpa (literally throwing). This is an extension to the mechanism of balanced reciprocity. Alirpa is an amount of money paid in crisis and reciprocally exchanged when contributors have similar crises. Weddings, deaths, giving birth and other occasions involve much on exchange as part of the event. It is a partner relationship since lesser amounts of alirpa in a reciprocal relationship may lead to the breaking of the partnership. The breaking up of the partnership is not necessarily a breaking of all other neighbourhood relations. This partnership is not confined to one sex. A case which I have observed has started between

(1) In some areas, the custom of asking the dustman to check whether the food sent to neighbours has been eaten or thrown into the garbage.
woman and ended by the breaking of ḍairad relations between
the men of the two families. The woman 'X', aged forty five
years, has had her daughter married. Her neighbour 'Y' has
not put the expected amount of money when ḍairad has started.
This amount should have been at least equivalent to what 'X'
had paid in a similar event of 'Y' before that. ḍairad is a
public announcement of how much people have contributed. This
contribution is a sort of subsidy to the expenses of the
occasion. Breaking the partnership between 'X' and 'Y' has
induced a similar breaking of relations between their husbands.
Sometimes the ending up of such a reciprocal relationship is
publicly pronounced. In one of the mature(s), I have been
in, there has been a lengthy discussion between two women in
seniority. One aged above forty, has accused the other, about
twenty, of not bringing any gift or money in the occasion of
the first woman's pilgrimage. The other has been apologizing
by the excuse of being of a younger age and that her mother
had already contributed on the same occasion. The dispute has
come to the open at that meeting and an ending of relations
has been reached.

Another feature of this stage is the establishment of
a joking relationship. The structure of ḍairad and ḍairad
Groupings involve a corresponding structure of joking relations. The transitional stage initiates such a relationship. Women joke about their husband’s behaviour at home, about their children. They also start more indirect jokes about their sexual life. Joking does not amount to a state of criticism and teasing which is a further stage of incorporation. Men, on the other hand, joke about sex too and have some games of fun. Of these are sock fights, spitting water and insulting each other. Creation of lies is also another means of joking.

An essential feature of this stage in the beginning of disputes between neighbours. Though disputes start between eventually children, parents will become involved. Other neighbours, too, intrude as mediators. Through these disputes the unity of the neighbourhood is emphasized and maintained. These disputes arise from the relationships of individuals to individuals, households to households in a face-to-face community. All of this is structured round the family-neighbourhood relationship. The following case sums up most of the above features and analysis the changing aspect of society.
The case of the neighbouring lovers:

Family 'X' consists of the father (58 years old), the mother (45 years old), five unmarried sons and three unmarried daughters. This family is Tripolitanian and has moved from the Old Town ten years back. The family is residing in Ben - Ashur for three years at the time of the research. The eldest daughter (25 years) is a secondary school graduate. She is reputed among neighbours as a daring girl. She is suspected of having a secret relationship with the neighbouring shopkeeper. In fact I have attended most of the discussions of this issue among the members of family 'X'. The girl has confessed to her mother about her love to the shopkeeper and that she would marry him whatever happens. The mother seems astonished, because that is not the expected behaviour of an unmarried girl. The mother is against marriage from the neighbourhood because "neighbours are like brothers." (1)

The shopkeeper, an elementary graduate, is a wealthy businessman (28 years old). He originally comes from Nacrat (a county in the eastern part). By the measures of Tripoli - tians, he is a nubail. His family does not allow marriage. So (2) the shopkeeper lives in the same lane.

(1) The shopkeeper lives in the same lane.
both families of the girl and the shopkeeper are against the relationship. The girl meets him in the shop and sometimes outside the vicinity. Neighbours have been gossiping about what they call misbehaviour of the girl. No one has discussed the issue with the mother. The explanation for such an attitude lies in the fact that family 'X' is passing through the transitional stage of incorporation. The sanction for non-conformity with the social norms can be cutting of relations or exclusion. This could easily be performed at this stage because of the lack of full identification with the community. To avoid such a negative sanction, people also avoid the direct sanction of family 'X' as misbehaving. So they keep apart from discussing it with its members.

Later, the girl has noticed that her lover has begun to avoid her and never speaks about prospect of marriage. Then the news has gone that he is getting married to a paternal relative. The girl has not been convinced of the truth of the news until the invitation for the wedding has come to her family. The reasons he has given her for this attitude has been based on what he calls differences between their families. That her family is modernized while his family is not. He has
never confessed to her that his family insisting that he marries from their tribe, as a minimum condition of accepting him, if not from the same family.

The neighbours' general attitude is one of criticism, ostracism but not of direct insults. The women have been against the relationship from the start. They have blamed the girl much more than the shopkeeper because a "girl who runs after a man brings shame to her family... A man never carries a girl who plays with him". The sanction put against the girl and her family has been to forbid other girls from going with her. The family has been evaluated as a loose family with no authority over their children. Nevertheless, neighbours have not stopped mutual exchange of food and frequent visits with them.

The indirect and informal sanctions are more effective than the direct formal ones. This is so because with the indirect sanctions the accused would not normally have an opportunity to defend "himself" and so would be more subjected to criticism. The neighbours have started to make-up stories about how the girl has been meeting the shopkeeper in dark places, inside his car, etc. "We must have had sexual
intercourse with her etc.... Such tales normally harm the girl's reputation and the honour of her family. This confirms the thesis that the Libyan concept of marriage as directly depended on the virginity of the girl.\(^{(1)}\) Consequently, the neighbours have banned marriage from that family.

Men have not been directly involved in the case. They have come to know about it through their wives. Accordingly, they have developed a careful attitude towards establishing close contact with that family because "they would spill our children".

Neighbours, originally from tribal areas, have considered the case as a typical Tripolitanian phenomenon. That girls from Tripoli are loose and corrupt. Their influence, as such, have been effective in the diffusion of the gossip. They say "we would have killed her if she has been from our tribe". On the other hand, the Tripolitanians attitude towards the case have been rather passive though they have participated in the gossip. Sometimes they condemn the shoekeeper's behaviour more than the girl's because "he has not fulfilled his promises... he is uncultured because he originally comes from the rural areas". In other times, they condemn the new generation for emancipation and corruption.

\(^{(1)}\) For detailed analysis of this conception see Chapter IV and V.
Young girls and boys have not been against the relationship. In contrast boys do not trust a girl she "goes with men". The shopkeeper has been accused as a "play boy" by some of his friends. He has been saying to his friend "how can I marry a girl who runs after me. She may do it after marriage too with someone else".

My own interpretations to the negative sanction developed by the neighbours are as follows:

Firstly; the transitional stage of incorporation has put the family 'X' in a state of undefined identification with the community. This has made the family more susceptible to criticism.

Secondly; the sex segregation principle emphasized by the society makes the expected role of an unmarried girl to be of a conservative attitude towards men. A girl who has a case history of a secret relationship with a man is incompatible for a marriage suitor. The sanction practised upon her is to ban marrying her from the neighbourhood. (1)

Thirdly; ethnicity plays an important role in exposing the conflict between urban and rural affiliation. The social

(2) Sometimes distant neighbours come to know such cases and they also boycott them.
predictable. They do not talk about neighbours and rather avoid to do so. They seem to be more connected in relations internally to withstand the external pressure of criticism and back-biting. The members insist on confirming their honour and lack of shame. They attempt to suppress all intra-family tensions and conflict in order to suppress neighbour's gossip. This has produced extra tension and there seems to be more fragmentation behind this disguise.

To the neighbours, the attitude is one of exclusion. The members of the family are excluded from informal social contacts and are neither participants but always a subject of the gossip and back-biting of the community. The neighbours describe the *sungam* job as similar to begging. The coincidence is that usually after every session of singing, the *sungam* goes around with her *jūp* (drum) to be offered money. This is considered an act of shame although she is actually being paid for entertaining people. Neighbours do not marry from that family because "the daughter has had a love affair with her present husband before marriage... these adopted children are not her brother's but actually illegal children".
This gossip on personal behaviour is effective in
binding the neighbourhood community with its links and
divisions. The exclusion of the women from informal
relations does not mean that the family is wholly discounted.
In bad times of crisis, neighbours unite as people of one
home. In times when they need the women's assistance,
they arrange it with her and priority is given to neighbours.
A special price is lower for neighbours. The sense of mutual
experiences in good and bad times, unite them as neighbours
of the Old Town.

In short, the act of shame or honour becomes a rigid
conception. It remains for new comers as well as old resi-
dents. The stigma brought about by the occupation of the
women has affected the overall set of relations with her
family. The mere reference to the family by a woman's
occupation is in itself degrading in such a society. The
type of relationship between neighbours in both settings provide
evidence to the correlation between intra/family relation-
tions. The inter-family contact is evident in the neighbourhood
relations observed round the focal families. The initial contact
is maintained through the conception/family rather than the
evaluation of personal behaviour has been based on differential ethnic origin. The superiority of harbour over tribesmen in terms of modernization, loses ground when tribesmen criticize the behaviour of harbour. Gossip, practised in the cliques established by ethnic origin, develops a system of social control. Accusations and counter defence create stability in the social system. These accusations and gossip are the means for accomplishing full incorporation. Neighbours enter into effective relations through the exchange of visits, gossip and participation in the evaluation of social behaviour.

Finally, these interpretations put emphasis on the aspect of social change. The sanction enforced by the society is a resultant effect of the generational conflict. This conflict arises when new generations behave in accordance with the changing norms. The issue of love in Libya is a modern conception not accepted by older generations. The change is going on, boys and girls have emotional relations but not sexual. They rest outside the neighbourhood and some of them organize parties of western type. In fact families do not object to westernization in terms of outer appearance, organization of home life and even in appreciation of women. Yet, protecting the virginity or pillar
economic ability to perform such extra functions which
distinguishes them from the Old Town.

At this stage members of a new family establish different
relations. Women exchange visits with the wife. She starts
receiving them for a meal in her house. This means prepa-
ations for service and sparing time for guests. She also
offers her services in family crisis without being requested.
She frequently exchanges food with neighbours. She takes loans
from them and may not return them soon. This is so because
there is no shame or embarrassment as in the case in the
previous stages of incorporation. She establishes strong
relations in the gossip groupings. Her position in affecting
public opinion is also established. A joking relationship with
women neighbours becomes fully maintained. She joins some secret
groupings which have shared beliefs in rituals. This is found
among middle-aged and old women in both areas. These rituals
include fortune-telling. A woman goes to fortune tellers
in a group to see their fortune. Men, too, have similar group-
ings especially old and uneducated. They go to a mizbaah or
spiritual functionary, in case of disease, sorcery, etc...

(1) Mabbaah is forbidden by government.
Certain magical rites are performed secretly and define the effective relations between those who practice it. Of these are tactful and turgid described in Chapter V. These also define the position of women in the neighboring community and in the society as a whole. (1)

The type of informal multiplex relations in the Old Town make it possible for people to be closely connected. The physical closeness of houses also makes the contact more easy and frequent. The joking relationship in men labor is not as easily established as in the Old Town. This is due to the existence of certain stratification in terms of relations. Wealthier people expect more respect from less wealthy people and lesser joking relations than the less wealthy people.

Men in both areas incorporate themselves through the exchange of frequent visits and membership in the local social clubs. The emergence of certain tribal cliques is another marked feature of this stage. In the previous two stages, ethnicity has not been strongly recognized because the new comer has not yet been fully introduced to a specific ethnic group. At the stage of full incorporation, families join

(1) For elaborate details see Chapter V.
associations and groupings whose membership depends on ethnic background. They form close-knit connectedness of network. The adherence to the traditions of the ethnic group is provided by effective relations between its members. The emergence of such groups does not surpass the effectiveness of other relations. This is similar to For's analysis of relations in the urban social system.\(^{(1)}\) He argues that to assess the range of opportunities open to an individual in a given social setting an important step is when in certain situations association is with tribal groups and in others not. In Sen Sokhor there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of specific ethnic groups and association with ethnic groups is stronger than in the Old Town.\(^{(2)}\)

Children, establish playing groups through which they select close mates. The relationship between close mates affects relations between other members of families. The young play mates tend, through time, to be affiliated towards neighborhood then towards similar ethnic groups. This does not contradict with the above thesis since the ethnic groupings are

---

\(^{(1)}\) For, 1969.

\(^{(2)}\) 45% of the businessmen in Sen Sokhor come from Phnom Penh.
also part of a whole structure of a neighbourhood. The overall unity of the neighbourhood is enhanced and maintained by such grouping membership. **Awáw élégrá** (sons of the lane) replaces **Awáw élégbájáá** (sons of our tribe). Incorporation of children is fully accomplished through playing teams and games of competition. Occasional fights and quarrels are also features of full incorporation. Fights of children involve their families and this establishes effective relations. If there has not been close contact, fights would not have occurred. The avoidance and careful contact in the previous stages develops to a strong contact and an informal participation in disputes.

Generally, disputes, gossip, boycotting and excessive reciprocity are all indications of full incorporation. They are means of defining the different role positions of a person in the community. The network of relations will be structured in terms of closeness of contact. Wives, friends, enemies, close and distant neighbours are fit into their position in the hierarchy of contact. At this stage, the type of gossip changes in nature; it is no longer confined to the general.

(1) Excessive reciprocity is what has been offered of gifts, services, etc., in excess to what has been received by the partner in a reciprocal relationship.
backing which involve a larger number of participants than
the private gossip groupings. A fully incorporated neighbour
will have a private grouping with a limited number of members
with whom he shares personal affairs and special gossip.

The exchange of gifts and services in an excessive
reciprocity pattern goes as follows: In the transitional
stage, the neighbours exchange equivalent amounts of gifts,
services. This has been explained by the anomalous state of
incorporating the new neighbours. At the full incorporation
stage, one is already accepted as a potential member of an
effective relationship. The expectation of future continuous
mutual relations allows for the excessive reciprocity. A gift
in a certain occasion is returned by a more expensive one.
The distribution of gifts, food in marriage ceremonies is an
illustration. This is referred to later in the discussion of
marriage transactions. This means prolonging the relationship
of exchange. This might look like a materialistic assumption
of social relations, but this is not the case. Actually it
is the role played by the social system to keep functioning.
The joking relationship starting in the previous stage
is fully established at this stage. Informal associations are
established by group norms. The influence of these groupings is tremendous on public opinion and personal behavior. Sometimes these groupings impose sanctions on those who do not conform with the expected normative roles. Publicly announced sanctions like ostracism, insults, and physical injuries are developed forms of punishment. The following cases verify the above thesis.

The Case of the Thugian Wife

This incident has taken place in the neighborhood of the Old Town. The specific setting in which this case has been discussed has been attended by the following:

a: The main hostess (the wife of the head of the household) about fifty years old, illiterate and a full-time housewife.
b: Three daughters of the hostess, less than twenty years, all intermediate school graduates, unmarried, two of them work as clerks.
c: The grandmother, about seventy years old, blind and teetotal.
d: Some relatives of the family e.g. the hostess's brother's wife, a first cousin, both coming for a visit. They live outside the Old Town, both elementary school graduates, above thirty years old.
Some neighbours from the near-by houses, all married and accompanied by children playing outside the room.

Welcoming guests is by kissing, the number of kisses varies with closeness of relations. When meeting someone for the first time it is similar to kissing a mother. Shaking hands only is the approved custom. Close neighbours and relatives who have not met for sometime kiss 2-12 times. Those who meet daily do not kiss but exchange greetings and enter informally as members of the family.

The Tunisian woman, attending the wādī, is about thirty years old and looks like a Libyan more than a Tunisian. She has been very eager to be interviewed by me. Other women have been reluctant to talk about their family affairs in my presence. She is married to a Libyan businessman (33 years old). She has been a central figure in the wādī's gossip and has established a friendly attitude towards other women although she is a bāubahā. She has lived in the Old Town since twelve years back.

She speaks about her husband and her family affairs in an open manner and praises him as a faithful husband. She also

(1) A friend is kissed 8 times, a closer friend or relative up to 12 kisses, Qadi women kiss on hand and touch the front. During the process of kissing, they speak out blessings and ask about one's family.

(2) bāubahā is the feminine of bāubahā.
complains of his frequent absence from the house because he devotes most of his time to his work. Again she confirms that he cannot eat without her, he helps in the housework and he never objects to the way she dresses. In that mejilā, she has been telling the women about the incident of breaking her arm. The reason for that has been her huraj from her husband, which has mounted up to refusing to sleep with him. Her husband has broken her arm for that reason and she has been badly injured. The neighbours have heard her shouts but no one has intervened.

In spite of the dispute, the husband has offered his help in the housework and the whole issue has ended by restoration of good relations. The other women have heard this story before. Their comments have been such as "He treats her like this because she is a huraj, she does not have any place to go to when she is hungry so she stays with him." "She loves him and that is why he treats her but he loves her, he will never marry another woman."

This incident has been discovered several times in different mejilā and it has been a general issue of gossip among women.

It has been discussed in the presence of the mukhtāri women and

(1) Huraj See detailed analysis in Chapter II.
in a joking manner. No one has spoken badly about the
Tellian woman in her absence and most of them have supported
her. They say "he will never divorce her because she is a
good housewife and cooks very well". In fact the women in
the Old Town have a custom of boycotting when a member of a
woman grouping gossips about another in the latter’s absence.
The former has to apologize to restore friendly relations. On
the other hand, there is an inter-group gossip where different
groupings gossip about each other. It is the role of these
groupings to keep themselves closely connected that the gossip
is directed against other groupings while actually it stems from
inside the individual grouping. So the structure of these
groupings keeps its uniformity.

The reaction of the women towards the case has been
consistent. They have advised her to report to the paraj so
that she can set her unfilled demands. The consultation
and advice offered by these groupings have a direct effect on
the control of personal behaviour. A head of family is in a
critical position when the neighbour’s opinion is against his
canvass at home. The attempt to get the consent of public
opinion creates a sort of restoration and re-examination of
behaviour inside the nuclear family. Again the demands of a wife are easier to fulfill when the dispute is still indoor. But when a nuclear is practiced after a collective decision of the groundings, the situation becomes complicated because of the social pressure which is strong enough to defeat the husband. Thus, a head of family will try to avoid creating family problems which will be publicly known.

The above case is an incident of a fully incorporated family. The gossip, joking, and boycotting are all means of social control in both intra/inter-familial relations. The conception of a kurnak loses its stigma in such a context and personal affairs become more or less societal. The men of the neighbourhood, in the above case, have become the anga (small state) of the injured wife. Men of the neighbourhood, at this stage, also become the muklaen (followers) of the head of a family and intrude when problems are publicly discussed. The men and women of the neighbourhood become like a family. They cooperate in one's crisis, provide aid and protection. Later, the title of the neighbourhood identifies the family.

(1) Mukaen is the plural of mukl which is derived from the word mukl i.e. guardian.
Civilized, non-civilized or modernized are not issues of conflict as to where they could be attributed in the Old Town. The relatively low-economic position and the lack of modern facilities in the Old Town, have stimulated an alternative conception i.e. true Arabism. "Marajyjman" (literally true) is the title for this. A fully incorporated in-bound or the neighborhood is a vehicle to full identification with it. This is accomplished by the equilibrium of both inter and intra-familial relations.

The Case of the Yusuf Family

This case has taken place in Ben Ashour. In the avenue, there are four famous families, closely attached to each other but also have disputes between them. These disputes have been publicly known. Family '1' comes originally from the Old Town and has settled in Ben Ashour for the last six years. Family '2' came from M报纸, an eastern province, but has lived most of the time in Tripoli. Family '3' came from Western, a southern village in Fezzan province of the south. This province is mainly inhabited by black Libyans who have originated from Chad, Sudan, and Nigeria. So they constitute a non-Arab origin. They are considered by other Arabs and Berbers as a lower ethnic group.
Family '4' comes originally from the Old Town and resides in the avenue 'al-Loose.' (1)

The four families have much more effective relations with each other... than with the rest of the neighbours although they are not next-door to each other. The type of relationship they have established conforms with what Scott calls intimate relatives. (2)

The incident has started when a daughter from family '3' has got married. This family, relatively speaking, is one of the highly educated and modernised families. The daughter getting married, has prepared to celebrate the wedding outside Libya. Most of the neighbours, kin and friends have brought gifts for her before she has left. On the day of her departure family '4' has brought a gift to the bride who has been in a hurry to the airport. She has been accompanied by her family. Later, the gift has been found to be a torn sleeping gear and the bride has been embarrassed in front of her groom. It has been an insult to a new member of the family. For old residents, such disputes are normal because they are part of the process of full incorporation.

(1) A typical Libyan phrase for loose is ٍـلاـهـثـاـب (literally not good).
(2) E. Scott. 1971, A190-21.
Family '3' has sent back the gift to family '4' with a piece of paper saying "we do not wear second-hand clothes". They have shown the torn gown to all neighbours to prove how they have been insulted. The neighbours have recognised the insult to the ethnic background of family '3'. The latter has told family '4' that everyone in the neighbourhood has known about the gown and has confirmed its being used. Later, family '4' has sent back an old gift which had been previously brought by family '3' on the wedding of the family's oldest daughter. It was an earring of gold. The note attached to it says "we are not kids to wear small earrings". A girl from family '4' have passed to all neighbours telling them "we do not want any gifts from any one and we are going to celebrate our next sister's wedding outside the house and will not invite anyone...". She cursed them all. Some neighbours from family '2' have become upset in being involved in the case and all have decided to break off relations with family '4'. The woman of

(1) They are called BANJ which indicates dark colour, Another Libyan word which signifies stratification is SNAHED (imported) which is called for non-white foreigners including Arab originated. GIGGNER is another meaningless word used by Arabs for the Nagroa and for those who speak foreign languages. A similar word in the Sudan is RAHTA.
family '2' have told me that they have nothing to do with the case. Actually, they said that family '3' has shown them the gown as being bought from a passing-by seller and that they have suspected it to be second hand. Family '2' confirmed that the gown looked as if it may have been used because part of the decoration has been torn. Later, they have come to know that it was a gift from family '4'. Family '3' has decided to return the gift but family '2' has advised them not to do so. Instead, they could rather wait until a daughter from family '4' gets married so they can revenge for the offence. The same gift could then be sent at that occasion. Another family '4' has complicated the matter by confirming that they have seen the same gown worn by the daughter of family '4'. That has been sure because originally the gown has been a gift brought to that daughter of family '4' on her wedding by another neighbour.

After breaking relations with family '4', the other neighbours have started disliking family '2'. They have been speaking about family '2' as loose and corrupt because there is no male head in the family. The father has left the house many years
the family 'A'. He has died in a car accident. Neighbours have started to resume relations but with caution. So neighbourhood relations are restored when there are family crises. Effective relations have been minimized but not completely abandoned.

The above case explains two principles in the social structure of Ben Ashour community. The first one is based on ethnic differentiation, the other refers to the effect of gossip or neighbourhood relations. The competitive attitude of relations in Ben Ashour has brought to the surface disputes based on ethnic differences. Family 'B' members, highly educated has been degraded by the attitude of family 'A' who consider themselves (1) 1/4mgha should be used for black Libyan who have been brought during slave trade period. The status of a 1/4mgha is low related to the rest of society as a whole. A 1/4mgha works a low inferior job with low payment.
of a higher ethnic origin. But the cleavages based on ethnic origin are superseded by the boycotting of other neighbours. So, although it is socially recognized by neighbours that the same is one of ethnic differentiation, yet it is also socially unapproved.

On the other hand, the process of gossip-making, and the effect of public opinion resolves disputes without hostility. This is so because participation in gossip is an indication of effective neighbourhood relations. Non-participants in neighbouring disputes resemble the status of outsiders in Puneradivalth as described by Frankenberg. (1) This agrees with Blackman's (2) suggestion that "the closer the bond of relationships, the more intimate or even esoteric the gossip and the more trite or meaningless it will appear to outsiders".

Unlike the Old Town, the personal affairs of families in Ban Ashoor are not discussed so openly. It is through backbiting and gossip that private affairs are known. So the effect of gossip is stronger in Ban Ashoor. This could be explained by

(2) M. Blackman, 1955.
(1) middle class principles of small networks as related to economic status. In fact the friendly gossip groupings are smaller in San Ashur than the Old Town but their influence on public opinion is stronger.

Disputes are means of restoration of relations to a better situation. In San Ashur, the other neighbours participation in disputes emphasizes incorporation. Outsiders, new comers are not expected to create disputes until they were to know the people. The participation in dispute making and in solving it is a point in the polar position of the held or hint held. So, when a neighbour reach this stage of incorporation, he is recognized as a full member of the neighbourhood. Disputes identity one with neighborhood unity. It is similar to the identification with the family. The same principle is extended over to neighbourhood.

Finally, the intra-familial relations of cooperation, of affection and of division of labour is reflected in the inter-familial relations too. The authority of the head of the family is transferred to a group authority of families. These

will form basis of public opinion which will be effective on the behaviour and interaction of families. The principle of family system continues as a persisting feature of relations. Individual behaviour is attributed to the whole family. Yet, a changing situation is when interaction is based on relations between some individuals of families and not all members. This is found among young members who interact without the involvement of other members. The incorporation into a neighbourhood community resembles identification to one's family and it is the equilibrium between inter/intra-familial relations which gives an isomorphic pattern of interaction. The effect of this on family affairs is best illustrated by a study case of marriage which will be dealt with in the next chapter.
mate selection.

By mate selection, I mean how people choose spouses whether because a man or a woman. The stress put on the choice of a husband is of much more significance than that put on the choice of a wife especially in most of the middle eastern societies. This I believe is not related to Islamic norms as much as to the dominance of men over women in those areas. That because of this fact, usually the wife's family put conditions on who is to marry their daughter. This reflects the social status of a girl and her family.

The first stage of mate-selection put the groom in a stronger position since he is the one looking for a girl.
A man marrying another wife should take the consent of his first wife (wife).

A Muslim woman is forbidden by religion to marry more than one man simultaneously to avoid overlapping the descent of children. Polygamy is a harm by Islam. A Muslim woman may not marry other than a Muslim man i.e. she cannot marry a Christian, Jew, etc. She cannot marry her father, grandfather, son, grandson, brother, parent's sibling or siblings; child, her present husband's father, grandfather, son, grandson, brother, her parent's brother or siblings' brother, a man related to her in any of these degrees through fosterage, a widow or divorced husband of her mother, grandmother, daughter or granddaughter.

She has a legal guardian to give her away in marriage, male, normally her father or in the event of his being dead, her closest adult agnate. A wali (agent) could be delegated for signing up the marriage contract if the wali is unable to attend. It is a duty of the wali to arrange for a suitable marriage for his ward when she reaches puberty. If she has no living wali, or if he puts barriers in the way of finding her a mate, she has the right to spread to a qadi (judge) who

traditional values and extent of faith in religion.

It is recognized by custom and tradition that amongst most Islamic Arab communities, there is a preference for

(1) The Prophet says "The lkhurb (previously married) is not married before she agrees and the virgin before her consent." The consent of the virgin is her silence. See H. Elbasri, op. cit., p. 71.

father's brother's daughter. The idea that this phenomenon has emerged from Islamic rules is not comprehensive. In fact, this preference of relatives' marriages has existed amongst Arabs before Islam. They were proud of descent. They used to divide(1) descent according to high born, low born and mixed born. The latter two refer to exogamous marriage.

After Islam, these stratification principles have been condemned and miscegenation has been ideally recommended by adherence to religious ethics more than descent or kinship ties.

Other sociological theories(2) have approached patrilocal endogamy in an attempt to find an answer to why such a pattern predominated in Middle Eastern communities. A brief summary of the different approaches is that they have been statistical, functional or cultural. The first approach establishes the custom as a significant fact e.g. Rosenfeld(3) in his study of an Arab village in Israel. The functional approach explains this type of marriage either as a means of preserving property or of increasing political power.

(1) See the International Islamic Conference Proceedings in Rabat, 1971.
(2) See my analysis of F&D marriage in Chapter II.
(3) N. Rosenfeld, 1957, p. 43-4.
e.g. Granqvist's study on a Palestinian village and Petersen's in his study of the beduin of Cyromaica. The cultural approach explains father's brother's daughter marriage in terms of family honour and modesty.

From my part, I think that these approaches have been confined to certain rural and tribal communities. This cannot be wholly applicable to the urban context since the latter is affected by urbanization and industrialization to the extent of diversification. Wirth's definition of a city validates this. He says “a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals.” This means that kinship ties are not as intensive as in the rural and tribal areas. Aldeos's study of African cities concluded that kinsmen constituted only a small number of those with whom the African urbanite daily interact. In Tripoli, and certainly some other Arab communities, the relationships with kinsmen is more diffused than they are in the rural areas. Migrants of the Old Town do not interact with each other, as members

(1) H. Granqvist, 1961.
(2) E.L. Petersen, 1965.
(3) A. Abu Said, 1965.
(5) This, p.363.
of an extended family as in the rural area even when they come from the same locality, i.e. the type of closely connected relations in the rural areas, are changed to loosely connected ones. This does not eliminate the role played by kinship relations. In terms of mate selection people are not obliged to make the type of PBD matches. Due to the emancipation of women in town, more chances are provided for selecting mates. The selection, as confined to those getting married becomes more experienced in town. Qualifications for mates are different in town from those of the rural areas. The society accepts marriages contracted on the basis of mutual affection and love which is still an issue of conservatism\(^{(1)}\) in the rural context. In town, arrangements of selection are still through intermediary role of the two families but not necessarily kin group. So the type of parental cousins marriages is preferred but is not necessarily initiated by religious rules. It falls within the religious context in that it is not forbidden by Islam but is not enforced by it.

Also it is recognized by society that other qualifications are necessary for selecting mates. These are not

\(^{(1)}\) J. Hizal, 1967, p. 82.
the urban context, e.g. rich families actually chose mates for their daughters who are educated but not necessarily wealthy. The reverse is also true where poorer families with educated sons or daughters prefer to marry from wealthy families. I have come across some cases of educated girls married to wealthy husbands but not necessarily of the same education level. This resultant network of relations does not overlap with the idea of preservation of wealth through endogamy of families so that wealth is not dispersed. In fact, most of the above mentioned qualifications depend on the role played by mediators or intermediaries. This is especially so in the urban context where relations are not as close as in the rural or tribal context where almost everyone knows the other. A simple reasoning is the uneasy accessibility in town whether that being physical or non-effective.

Intermediaries for selection are either relatives, neighbors or friends. The role played by women as intermediaries is a special one. The matrilineal groupings of women discuss such issues like suitable suitors. A mother could be encouraged or discouraged to proceed in a marriage match.
of a daughter or a son by the marrying members. The inter-
familial relations, mentioned previously, backs the argument
that neighbours' effective relations are part of intra-familial
structure. (See the case of the torn gown, the case of the
neighbouring lovers in Chapter III). Neighbours could be
intermediaries between the marrying families. They can advise
for the conclusion of the marriage contract or the reception.
Traditionally, the mother of the groom or woman relatives
would make different excuses to enter a specific house to see
their daughter(s). Old men were the only allowed males
who would move around into houses. This was so because it
was a shame for unmarried girls and young women to visit
(burden about). Old female relatives used to be recommended
by the groom to look a wife for him. Bint albalá (literally
a girl legal by religion) is searched for by these women inter-
mediaries. Popular qualifications for bint albalá are good
manners, family reputation, beauty and a good house wife. The
ideal situation is pronounced in their colloquial Arabic as
mab jedab (1) (literally veil), maraqabah (2) (desired), bint balá

(1) mab jedab comes from hijab which is the traditional veil
of a costume. It cover the whole face with the exception
of one eye. It means protected and reserved.
(2) maraqabah comes from maqab hat which means desire.
Karatunah denotes physical qualifications. A desired wife in the good looking and one who attracts the other sex. This agrees with a forehead liking before the marriage is concluded. The modern equivalent of this is loving, sexy and desired.

Bint malek is a generalized terminology for certain qualifications. It applies to men too. For women it could be substituted for a "sister". It signifies good descent, generosity, and the desire to help others. A good neighbour, a friend in crisis are all qualifications for a Bint malek.

Yulbah denotes brightness and intelligence. That she cannot be cheated. Yulbah signifies quick thinking and behaving according to the situation.

Yasstah is also a characteristic of non-idle. An active woman is desired. By active is not meant only physical ability to work but also active thinking. It involves sense of humor, cleverness and quick responses.

Turfah b'iladif emphasizes hospitality and generosity. It also reflect perfect housekeeping undisturbed by the

(1) See Chapter III.
arrival of guests. To be pleased when one has guests, is a traditional Arabian custom. In rural and tribal areas, in most of the Arab communities, they boast of this. A related qualification to this is that of cooking, tayyib (a Libyan word for cooking) is another criterion for perfect housekeeping and the knowhow of taste.

Religiously speaking, qualifications necessary for choosing a husband are his adherence to religious ethics, his respect to marital life. From the stand point of the Libyan society, men are dominant, this explains the stress put on the conditions of the marriage as much more than the qualifications demanded. It is a planned security for the wife; that conditions are usually laid by the bride's family, but Ibn hariri (son of a country), is the ideal qualification for a suitor. As I have previously mentioned, the selection on basis of education, personality, wealth and appearance is surpassing that of religious. Personality, wealth is now reckoned as essential for selection because it is a break though from lower strata to higher ones. The process of selection continues as follows: traditionally the excuses for entering houses by intermediaries were such as renting
a house, wishing to buy eggs or to sew clothes, etc. Now, it is known to the families as to what are the objectives of the visit and so both parties behave accordingly. I have learnt that there had been a great deal of conflict by those visits. Some families, with many daughters, who wished to marry the elder daughter, had shown the younger one, who had been more beautiful, to the visiting woman. Later, after the drawing of contract, the elder one was replaced for the wedding. This is not practiced now but there are some families who still postpone the marriage of the younger daughter when the older is not yet married. Again, the intermediaries or mediators, are not to be trusted fully. Some of them might wish that the suitor be for their own daughters or relatives. They can give a false information about the girl(s) in question so that the suitor would change his mind.

When the groom changes his mind about the proposal, problems come to existence. The dispute is acute and complicated when the marriage contract has been drawn but not the physical consummation. The dispute takes the shape of returning bridewealth, exchanged gifts, etc. The position
of the girl at this stage, is critical because she is counted as married without actually being so.

Another situation of conflict occurs when the engagement period is prolonged without convincing reasons. One or both families would resort to spiritual and superstitious mechanisms to hasten the process of concluding the marriage contract and ceremonies. The dispute comes to the climax when it becomes uncertain who has performed sorcery on whom and what type of sorcery.

As to the actual practice, it is found, from the statistics of the survey, and Table No. 13, that in the Old Town 62% of the marriages have been arranged by relatives, 26% selected by the help of friends and 8% by the married couple only. So the role played by intermediaries is strong enough to make the selection a direct function of the relations between families. In Ben Aghcor, there is not much difference except for a higher percentage of selection by "mates only" (36%). The active role played by families is still recognized. Although this role has a high percentage ranging from 46-62% in both townships, yet this does not mean that all marriage matches are between kin. By mere
observation, there is a sort of inter-tribal marriages especially between recent migrants to Tripoli. This type of marriage is encouraged by migration. Migrants think that inter-tribal marriage is more secure for successful matches in town.\(^1\) than marrying "strangers".

Table No. 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Selected by relative</th>
<th>Selected by friend</th>
<th>Selected by Couple</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Responded</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>31 (62%)</td>
<td>8 (16%)</td>
<td>11 (22%)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Ashour</td>
<td>24 (48%)</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
<td>10 (36%)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of mating between mates before marriage is being examined with respect to religious roles too. In Islam, mates can see each other before marriage. The Prophet has asked one of his followers who had engaged a girl by saying "have you seen her?". The man replied "no". The Prophet then said "see her, it is better that you both agree".

\(^1\) I have no statistical data concerning these inter-tribal marriages.
and like. But this meeting should be in the presence of an adult since "when a man and a woman meet alone, the devil is the third" is a famous saying of the Prophet.

Irrespective to educational differences of spouses, it is found that 56% in the Old Town have had the opportunity to meet first before engagement or selection, 42% have not met at that stage. During the period of engagement and before concluding the marriage contract, it is found that 54% have actually met and 46% have not. In Ben Ashoor, there is relatively the same percentage. 66% had actually met during the engagement period, 34% had not (See table No.11).

As to how they have managed to meet before the marriage, it has been found that the presence of family, friends over rules that of meeting alone. Out of the 54% who have met during the period of engagement, 36% have met in the presence of their families, 6% have met in the presence of friends and 12% have met alone. In Ben Ashoor out of the 66% who have met during engagement period, 36% have met in the presence of families, 10% in the presence of friends and 26% alone.

(2) M.I.W. El Sawãi, Vol.6, p.186.
Table No. 1A

Pattern of Relationship during Male Selection Period in the Old Town and Ben Asheer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Met before</td>
<td>Engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Town</td>
<td>Yes: 26</td>
<td>Yes: 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No: 21</td>
<td>No: 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Asheer</td>
<td>Yes: 35</td>
<td>Yes: 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No: 11</td>
<td>No: 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(22) Discrepancy in the total of 50 is due to the "no-response" attitude of informants.

+ This is total of those who met during engagement under "Time" classification.
The above data means that until the final stage of mate-selection, the family has a strong influence in the pattern of how unmarried couples meet. The higher percentage in the case of meeting alone, in Ban Amucor, is the effect of modernization, education and enlightenment. Yet, I think this is a high rate in comparison to the general pattern.

Most household heads are against the idea of meeting alone because "for fear of gossip" they say: "What happens if the marriage is not consumated, the honour of the family is lost", or "a girl who goes with men before marriage will go with them after marriage", etc.

In actual fact, the emphasis put on preserving the virginity of the girl surpasses the need of the marrying couple to be acquainted before marriage. Divorce does not harm the honour of the family as does the loss of virginity. This explains the conservative attitude towards meeting of the engaged couple even if the marriage contract is concluded.

The public announcement of the marriage, the attendance of the physical consummation are part and parcel of the concept of the family's honour. A married woman, by conclusion of the contract only, is condemned by society if she gets
even more strict in tribal endogamy. Even those who are
educated and live in towns, also conform to the rules of
of endogamy. Their girls do not marry Arabs or any other
ethnic group however chances they may lose. Berber men
have recently started to marry from outside their tribal
groups but they are normally considered abnormal to the
customs of the ethnic group. Peuhl girls do not marry
Arabs while the reverse is in practice. Their men have
started to select from other groups. The Arabs obtain a
higher status from the historical point of view. They are
a majority as well, yet they are not flexible nowadays
in the process of mate-selection. This flexibility is
doubted by other group as a unconservative attitude which
is not respected by these groups.

An outcome of the above situations of endogamy and
influence of the family, is the resentment known as hurgab
(literally elopement). This type of selection occurs when
the concerned couple have mutual affection and love, which
is not recognized by their parents or families. The couple
will run away through the help of a friend or alone and
submit themselves to the police. Escapers will be under the
An agreement is reached between the two as to how the
ahdaaw (conditions) are drawn. Both families state their
conditions. A biraad (literally signal) or engagement
announcement follows in which gifts are offered by the
groom to his future wife. Traditionally until after the
biraad day the groom was not allowed to meet his bride. Now,
he can enter into the women’s quarters and exchange wearing
the engagement rings. The type of gifts brought in the
biraad reflects the status of the family. The extravagant
character of exchanged gifts and ceremonies is a status
symbol. In the Old Town, 54% have had a biraad for engage-
ment, in Ben Ashoor 42% have had the same. This explains
the difference between the two townships as being of
differentiation on economic basis. Again, the love of show
and fashion is emphasized more in Ben Ashoor because of the
ability to possess. In fact, traditionally, the biraad was
composed of gifts which are only symbolic to the union of
the two spouses and not as extravagant as nowadays.

The relationship between Islamic rules and social
practices in the process of media-selection is illustrated
by these concluding tables.
Table No. 35.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Qualifications</th>
<th>Social Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Good Muslim</td>
<td>Good Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-prohibited Beauty</td>
<td>Beauty, wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Non-skin, descent</td>
<td>Wealth, age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Useful wife</td>
<td>Reputation of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Good business</td>
<td>Status of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Good business</td>
<td>Same ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A non-Prohibited</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A non-Prohibited</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Same ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100. Good business-wives</td>
<td>Good business-wives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) See my classification in the foot note, page 101.
### Table No. 16.

**Process of Mate Selection: Means Of Selection.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious means</th>
<th>Societal means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Use of mediators: e.g. friends, relatives etc...</strong></td>
<td><strong>Use of intermediaries.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Necessity to see each other before marriage.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sometimes selection is not necessarily by seeing each other. Private arrangement of suitors.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consent of virgin is simple, silence, or through it is vocal permission.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Marriage or selection by arrangement condemned by society but practically and legally approved.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A suitor as a guardian and a matron as an agent.</td>
<td><strong>The use of superstitious methods of surgery.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table No. 17.

**Progress of Mate-Selection: Procedure.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Procedure</th>
<th>Societal Procedure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approach wall of a virgin or <em>khvir</em> for consent.</td>
<td>Approaching the girl by women examining her through informal visits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approaching a family directly is also legitimate.</td>
<td>Approaching men of the girl's family for agreement on conditions of marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should actually have seen each other and have accepted. Presenting a gift from the groom to the bride is not a necessity but also desirable.</td>
<td>Presenting a <em>himmeh</em> ceremony of gifts, for the bride.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bridewealth:

In this section, I will first give an account of how bridewealth is treated in Islam. Later, I will analyse the Libyan conception of sharra (1) (literally, conditions) as from the Islamic point of view. Empirical evidence from both areas has facilitated grounds for comparison:

Yet the (2) Qur'ān "the women" says: "and give the women (at marriage) their dowry as a free gift; but if they, of their own good pleasure remit any part of it to you, take it and enjoy it with right good cheer."

From the above-quoted verse of the Qur'ān, the bridewealth provided by the groom to the bride is treated as a gift rather than a price. That the gift could be remitted to the groom through the consent of the bride is sufficient for such a gift. It is called madqah. Is to how a stil is presented, is dependent on the consent of the bride.

The groom has to provide either the whole bridewealth or part

(1) Sharra is typical a Libyan expression for the preconditions of the economic benefits between the two concerned families of the marriage. Concluding the marriage contract is dependent upon the agreement on the issue of sharra, singular isشار.


(3) The Prophet says, "The best marriage is the least burdened", See N. Elshukārī, Vol.6, p.188.

(4) Goody has defined dowry as a "pre-marital inheritance to the bride" while bridewealth "is a transaction between the kin of the groom and the kin of the bride". See J. Goody & J. H. Turnbull, 1973, p.3.
or all or none of it before the consummation of the marriage. The wife has the right to refuse physical consummation of the wedding before she receives her bridewealth. The part of the bridewealth which is not paid as a formal payment before the marriage, could be postponed until after the marriage. It can be written as a postponed payment in case of death of husband or divorce of the wife or in any other situation which is stated in the marriage contract. The marriage contract (qadi) is a religious, as well as a social recognition of the marriage. The bridewealth is legalized by being written in front of witnesses. Extravagancy in bridewealth is condemned and considered by orthodox Muslims as a pre-Islamic (ignorance period). After Islam, extravagance has been highly condemned. The legality of the marriage has been conditioned by only a nominal payment whether in cash or in property, by the consent of the couple, by public announcement and agreement in terms of payment of bridewealth.

The terminological distinction between bridewealth and dowry stated by Good's (1) definition is not existent in Islamic

(1) Good has defined dowry as a 'pre-marriage inheritance to the bride' while bridewealth 'is a transaction between the kin of the groom and the kin of the bride'. See C. Good & E. S. Toubih, 1973, p.1.
rules. On the theoretical basis of Islamic rules, there is no strict definition as to who undertakes the transaction. But the bridewealth, whether paid before marriage or after death or divorce, becomes the bride's property. It could be directly handled to her. There is no difference given to the use made of the transaction as in the case of other non-Islamic societies e.g. Ousi (1) who accept bridewealth paid for their daughters which will be sufficient to get them daughters-in-law. Also the conception of inferior and superior marriages among the Nyamwezi of Tanzania which is related to marriage payments is not relevant in Islamic rules or societies. It is only the symbolic payment of bridewealth plus attendance of witnesses and the consent of couple concerned which are essential.

In Islam, the husband is responsible for the livelihood, accommodation and clothing of his wife and children. The wife is responsible for housekeeping, children care and exclusive sexual rights of her husband. The husband is expected to respect his wife and the reverse is true too. So the personalities of the husband is given priority to his economic ability.

(1) Mayer, 1954.

"She is still young", "she is engaged to her cousin", etc.

This going-back on their word occurs when the kin of the bride come to know some unfavourable information about the groom after they have already given their preliminary consent.
As to the actual situation versus the ideal Islamic pattern, the system of bridewealth, in Libya generally and Tripoli specifically, is as follows:

After the process of mate-selection is finalized by the consent of both families, the male kin of the groom approach the male kin of the bride. The groom is represented by his male elders, like his father or elder kinsmen. The bride’s kinmen are usually her father, elder brothers, paternal and maternal close kinmen. The meeting between both families is significant for a number of reasons:

a: It confirms the acceptance of the groom by the kin of the bride as a future husband. If the bride’s family realizes that the groom is not a perfect suitor for their daughter, they would demand more bridewealth to compensate for his faults. He would then either suit or else the bride’s family would apologize to the groom’s kin by such excuses as “she is still young”, “she is engaged to her cousin”, etc.

This “going-back on their word” occurs when the kin of the bride come to know some unfavorable information about the groom after they have already given their preliminary consent.
b: It signifies the social status of the girl. This is emphasized by the demand, or shi'root (conditions), prepared by her kin. Those conditions are meant to identify the girl with her umulūn (guardians) or kinmen. It indicates that a girl who has no kinmen to put conditions for her marriage, has also no social significance. Talaī Lās่ง analysing the marriage among Kebalish, finds a similar conception of shi'root.

c: It also reflect the concept of bargaining in the marriage contract. A groom who fulfills the conditions of the marriage contract is in a stronger position when issues of conflict arise between him and his wife after marriage. "He has bought her and she should obey him," is a familiar expression among Libyans. Also groups who can not provide the shi'root can bargain, and if they are accepted, reductions occur.

d: It is a sort of insurance for the wife when future crisis occurs in the family. A divorced or widowed woman gets her post-marriage payment mu'ākkah al jūdūq (late bridewealth) to ensure an income for the living.

e: It also indicates that the marriage is a situation of crisis for the family of the bride. The actual wording of the

(1) See Foot note on Chapter III, p.173.
(2) Talaī Lās่ง, 1970.
girl as a person who has been a member of a group is a breach of the family solidarity as analysed by Radcliffe-Brown.\footnote{1}

The negotiation of conditions meeting is a symbolic expression of the simulated hostility between the two families.

The phrases pronounced by the groom’s kin in the above mentioned meeting are e.g. \textit{nitàm \textit{ik} \textit{ خط}} (we want to be affines through your daughter). \textit{Nitàm \textit{كال} \textit{خط}} (what conditions do you demand). Unlike the Malays of Singapore, Tripolitians of Libya, prefers to write the conditions down on paper. The groom, too, prefers this because he considers it binding and unambiguous. He would not then have to think of what he could bring or not. To give him the choice means an opportunity for guship and criticism especially among women. This explains why women 15% of the bride prepare these conditions before kinmen present them. Neighbours, too, have a say when consulted and old women are particularly interested in the traditional side of the conditions, e.g. the demands of the traditional Arabic costume to be worn during the wedding, the traditional pieces of gold etc. Young girls are consulted on the new fashions of dresses and pieces of modern furniture required.

\footnote{1} R. Brown, 1958, p.46.
When the conditions are high and expensive none negotiations and compromises are made by both families, until they reach an agreement. If the aim is to get rid of the groom, the bride's kin will not submit to any reductions proposed by the groom's kin. The aim in this case is to make the groom quit by his own will rather than to say it plainly to him. It is a type of policy so that no direct insult is pronounced and relations between families are kept in good terms. There is another explanation to the refusal of reducing the conditions of the marriage contract. That is, when the groom spends all his savings on the wedding, he would realize how expensive a "commodity" he has "bought". He would not think of harming her by getting another wife.

The groom's kin do not feel insulted at all when negotiations are prolonged since they would behave similarly in case of their daughters' marriages. There are few cases of non-conditioned marriages. Though, in such cases, the bride's family does not ask for any conditions written or unwritten, yet the groom's kin know, by custom, what would be expected to be brought by them.
Although conditions indicate the social value of the girl, it does not necessarily mean that a non-conditioned marriage reflects a lower position of the girl. For in certain circumstances, the position of the girl is emphasized in an opposite manner. It is the girl's kin who decide on non-conditioned contracts. So it is the existence of kin she protects, guides and demands that is important rather than the economic value itself. A girl without male kin could go to the judge to put conditions for her.

The conditions include what the groom would present as a hina. It also includes what pieces of furniture will be provided by the groom. Other items including gold, clothes etc., are also enlisted.

A general list of hina includes the following:

1: *halo* (bride-price): It includes the muna paid forward to the construction of the wedding and *gul* paid after divorce or death of the husband. So *halo* is the same as *muna*. It is paid in cash to the father of the bride, although legally it is for the bride. This is explained by the fact that the bride's father purchases things for his daughter which will be her property later. Consequently it
is for the upbringing of the girl and usually the bride's father adds a great deal from his own resources to prepare for the wedding. On average it reaches 900 Libyan dinars. (1)

2: Gold: A list is prepared by women and consists of different types and fashions of gold. The average value of gold presented, for middle class people, is about 500 Libyan dinars, for upper classes about 3000 dinars. Poor people use filira (silver) which is much cheaper than gold. The goldsmiths can make filira look like gold. The pieces of silver differ according to tribal origin. Some pieces are coats of traditional tribal groups. (2)

3: Clothes: The most important piece of dress is the traditional Arabin costume consisting of six pieces. (See Fig. 2)

(a) Tiqāl, which costs about 10-20 dinars. It is a scarf for the head and is hand made of silk, (b) Marqūl, an ordinary shirt with a collar, of the eighteenth century fashion of England. Its quality may not be necessarily high since it is hidden.

(c) Qanki, made of an expensive silver embroidered material and with sleeves and costs about 120 dinars, (d) Fumul, is silver

(1) A dinar is the equivalent of two sterling pounds.

(2) Jilīkī, (the snake), is a breast of silver worn by the people of tribes in the south. Qarnānīs is a long piece of gold in the shape of a tree and was worn by the people of Qarnānīs, first, and later by Tripolitians.


FIG No. 2

MAJOR PIECES OF THE
NATIONAL COSTUME
OF WOMEN

MARNOOL

GINNIJAH

SIRWAL

FARMALAH
embroidered with silver buttons. It costs about 70 dinars.

(a) नूली a wide trouser, whose cost depends on the quality of the cloth. (f) नूली बागीरा is the inner piece of cloth wrapped round the body; costs about 150 dinars and looks like the Indian Sari. (1) These noulis are of different colours for the different days of the wedding. Now, they are given names of national occasions and incidents e.g. the revolution, October war.

Other particulars of clothing consist of different noulis, modern fashionable dresses, underwear, sleeping gowns, shoes, slippers etc... The clothes and other items constitute what is called surah (2) or kiswa. It is similar to what is called in the Sudan shollih which includes all the things brought by the groom as gifts to his bride. Alqurah is also the name given to the first day of the wedding celebrations in Tripoli. (3)

4. Food: Certain items are brought by the groom for the preparation of the wedding food. These include nunkisi (4) meat, oil, sugar, sweets and chocolates. A sheep is brought for the wedding and one for the biyan when there is one.

(1) नूली is also called रुंगल.
(2) सुरह: is a traditional carrier made of straw.
(3) In Bengal it is called रुंगल (throwing).
(4) Nunkisi: see Chapter I.
5: Furniture: some families insist that no conclusion of contract will be done unless certain pieces of furniture are available, though the furniture is the groom’s property. The bride’s family can enforce a condition that their daughter should live in a separate house from the groom’s kin. The recent trend is to demand modern foreign-made furniture called bahari (1) (from the sea).

6: Muḥāmar al-wadāq (postponed bridewealth): This remains an issue of negotiation until an agreement is reached between the two families. Some families would ask for gold as a postponed payment. The condition for payment is either in case of death or divorce. The idea that the price of gold are expected to rise explains the condition of gold as a postponed payment, so it is a sort of investment, whenever needed. Others would state the amount in money, property, etc., as a source of compensation for the loss of a husband. Sometimes it is given at the same time of the forward payment or shall be written to be paid later.

7: Other items: These include hīmba (pigmentation), candles, perfumery, dates, spices, etc., sheep to be slaughtered for the hīmān and/or the wedding day.

(1) Bahari denotes crossing the sea. The Italian furniture is famous for that.
The above set of items constitute the bridal wealth agreed upon by the families of the marrying couple. At this stage, the bride’s family is in a stronger position since they are the deciding part. Either they accept the suitor or refuse him. It is a means by which women find an opportunity of dominance over men. Again, the compensation for the loss of the girl as a member of her parental group is not meant for its economic value. It is in fact a symbolic value for the social status of the girl.

This does not wholly mean that the process of negotiation is one-sided i.e. the influence of the bride’s family on the groom. The latter’s kin also have a hidden bargaining power in the conditions proposed by the groom. A groom might put in the conditions that his future wife would stay with his family or else his mother stays with him in a separate house. The bride’s family does not take this as mere conditions but rather as a wish or request. In certain circumstances, there is no other way than to consider this as part of the whole bargaining. Since, also in certain situations, the consummation of the marriage depends on the acceptance of the groom’s conditions or requests, then disagreement would result in friction and
rejection of the whole arrangement. A groom who is the only provider for his mother, a groom who cannot afford to have a separate house from his family, etc., are examples for such situations.

In general the concept of the conditions of the marriage contract is part and parcel of a whole conception of normalized behavior rather than an economic transaction. The increased demands and high prices are enhanced by the overall economic change rather than created by it, i.e. conditions have been persistent even before oil discovery.

This is so, because, traditionally it was considered a shame to give daughters free. Affines scorned daughters in law given without conditions. In the old days, most people used to know each other especially in the Old Town. There were no complications with regards to amounts, expenses and all that related to the conditions of the marriage contract. People wanted to keep their good relations with friends, neighbours etc.. Again the traditional father's brother's daughters marriage was predominant and there was no need for the symbolic hostility between families. This does not mean that divorce was rare or that shibog were not existent. (1)

(1) See Table No. 5 in Chapter II.
It is in fact an extension to a traditional social value. Neither did the acceptance of the minimal, in the past, recorded divorce rate. Neither the conditions nor kinship structure has been sufficient to reduce the high rate of divorce. Second marriages have been accepted as a normal situation of starting a new phase of marital life. A traditional proverb says "almafat mustah jadi alldy furanhun" (one whose wife is dead, God has renewed his bed).

So, Gluckman’s(1) direct relationship between the frequency of divorce and the kinship structure does not apply with the Tripoli case.

From the empirical evidence, it is found that, in the Old Town, a majority of 66% of the wives in the sample have gone through the process of demanding condition. 34% have not. In Ben Ahoor, 66% have insisted on the conditions and the rest have not. Education difference has no effect on the decision of refusing the conditions especially in higher education categories (See Tables No. 18 and 19). Three points are significant to explain the phenomenon:

(1) M. Gluckman, 1962.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Shiftrot</th>
<th>No Shiftrot</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>6 (44.6%)</td>
<td>10 (55.4%)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-literate</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>11 (68.3%)</td>
<td>2 (13.6%)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33 (66%)</td>
<td>27 (54%)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table No. 15

The Relationship between education level and conditions, shiboot, of bridewealth in Sun Abbas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No. Shiboot</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>4 (66.67%)</td>
<td>2 (33.33%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads and Writes</td>
<td>4 (60%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>4 (44.44%)</td>
<td>5 (55.56%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>5 (45.45%)</td>
<td>6 (54.55%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23 (46%)</td>
<td>27 (54%)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Firstly, the essence of the conditions of contract is not an economical or financial aspect. It is rather a social one which has not been confined to a certain privileged category.

Secondly, the conditions of the marriage have been found strongly emphasized among categories of higher education i.e. it is not only part of the traditional social system but also a continuous process not retarded by high education.

In the Old Town 100% fulfillment of shiroot has been cited for higher educational categories namely intermediate, secondary and university. (See Table No. 19). Ben Ashoor is no exception but the low rates of demanding conditions in the higher educational categories is mainly due to enlightenment. The attempt to overcome the increasing burden of conditions is reflected in an attempt by the educated to initiate change in the system. Yet, almost half of the sample of Ben Ashoor practice demanding shiroot irrespective to educational differences.

Thirdly, the conditions of marriage are an inherent social evaluation of status.

The socio-economic changes after the oil discovery, have added a new role for the conditions of the marriage i.e. as status symbols. This establishes flexible continuity
amidst the process of change. This continuity has been explained differently.

In the Old Town and New Amherst there is a social recognition of the high conditions recently demanded. 44% in the Old Town have attributed this demand to the greediness of the family of the bride. 28% have commented that it is not always greediness but sometimes it could be called i.e. it is an individual issue. 28% stated that it has nothing to do with greediness. The majority agreed to an attitude which considers the extravagancy in conditions as part of a whole system of values. That it is customary and essential for preservation of the traditional norms. This majority added to 62% of the sample. The rest 38% did not agree to this. 60% have agreed to the statement that high conditions are the influence of going and the role played by public opinion on family decision. This, again, explains how inter-familial relations complement and feed-back intra-familial relations as has been previously mentioned. 40% have agreed that the high conditions are a safeguard to the future of the wife (and children) who might lose the husband for any reason. On the other hand, 75% of the sample have explained the high conditions as
a purely commercial bargain through which the girl's family exploit her. She is treated as a commodity for sale. The rest 22% did not agree to this.

In short, the general attitude in the Old Town tends to be towards an accepted norm of social relationships. The conditions, whether for economic purposes or to safeguard the wife's future or whatever other reason, are in fact an inherent means of social relationships. These relationships tie up the structure of both intra-familial and inter-familial relations.

In Ben Achour, the explanations given for the high conditions of the marriage contract: (i) reflects the essence of the customary pattern of familial relationships; it is inherent and changing (34% of the sample have stated so). (ii) explains a strong influence of public opinion and backbiting, and emphasizes the function of intimidation too. (30% have commented so). (iii) have shown that only 30% have agreed that the system explains the exploitation of the girl's position and the commercial benefit of the bargain or as an insurance to the wife.

The difference of attitude between the two areas is partly due to the stratification based on economic ability and
partly due to educational differentiation. 30% have rejected the idea of commercial use of the girls' position in Ken Acheer. These are a deviation from the actual pattern in the area. In fact the extravagance in bridewealth among Ken Acheer community, is explained in terms of economic situation. But the people who disapproved of the commercial explanation are indirectly influenced by the tactics of preparing the bridewealth. They do not actually write on paper that such and such are conditions for the consummation of the wedding. They leave it for the groom to assess, but this expectation is well defined for both groups.

So the system is to be understood as part of a whole structure of relations and not as particular cases of individual incidents. The difference in attitude does not change the general pattern which is practically evident in the community of Tripoli as a complete whole.

**Distribution, Consumption and Exchange of Bridewealth**

As to how bridewealth is distributed, consumed and exchanged, this depends on the type of items and the type of relationships between the families.
Among the Tripolitanians the gift brought by the groom is meant to be the ownership of the bride. Some gifts are added for her close kinmen and kinswomen e.g. parents, grandmothers, brothers and sisters, etc. The distribution of these gifts depends on how effective are the inter-familial relations. Some neighbours are given gifts which are similar to those for close kin. As previously mentioned, it is the effective type of interaction that counts for connectedness of relations with neighbours, friends and kin. The exchange of gifts between the two families is a continuous process throughout the period of engagement and until after the wedding too. A similar tradition in Sudan is that of alasjar (literally the train). It is named after the train to symbolise the amount of things exchanged and which are put together and are similar/length of the train. In Egypt, it is somewhat more or less different because they sign the marriage contract in a different day from the actual wedding day of consumption. The period between the two days might be a long one. Since the girl (1) in legally a wife, she is expected to send to her "wife" gifts and sometimes food for her family. Her family, too, sends some

(1) Moham Amer, 1960.
gifts for the groom but usually, it is the girl who sends them because she is in a state of a wife.

In Tripoli, the ḫayyūn is part of the kliwa which is brought on the first day of the wedding. Ḫayyūn, in its recent form of making a big ceremony, is a new innovation. I think that is why they consider the gifts of the Ḫayyūn as part of the kliwa of the wedding. The extravagancy in the Ḫayyūn nowadays is part of a process of socio-economic change. This situation is a contrast to the previous state of poverty and economic depression.

The mahr or magadum al-Ta'asi (forward payment) is taken by the bride's father who would usually aid it to get his daughter prepared for marriage. There is, in fact, a social recognition as to what the bride's family has offered to their daughter in terms of gold, clothes, Feasting and sometimes furniture. These things will be the bride's property. The fact that the bride's father takes the mahr is not to be interpreted as a purely commercial transaction. The social function of the mahr is a recognition of the role played by the father in upbringing his daughter and in preparing her for marriage. It identifies the sacred parent-child relationship.
so that no further problem arises. The relationship between bridewealth and virginity is not changed by other types of relationships e.g. kinship relations, mutual attention between the marrying couple before consummation etc. The relationship between bridewealth and virginity is the essence of the exchange relationship between the families concerned. Bridewealth becomes an exchange for virginity and vice versa.

Feasting the groom's family and the type of service are also part of the exchange relationship. During the wedding, the bride's family prepares feasts for the groom's family which is part of the exchange for what the groom's has brought of items of food. Again the exchange of gifts continues during all stages of the marriage match. After the bridewealth offered by the groom, there are items given to the bride by her family. The bride is offered gold, clothes and utensils by her family in exchange to the amount of bridewealth brought by the groom. This also indicates the status position of both families which is explained by the emphasis on exchange. Families of a certain social position expect the exchanged items to be equivalent to those that have been exchanged firstly. The
Definition of dowry by Tambiah is "property given to the daughter to take with her into marriage. Technically it is her property and in her own control though the husband usually has the rights of management." This definition applies to the process of exchange between relatives described above. It is only a terminological difference to the same concept. But, this is again a contradiction to what Gorgis(2) has defined as dowry. His definition is not applicable to the case of Tripoli or to the Islamic rules of marriage. Dowry as defined by Tambiah, applies to the case of Tripoli in the sense that it is not only a vehicle for setting up an affinity relationship between the bride's and the groom's families. It is also a vehicle to an accepted social recognition of the girl and her family's status.

There is no exchange transaction when divorce or death occurs. The compensation payment of swā wbah al-sulafa still be the only remaining portion of bina wealth. It could only be interpreted as an exchange relationship when it is compared to the services provided by the wife during her marital life.

(1) J. Gorgis and B. Tambiah, 1979, p.52.
SUMMARY

The traditional custom of conditions of marriage contract involves, within its customary rules, some Islamic context. This is demonstrated by the necessity of payment of a symbolic amount of money, property or transferred property. This payment legalized the consummation of the marriage.

The difference in the quantity of the items of the conditions is not only dependent on the ability to possess, which is wholly economic, but also on the social status and the general public opinion. In Ben Ashur there is a clear problem of how to possess property and so the result is a booming structure of conditions emphasized by the love of show and the effect of public opinion. In the Old Town, economic disability is also intensified by the desire to "be like the others". So both economic differences and the influence of society on the person create this booming structure of conditions. It is also a direct result of the overall socio-economic changes due to the oil discovery. There is no specific quantification as to the constituents of the bride wealth but it is an agreed upon expectation. The case of
no-conditions does not exclude expectation of what the groom brings to his bride and her family. It rather emphasizes this expectation and, in this case, the actual almost coincides with the ideal. This is so because of the influence of gossip, public opinion and the negative criticism of whatever is brought that is not satisfactory.

The transaction between the two families of the married couple, is through the payment of bridewealth and the receipt of the bride duties as exclusive sexual right of the husband. Bridewealth is distributed according to kinship relations and membership into an affinal group and effective inter-familial relations. Dowery as a pro-sperm incentive is not applicable in Islamic rules or in practice.

Extravagancy, though enhanced by richness after oil discovery, has been a problem throughout the history of conditions. An illustration has been the policy undertaken by the Italian ruler Bubba (1) who has attempted to reduce the bonding alimony as conditions of marriage. At that time he established laws like:

(1) Bubba was a governor of Tripoli in 1935. See Baladiyya Turjuma Al Mafarik al-Makina, 1975, p.340 (in Arabic).

(2) Frank is equivalent to a Teller or penman.

(3) Mawakhib is the plural of mawkaib, see Chapter VII.
The wedding ceremonies of the Libyans are generally based on the principle of segregation of sex. Women celebrate separately from men. Since I have been introduced to the women's sphere, most of the information has been based on this. Some data about men's celebrations is provided as far as I have been able to observe, read about or hear of.

The approach of analysis to the issue of ceremonies will be by examining both the traditional type of marriage ceremonies and whatever changes have been introduced into it. This is related to the social mechanisms by which women exert influence in society. The symbolic significance of the ceremonies is also accounted for in relation to the overall social structure. The functional role of the rituals examined with reference to the structure of the mat relationships in the marriage match. I will start by explaining how certain rites are performed by women as essential to their relationship with men. Also there will be an account of how the virginity of the bride is an essential part of the marriage ceremonies. This issue surpasses other acts of relationships in the marriage match.

(1) The Ritual of Efeghif:

In Tripoli, a girl before puberty should be protected from being physically approached by any man, i.e., from sexual intercourse. A specific rite is performed for this purpose.

(1) I am adopting Turner's definition of ritual as a symbolic behaviour giving information about beliefs, ideas, values and psychological conditions which cannot be expressed directly. See V. Turner, 1961.

(2) Efeghif comes from a Turkish word meaning to make strong.
The essence of the ritual is the symbolic significance of materials used to express the symbolic "closure" of the girl's virginity. Usually a girl does not remember she has been xnq$frb$$ (the objective of altay$k). Her mother usually makes a lie about the purpose of the ritual. On the one hand, because the girl would not understand it at that age and on the other hand for fear that the girl might investigate about the counter ritual which makes the first ritual ineffective. To the girl's family this is the most risky part of the ritual since there is the possibility of losing the girl's virginity.

I have come to know three methods of practising the ritual. A girl or a group of girls, of the same age group, is (are) taken to women weavers or the hau1, made of cotton and sometimes wool. Before the hau1 is completed, and especially at the final stage of weaving, part of it is left in the shape of a hole. The girls are given dates or raisins to eat. The dates and raisins symbolize protection and strength. Dates

(1) The average age group for the ritual is 7-12 years old.
(2) Hau1 is a name for national costumes of both men and women. It is wrapped around the whole body and men sometimes cover their heads with it.
are highly recommended, by the Libyans, as an essential part of food because it has been mentioned in the Qur'an. Again, the Prophet's main items of food included dates in many situations e.g. beginning eating dates after breaking the fasting days. Payment of zakāt (1) (also recommended by religion) in the form of dates and also raisins (2). In Tripoli, they use dates in most of the happy occasions, to symbolize happiness and protection. It is eaten first thing in the fasting days to follow the Prophet's suit and to give strength from the weakness of fasting. The women giving birth is also offered dates to give her strength.

The girls, after taking the dates, pass through the hole left in the potli and re-enter for seven times. Every time, they eat one of the dates or raisins and say al-Allāh weighs half (the man is a thread and I am a wall). This symbolizes the gaining of strength for the girl who becomes like a wall. A wall cannot be broken by a thread which is symbolic for weakness. Here weakness is meant for any man who would attempt to practise sexual intercourse with

(1) zakāt is one of the five essential prerogatives of being a Muslim.
her. The hole is then completed by weaving it after the seven times. The number seven is derived from religion e.g. the seven times of tashaf which is a walk around the holy house of God in Mecca. The tashaf gives the person strength and protection by being closer to God. In the case of the rite of talafqah protection is obtained after the seven times. The closure of the hole symbolizes the closure of the girl’s virginity. She is closed in the sense of being unpuncturable by any man. This is the essence of the rite. The girl who is closed through the rite is protected from sexual intercourse with any man before the rite is made ineffective by a counter-rite.

The counter-rite is performed after the girl is grown up, and until the date of her wedding. Just before the physical consummation of the marriage, she takes a mirror, a piece of thread from a wooden ball measured equal to her height. This thread is burnt and mixed with something sweet like honey so that the burning thread becomes tasteable. The girl takes that mixture while watching her vagina in the mirror saying: al-alif huwa mano khait (The man is a wall and I am a thread), which is the reverse meaning of the previous saying during
childhood. The thread of the same length of the girl is sym pathetic to her in person i.e. no one else's figure. The burning of the thread symbolizes the end of the previous rite. This end is not only symbolic but also confirmed by the eating of the burnt thread. This eating is also symbolic of the actual loss of the protection medium when the girl6 catches the vagina which has been the centre of strength throughout the rites. The reverse spell that a girl is like the thread symbolizes her weakness and that she could be penetrated by a man who is now like a wall. The change from strength to weakness for a girl and the reverse for a man reflects the decline of men over women especially after marriage. The catching of the vagina symbolizes the "opening" of it after it had been "closed" by the first rite.

The essence of analyzing this ritual is to see to what extent the preparations for a wedding start before the girl's puberty. The analysis also confirms with the thesis that the concept of marriage, for most Libyans, is on the virginity of the girl. The ritual also initiates the possibility of
overcoming the emphasis^{1} or men over women. This is
practically so since most men believe on the certainty
of the ritual. So usually men fear to approach a girl
who is masebeha. This fear is based on the belief that
an attempt of sexual intercourse with a masebeha leads
to losing one's manhood or sexual ability because he will
be trying in vain. A girl on the other hand, knowing she
is masebeha would never fear to be raped by a man.

I think the ritual is on the other hand, an addendum
to the idea of limiting the rights and privileges of women to
the minimum. Although men fear this ritual, yet a girl who
is raped or have experienced a sexual intercourse before
marriage cannot rely on the short-comings in the performance
of the ritual. She cannot depend on the ritual for the
loss of her virginity. So it is the psychological and the
social significance of the ritual which makes the virginity
of the girl protected. This is done in a magical sort of
rite rather than an actual physiological protection.

^{1} By dominance here is not meant only superiority but also
the psychological subordination of women.

---

terms of the conceptual differences between magic, witchcraft
and sorcery.

The rite of masebeha, compared in witchcraft, deviates
in its functional role. There is a sense of running or beswishing
^{2} The Tuaregs have a similar rite: they cut the girl's
face with a razor until blood comes out and procure the
good working. The healing of the wound symbolizes the
"closure" and the counter rite of cutting again symbolizes
"opening".
Another rite for the symbolic closure of the girl's virginity is by seating the girl over an open box, preferably a clock box. The latter is chosen because it symbolizes time which is also symbolically "closed" or "stopped" at the moment of closing its look. The use of lockage is because it symbolizes "closure" of virginity. On the wedding day the box is opened and the same wording, of the first method of the ritual is repeated. This symbolizes the readiness for sexual intercourse with the husband.

Another method is also connected with weaving. A thread of wool would be used separately. The thread is stopped over by the girl while speaking out the known wording. This symbolizes suspending the weakness of the thread. The thread is kept for the future counter-rite of burning it on the date of physical consummation of the wedding.

The different methods of rituals could be explained in terms of the conceptual differences between magic, witchcraft and sorcery.

The rite of tefra (tubro) is similar to witchcraft, deviating in its functional role. There is no sense of curing or bewitching.

(1) The Tunisians have a similar rite: they cut the girl's knee with a razor until blood comes out and pronounces the same wording. The healing of the wound symbolizes the "closure" and the counter ritual of cutting again symbolizes "opening".
in the rite of tafsah, Counter witchcraft as practiced by the Azande witch-doctors is not the same as counter rite of tafsah practiced on the wedding day. The latter is not a remedy or a cure of an evil suit by a witch. The witch is the essence of the bewitching where he is a witch because "his heart is bad" as noted by Middleton on the Lugbara.\(^{(1)}\)

Again the rite of tafsah is not the same as sorcery. In the concept of sorcery, as analyzed by Levi-Strauss,\(^{(2)}\) a sorcerer maintains an intimate relationship with the forces of the supernatural. An act of sorcery is directed towards a specific personality and the type of ritual involved is directly related to the type of personal relationship with the victim. In the rite of tafsah, the whole ritual is not for a specific person. It is practiced against every man. The rite identifies the existing man to woman relationship and the attempt done by women to gain more influence in the society. Sociologically, then, there is a functional difference between both tafsah and sorcery.\(^{(3)}\)

There is, on the other hand, a functional similarity between the rite of tafsah and the magic among the Azande. The Azande

---

(2) Levi-Strauss, 1953.
(3) E. F. Evans-Pritchard, 1937.
have magic to protect himself, his children etc. He uses it to give him confidence in love-making, to protect his property from theft and his wife from illicit intercourse. The former two functions are similar to the objectives of the tañfesh. It is the protection against the threat of virginity that counts in the practise. So the rite of tañfesh could be interpreted as a cherished cultural possession which derives its powers from men's abstinence and knowledge of tradition. The spell in both magic of Ikande and rite of tañfesh is not a standard formula but rather a saying. Yet in tañfesh, the symbolism involved is the essence of what could be called "magic" in other words. It is not only the variation of spell but also the variation of material elements involved in the magic. The variation in the methodology of performing the rite of tañfesh confirms the above thesis which recognizes the essence of symbolism. This is not a shortcoming in magical performance but an emphasis on the functional role of both magic and the rite of tañfesh.

There is also very little ceremonial in the performance of the rite of tañfesh as in the case of Ikande magic. Privacy is a characteristic of both. That could be an explanation to
The disconcerting in the ritual and the diminishing rate of its practitioners. The recent government is trying to abolish what is called traditional superstition. (1)

This has been an account of rites involved in preparing a girl for marriage. These rites, connected with mystical beliefs are not basically recommended or accepted by religion as halaq. Yet, these practices cut across with a conservative belief in God and the importance of religion. The resultant attitude is the contrast between the ideal and the actual. The taghia is not the only ritual connected with marriage. Other ritual practices are analyzed with reference to their importance in the marriage match.

As to the ceremonies involved, this will be divided into three phases: (a) hibi (literally signal) or engagement period, (b) wedding ceremonies, (c) consummation of the marriage.

(1) Hibi:

It is the formal engagement ceremony. Traditionally, the hibi was simple and not as lavish as it is now. They say ali kabi min allaah su khalip (whatever comes from God is acceptable). In fact the hibi initiates exchanged reciprocal relations between the two families. When arrangement comes to (1) imprisonment is one means of punishment to practitioners.
the blyau, the issue of marriage becomes the concern of the two kín groups even if the choice have been made by the marrying couple only. Sometimes the bride does not participate until after the ‘qinli (contract). Sometimes the caution of protecting the virginity of the girl almost forbids her from meeting the agreed upon suitor during this period. She is secluded from going out as frequently as she has used to. This seclusion is meant to beautify the bride by being kept away from the sun to protect her skin. Also the seclusion of the bride is a transitional period between the status of the unmarried and that of the married. The period prepares the bride for her new role as a wife, a housekeeper and a mother. The belief of evil spirits that the bride may be snared and the fear from the supernatural forces also add to the function of seclusion.

The groom brings, through his family, items such as silk bãaili, silver slippers, silk scarf, silver shibiyá (1), a sheep with a čaóng (scarf) on its neck to symbolize starting a new life with prosperity. Some sugar, dates, hínus and sweets are also brought.

(1) Shibiyá is a piece of decoration put on the hair and looks like a brouche.
In this ceremony the bride meets her in-laws for the first time as a future member of the groom’s family. There is a rush of identification with this new membership. The groom’s kinsmen prepare themselves for the hivun some days before. Preparation is in the form of buying the gifts for the bride and also preparing themselves for the formal meeting with the bride’s family. Traditionally, the procession to the bride’s house was done by riding on karafia (horse-carriages). Now, the status of the family is recognized by the type of car as following the procession. The hivun is a wholly women’s occasion. Men only help in driving the cars that take the women.

The things brought to the bride are carried by the arafat (stewarettes). Those are women hired for the purpose of service, cooking and distributing invitation cards. They also distribute the exchanged food sent by the families of the bride and the groom. In some cases, they are poor women, divorced or widows. But in most cases, they are shemeshet (slaves) who are owned by the celebrating families but generally treated as members of the family. They are also jokers amongst the happy celebrations.
When the groom’s kinwomen arrive at the bride's house, they are welcomed by joyous and received in the best place of the house. They are served with tea, soft drinks and dinner. The bride comes out dressed grandly in modern fashion. She kisses all attendants. The groom's mother and sisters and close kinwomen offer her gifts. Now, most of the gifts offered are in gold. A recent fashion is of taking photographs with the groom’s family.

In the past, no men come during this ceremony because the women will be unveiled and might be dancing and singing. The groom used to escape on that day and would not meet his kinmen especially his parents. Now, the groom is allowed to come after dinner, and at the end of the ceremony, to exchange putting the wedding rings with the bride. This changing aspect is due to impact of education, western values and the emergence of a new value system as a result of this.

In the evening, after the departure of the groom’s kinwomen, the bride’s kinwomen continue on a nahrīyāḥ dancing and singing. The qamāmat (singers) are hired for this purpose.

---

(1) In the Old days the bride is dressed in the traditional costume.
(2) Nahrīyāḥ: is being used here for both men and women groupings with respect to celebration but normally it is a male grouping since women are not accustomed to stay late.
The groom could also prepare a separate mahzooz with his fellow friends or 'awzaa (marriage matters). They could be age mates, too, who accompany the groom in all his ceremonies. They have a joking relationship between them.

The hay'a is finalized by the conclusion of the girl and the announcement of the date of the 'agd when the marriage contract is drawn. The 'agd could be concluded on the date of 'ayd or any other agreed-upon date.

Thus, the hay'a is, functionally, a formal as well as a social announcement of the marriage. From the point of view of religion, this is recommended.

(3) Wedding Ceremonies:

Most wedding ceremonies in Tripoli, start formally on Mondays. There is no symbolic significance of the day itself. The significance is stressed more on the date of the consummation of the marriage. This is preferred by most Libyans, to be Friday because it is a holy day and is identified with the Friday prayers of Muslims. The Tripolitians count back the number of days customary for the celebrations and they come to start by Monday to finish up on Friday. (1)

(1) In Wanis, a southern province, they start ceremonies on Thursday and in Benghazi on Wednesday.
(1) **Hamayel** is the **suffah** day. In the morning, the bride and her female kin go to the Turkish bath which is in the Old Town. The girls sing and drum while the bride is dressed and bathed. The procession of girls spend the whole morning and nearly afternoon after which they return home to receive the groom’s family. The latter spent the whole day preparing to gather in the afternoon for the procession of the **suffah**. This is also wholly a women’s sphere. Attendants from both families are usually close kinwomen to both bride and groom as well as friends and neighbours.

The items of the **suffah** consist of what gold has been brought in the **lijan**. Added are more clothes, more gold, and more items of food. Amongst higher strata of families, bringing sugar, oil, etc... is a sign of backwardness or **maqal’at**.2 (arabized).

The **ammarat** have a major role in their participation as entertainment makers. Usually both families make an arrangement with a **ammarat** before the ceremonies. This is done by an agreement on a set amount of money part of which is paid in advance.

---

(1) **Hamayel** means a straw basket in which the gifts are brought to the bride.

(2) **Maqal’at** emphasizes the dichotomy of urban versus rural and used by urbanized communities.
The men get extra money from the attendants who tip them for performance.

The service of the groom’s family is in a set ceremonial way. Three young girls of the bride’s kin undertake the service of tea, drinks and cakes. One of them distributes nakhli first, the other serving some cakes or special home made biscuits and the last offering tea; shai‘a zana (1) (Arabic tea). After the cup of tea, the same procedure of service is repeated for some drinks.

There are other people who assist in the preparations and service and who are paid for that. The niyyi (one who beautifies) is in most cases a slave. She dresses the bride, accompanies her in and out for the different marriage rituals. Another group are the mustafa (2) who prepare the food and drinks. In the past, relatives used to prepare everything by themselves. Now the division of labour is a status criteria. This is one of the effects of the economic change after oil discovery and the ability to pay all this staff. An average Tripolitanian wedding may cost as follows: 150 Libyan dinars

(1) Shai‘a zana: See the description in Chapter I.
(2) Mustafa is the plural of mustafa. Another name for them is dosturishu.
for the KANIKU, 100 for the KANUKA. The AIVUA takes whatever is contributed for by the women attendants especially the bride’s mother and the groom’s mother. The latter should start AIVUA (literally throwing) custom. By this it meant the payment of money as a contribution to the expenses. It is a reciprocal payment between those who are celebrating and those invited.

After the service described above, the bride is brought veiled from face to foot and dressed in the traditional costume (see Plate 5). She is accompanied by two women, close relatives who are chosen for their happy marital life. The Togelitians believe that luck for a starting marital home is inflicted if unfortunate women participate in the rites. The AIVUA walks the bride to the hina parcel brought by the groom. The bride opens the veil slightly to see herself first in a mirror in front of her. The symbolism behind this ritual is that the bride sees herself beautiful before anyone else sees her so that she is not bewitched. She is taken seven times around the hina parcel with the mirror in front of her. Then she is seated over the closed parcel of hina. She stands and sits for seven times each time taking a handful of hina from the parcel and
Plate No. 2: The bride is veiled from face to
foot in the traditional costume.
She is accompanied by two guards.
Notice the star and writing on the
cover of the face.
throwing it over her back. A woman, also happy in marital life, receives the hinna from the back and keeps it for later usage. This act is called haz al-ghafah (unfastening the gurah).

The symbolism behind this ritual rests in the unfastening of what the groom has brought for his bride. She starts her new life with him by the symbolic attachment with what he has brought. Throwing the hinna and receiving a lucky woman symbolizes gaining luck in the new life.

In Tripoli, the groom's kinsmen do not stay for dinner but prefer to take it with them to the groom's house where they spend the night singing and dancing. In the rural area the groom's family is offered names in this day, mostly luckiest.

The day of the ghafah emphasizes the first contact of the bride with her affines in her new role as a bride to their son. She is no longer a girl selected for marriage but rather the bride. This is a further incorporation into the affinal relationship. The usage of the hinna brought by the groom is symbolic for the initial contact with him and his family. The hinna is believed to be nabrooka (blessed) and this is the reason for

(1) Dinner is mostly meat with rice.
(2) In Tripoli, a suburban of Tripoli dinner is served before sunset.
its major role in the different rituals of the marriage ceremony. These initial contacts are performed with the belief in luck, misfortune, bewitching and sorcery. That is why they choose happily married women and prosperous ones to perform the rituals. The bride at this stage of transition is veiled so that she is not bewitched by people who used to see her in her previous status of the unmarried, unbeautified features. Also it is a sort of increasing anxiety to see her i.e. by covering her from face to feet.

The groom's kinswomen go back home singing:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَاضِيَةٍ لَّهُ وَاتِفيَانَا (we have come back safely with the blessing of God).

لَن يَقْفَوْنَا أَصْحَابُ الْكَبْرِ (and congratulations on the daughter-in-law and hope God brings prosperity with her).

The semizah, for both women and men continues in both houses of the bride and the groom. Singing and dancing are performed on a return basis. Where one has participated on an earlier occasion, this will be reciprocated on a later occasion.

This is, again, a reciprocal type of relationship on the basis of effective relations between kin, friends and
neighbours. Close relations initiate much or exchanged
interaction. One who sings and dances in another's occasion
is expected to receive the same when he has got an occasion
of his own. Relations between neighbours are sometimes more
intensified in such reciprocal relations than with kin.(1)

Neighbours offer their services, participate in rituals
and in dancing, singing on return basis which is essential in
establishing and sustaining relations. Women spend the night
putting henna for decorating themselves and the bride.

(11) Tuesday 4 is al-awal (spring)(2) day. It is
celebrated in the bride's house too. It is not attended by
the groom's family. Its name is derived from the participants
who are mainly children in a carnival of dressing. The girls
between 5-16 years are invited to attend as ςάγητρη(3) between
four to six o'clock in the afternoon. Some come dressed in
the European-white veil of a bride with the make-up on face,
they will be seated on chairs for show and will be served with
tea and soft drinks just like the set procedure of service for

(1) See the analysis of neighbourhood relations in Chapter III.
(2) Another name for this day is ghinnas al-γητηρα (small hina).
(3) γητηρη are woman dressed in traditional costume and gold
and are seated on chairs while others who are not dressed sit on the floor. The γητηρη do not participate in service
and sit only for show.
elders. This is similar to the saharat procession of the
married women who are received in carnival shows of tradit-
onal costumes and all gold possessions. The saharat is
purely a Tripolitanian phenomenon and is recently being
introduced as part of the ceremonial processions in the
nearby towns. The spring day is a town phenomenon too and
a Tripolitanian one. I have come to know that traditionally,
the saharat had been a group identified by being married or
had been married and their grouping is meant to show this
status. They were not used to wear as much gold as they do
now. For the young girls, now, it is a sort of welcome for
them in a special day so that they are not expected to make
a fuss or even to come in the following days. Actually this
does not happen and children are the constant attendants of
all the ceremonies.

At sunset, the bride is brought dressed in a normal
(sometimes used) traditional costume (because the groom's
family is not present) and with an unveiled face. She is
given some sugar from a coffee pot in front of her. She has
to keep the sugar in her mouth. The mouth is closed by a
thread to the hook or her neck. Her knee is also tied with the same type of thread. Some of the ground bhipa is put on a grinding pot called raqâ’i [grinder]. The bride and the girls surrounding her, mostly unmarried and about the same age group, together hold the handle of the raqâ’i and start grinding the bhipa and singing while doing so. Then the thread on her mouth is put loose and she spits out the sugar into the raqâ’i. The bhipa mixed with that sugar is kept for further use. The thread is untied from the bride’s mouth and knee/will be cut above the heads of the unmarried girls. (1)

It is believed that it hastens the girls’ marriage. Some of the girls may refuse to have the thread cut over their heads out of shyness. Others may not want to get married so quickly.

A similar symbolic rite is that of gat’al’al’alu’at (2) among the Katabah. The only difference is that the groom among the Katabah performs the act of gat’al’al’alu’at while the groom in the Liyan case does not participate in this. Then the

(1) The cutting of the thread symbolizes the theoretical change of the status of the bride. She is introduced to a new type of life, i.e., of the married.

(2) Gat’al’al’alu’at means cutting of a skirt made of pieces of leather. See Taj al’al’abia A. [Ibnal, 1961.]
The young ga’darit get bored with the heavy burden of
gold and dresses. Jokes are exchanged between mothers who
attend as witnesses only. They say "Look at that ga’darit,
she is in a hurry because her husband is waiting outside for
her", or "she has got small kids at home..." etc... Then,
the carnival of the young ga’darit starts to dispense. This
ceremony of children is attended by few close relatives of
the bride mainly the mothers of the young ga’darit who should
accompany last one loses some of the gold put on her which is
actually the mother's.

Part of the evening and night is spent in putting binna
on the bride and other women while singing:

 midi la’bekhi la’binna nasab wa’la’rooqesh albinna
 alhanne jiddeh alka’la’la syadlu’la (bring your
 hands for the binna and we are happy for the bride,
 the red binna in her hands and the rings are golden).

While the binna is being put for the bride, her mother starts
mastef (throwing) of money for the binna. The rest of the
women start contributing too while the mother watches the
amount being paid so that she returns them when the contributors
have their own celebrations. This amount of money is counted and given to the givānā who normally depends on this contribution for the payment of her services. She may refuse if the amount collected is not satisfactory. The amount depends on what the bride's mother has put first. She would almost fix the maximum rate of contribution. The rest of the night is spent on dancing and singing.

So this day is symbolic for the beginning of the separation of the bride from her family. She performs the rite of aśvadi with her new mates as a final task. The threads united and cut over the other girls' heads symbolize the change of status of the bride. She transfers her new role as a bride to her age mates with the hope they also get married. The sugar in the hinnā symbolize sweetness of marital life.

It is called the small hinnā day because the groom's family is not participating and the contribution made for the givānā is only from close kinswomen of the bride. It is notable that only married women or those who have been married who contribute. The unmarried girls bring gifts, other than

(1) From my own experience I know that sugar makes the hinnā shining.
cash, to be offered to the bride only.

In this day combines the participation of the children, young unmarried girls and married women as well.

(iii) *wannah* is alnaa ₂[2] (star) night.

This is a major day of celebration because it is the last day for the bride in her home of procreation. In this day the families of the bride and groom meet again in the bride’s house. It is the night before the big night of *quhiro* (entrance) which is the day of consummation of the marriage.

The groom’s kinwomen arrive as *yaghrah* and are seated on chairs with the bride’s kinwomen *gadrat* opposite to them. There is a sort of competition as to who is best dressed, has a lot of gold or and also the make-up. The essence of the *gadrat* procession is a traditional interpretation. This interpretation states that women used to leave their houses, to attend weddings of relatives, for a whole week. They used to return home after the consummation of the marriage and the day which followed the bridal night. The day following the physical consummation is a special day for the *gadrat* to show whatever they have of gold.

(1) Alnaa night is also called alnaa alkhurban (the big *kumra*). It is also called alnaa alhidat (al-lamp).
and dresses. They used to return to their homes on that
day dressed like brides. This was thought as a compensa-
tion for the husband after the period of absence from the
house.

After the services offered to the groom's kinsmen,
the bride is brought to have the henna put for her in the
presence of her groom's family. She is covered from face
to foot with gold all over the veil. Some verses of the
Qur'an are printed on the yamli (the inside garment). The
procession from her room to the place of the henna goes slowly
and takes almost an hour. This is called tadil (stepping).
It is prolonged to increase anxiety and to see the bride, again
it symbolizes the objection of the bride's family in losing
the bride as a member of the family. Since this day is her
final day in her parental home. The family of the bride suffers
a loss and the prolonged procession is a symbolic expression
of the breaking of the solidarity of the bride's family. It
is similar to what Madoliffe Brown has explained for the custom
of capture of the bride in showing a show of resistance at her
removal, e.g. in Bashand. (2)

(1) Tadil: is an old custom where the bride is brought from
upstairs the traditional bough to the ground floor.
(2) R. Brown, 1930, p.59.
seven is derived from the religious beliefs. There are seven skies and seven earths mentioned in the Qur'an and gives the respect for the number seven.

The bride is brought to the ‘amara(2) (bed) which consists of a rolled carpet, covered by a red sheet and a cushion over it. The bride is seated facing alqibla (direction of Mecca, the place of the Holy house of God) with her hands put into view, closed at first and opened later. The facing of alqibla is symbolic for the sacredness of facing the holy house of God which is the direction of prayer. The giviye opens the bride's hands that looks like expecting something to be offered for her.

(1) See the section on alukhlak right.
(2) ‘Amara is also sometimes called hukma.
The groom's mother, or closest kinwoman, gives the bride a sum of money in one hand and a gift of gold on the other. The sum of money is usually not less than what the bride's mother has paid to the giwān before. The money paid by the groom's mother is also given to the giwān and nuzūl. The groom's family leaves immediately after putting the hīnna on the bride's hands.

Putting the hīnna for the bride by the groom's kinwoman emphasizes the incorporation of the bride into the groom's family membership. She is now one of them. The hīnna is the medium of reciprocity. The contribution of the groom's mother in the expenses of the giwān and nuzūl also explains this incorporation. The dependence relationship of the bride on her groom and his kin is initiated by the putting of the hīnna and gift giving.

After the departure of the groom's family, the bride is taken inside and the bed where she has been seated is left in its place all night. No one sits on it until the bride comes for the next rite. The Libyans say that the first child born out of the marriage will succeed to the six of the first one.
who sits on the bed. The Libyans prefer to have boys to stress the patrilineal descent and since most of the attendants are either girls or women, they do not wish any to sit.

The bride's kinswomen, neighbours and friends stay awake all night singing and dancing. They drink tea to keep them active. Attendants of the later procession are mainly close relatives, close friends and neighbours with whom there is effective relations. There is a sort of joking relationship between the women who stay late at night. They disguise in men's costumes and select girls to dance similar to what men do. This maskiyah continues until the first light of dawn appears. It is until the last star in the sky is clearly seen. This is symbolic to the change from unmarried life to the new role as a married woman. The beginning of a new life is symbolized by the appearance of dawn. The disappearance of all stars except the last one which is on the way of vanishing symbolizes the last phase of the bride's unmarried status.

The bride is dressed again, covered from face to foot. She holds a knife in a vertical shape and a mirror in front of her held by two of her relatives. (See Plate 7). A plate of b'ima is held too in which a piece of thread is dipped into
oil and is left burning. The symbolic significance of the knife is to cut or avoid witchcraft and the mirror is for the bride to see herself first before anyone else so that she is not bewitched. The knife protects her from bewitching herself too. The thread burnt/off is symbolic for the fading days of the unmarried. Again, this is derived from a traditional custom of moving around the quarters in the dark with this light to show the way. This procession is meant for the farewell of the bride to her home of procreation.

The procession of the bride and her followers is directed to the street with the smell of incense, plume singing and shouting. (See Plate 6). She watches the last star in the sky and seven her face respectively for seven times. This means to the Libyans that the bride is going to shine like the star in the eyes of her groom.

She is brought again into the house and sits on the bed described above. The mirror is held above her head and the women obert throwing money on the mirror. (See Plate 9) This is an essential part in the reciprocal relationship between the bride's mother and the rest of the contributors. Those who contribute in the payments define their reciprocal relationship.

(1) This is called algirbad in some rural areas. See, A. Hilal, 1967.
Plate No. 6: The plate consists of seven eggs and seven candles on the top of the jarra.

Plate No. 7: The bride holds a knife in a vertical, sharp(x) and a mirror in front of her is held by the women.
Plate No. 8: The procession of bride and women in the street to watch the last star on the sky.

Plate No. 9: The mirror is held over the bride's head and the women start throwing money on it.
with the bride and her mother. Payment means acceptance of extending relations between them. Balanced or excessive reciprocity, mentioned previously, also define how far relations will be effective. The reciprocal relationship is expected to continue with special reference to excessive exchange of payment i.e. payment of higher amounts than what is received.

Some of the oil in the henna dish is shared amongst attendants and rubbed into their hair. This symbolizes the anxiety to keep in contact with whatever remains of the bride’s possessions. Her oil, they believe, would make them shine like her. The singing is continued, during payments. It is a sad type of singing. The bride is supposed to weep loudly because those will be her last hours in her unmarried position. It is also the melancholy to the loss of virginity which makes her sad. This virginity has been the major factor for her attachment to her parental home. Now that she is going to lose this part of the virginity, she is also losing/sacredness of her relationship with her family. In the past, the bride used to cry loudly.

(1) See Chapter III.
because the departure from her family will be prolonged until she bears her first child. That period of seclusion was also a period of incorporation into her new family role. Now, there is no similar seclusion period and this explains why the bride does not weep loudly. Even when the sound of weeping is loud enough to be heard, it is in most cases an artificial one. This explains its symbolic importance.

After the payment of money which is usually given to the bride, the whole group runs after the bride who starts running around the bed seven times. This is symbolic to chasing and keeping the bride who is going to leave on the same day after dawn. It is a reaffirmation to the missing of the bride. The latter is taken inside after that to be prepared for the big night of consummation which has already begun by the first lights of the morning. The final verses of songs give the farewell procession to the bride. They say:

جاه ملته و به رض تناسك
(Do farewell to her, a farewell to your big room, a
daughter of her father's house, one and forgive her.
Do farewell to your mother and sisters and the grand-
mothers and aunts).
Attendants are mostly her kinwoman, neighbors and invited friends. She is expected to weep again while being seated because it would be only a couple of hours before she leaves her home of procreation. Food served is usually cakes, tea, soft drinks and sweets. Dinner is sent from the groom’s house, usually hukum. The bride eats from a special dish cooked with the meat of the sheep’s head. This is symbolic for becoming clever in handling things and housekeeping. The groom should do the same thing too. Before the bride is taken to the groom’s house, the counter rite of unfastening the garments is performed. This is a precaution from any complications that would occur in performing the nikah. Late in the evening, the groom’s kinsman come to take the bride and some of her relatives to the groom’s house. In the past, the bride used to be taken covered from face to foot but now, she is dressed in the western costume. She is seen by everyone and men too. When the bride’s procession reaches the groom’s house, she is received by the groom’s family singing:

\[
\text{Bhai, bhai, \text{...}} \\
\text{(Welcome new member and a blessed entrance, welcome the wife of my brother, etc.)}
\]
These songs signify the new membership to a new group of affines. A brother's wife is expected to perform the role of housekeeping for the whole family of the groom. Nowadays, a groom performs his nikah in his own separate house but the same songs are repeated.

The giving follows the bride. She gives her an egg (usually one of those of the big henna day). The bride should throw the egg at the entrance of her new room. The white colour of the egg symbolizes an optimistic view towards the new marital life. The breaking of the egg symbolizes the breaking of the virginity of the bride which is the essence of the rite. The sticking of the egg to the wall symbolizes the attachment of the wife to her marital life. Jamil Hilal has explained this in his study of a Libyse village.\(^\text{(1)}\) He comments that the breaking of the egg symbolizes the breaking of bride's relations with her parental home. It is the entrance into a new set of social relations as a wife, a mother and an affine.

After the bride enters her room, the groom's close kinswoman come to welcome her. She feeds them with pieces of sugar especially his mother and they do the same thing to her. This

symbolizes that relations should be like sugar between the bride and her affines. During this time, the groom is accompanied by his friends Ḥākim who say some blessed words like,  
الله أعلم بالله وحنبلاً. (Prayers and peace to the Prophet).

Then he is given a pottery bowl which he has to break before entering the house. This symbolizes the act of breaking the virginity of the bride and the ability to perform the ṣukkab. This is so because the groom is also believed to be vulnerable to witchcraft or necromancy by enemies.

A groom is harmed by necromancy when he has enemies who object to the marriage. In cases when the groom is expected to marry another girl and has not or that his bride is expected to marry another person, the act of necromancy is also expected. The necromancy rites performed are meant to prevent any sexual intercourse between the bride and the groom. Male rites are also performed by enemies.

Necromancy is practised by the aid of a šāikh (religious shahīq) who demands a ʿamal (a piece of cloth owned by the victim). The šāikh writes his necromancy words on the ʿamal of the victim to harm him or her.

Protection against necromancy is by possession of a ḥijāb (cover) which usually contains some verses of the Qurʾān which
protection against sorcery. A groom when entering his room for the bridal night should not leave his clothes loose because someone might cut part of these to perform sorcery on them. Also the particles of the broken pottery should be collected as quickly as possible so that no place is taken by sorcerers.

Precautions against magic acts are also made before the groom enters for the bridal night. The groom should not reply to anyone by any summons by his name i.e., he should not turn if any one calls him by name. If he does so, a magic act would be performed by enemies. This could be by opening a knife and closing it on his face, which symbolizes the "closure" or disability to practice sex. Again, the groom should not leave his cufflinks buttons closed or let anyone close them for him which is also symbolic for "closure" of sexual ability. As such, the fastening of the bride should be properly unfastened so that the groom would not find difficulty in confirming the virginity of the bride and to spoil the sorcery, if this has been performed.

The groom enters his room after these precautions to meet his bride who is accompanied by the giving. In the past
ive wish of a successful bridal night. There is a dual purpose of the akbalah. One is that the virginity of the bride is examined and the other is that the ability of the groom to practise sex is also tested. So the honour of both families could either be confirmed or denied. Papstlery's conception of honour and shame as involving two groups rather than two persons is practically relevant in this case. This explains why both families insist that the akbalah be performed in their presence. The type of marriage where a bride follows her absent groom after the wedding is completed in his absence is rare. I think the main reason for this is the insistence on the presence of the two for the akbalah. This is also because an unperformed akbalah, (1) Vithoulx comes from John, ad, or congratulation.

(2) Ibid., 1969.

The groom, then goes to meet his friends who spend the night singing and dancing. They have a joking relationship with the women. (1) Women interview from Alexandria, a suburb of Tripoli has told me this.

(2) Ibid., 1969.
evident in eating from each other’s dish and stealing food from each other. This joking reaches a state of chaos when they start throwing food on faces and bursting into laughter and shouting. It is a kind of farewell to the groom who is leaving the unmarried life. The function of this group of **bridesmaid** other than entertaining the groom, is to prepare him for his new role. The relationship between the members of this group is one of reciprocal hospitality. The groom after settling in his new home invites all those who have offered their service and have made feasible for him.

The day after the **nikah** is the first day for the bride in her new home and amongst her affines. In the afternoon, the bride is brought to kiss all attendants especially the groom’s family. She is seated with the rest of the guests for the **mahjar** (literally presence). This is the final ceremony in which all previously married women, sit around the bride dressed in the traditional costumes. The function of the mahjar is similar to the ritual of incorporation as demonstrated by Van Gennep’s rites of passage. (1) The bride is fully incorporated into a new status group of married women. She plays her first

(1) Van Gennep, 1960.
role as a sadhura which is confined to married women. She also
plays a full role of a daughter-in-law amongst her affines. Her
friends who attend the mehndi initiate a reciprocal relationship
with the bride who will attend their celebrations as a sadhura
when the occasion for that occurs.

Later in the afternoon, the bride is dressed again and
seated on a high bench for aljilbah (shining) which is the rite
of showing the beauty of the bride. I think the rite is especi-
ably made after the consummation of the marriage to emphasize that
she is prepared to meet people with pride and confidence of
honour. She is brought with her face covered at first and the
jilbash starts to uncover it while the sangeet are singing:

Jilsha ut 'incha l'amsha yilbash beba
(Shine her and give her to her groom to be pleased with her).

The bride is turned around in all directions for seven
times to be seen by all women. The bride's mother starts
almaad (throwing) or money paying for her daughter's jilbah.
the rest of the women follow. The rest of the afternoon is
spent on singing and dancing while the bride is seated amongst
the sangeet.
The bride and groom, in the past, used to meet in the night only and the groom used to spend most of his time with the harem. Now, since the bride moves to a house of her own, the groom cannot leave her alone. Also, the new trend is that of honey moon outside the family's circle, sometimes abroad. This explains the social change of normative aspects where an individualistic attitude is emerging. Now, it is the interest of the bride and groom as separate from the interest of their families, that counts for defining the type of social relations between concerned parties.

Usually, there is another ceremony, a week later after the mubdar. This is called adliah (the week) to signify the full incorporation into marital life. The women also gather in a female carnival and the bride puts on the day before to look beautiful after marriage. Again, another party is held after forty days and the bride's mother sends gifts and food too. This reciprocal exchange establishes a new set of social relations into which both families are recruited as one family.

In general terms, the events of the wedding ceremony are the same for both areas of the research. But there are
fashionable in Ban ashshu. The next section analyses another rite after marriage which defines the relationship between sexes and the position of women.

The Rite of Tarjed (Lying Down)

Among Libyans, there is a belief that a baby could stay longer than nine months in its mother's womb for several reasons that will be dealt with later.

The process of tarjed is the process of prolonging the period of pregnancy to a definite, or sometimes indefinite, period of time. It is practised by married or previously married women. I will give a brief account about the belief and then I will describe how they perform the rite to make the baby somnolent.

(1) See the relationship between the marriages of two person from different status groups among the Kababish as analysed by Taj alandia A. Alawi, 1963.

(2) Tarjed: is a pronoun of ṭarjā which means lying or sleeping.
The main purpose of this section is to focus on how women use this weapon of formation to get some influence in a society which put them in an inferior position to men.

The case of a dormant (dormant) baby starts when a pregnant woman feels that the baby no longer moves in her womb. Sometimes construction appears after this period of silence, sometimes not. Later, a woman may feel that the baby starts to move and pregnancy continues. In most cases the period of pregnancy that follows the dormant pregnancy is nine months and the baby is born after that. Sometimes a woman remains pregnant for a long time with a dormant baby and this may take years and no construction appears. With deeper investigations I have noticed that this occurs amongst old women, widowed or divorced. There are cases of old women who no longer give birth but they attribute other diseases to the dormant baby pregnancy. They say that it causes pain in the back and feels like bodies inside her womb.

The reasons given by women for this prolonged period of pregnancy could be interpreted as either (a) ritual in case a woman is being courted by some enemy through the aid of a fezakah, or (b) psychological when a woman is shocked of either fear or sadness like in case of the death of a kin or, (c) physical
and psychological at a time. This is called by women ḥaṣṣah (shuddering). This happens when a pregnant woman falls or gets ill. The physical conditions cause the ḥaṣṣah of the baby and makes it silent for sometime in the womb. The three interpretations could combine to form one cause for a dormant baby pregnancy, e.g., a jealous or cruel adversary which might lead to a feeling of fear and later a ḥaṣṣah, physical feeling.

The deeply rooted belief in the minds of women has resulted in a system of techniques for making babies dormant or lie for sometime and move again ḥaṣṣah. These techniques form an organized mechanism of practices which take the form of rites. Some medicines are used in such a mechanism. Some women have gone as far as consulting doctors for the means of making the baby lie or dormant. Others complain to doctors about dormant babies and seek the means to make them move. The following are cases appropriate for sociological interpretations of the belief and the practices.

Case 1:

A woman sixty years old have twelve sons and daughters. Her husband is a good Muslim. He loves children and has got...
plenty of money. She says that she has got a dormant baby in her womb since ten years ago. She says that she has been pregnant normally and the baby has been moving but suddenly it has stopped moving. No menstruation has appeared since that time, but she still feels she is pregnant.

Case 2:

Another woman, about fifty, says that while she has been pregnant about seven years ago, she fell and the baby stopped moving inside her womb. That was because of the *pjudah* which had fallen on the baby. Later the baby started to move and after nine months she delivered normally.

Case 3:

This is a case of a widow. According to custom, if a widow is pregnant, she should pass under the body of the deceased when it is being taken to be buried. This is a public announcement of pregnancy which is socially recognized. This woman has a prolonged pregnancy after the death of her husband. The baby has been silent because of the shock of the death of its father. Later, when mourning period has been over and the effect of the shock has vanished, the baby has started to move. It has been almost two years after the death of the husband before she
had the baby born. The brothers of the baby, from another
woman, have denied any relationship between the baby and the
deceased father i.e. the baby's mother has been impregnated
by someone else. They accused the woman of attributing the
pregnancy to the deceased so that she can have a share of
heritage from the deceased's property. The baby has not been
the first son of the woman from the deceased but the brothers
have accused her of seeking a bigger share of the property.

Similar cases are those of absent husbands, divorced
women. In both situation, pregnancy takes place in a lengthy
manner and the born babies are linked to the absent or divorced
husband.

The above account has been concerned with the theoretical
framework of the rite of zagag. This could be analysed as a
combination of different interpretations involving sorcery,
witchcraft and magic. It could also be explained on the basis
of psycho-physiological mechanisms. According to Cannon(1) an
individual who is aware that he is the object of sorcery is
thoroughly convinced that he is doomed according to the most
solemn traditions of his group. Cannon has shown that never,

(1) W.B. Cannon, 1942.
like rage, is associated with a particularly intense activity of the sympathetic nervous system. The system of belief in the burceed rite is an integral part of the cultural life and can be understood within the whole social context. It has a coherent logic of its own given some premises to the mystical powers of certain human beings as seers or witches and practitioners. This system has resulted into a complementary system of practice i.e., the techniques of making babies dormant and moveable. This is sociologically significant when it relates to the husband/wife relationship and the position of women in the total social structure.

The women aware of such techniques are not necessarily recognized practitioners. The knowledge of the material substances involved in the preparation of medicines is handed over without strict references to any genealogical tie. It is not confined to practitioners but diffused by tradition. (1)

The spices famous for the preparation of medicines are a'farara (safron), kasaqon assa (black pepper). Saffron has been known as a traditional medicine since long time ago. In the records of Tripoli Municipality (2) there is a mention to

(1) See Ahmad Tarmidzi Fi miskat al-`ilm (in Arabic), 1973, p.133.
Dr. Shaker of the municipality. He says "one of its characteristics (i.e. saffron) is that it makes menstruation easy. That it affect the womb so a pregnant woman shall not use it. It affects nerves and makes one feels happy and laughs and this might be the reason why it's been used in survival feasts". 

On the other hand, when the *haroon asaqed* is added to flour it prepares porridge and is eaten first thing in the morning, then menstruation is believed to come but a pregnant woman will continue to be pregnant. The baby at this stage is believed to be dormant or heavy. When the need comes, saffron is used to make the baby whispy or movable. A wet cotton is dipped into saffron and the woman washes her vagina with it. The baby will start to move. This is done after menstruation finishes and she cleanses.

Another function of these medicines other than *tammad* and *tanbaed* (the act of making the baby move) is that of changing the sex of the baby. It is believed that the above porridge eaten first thing in the morning would *igir al harin* (change the robe)(1). A woman who bagets girls only and wants

(1) By robe is meant the placenta.
between men and women explains this more. Most of the cases are those of old women who have lost hope of begetting. The rite of 


tagged 


provides them with an opportunity of obtaining pregnancy. This claim makes husbands feel that their wives are still young and could beget. Husbands would always be careful not to lose their begetting wives and children. So this is a mechanism of obtaining stability in the family. This is relevant especially because society and government give preference to more begetting. It also explains the tendency for successive marriages as essential for increasing family size.

Again the old women who use substances for 


tagged 


explain this in different ways. Some declare that they would want to keep their expected role of respectable old women who do not beget after their children are married. This would give them more respect and at the same time preserves their ability to beget. Some divorced women or those who wish to be divorced would resort to this technique of making babies dormant so that they do not beget from the unwanted husbands. At the same time they make the advantage of a dormant baby in demanding inheritance because they can announce lengthy pregnancy and delivery.
after death or divorce. So the system allows for illegal pregnancies, but public opinion and gossip always trace such cases. This gap is filled by the strong belief of ḥarb which contradicts with the usage of the substances and the site of ḥaram itself. It is a non-Islamic belief by the measure of religion. What is non-Islamic is the belief on prolonged pregnancy as understood by Ilhams. The issue of practice is debatable because there might be a medical need for it. Again it is non-Islamic when these practices are viewed as a justification for illegal pregnancies. Socio-logically the practice of ḥaram is understood as a socially inherent part of the system of belief rather than an individualistic aspect.

The lengthy period of pregnancy is also a weapon in the wife’s hand to get her demands fulfilled. Under the excuse of a lengthy ḥabām with a psycho-physiological feeling of the change in pregnancy, she can demand whatever she wants or else there is the threat of an abnormal child born. This adds to the mechanism of ḥaram described previously. Prolonged pregnancy can be a means to an end of ḥaram when a wife goes into a state of substation. Both can be understood as positions
of influence for women who are socially reckoned as inferior. The resentment of the husband and fulfillment of the wife's demands gives her more confidence and strength.

Although this belief is now diminishing amongst the educated and youth, yet so many of them confess that they have watched cases of jargou which has made them hesitant in driving into conclusions about its reality.

SUMMARY:

This chapter gives an account of the wedding ceremonies as they occur in town. There has not been much difference in both areas of the research. The differences in Satolin are in social differentiation on the basis of economic differentiation. Most ceremonies are a combination of the traditional and the modern type. Zumānūṣ singing is much more recommended in Ben Aghour than the Old Town though it is a traditional aspect of marriage. The traditional ceremonies are becoming criterion of urbanization and differentiation.

The dependence on gavee, magātah or other categories is less in the Old Town than in Ben Aghour. This is so because people in the former are closely related and cooperation between friends kin and neighbours is evident.
The sex segregation principle is emphasized strongly in terms of ceremonies. Women have a marked role played in ceremonies.

The virginity of the bride is an essence of the ceremonies. The insistence on the performance of the dukhlah in the presence of families validates this. The honour of both families of bride and groom necessitates the preservation of the virginity of the bride until the wedding day. Traditional and non-Islamic beliefs play an important role in the ceremonies. This is to be more understood from its social significance than its ideological contrast with religion. The importance of religion in defining normative aspects is not reduced by these beliefs. Both Islamic and non-Islamic belief exist side by side, each in its own sphere.

The practice of taghagh, invalidation of it, sorcery, jinna are all means for gaining certain influence by women. These are organized mechanisms to give women some power over men in a society which puts them in an inferior position.

On the whole, all of this is undergoing a process of change. Some events of the ceremonies are being limited to
the minimum duration or expenses. Some people combine all
the rites in one day or two for the above purposes. Educated
people refrain from going into rituals such as tsafekh,
barzak, etc. The modern Western type of ceremonial is
taking place. Some people celebrate in hotels, clubs and have
parties for both sexes with western music and dancing. But
this is thought by Libyans as an extreme case of liberation.
there is an attempt to reduce extravagance in ceremonies.
This is undertaken by mass media activities. Whatever change
is been introduced in the performance of ceremonies, there still
remains a tendency towards the traditional.
CONCLUSION

Family and marriage can be a focus of study from different stand points. One approach represented by Murdock distinguishes between family and marriage\(^1\) to emphasize that the nuclear family is a universal human social grouping. This approach studies the intra-familial relationships as confined to the services and satisfactions of the relationships between the constituent members. Murdock\(^2\) has limited the type of relationships in the nuclear family to eight types, so that it fits with the functional role of each. For example, the husband/wife relationship is solidified by the sexual privilege which all societies accord to married spouses.

I have analysed both concepts of family and marriage in Tripoli as two interrelated entities. The universal differentiation of family defined as compound, joint and extended family size is not of interest to me. Being in the same context will reveal the relative importance of each of them. The main interest in this thesis is the interpretation of intra-familial relations. This means firstly a study of

1. See the definition of family and marriage by Murdock, G. Murdock, 1969.
2. See Murdock, "the universality of the nuclear family" in Bell & Vogel, 1965, p.37-44.
family as a collective unit and secondly as part of the social system. Family, is taken in this thesis, as a factual social reality without emphasis on the numerical differentiation of its constituent members.

The structuralist approach to family compared to the functional approach gives more scope to kinship relations between members of the family group. I have combined both the functional and structural analysis to interpret what is been called by interactionists as personal adjustment. This involves husband/wife relationship. The interactionists attempt to discover aspects of interaction important for personal adjustments as decision making and the unity of family.

The family in society is defined by Harris as "the way in which the family is related to other categories and groups and to the processes which go on in society as a whole." (1)

In order that the picture of family in society is completed, the contextual framework of family's association with the outside society is studied. This has been shown by case studies of certain neighbourhood relations. The approach of Van Gennep in explaining the concept of rites of passage has

(1) C.C. Harris, 1969, p.62.
been followed in analysing neighbourhood relations. The process of being incorporated into effective neighbourhood relations resembles that of the rituals of customs.

In order to contribute for meaningful comparisons, Bau areas in Tripoli have been studied. This adds to the theme of Mediterranean family structure as approached by different scholars. As to the general findings of the study in the two areas, it is important to mention here that the historical, ecological and social characteristics of the Old Town and Ben Ashour gives a dichotomy in structure. It is the relationship between the traditional and the modern and the informal act of interaction versus the formal act of relationships. Ben Ashour is basically considered as a residential area for the upper ranking position in society. This includes businessmen, high administrative officials and the educated. The Old Town is considered a place of declining prosperity, a centre of immigrants and a potentially deserted compound.

Sociologically speaking, the 'village' system is the characteristic feature of both areas, round which centres the

---

the house which preserves the name of the family. In the Old Town there are still houses which hold the name of the original owner. By house, I do not mean the physical building only but actually the name after it, since a house could be rented or resided by different people. In the sense of property, the corporate group exists. But in the sense of cooperation and/or interdependence, the split of families due to socio-economic changes has brought about smaller corporate groups. Basically, these small units which could be called households, form the basis of intra and inter-familial relations.

It has been demonstrated that in both areas of the research there is a strong tendency towards nuclear family organization. Yet, it is not the isolated structure of nuclear families ag
argued by Parsons when analyzing the American kinship system.\(^{(1)}\) His analysis defines isolated nuclear family as the relative absence of any structural bias in favour of solidarity with ascendant and descendant families in any one line of descent which increases the structural isolation of the individual conjugal family. This is so because the American kinship system is open, multilinear conjugal system i.e., there are no rules prescribing or favouring marriage with particular relatives or categories of relatives. So the nuclear family is structurally isolated.

As the study of Trippoli, has shown, the socio-economic changes are the factors which are undermining the extended households while smaller units are taking over gradually. But structurally, the nuclear family is not isolated because of the obligations between its members are sometimes as stringent as obligations to kin outside it. The effect of oil has been a radical change from poverty to richness. The material possessions are acquired for the purpose of utilizing the products of modern technology. The cultural change, on the other hand is not as fast as the material one. So the change on the social

\(^{(1)}\) T. Parsons, 1964, p.186,
physical segregation of men's meeting places and women's is an
evidence of this. The notions of segregation of activities and
the dichotomization of sex identities are derived from both
religion and the value system. The functional interpretation
of the above notions as a wholly religious corollary is not
accepted in this thesis. (1) The relationship between men and
women is based on a conception of honour. This conception
initiates a strong drive for an indirect hostility and avoid-
ance between man and woman. The protection of the virginity of
the girl before marriage through ritual means is extended after
marriage in another form. This is demonstrated by the hajjah
wife mechanism. The protection of the girl's virginity before
marriage and the mechanism of hajj both explain the weapons
used by women to protect themselves. It is the society that
imposes an inferior position on women and not wholly religion.
So the women fight hard to get at least protected. Actually it
is not protection as such but an insured position which tends
towards strength more than towards weakness.

Other than the internal interchanngeable mechanisms of
maintaining an equilibrium situation in the family life, there

(1) See J. Cunnison's and Talal Asad's notion of the dominance
of men over women among the Bugara and Keshabiah.
are some outer influences. Inter-familial relations are also effective in maintaining a corporate community of co-residents. This has been evident through the analysis of incorporation into effective neighbourhood. The main contribution to this theme of neighbourhood is that certain concepts have been analysed differently. The concept of Ḳabīl and Ṣarāni has been taken by Vincent_ten as two separate identities. She has studied the community of Keer in Morocco and referred to both concepts as terms of definition in certain situations. She has not analysed the social significance of being an Ḳabīl or Ṣarāni. Nor has she made any reference to the expected qualifications of both and the roles played by each of them in the social value system. I have analysed both concepts as one continuum in the process of incorporation into effective neighbourhood.

This thesis relates family to society. The type of relations involved in such a context is influenced by both intra and inter-familial relations. Certain factors influence the effectiveness of relations between families. Of these, have been cited ethnic identity, social economic status and the duration of stay in the locality. Disputes in the locality
define the extent of effectiveness of relations. Disputes are not taken in this thesis to mean the negative consequence of conflict but rather from a positive viewpoint. That is, people do not get into situations of conflict before they are fully incorporated. So the joking relationship and disputes both have the same function i.e. of incorporating new members to a situation of informality. Through mediation of neighbours and the settlement of disputes, informality becomes a function of full incorporation into effective relations.

The groupings of both men and women in the neighbourhoods demonstrate four principles:

Firstly, the ashriya and waliya are two groupings which emphasize the segregation of activities between sexes. They are also means of social control for personal behaviour.

Secondly, these groupings reflect a joking relationship within the same sex group. Thus they are socially concerned with members of common interest, age and sometimes ethnic similarity.

Thirdly, these groupings are means of influence on public opinion. The role played by gossip and backbiting is best carried out in these groupings.
Fourthly, these groupings are a sort of recreation and privacy for both men and women. In Sen Ashoor, there are mahrabahs especially organized for secure private love affairs and extra-marital sexual relations.

The effect of kinship relations on the type of membership is mild. This is not an underestimation of the significance of kinship relations. In fact, inter-familial interaction is on the basis of the 'ililot system rather than an individual basis. An evidence to this interchangeable relation is the type of marriage transactions and ceremonies. The last two chapters of the thesis analyse this within the context of Islamic rituals and rules. These transactions are studied in terms of the social process which characterizes the conclusion of the marriage contract. This social process has been distinguished by three major aspects: mate selection, bridewealth and ceremonies. These are studied with reference to the conception of the ideal versus the actual. A resultant comparison is that between the religious ideals and the societal performance. In terms of mate selection, there is no much divergence from what is considered a good Muslim characteristic. Yet, there is a trend of change in this aspect. Certain
qualifications as beauty, education, richness are taking over from a traditional qualification i.e., being a good Muslim. In fact, ethnic similarity of origin is still an essential pre-requisite among some descent groups, e.g. Barbers, Tamasia. The conception of nesba (1) or simply descent, is given priority in many cases. The baizel is a recommended qualification because it involves qualities of a good Muslim. The choice of mates from similar social and economic status is much evident in Berber wealth than in the Old Town. Lower strata in the society aspire to get higher status positions and this makes them less strictly endogamous in their original positions. Those of higher social positions have, at least, kept their position and are more endogamous.

Brideswealth among Tripolitanians has been a major problem for every marriage writer because of the high demands prepared by the bride's family. This thesis does not investigate the economic aspect of the increasing demands because this could be simply interpreted as a result of the booming economy of Libya.

The essence of the subject, or conditions, prepared by the

(1) Nesba has been defined in Chapter IV.
bride's family is not only as an obstacle in the face of the unknown suitor. Nor is it only an indirect hostility created by the missing of the bride as a previous member in the family of procession. Again it is not only a commercial transaction whereby the rights over the bride are sold for. In fact each of these explanations could be a major reasoning for a certain situational context. But, socially speaking, all these reasoning should be understood as part of an inherent value system. The virginity of the girl is protected by all means of rituals. The segregation of sexes is also inherent and the effect of religious beliefs is as well basic in taking a decision of selecting marriage suitors. All of this should be interpreted in terms of 'a' system. It is the relationship between the concerned families which counts more for the marriage negotiations and transactions. The honour of both families is maintained on the bridal night. It is not only the virginity of the girl which is susceptible to the loss of honour but also the ability of the groom to practice sex which is also susceptible to necessity. The virginity of the girl finds more emphasis for demonstrating the honour of the family. This could be an explanation for the priority given for the bride's family in
preparing the conditions of the marriage. Not only do they expose their girl's virginity to criticism and public opinion but they also honour the groom's family by exposing his sexual ability. The dependence on ritual means is more evident among women to affirm their position in the society.

The section on magical acts performed by women explains the above thesis. Their involvement in the ritual is more than that of men. This is so because of their weakness in secular powers. It is a sort of compensation that they possess ritual powers. This is similar to Lewis's thesis on Sowail sheikhs' ritual power, (1) The tendency for rituals by Libyan women comprehends with their inferior position in society. The rituals give them some influence over men. This is extended after marriage too. The 'warded' i.e. making holy, dormant, is a sort of magic through which psycho-physiological interpretations are traced. Yet, it is not only a psycho-physiological explanation but rather a social one. It is the position of both sexes in the society and the relationship between them which defines the involvement in rituals.

(1) R. Lewis, 1961.
Finally, all this involves a wider relationship between affines, neighbours and kin. The magical rites of tampek before puberty, the counter tampek after marriage and lampad in the old age of women are all one single process. This is a process of identifying women with a certain position. This position seems to normal observers one of weakness but to sociologist interpretations, it is rather one of protection and strength.
APPENDIX

Kinship terminology of addressing in Tripoli.

Father: Batti
Mother: Natī
defined as (1) or Shibīna(2)
Father-in-law: Sidi(1) or Shibīna(2)
Mother-in-law: Mitī or 'Isaqtī
Brother: Nālī
defined as 'Isaqtī
Sister: Hāntī
Brother-in-law: Mitī(3)
Sister-in-law: Mitī or Mitī
Daughter-in-law: Mitī
Son-in-law: 'Isaqtī
Father's brother: 'Ammi or Sidi
Father's sister: 'Isaqtī
Mother's brother: Khāltī
Mother's sister: Khāltī
Grandmother: Hinīnī(4) or S manned from 

(1) Sidi: literally means master indicating a dependent relationship whether social or economic.
(2) Shibīna: literally means my old man.
(3) Mitī: means one who proceeds and here it signifies respect to someone who is older than the addressee, e.g., older brother or sister in law.
(4) Hinīnī: stemming from ḍarān or compassion.
Grandfather   ruḍḍī or ḥiḥī
Wife           roṣṭī or ḍiṅltī
Husband        ḍaḍī
Guardians      Ṣawāīi
Relatives      ḍwālīa
Stepmother     ḍaḍī
Slave          Ṣawāīīn

(1) Ṣawāīīn: comes from ṣawāī, which is the legal guardian.
(2) Dwālia: literally a small state.
- 311 -

REFERENCES.

Abdel A. Zawara and M.M. Alchenwani, 1967, "Swar um ta∫ware almughama'allabi, Dar Libya for publishing and distribution, Bengazi.


Abou Sehri, E., 1967, "Family and Kinship in a Tunisian Peasant Community" in: Pei∫-

Adil A. Barcia, "Almgam au taseer almgam", Dar Alkitbat Al∫erebi, Cairo.


Arensberg, C. & Kimball, Saliun, 1951. 
Culture and Community, Greece and world, New York.

Asad, Talal, 1976. 

Barth, Fredrick, 1967. 

Barra, J. A., 1969(a) 

Belgica Bedri, 1974. 
The Sociology of Food in the Petehab Area, an M.Sc. thesis, University of Bharuch.

Bail and Vogan, 1968. 


Bott, E., 1956. 

Bott, E., 1956. 

Family and Social Network, Tsimtsook.

Burgess, E. W. & Locke, H. J., 1953, 

Cartwright, Dorwin, 1959, 

Cannon, W. S., 1942, 
"Voodoo Death", American Anthropologist, No. 44.

Clarke & Fischer, 1972, 
Populations of the Middle East and North Africa, 
University of London Press.

Cuinier, Jean, 1977, 
"The Domestic Cycle in the Traditional Family Organization in Tunisia" in: Mediterranean Family Structures, J.H. Pantin- 

Cunnison, I., 1963, 
"The Position of Women among the Himur", Juden Sozialw, 
Vol.2, Kehrwald.

Cunnison, I., 1959, 
Negara Iman, Clarendon Place, Oxford.

Douglas, Mary, 1955, 
Purity and Danger, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Dowell, R., 1962, 
Family Development, Lipincott.

Djencur, Judith, 1959, 

Dyson, P.A., 1960, 
"Analyzing Marital Adjustment Using Role Theory" in: Marriages 

El-Nadi, H., 1964, 
Sama' El-Nadi, Mustafa Altabi Company, Egypt, Vol.5. 
F, chi-37.
Eshihani, M.,

Evans-Fritchard, E.M.; 1937,
Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, Clarendon Press.

Evans-Fritchard, E.M.; 1940,

Evans-Fritchard, E.M.; 1960,
The position of women in primitive societies and other essays in S. Anthropology, Faber and Faber Ltd., London.

Farber, Bernard, 1966,

Farouk, Samih, K.; 1970,

Fava, M. Fleis (ed.), 1958,

Firth, R.; 1936,
Ge the Tikopia, London.

Fortes, M.; 1953,

Frankenberg, Rosa, 1957,
Village on the Border, Cohen & West.

Gamser, Von; 1960,
The rites of passage, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd.

Giddings, Franklin, 1897,
Good, J. and S.J. Tambiah, 1973,
Bridewealth and Dowry, Cambridge University Press.

Granquist, E., 1934,
Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, Vol.1,
Helsingfors.

Groves, Ernest, 1940,
The Family and its Social Functions, Lippincott, Chicago.

Hamed, Amer, 1954,
Growing up in an Egyptian Village, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Harris, C.C., 1969,
The Family, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Hartley, P.C., 1972,
"Libya: Economic Development, Demographic Response"
in: Population of the Middle East and N. Africa by
Clarks and Fisher, University of London Press.
Hassan E. Karami, 1971,
"The Family in its Development as a Social Group in the
Islamic Context" in: I.F.E. Federation Conference in
Rabat, p.93-107.

Hendi Khairi, 1975,
Politics and Government of Revolutionary Libya, Libya.

Hilal, Jamadi, 1966,
Dirasat fi al-maqayis al-libbi, Alfiqr Publication House, Libya.

Kiray, Kubatceli, 1976,
"The role of mothers: Changing Inter-familial relation-
ships in a small town in Turkey" in: Mediterranean Family
Structures, J.G. Peristiany (ed.), Cambridge University
Press.

Leach, E.R., 1966

Levi-Strauss, 1963,
Structural Anthropology, New York.

Lewis, I.M., 1961
A Pastoral Democracy, Oxford University Press.

Levin, Curt, 1961
Field Theory in Social Science, Tavistock Publications,
London.

Little, Kenneth, 1973

Meher, Vanessa, 1974
Women and Property in Morocco, Cambridge University Press.

al-Iskandar Nagji, 1961
Taraskh Tarabulus Aljarb, Tripoli.


Tod, Nebel, Times (1900-05), Mysteries of Tripoli, Libya.
Toll, 1967
"Sharri a'lam fi ḥarasbūs, translated by Abdalgea el Al Sāhib, Dar Liwa for publishing and distribution.

Turner, V. W., 1961,

Turner, J., 1967,
Conjugal Roles and Social Networks a re-examination of an hypothesis, Human Relations, Vol.9, p.171-30.

Wright, T. H., 1956,

Young, M. and Willmott, P., 1962,

The Municipality of Tripoli, 1973,
Saladīyat Ḥaramūs fi Ḥaramūs, Tripoli.