

AN EMPLOYEE ATTITUDE SURVEY AS A DIAGNOSTIC TOOL

*By Dr. Anthony Stampolis**

Introduction

Libya has been experiencing in recent years and will continue to experience in the coming years significant changes in its industrial relations system¹. The oil industry boom is accelerating social and economic development. The nation's labor-management relations are affected not only by the presence of several large international petroleum companies (with their impressive capital investments, modern technology and managerial techniques) but also with the growth of the government, by far the largest employer, with substantial, expanding revenues making possible a development budget larger than the regular one. There is, furthermore, a gradually increasing manufacturing sector. The Libyan Industrial Census² listed 622 establishments with five or more employees as having a total of 11,106 persons at the end of 1964, or an average of

1. Cf. John T. Dunlop, *Industrial Relations Systems*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1958, for a useful, informative general theory of industrial relations. Chapter Nine, "Economic Development and the Rules of the Work Place", pp. 342-379, is of particular interest. See also: Clark Kerr, Frederick H. Harbison, John T. Dunlop and Charles A. Myers, "The Labour Problem in Economic Development," *International Labour Review*, March 1955, pp. 2 - 15; and Walter Galenson, Ed., *Labor and Economic Development*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1959.

2. *Large Manufacturing Establishments*, Preliminary Results of the Industrial Census - 1964, No. One, Department of Census and Statistics, Libyan Ministry of Economy and Trade.

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theoretical knowledge to social realities. They can predict to a relative extent the future trends of population growth and its effects on the city structure. They are qualified to train and help adapt all families which may dwell in the new housing schemes to the new living conditions. It is their business to observe human problems; how they arise and develope, and how they can be solved.



There was one dispensary run by a health official aided by a nurse for simple treatment. In urgent and difficult cases patients were taken by an ambulance provided by local administration to Baghdad. The common epidemic diseases in Washash Village were malaria, bilharziasis and trachoma.

Four doctors practiced medicine in the village and they received patients in their private clinics. There were also five midwives. The daily registered number of patients in summer time was about 300 persons and it was a smaller number in winter time.

There was a narrow canal of running water provided by water pumps from the Tigris, passing through the village from east to west on the north-side of the village, in which women wash their dishes and clothes and boys swim. The canal was used for irrigation and as a water supply.

The Washash Village was not included within the network of the Government Bus Services of Baghdad. There were various means of transportation — buses, taxis and carriages.

Although it appeared upon first glance that Washash Village was growing up in territory and population and that people were coming from all corners and slum areas of Baghdad (81%) without any previous social contacts, Washash Village was an area attracting certain types of people who were hardly differentiated according to occupations, incomes and cultural backgrounds.

Washash Village showed a feeling of a community, enforcing social values on its inhabitants. No serious crimes were reported in the previous year except traffic accidents. Residential mobility has not changed the attitudes and values of the people and has not relaxed social pressures.

The paper attempts to show that planners of housing schemes should take into consideration the factual data concerning social groups prepared by sociologists, who know best how to collect the fundamental facts about human problems. They are qualified to apply their

It appeared that there were 174 families residing in 100 houses. The total number of the whole sample was 930 persons (462 males, 468 females and 416 children under 13 years).

The relation between number of families, persons, houses, and rooms was found as follows :

<i>Families in the sample</i>	174
<i>Households</i>	100 = 1.74 Families per house
<i>All persons</i>	930
<i>Families</i>	174 = 5.3 Persons per family
<i>Rooms</i>	286
<i>Families</i>	174 = 1.6 Rooms per family
<i>Rooms</i>	286
<i>Households</i>	100 = 2.86 Rooms per house

Homogeneity of the socio-economic groups in Washash Village was illustrated by the following distribution of occupations :

Occupations	No. of Persons	%
Soldiers and Policemen	29	16.5
Workers and Labourers	94	53.8
Porters, Peddlers and Servants	29	16.5
Clerks, Teachers, Employees	10	5.8
Barbers, Tailors and Shopkeepers	13	7.4
Total	175	100.0

In accordance with these findings these socio-economic groups were considered of lower income, so homogeneity was pronounced. It was found that there were five primary schools in the village, three for boys and two for girls. The total number of pupils was 2,082, having 43 teachers and 35 classes. There was also an evening school for adults. There was 16.6% of the whole population in schools and colleges in Baghdad. According to the census of 1947 there were only 246 persons who could read and write and 1,710 illiterates.

labourers, porters, peddlers, servants, guards and other lower income social groups), electricity and water supplies were the dominant factors in attracting people and encouraging them to settle in Washash Village.

An amelioration scheme, it was thought, would raise the standard of living by bettering the housing conditions and the community facilities and services of this district.

In this sense, amelioration should be achieved through a common and co-ordinated effort of the people and Government Authorities, without altering either the social or economic structure, to select a suitable area for amelioration scheme and to differentiate between urban renewal slum clearance and urban amelioration schemes. Factors to be considered are :-

1. Lack of community services and facilities.
2. Self ownership.
3. Homogeneity of social groups. Washash Village was inhabited by homogeneous socio-economic groups of lower incomes.
4. Dissatisfaction of human needs.

The principal ideas of the study were concentrated on the relationship between the inhabitants of the Washash Village and their land.

A questionnaire was designed to obtain information about family, the housing situation (e.g. type of structure, type of houses, number of rooms, facilities, roof construction, flooring, ownership and rent), occupation and income of working members, objective criteria of standard of living, recreation, origin of inhabitants, personal opinion of inhabitants on major needs to ameliorate life in Washash, and the willingness and ability to contribute to the setting up of community utilities.

It was thought that 7.5% of the whole population could be considered as an adequate and representative sample. It was agreed upon dividing Washash Village into six sectors: A, B, C, D, E and F. Each sector comprising a number of blocks varying between 9 and 13. All sectors and blocks were numbered, taking as the point of departure the left corners of each block. Signs were also put on the walls of each block in an anti-clockwise movement, the 15th house only being visited.

II Amelioration of Housing Conditions :

"Washash Village"

Washash Villige was thought to be a suitable area for a pilot amelioration project. Washash Village is situated between the fashionable residential area of Al-Mansoor in the West, the Western Baghdad Housing Project in the North, Washash Drainage Canal in the East and the Serifas camp of Al-Washash in the South. There are a number of orchards and palmgroves in its southern and western sides.

More than twenty years ago Washash Village was a piece of vacant land previously used in agriculture. Later on some people of Baghdad whose houses were demolished as a result of opening streets were attracted by the low prices of lands, bought plots of land, built their houses and settled there. The village was erected and started to grow up gradually with the slow flow of population from Baghdad.

During the Second World War a huge wave of newcomers settled in Washash. It was followed by another wave in 1954, after exceptional high floods which destroyed all the Serifas and Mud-Huts behind the bunds of Baghdad.

According to the 1947 Census Washash Village, population amounted to 2,391 living in 350 houses; whereas from the Housing Census of 1956 it appeared that the population jumped to almost 12,000 living in 1,555 houses. Thus the population and the number of houses increased approximately five times in less than ten years.

55% of the families included in the sample survey have been living more than five years in Washash Village and only 27% of them have been living more than eight years.

The majority of them (81%) originally came from Baghdad and the rest from different parts of the country. The village was densely populated (e.g. 3.25 persons per room, 9.30 persons per house, and 1.6 rooms per family), and was growing up rapidly (350 houses in 1947 to 1,555 houses in 1956).

Low prices of lands, homogeneity of socio-economic groups (approximately 87% of the wage earners were soldiers, policemen, workers,

None of the Mud-Huts had their own water supply, water being obtained from central taps provided by public authorities. None of the households living in Serifas had electricity.

In the Serifa-camps the average size of household was to be 5.68 persons. Among the Serifa-dwellers the average income was £L 5.641 a wage earner and £L 6.692 a household.

According to samples which have been studied from different areas inhabited by the Serifa-dwellers it appeared that incomes from wages and other employment in the Serifa was as follows :

Monthly Income	Households		Total
	Number	Percentage	
£.L 1.000 - 3.000	6	10.9	£.L 9.000
£.L 3.000 - 6.000	19	34.5	£.L 85.000
£.L 6.000 - 9.000	22	40.0	£.L 165.000
£.L 9.000 - 12.000	8	14.6	£.L 84.000
Total	55	100.0%	£.L 343.000

Most of the Serifa-dwellers were servants, peddlers, street cleaners, night guards and construction labourers.

The findings from another sample study showed that half of the families were housed in one room only. 36% of the families occupied 2 rooms, and 14% of the families occupied 3 rooms.

There was an average of 1.6 rooms per family, and an average of 3.2 persons lived in one room. Only 50% of the families had access to a toilet, either inside the courtyard or outside. These toilets were merely holes in the ground surrounded by mud walls.

All of them obtained their water from a public tap. None of them reported land ownership. The sample showed that the average monthly income was £L 11.7 per family, or £L 2.3 per person. More than half of the families indicated an income between £L 5-15 during the month preceeding the survey. 16% of the families reported an income between £L 15 and 25.

Iraq in general, and especially in Baghdad, is much larger than the scope of any planning, because of the continuous waves of rural migrations.

Table 4

Distribution of Serifas and Mud-Huts in Baghdad

The District	Mud-Huts	Serifas
Rasafah	1,643	1,236
Kerkh	1,713	—
Kadhamain	1,126	850
Villages attached to Kadham	2,114	185
Bayjat Al-Washash	1,091	961
Washash Village	70	167
Aqerquf	1,083	22
Karradat Marriam	793	21
Harithiyah	793	76
Shakiriyah	2,082	749
Other Villages	2,775	661
Karradah Al-Sharqiyah	4,000	5,744
New Baghdad	755	1,215
Zafaraniyah	342	299
Other Villages	1,633	399
Adhamiyah	4,085	3,455
Other Villages	1,714	374
Total	27,814	16,413

The transition from tribal-rural to an urban civilization has taken place in a very short period of time. It was a sudden change which brought with it social and personal problems; e.g., crime, venereal diseases, high infant death rate, and juvenile delinquency. "Al-Asimah" became, in short, not merely a place in which fellahin of Amarah live, but a place of unsatisfied human needs, shame and restlessness. "Al-Asimah" constituted an undesirable spot in which many kinds of hygienic and moral problems originated.

inhabitants 18.51% had electricity, 20.45% piped water, 11.40% baths and 42.37% toilets. In villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants only 0.7% had electricity, 0.31% piped water, 99.59% used the river as the source of water supply, 0.36% had baths and only 2.7% had toilets.

2. The Situation in Baghdad

We have presented a brief picture of the socio-economic situation in Amara Liwa which we considered a "push situation". It is equally important to focus our attention on the economic and social situation in Baghdad. Baghdad city is the most important industrial area in Iraq. Out of a total of 4,573 industrial establishments there were 4,449 establishments in each of which less than twenty persons were engaged. Most of these were handicraft or small repair shops. Among these were 1,661 establishments which were run by the owners themselves without any assistants.

In all, the 4,449 small establishments gave employment to 11,726 persons including the owners themselves. There were only 124 establishments in Greater Baghdad having more than twenty workers. They employed, however, 21,641 workers; that is, nearly twice the number of those working in the 4,449 small undertakings. There were 21 large brick manufacturing establishments which employed 3,532 workers. Thousands of houses were built in order to meet the urgent need for housing.

The Industrial Census for all of Iraq showed only 269 industrial units employing more than 20 persons each. Nearly half of them were in Baghdad. The Housing Industry was one of the major elements in the economic machine. New housing schemes and residential buildings have attracted a great number of labourers, have encouraged many other affiliated industries, and have contributed significantly to an increase of wages.

The Development Board has provided thousands of popular houses for Serifas dwellers in the main cities of Iraq : Baghdad, Basrah, Kirkuk and Mosul. But still the number of Serifas and Mud-Huts in

Table 3

Methods of Irrigation Employed in Amarah
(Agricultural Census, 1954)

Area irrigated by rainfall	830,743 mesharas
Area irrigated by flow	559,867 mesharas
Area irrigated by pumps	950,919 mesharas
Area irrigated by water wheels	24,806 mesharas

As a result of modernization the urban life of large cities was becoming more attractive. Most of the shaikhs early became absentee landlords and engaged in politics and in city life.

The Industrial Census of 1954 showed that there were 1,363 industrial establishments in Amarah Liwa, out of which 17 employed 20 or more persons. Other industries were almost entirely small workshops in which the owner worked himself, using traditional methods and equipment.

Amarah was not in an economic position to absorb the heavy migration from tribal life. So most of the immigrants were destined to Badghdad.

The success achieved by some of the earlier Serifa dwellers was a great incentive for many others. Those who were able to save money and return home with fortunes stimulated the ambitions and the imaginations of the rest of the tribesmen.

Low standards of living, lack of all kinds of public services and a very high percentage of substandard housing in Amarah Liwa urged the fellahin to seek higher wages and better employment.

According to Housing Census of 1956 there were 33,789 Serifas in Amarah Liwa. It is about 77.77 per cent of the total number of all types of houses and the number of Mud-Huts was 2,205 (about 5.07%). The inadequate distribution of services in Amarah Liwa presents another aspect of substandard living. In towns and villages with more than 2,000

Table 2
Size Distribution of Holdings in Amarah Liwa,
Agricultural Census, 1954.

Size Groups				No. of Holdings
Under 4 mesharas				Nil
4	"	and under	20 mesharas	20
20	"	" "	40 "	31
40	"	" "	60 "	51
60	"	" "	80 "	13
80	"	" "	100 "	3
100	"	" "	200 "	52
200	"	" "	400 "	44
400	"	" "	600 "	24
600	"	" "	800 "	14
800	"	" "	1,000 "	20
1,000	"	" "	2,000 "	58
2,000	"	" "	3,000 "	43
3,000	"	" "	4,000 "	28
4,000	"	" "	5,000 "	18
5,000	"	" "	10,000 "	58
10,000	"	" "	20,000 "	16
20,000	"	and over		29

Such a change of land ownership from tribal-communal to private individual gave the shaikhs of tribes the opportunity to register agricultural lands in their names. Due to this change, tribal bonds which used to protect the tribesmen from all kinds of danger, particularly from poverty, were broken, as the shaikhs became no longer responsible for their tribesmen as they were before. The new type of ownership did not stimulate the tribesmen to cultivate sufficiently, because their shares were so extremely small, to the extent that they did not satisfy the bare necessities of life. So land problems were acute and the life of those fellahin was deplorable.

In size Amarah Liwa is the fourth largest of the fourteen "liwas" of Iraq covering an area of 18,377 sq. km. The tribal population of the Liwa was about 307,021.

A positive correlation was believed to exist between types of land ownership and the volumes of migration. The average size of holding, however, varied greatly from liwa to liwa, being largest in Amarah Liwa. Some holdings were over 50,000 mesharas - (meshara = 2,500 sq. km.). The proportion of rented land in Amarah Liwa was very great amounting to somewhat over 97 per cent, or 3,234,713 mesharas out of the total 3,342,671 mesharas.

The use of mechanical power on the holdings contributed to the decrease of the number of fellah per farm and pushed a great number of them out of their villages. These were obliged to seek new means of living in cities. Irrigation by pumps was responsible for the largest area of irrigated land, namely 951,000 mesharas. About 525 pumps with a total of 20,585 horsepower have been introduced into the area.

nization, which was based upon kinship, customs, traditions and economic interdependence was often intensified in times of insecurity, when feuds between tribes led to raids and reprisals, and also when conflict arose between confederation of tribes and the Central Government.

Within tribal socio-economic life, tribesmen lived together, worked and shared cultivation, irrigation and harvest. Taxes were paid communally, Politically, they enjoyed semi-autonomy, abiding by their own laws, which were a product of their mores and traditions. Inside the tribal organization the individual felt secure and lived in peace. The tribe offered to him all the means of living, physical and psychological.

During the Ottoman period, the tribesmen operated state-owned lands, paying grazing taxes for their sheep and buffaloes. Terms of land tenure were variable but never exceeded five years. In actual practice the leases were put up to auction among the tribal Shaikhs⁴ by the Government and knocked down for cash rents to the highest bidder. Most of the Sheikhs divided their estates by simliar auctions to the "Sarkals"⁵ members of their own tribe. The sub-leases were then sublet to others.

The inevitable result was a chain of excessive and purely nominal balance of rents, arrears, debits, insecurity, and extortion from the Shaikh down to the lowest fellah. Everyone was in debt to everyone else.

In order to secure peace and stability, and to cultivate the feeling of national loyalty among the tribesmen, who looked to their tribes as the only sovereign to which they would submit, the Iraqi Government has taken every possible measure to settle land disputes and introduced private ownership.

(4) The Shaikh is the actual head of the tribe, and is supposed to be the source of all powers which are deeply rooted in the daily life of the tribesmen. His position is hereditary and restricted to one family.

(5) The Sarkal : next to the Shaikh in his ability to solve problems between members of the same tribe. He is the head of a certain clan, or the close relative of the Shaikh.

Table 1

Number of Serifas Mud-Huts, Individual and Family Dwellers, Families per Serifa and Families per Mud-Hut in Baghdad.

Greater Baghdad	Serifas	Mud-Huts
Number	16,413	27,491
Families living	17,058	29,855
Persons living	95,524	172,217
Families per S. or MH.	1.04	1.05
Persons	5.6	5.8

More than 80 per cent of Serifa and Mud-Hut dwellers were "Sharjawiyah" fellahin of Amarah Liwa. Although it was not possible to give exact statistics of the volumes of migration, there has been a decline of population of Amarah Liwa due to emigration. Factors contributing to the creation of "Al-Asimah" were varied and complex. They might be studied by enquiring into the nature of two situations, the first in Amarah Liwa and the second in Baghdad. The majority of the Serifas and Mud-Huts dwellers were fellahin of the southern part of Iraq.

1. The Push Situation

Amarah Liwa was very largely agricultural with more than 75 per cent of its population living in rural areas. Their problems as other socio-economic problems were connected with the land. When Iraq was a part of the Ottoman Empire, there were no constructive land policies aimed at the development of the country. Ottoman administration was not able to secure stability and settle land disputes. Its traditional policy was to use the agricultural lands as a means of maintaining a balance of power between influential chieftains.

The predominant type of land ownership was tribal and communal. Land belonged to the tribe. Amarah Liwa was inhabited by more or less settled tribal confederations. The compactness of the tribal orga-

“Al-Asimah” refers to the “Sharjawaiyah” fellahin who left their tribal villages in Amarah Liwa and settled in Baghdad, in the hope of ameliorating their life conditions. They were living in a huge belt of Serifas and Mud-Huts behind the “bund”, which used to surround Baghdad on all sides. The bund was intended to be a physical barrier to protect the city of Baghdad from the floods. It has become a social and psychological barrier which isolates people according to their cultural background, income, occupation and prestige. The Serifa and Mud-Hut dwellers are unskilled “Sharjawaiyah” fellahin of the southern part of Iraq.

“Al-Asimah” as a natural area tended to collect the particular individuals predestined to it. These individuals, in turn, gave the area a peculiar character. It was an unplanned area showing tribal compactness and a low standard of living. Kinship played an important role in grouping individuals in one area. Serifa dwellers came to Baghdad with neither skill nor money to live permanently, and they have no intention of going back to their tribal villages.

“Al-Asimah” formed and served as a center of attraction to relatives and friends. The newcomers may stay two or three years before they save enough money to move to another section of the city. The Serifa dwellers brought with them their traditions and tribal customs and have transplanted them in “Al-Asimah”. It will take a long time for the Serifa dwellers to become an assimilated, integrated part of the larger society.

Serifas and Mud-Huts in Baghdad are symbols of degradation, shame, poverty, substandard housing, tribal culture and extremely low income.

According to the 1956 Housing Census, there were 16,413 Serifas and 27,491 Mud-Huts in Greater Baghdad. Their number accounts for 44.4% of the total houses in the area. Of the total resident population of Greater Baghdad 12.6% reside in Serifas, and out of the total number of families in the area 14.4% live in Serifas.

“Ekistic Center”, which was attached to the Ministry of Development in Iraq, for two years from 1956 to 1958. So the topic of the paper is tackled from personal experience.

The paper is divided into two sections: The first includes a general survey, which was conducted by the present writer, to collect information about the most deteriorated areas in Baghdad, which were mostly inhabited by the Serifa (ii) and Mud-Hut (iii) dwellers. This area was locally known as “Al-Asimah”. During that period the Iraqi Government was planning to start a clearance project in the area, by demolishing gradually all Serifas and Mud-huts and constructing new housing settlements.

The second consists of a preliminary report on the findings of the socio-economic survey of Washash Village which was conducted by the Socio-Economic Division of the “Ekistic Center”.

1. Urban renewal and slum clearance scheme :

One of the most effective methods of social research is the socio-economic survey in which sociologists collect data about life conditions and human problems of the slum areas. Such data are essential to all stages of housing projects. The present writer conducted in 1957 a general socio-economic survey which covered all the slum areas in Baghdad, but his interest was mainly focussed on the Serifa and Mud-Hut dwellers, a section of which were heavily concentrated in one single area - “Al-Asimah”.

Although “Al-Asimah” means “The Capital” in Arabic, it seems to have become a cynical definition of the most deteriorated slum areas of Baghdad. “Al-Asimah” is generally used to express challenge and to convey criticism.

(ii) Serifa : is a type of house construction usually dwelt in by lower income people and fellahin of the middle and the south of Iraq. Serifas are constructed of reed matting, and could be easily moved to another site. A Serifa usually consists of one room and is built on land which is not owned by the occupier.

(iii) Mud-Hut : The mud-hut has more than one room and has a courtyard surrounded with mud walls. The roofs of the rooms are supported by wooden poles and covered with matting on which a layer of mud is laid.

Other factors may be added such as the lack of private capital invested in housing, the sudden rise of land prices, due to an artificial boom, the rise of rents taking a high percentage of the family budget and the increase of population.

The successive stages through which the housing projects pass may be summarized as follows :-

1. The stage of consciousness and awareness, when certain social groups feel that they are deprived of the bare necessities of life and actually are living under substandard housing conditions.
2. As a result of the first stage, a dangerous situation of restlessness spreads over the slum areas, motivating public opinion and stimulating public authorities to take rapid measures in order to eradicate these conditions.
3. Collecting information about the inhabitants of the most deteriorated areas, such as family structure, size, income and aspirations.
4. The stage of planning: Planners try to apply the most workable schemes which are thought of as being suitable to satisfy different levels of needs, tastes, sizes, incomes and standards of living.
5. The stage of execution and construction of housing schemes.
6. Selection of families according to definite measures approved by sociologist, e.g., size of family, income and age groups.
7. Orientation of families which are supposed to move into the new schemes. Orientation of these families on how to use public and private facilities, and how to live in a compact healthy community.
8. The stage of maintenance and protection: A continuous supervision should be carried on by social workers.
9. The stage of evaluation.

In all these stages the role of sociologists is obvious. It is rather out of the scope of this paper to explain in details that role. The subject arises because the present writer took part as a social expert in the