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INDUSTRIAL LABOR IN LEBANON

By

Usamah Ali Tabbarah

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Usamah Ali Tabbarah

American University of Beirut
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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the working conditions, both physical and non-physical, of industrial labor in Lebanon, and to discuss their effects on productivity.

This thesis includes a study of the historical background of the Lebanese industrial worker. The industrial labor working conditions in Lebanon after the First World War, when the factory system developed, are studied for the purpose of relating, in the mind of the reader, the present industrial labor working conditions to the past.

The nature of the Lebanese industrial labor force and its composition by age, sex, and industry are analyzed while the methods by which the Lebanese industrial workers are recruited, selected and trained are shown in this thesis in addition to a study of vocational schools in Lebanon.

In addition, a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the Lebanese industrial worker and a study of physical and non-physical working conditions are included in this thesis. Physical description of factories and a study of wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, family allowances, work contingencies and compensation for dismissal are also provided in this thesis.

The determinants of productivity, which is the output per man-hour, are the material resources, the quantity of capital, technology, managerial and labor efficiency, and scale of production. The determinants of labor efficiency are the skills of workers, sex, age, and the working conditions both physical and non-physical. Thus, if industrialists are aware of the determinants of labor efficiency and hence productivity, then by improving the working conditions of their labor, both physical and non-physical, productivity of their workers is likely to increase.

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CHAPTER ONE

I n t r o d u c t i o n

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the working conditions, both physical and non-physical, of industrial labor in Lebanon, and to discuss their effects on productivity.

Justification

The reasons for choosing this subject are varied. It is claimed that Lebanese industrialists ignore the importance of the human element in production. When Lebanese industrialists have little understanding of the importance of working conditions on the productivity of their workers, industrial development in Lebanon is likely to be hindered.

Industrialists in turn claim that they are not able to compete favorably with foreign manufactured products because of low productivity of their workers.

In view of these claims it is important to determine whether or not industrialists do ignore the human element, whether or not if they ignore the human element this has resulted in poor working conditions, and, if poor working conditions characterize Lebanese industry, whether or not these poor working conditions have contributed to low productivity.

Furthermore, drafting within only four years two labor codes by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which grant more benefits to labor, in addition to other laws and decrees shows that

the labor force in Lebanon is pressing for reforms in labor legislation. It seems that it cannot bear any longer its present status and treatment. This shows also that the government is aware of the workers' problems and needs and is trying to improve the situation.

Methods of Research and Presentation

This thesis is mostly based on data obtained personally through observations in fifteen factories, chosen at random, from a list prepared by the Association of Lebanese Industrialists.¹ The managers of these factories were interviewed by the use of questionnaires. In addition fifteen workers were formally interviewed by the use of questionnaires, and another thirty workers, possibly more, were interviewed informally without the use of any questionnaires. Questionnaires were not used in some cases because the managers of these factories did not allow the writer to interview their workers formally. Moreover, the writer intended through the use of informal interviews to check some of the information obtained from the managers of these factories.

However, since certain facts were not identified clearly in the above method, the officials in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs were generous enough to explain some aspects of industrial labor working conditions to the writer and allow him to

1. This list is being published at present in a book form which is called "The Guide to Lebanese Industries".

examine some of their files which proved the officials' claims. Visits were also made to the Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education, and to fourteen industrial labor unions whose officials pointed out some of the difficulties their unions are facing and some of the working conditions in Lebanese industry. A visit was also made to Father Kartbawi, Director of the largest vocational school in Lebanon, who supplied the writer with some information on vocational schools in Lebanon.

Information obtained by these methods was supplemented by published material mentioned in the bibliography.

Chapter Two presents the historical background of the Lebanese industrial worker. Chapter Three presents a study of the nature of industrial labor force in Lebanon. Chapter Four studies the recruitment, selection and training of the Lebanese industrial worker plus a study of vocational education in Lebanon. Chapter Five presents a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the Lebanese industrial worker. Chapters Six and Seven discuss the physical and non-physical working conditions in Lebanese industry respectively. Finally, Chapter Eight presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

Scope and Limitations

This thesis includes a study of working conditions in Lebanese industry and their effects on productivity.

In order to judge the accuracy of the answers of both workers and managers of industrial firms visited, cross-checking of

the answers of both was made by comparing their answers in addition to the cross-checking made within any one questionnaire.¹ In some factories two workers were interviewed formally in order to check the answers of the industrialists. This tended to reduce the probability of error in the results of the interviews, but did not eliminate the possibility of errors due mainly to the fears of workers that their answers might be checked by their

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1. An example of cross-checking within the questionnaire addressed to employers is the following:
At the beginning of the questionnaire there is this question:
Do you have any Palestinians, Syrians, Armenians, etc.. employed in this factory? Yes ___ No ___
- a. Palestinians ___
 - b. Syrians ___
 - c. Armenians ___
 - d. Others ___

At the end of the questionnaire there is this question:
Do you have foreign technicians employed in this factory?
Yes ___, No ___

An example of cross-checking within the questionnaire addressed to workers is the following:

Do you like always to work in this job rather than in any other job? Yes ___, No ___

Would you like to change your present job with another job in the factory? Yes ___, No ___.

managers. This fear could not be eliminated by the interviewer because he was regarded as a "foreigner".

Furthermore, it was found that very little published material dealing with industrial labor working conditions in Lebanon is available. This necessitated larger dependence on interviews and personal observations. Of course, the sample chosen may not be strictly representative of Lebanese industry as a whole because it is small. This restriction was partly remedied by information obtained by other methods. Thus various discussions with a number of people who are well acquainted with the subject was essential. In addition, information secured from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs helped in remedying the deficiency of the small sample.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Background of the Lebanese Industrial Worker

Historically, industrial labor conditions in Lebanon can be studied under the following three headings: 1) domestic industry; 2) handicrafts; and 3) the factory system.¹ Since conditions of work were rather different in each classification, they are studied separately below.

Domestic Industry

In domestic industry the worker worked in one room of his home, usually with some other members of his family. For this reason he was independent as far as conditions of work were concerned. He could influence his working conditions in any manner he desired within his ability. If conditions in the workshop were inadequate nobody could improve them except himself. The worker could work for any length of time he wished without any kind of supervision. Sometimes he worked for as long as fifteen hours a day in order to earn sufficient money to live. The domestic laborer usually owned the tools with which he worked while the raw materials he needed were supplied by a merchant who paid him on a piece rate basis.

Weaving silk, cotton and woolen cloth, and making lace, carpets, araq and wine are examples of domestic industry which flourished mainly in the rural area before the First World War.

1. Hakim, George, "Industry", Economic Organization of Syria, Said B. Himadeh, ed., (Beirut, 1936), pp.169-172.

The Handicrafts

"The handicraft system may be defined as that in which production is carried on by an artisan who is the owner of a small enterprise, helped by a few other employed artisans or apprentices who are sometimes members of his own family. It is thus characterized by the absence of a capitalist element, by the union of labor and management and by the simplicity of the methods of production as well as the crudeness of the tools".²

The craftsmen initially purchased their own raw materials, but gradually merchants began supplying them with the necessary raw materials needed in production.

"In the early handicraft industries, the owner was like a father and the shop was (like a family affair or in some cases actually) a family affair in which the members could join and work under the paternalistic leadership of the owner. The owner did not like to delegate any of his authority to others".³

However, the handicrafts flourished mainly in the urban centers where they had special streets reserved for each type of craft. Thus jewelers, carpenters, and tailors had their own streets named after their trade. Soap-making and tanning were also types of handicrafts.

In the early thirties there was a tendency "... for the handicrafts in the big cities to become less independent. The first step came when the craftsman began selling his product to a merchant who sold it to the consumer. This weakened the bargaining power of the artisan by separating him from the market for his product. The second step came when the merchant began supplying the raw materials and paying the artisan for piece work".⁴

2. Ibid., p.120.

3. Hourani, Benjamin T., Unionism in the Lebanese Labor Law of 1946, American University of Beirut, M.A.Thesis, (Beirut, 1959), p.21.

4. Hakim, George, "Industry", Economic Organization of Syria, Said B. Himadeh, ed., op.cit., 170.

The Factory System

The industrialization process in Lebanon did not start before the First World War for a number of reasons:⁵

1. Lebanon lacked minerals in general and especially coal and iron;
2. Lebanon lacked skilled workers, engineers and proper machinery;
3. the legal and administrative systems in Lebanon did not encourage local investors by providing them with sufficient security;
4. foreign capital investment was not encouraged because of the political instability and the inefficiency of the Lebanese financial administration;
5. newly established industries could not meet foreign competition mainly because of the heavy internal taxes imposed on industry and the absence of any protective tariff; and
6. any industrial enterprise had to get governmental permission before it could be established, and such permission involved the expenditure of large amounts of money.

After the First World War some of these factors changed. The lack of minerals was overcome by importing them which became possible only with improved transportation methods; the Armenian

5. Nsouli, Mustafa, "Lebanese Heritage from Handicraft to Industry", Les Conférences du Genacle, Vol. VII, (Beirut, April 16, 1953), p.76.

refugees filled the gap of insufficient skilled workers; the country became relatively more stable politically; and foreign competition was reduced by increasing customs duties.

Thus the factory system was primarily a post-World War I development in Lebanon. Most industries before the war were of a handicraft and domestic nature, examples of which were mentioned earlier. Ten to fifteen percent of the population depended on the handicrafts and domestic industries at that time.⁶ The main reason for the growth of the factory system after the war was the increased competition of foreign goods, a fact which necessitated the replacement of most of the handicrafts and domestic industries by more efficient methods of production. The handicrafts were not completely replaced because they produced goods "... not liable to the standardization of factory production. Nevertheless, there has been a decrease in the number of independent craftsmen and an increase in the number of artisans employed in workshops or factories. The shoe industry is an example of such shifting. However, the typical post-war shoe factory is nothing more than an aggregate of artisans working with improved tools and sometimes with machines".⁷

Another factor promoting the factory system after the war was the migration of peasants from the rural areas to the urban centers searching for work. Then as a result of labor surplus,

6. Hakim, George, "Industry", Economic Organization of Syria, Said B. Himadeh, ed., op.cit., p.119.

7. Ibid., p.125.

plus many other factors mentioned earlier, the factory system developed. The reasons why there was a migration from rural areas to urban centers is that for many years the farmers were not able to earn sufficient money to live from their farms and a great number of them starved to death. Lack of rain and locusts were the reasons for extremely poor harvests.

During the Second World War the factory system developed further because of war conditions and the encouragement the Allied Forces gave Lebanese industry. The Middle East Supply Center provided the raw materials needed in industry at low prices and the industrialists sold their output at extremely high prices both to the Allied Forces and to private consumers. The profits earned during the war made it easier for Lebanese industrialists to order new and modern machinery from abroad after the war. These industrialists paid so much attention to machinery that they forgot the importance of the human element in production and many difficulties arose because of the absence of skilled workers capable of running such machinery.

The Changed Status of the Worker. Under the handicraft system the craftsman was independent as far as conditions of work were concerned, but when the craftsman could no longer work for himself, because of the competition of factories and the limited market for his product, he had to work in a factory which utilized his skill. In the factory he was no longer independent and had to be more disciplined in his work. He had to come at a fixed hour in the

morning and to leave only when he was ordered to leave in the evening. In return the artisan received a fixed wage from his employer and thus became wholly dependent on him. The wage he received was usually higher than that when he was a craftsman or domestic worker.

The Patriarchal Nature of Society. In Lebanon the patriarchal nature of society had its effect on the conditions of work within the factory. Any dispute arising between the worker and his employer was settled on the basis of custom and tradition.

In the early thirties "the terms of employment were arranged between the employer and the individual worker, and contracts were verbal, although in the eyes of custom they had the force of law and were enforced by public opinion. Disputes that could not be settled directly were referred to arbitration by the sheikhs and imams in the case of Moslems and Druzes, or the bishops or priests in the case of Christians, by municipalities, by the trade guild (if any) or the trade notables, or the political leaders or other influential persons. The decisions of these arbitrators had no legal force, but they were usually enforced by social sanctions."⁸

Most disputes settled in accordance with this method were in favor of the rich and influential employer because there was no

8. Abu-Izziddine, Fuad and Hakim, George, "A Contribution to the Study of Labor Conditions in the Lebanon", reprinted from the International Labor Review, v. XXVIII, No. 5, (November, 1933), p. 5.

Labor Code which could be enforced in case of dispute. The employer, if he did not like the decision, could dismiss the worker at any time he wished without giving him a prior notice or any compensation for dismissal. In some cases, the employer withheld the wages due to the worker and thus he would himself benefit from the dismissal compensation instead of the worker.

The Prevailing Conditions of Factories.⁹ In the older type of factories the buildings, layout, cleanliness, sanitation and ventilation were inadequate. The machinery was worn-out and defective while the buildings were in an unsafe and poor condition. In some cases the work rooms were too small in relation to the number of people working in them. Within these relatively small rooms the raw materials to be used and the finished products produced, were dumped in a disorderly manner and in any vacant space. The floors of some factories were unpaved and dirt and dust covered both machinery and floors. The ventilation and lighting within the factories were quite unsatisfactory. No measures providing for the safety of workers were taken. In addition, running water and washing facilities were lacking. These factories were also lacking in rooms where workers could eat, rest, and put their clothes.

The new and modern factories had much better working conditions although they could still have been improved. Some buildings were built with a proper design in mind and the machinery was installed in a planned and systematic manner leaving sufficient space between machines for workers to walk in. However, it appears that in some

9. Ibid., pp.5-6.

cases the engineers had forgotten that the machines should be fenced for the protection of the workers against possible accidents and even ignored purposely this very important factor. The main reason encouraging employers to ignore safety measures, that cost them money, is the absence of legislation concerning accidents and compensation to workers. Nevertheless, since official statistics of accidents within factories are lacking, the frequency rate cannot be computed although it is believed that accidents were relatively great in number. Some employers were generous enough to pay for the medical expenses of their injured workers while they still ignored the payment of adequate compensation to them.

In these new and modern factories lighting, air space, cleanliness and running water were provided adequately while ventilation, washing places, dining-rooms and lockers were not provided because of the ignorance of the owners of these factories of the importance of these items to the workers and their effect on their production. Very few factories arranged transportation and/or lodging facilities for their workers who lived a long distance away from the factory.

Employment of Women and Children. The number of women employed in factories increased rapidly after the First World War because they tended to accept much lower wages than men and performed in many cases a similar job to that of men. A unique feature in the employment of women was that the majority of employed women were Christians who accepted social change while Moslem women because of tradition did not accept employment in factories.¹⁰

10. Personal opinion based on discussions with industrialists.

A great number of children tended to work in factories for any amount of money because their parents regarded them as assets on which they deserved a certain return. In some cases the parents did not send their children to school because they could not afford it and the child had to stay at home. The parents thought that it would be more profitable if their children were to work, earn some money, and learn a trade in which they would become skilled as they grew older. In their early stages of employment the children had to concentrate on doing some light work and in some cases they were to assist the skilled workers by carrying materials or tools. "Children of 7 or 8 were seen in match factories... In another case 60 or 70 children between the ages of 9 and 13 were found doing a long night shift in a textile factory. Better conditions prevailed in many other firms, but in numerous industries the bulk of the workers consisted of children, adolescent girls, some big boys, some older women, and a few very dejected-looking men."¹¹

Hours of Work: All workers had to work between 9 and 15 hours a day, most of them working for 12 hours including a break of 1 hour. Workers in the older factories had to work for longer hours than workers employed in the new and modern factories. "The shift system was introduced in one modern distillery, work being organized in two 12-hour shifts."¹² In addition, all workers in Lebanon had one day of rest a week generally on Sunday but in certain factories it was

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11. Soltan, Irene C., "Social Responsibility in the Lebanon," International Affairs, v. XXV, (1949), p.309.
 12. Abu Izziddine, Fuad and Hakim, George, "A Contribution to the Study of Labor Conditions in Lebanon", op.cit., p.7.

Friday for Moslems and Saturday for Jews.

Wages: Most workers were paid on a daily basis but they usually received their wages once a week normally on Saturday. The piece rate system was applied in some industries such as silk weaving, lace making and soap making.¹³

In certain cases it was found that employers tended to hold back some of the pay due to their workers for the simple reason of keeping it, in order to reduce the rate of labor turnover. The employers by this method could keep their skilled labor from leaving them for other employers who were ready to pay them higher wages. The worker was then inclined not to leave his employer because he would not be able to get his money back. Thus the employer was in a position not to pay his workers any wage increases. The worker's morale tended to become low under such instances and the worker did not care for the quantity and quality of his production. The workers became slaves to their employers and to the machine, and "serfdom" was the predominating feature in Lebanon's newly established factories. This is not surprising when it is realized that there was no labor legislation protecting the worker against the whims of his employer.

Wages in Lebanon were extremely low and when the Armenian refugees came into Lebanon in the twenties the wage level dropped further because labor supply had increased in relation to demand.

13. Ibid., p.7

The Armenian refugees, who were generally more skilled than the Lebanese workers, tended to accept lower wages than the Lebanese and thus a great number of ^{the} latter became unemployed. The Mandatory Power in one of its reports mentioned that the competition of Armenian workers reduced the wage level by some 20 - 25 per cent in some industries.¹⁴

In 1950 the average wage of the Lebanese industrial worker was LL.120 per month.¹⁵ In the cement industry, shoe industry, soft drinks and carbonated waters industry and ready made outwear and underwear industry the average monthly wage per worker was LL. 150, while in the foodstuff industry, textile industry and furniture industry together the average monthly wage was LL.100. In certain cases as in the furniture industry the monthly wage was only LL.50. The average monthly industrial wage for women was LL.50 and for children LL.40.

In 1937 wages were much lower in old factories than in modern factories. Thus in handloom weaving they were 6.10, 1.80 and 1.50 Francs per day for men, women and children respectively while in mechanical loom weaving they were 14,8 and 5 Francs respectively.¹⁶

14. Grunwald, Kurt and Ronall, Joachim O., Industrialization in the Middle East, (New York, 1960), p.299.

15. Nsouli, Mustafa, "Lebanese Heritage from Handicraft to Industry", op.cit., p.83.

16. Grunwald, Kurt and Ronall, Joachim O. op.cit., p.299

Furthermore, there was a wide difference between the average wage received by the skilled and the unskilled worker in 1951. The average wage of skilled workers in all Lebanese industries was LL. 603 per month while for the unskilled worker it was LL.134 per month.¹⁷ Women and children were excluded from this estimate. The figure of LL.134 as the average monthly wage for unskilled workers seems to be contradictory to the average monthly wage of the Lebanese industrial worker of LL.120, mentioned before. This shows that such estimates may not be very reliable.

Lack of Skilled Workers: One of the most difficult problems that Lebanon faced when the factory system was established was the lack of skilled workers, but, fortunately enough, the Armenian refugees who came to the Lebanon filled this gap. This was not enough and the skilled Armenians started teaching the Lebanese workers how to work on machines. Some foreign skilled workers, mainly French, were employed in Lebanese factories who also trained some Lebanese workers. In addition, a number of skilled Lebanese emigrants returned to the country and thus increased the supply of skilled workers. Furthermore, a great number of Palestinian refugees who were skilled increased the supply of skilled workers in the Lebanon. Some skilled Syrian workers were found in Lebanon but they were relatively small in number.

Most training took place on the job itself. Few workers were sent abroad for training purposes. There was only one vocational school named Al-Sanayeh in the whole of the Lebanon. Very few trainees

17. Asfour, Edmund Y., "Industrial Development in Lebanon", Middle East Economic Papers, Economic Research Institute, A.U.B., (Beirut, 1955), p.5.

graduated from this school. Between 1925 and 1938, 242 master craftsman graduated from it.¹⁸ This school, however, did not have sufficient modern machinery. Generally speaking, and inspite of all this Lebanon still lacked properly skilled workers and the quality of its manufactured products still tended to be inferior to that of foreign manufactured products.

Labor Legislation: Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire before the First World War and hence it was governed by the Ottoman Laws. There was no labor legislation except those laws of 1905 governing associations, corporations and strikes. "In 1934, the French introduced new legislation governing the employment contract which provided for damages for the wrongful termination of contract. In 1937, this legislation was revised to provide for dismissal pay, thus establishing the precedent for the similar provisions which appear in the 1946 Labor Code. In 1935, the first regulation of working conditions appeared, apparently in response to I.L.O. pressure with a law regulating working hours of women and children in specified dangerous and unhealthy industries".¹⁹

In May 1943, a law was passed providing that the maximum limit of the weekly hours of work be 48. Another law was also issued in the same year dealing with family allowances that must

18. Grunwald, Kurt and Ronall, Joachim O., op.cit., p.299

19. Lampman, Robert J., "The Lebanese Labor Code of 1946", Labor Law Journal, (July, 1954), p.495.

be given to those workers receiving only the minimum wage. In addition, a third law was passed dealing with industrial accidents' compensation. In 1946 the Labor Code was issued by the Lebanese Government aimed at improving the working conditions of labor.

The Union Movement: Before 1946, unions were not recognized officially, but they existed in the form of associations or Jami'yat whose activities were controlled by a number of acts and orders. The main reasons underlying the absence of unionism in Lebanese industry in the early thirties are set forth below: "Factory industry is still in an early stage of development, factories are small and scattered, and labour is still usually local. The workers are largely illiterate and bound by traditional modes of thought and action; they do not appreciate the advantages of organization, and are not prepared to make immediate sacrifices for the sake of ultimate benefits, a state of mind for which their poverty is also partly responsible. Finally, organization work is hindered by the difficulty of holding public meetings, and attempts at organization frequently fail by reason of the lack of the cooperative spirit and the petty jealousies of members and leaders."²⁰

During the French Mandate and after the First World War unions were allowed to exist only among the same or similar trades. In 1939 the French High Commissioner ordered that the offices of

20. Abu Izziddine, Fuad and Hakim, George, "A Contribution to the Study of Labor Conditions in the Lebanon", op.cit., p.5.

all trade unions be closed in Lebanon. In 1941 unions were allowed to organize again. During these three years when union offices were closed union members met secretly and discussed their problems, and they were very often persecuted by the authorities.

CHAPTER THREE

Nature of the Industrial Labor Force in Lebanon.

Statistics

Accurate, up to date statistics of the industrial labor force in Lebanon do not exist. Although an attempt to formulate scientifically accurate and detailed statistics was made by the publication of the Industrial Census of 1955 in June 1957 by the Ministry of National Economy with the technical assistance of the Economic Research Institute, A.U.B., this census was not comprehensive as far as the total industrial labor force was concerned because it excluded all industrial establishments employing less than five workers, and such establishments were more numerous than establishments employing more than five workers.¹

In 1956, Doxiadis and Associates made a survey for the Lebanese Government of the employed population and its distribution by sectors as shown in Table I.

Doxiadis mentioned that in 1956 only 30 percent of the population were gainfully employed. According to another source, this percentage of the employed population is underestimated.²

The figure of 11,700 for industrial handicraft shown on Table I is somewhat underestimated and the same applies to the 37,870 for industry because the latter does not include workers in

1. Based on interviews with industrialists.

2. Siksek, Simon G., Daouk, Bashir J., and Baaklini, Sami E., Preliminary Assessment of Manpower Resources and Requirements in Lebanon, (Beirut, October, 1960) p. 34.

olive oil extraction, electricity and power (2100 workers),
water supply and sanitary services.³

Table I

Employment by Sectors of the Economy of Lebanon,
1956.

Agriculture	219,330
Industry	37,870
Handicraft	11,700
Construction	32,500
Transportation and Communication	23,600
Trade and Banking	58,600
Government	16,100
Other services	<u>34,300</u>
Total	434,000

Source: Doxiadis and Associates, quoted in Siksek,
Simon G., Daouk, Bashir J., and Baaklini,
Sami, E., Preliminary Assessment of Manpower
Resources and Requirements in Lebanon,
Economic Research Institute, A.U.B.,
(Beirut, October, 1960), p.34.

The 1955 Industrial Census covered only 1861 industrial
establishments employing five or more workers each. The total
number of workers in these establishments in 1955 was 35,013.

3. Ibid., p.34.

In 1960, it was believed that this figure increased to 40,000 workers covering establishments employing five or more workers each. Another 20,000 were employed in establishments of less than five workers each.⁴ As Table II shows, 86.6 percent of the establishments surveyed employ less than 25 workers each, but as a percentage of the total persons engaged in industry these establishments employ only 43.11 percent or 15,099 persons as illustrated in Table III. Table II shows that of the total 35,013 workers engaged in industry, 31,132 are older than 18 years while the rest (3,881) are younger than that age. In addition, this Table shows that male workers are 27,198 in number while female workers are only 7,815.

Table II

Total Number of Establishments and Persons Employed in
Lebanese Industry, 1955

<u>Total Number of Establishments</u>	<u>1,861</u>
Establishments in which the following number of persons are engaged:	
5 - 9 persons	1,031
10 - 24 "	581
25 - 49 "	149
50 - 99 "	60
100 and over	40
<u>Total Number of Persons Engaged</u>	<u>35,013</u>
Aged 18 years and over	31,132
Aged under 18 years	3,881
Male	27,198
Female	7,815

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955, mimeograph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.7.

4. Ibid., p.32.

Table IV shows that 26,305 workers out of a total of 35,013 workers were engaged in only six industries out of a total of 21 industries. These industries are food manufacturing, textiles, footwear, wearing apparel and other made-up textile goods, furniture and fixtures, non-metallic mineral products, and metal products except machinery and transport equipment.

Finally, the census showed the number of seasonal industrial establishments classified by the seasonality of their operations and by industry which are illustrated in Table V. By seasonality is meant the complete stoppage of all production operations within the factories for sometime during the year because of the seasonal nature of their production operations. The total seasonal establishments are only 64 out of 1861 industrial establishments.

Table III

Number of Persons Engaged Classified by size of Establishment, 1955

	Number of Persons in Establishments Employing persons as under				
	5-9	10-24	25-49	50-99	100 and over
Number of Persons Engaged in all Industries	6,757	8,342	4,969	3,888	11,057
As a percentage of the total engaged	19.29	23.82	14.19	11.10	31.60

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955, mimeograph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.50.

Table IV

Number of Establishments and Number of Persons Engaged
In Industry, 1955

<u>I n d u s t r y</u>	<u>Number of Establishments</u>	<u>Number of Persons Engaged</u>
All industries	1861	35,013
Mining and Quarrying	68	799
Metal Mining, Stone Quarrying	59	779
Clay and Sand Pits	9	20
Non-metallic Mining and Quarrying	9	20
Manufacturing	1793	34,214
Food Manufacturing, Except Beverages	554	6,468
Beverage Industries	74	1,040
Tobacco Manufacturing	3	1,743
Textiles	113	6,049
Footwear, Wearing Apparel and Other Made up Textile Goods	245	3,632
Wood and Cork Manufacture Except Furniture	71	755
Furniture and Fixtures	168	2,643
Paper and Paper Products	16	204
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	108	1,660
Leather, and Leather Products except Footwear	45	937
Rubber Products	15	523
Chemicals and Chemical Products	37	630
Non-metallic Mineral Products	155	4,338
Basic Metal Industries	3	26
Metal Products Except Machinery and Transport Equipment	102	2,135
Manufacture of Machinery, except Electrical	23	295
Electrical Machinery, Appliances and Supplies	10	257
Manufacture of Transport Equipment	10	177
Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries	43	702

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955, mimeograph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.8.

Such seasonality of production makes the finding of skilled workers very difficult because workers are not willing to be unemployed several months a year. Probably, some workers work for the rest of the year in establishments that are also seasonal. For example, the workers in the sugar factory in the Bika'a are employed in the sugar refining factory in Tripoli when the sugar beet season is over. Both factories have an agreement to this effect.

Table V
 Number of Seasonal ^(a) Establishments Classified
 By Seasonality of Operation and By Industry
 1955.

INDUSTRY	Total Seasonal Establishments	SEASONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OPERATING ^(b)		
		0-2 Months	3-5 Months	6-8 Months
All Industries	64	4	29	31
Mining and Quarrying	11	-	6	5
Manufacturing	53	4	23	26
Food Manufacturing	27	4	13	10
Textiles	8	-	3	5
Paper & paper Products	1	-	-	1
Chemicals & chemical Products	7	-	2	5
Non-Metallic Mineral Products	1	-	1	-
Metal Products Except Machinery & transport Equipment	2	-	-	2
Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries	7	-	4	3

a) Full-time establishments, new establishments in 1955, and establishments ceasing production in 1955 omitted.

b) The length of time of operations is measured by the number of months completed.

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955,
 memo-graph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.62.

Employment of Women and Children⁵

Generally, women are employed in jobs that do not require any heavy physical effort. Women are commonly found in such jobs as cleaning of fruits, salting, filling cans and bottles, spinning and weaving, plastic pressers, labeling, assembling, packing, painting, ironing, inspection of manufactured products, and many other similar occupations. Not all employers are willing to employ women in their factories, because of the nature of their production operations. Some industrialists are willing to employ women in their factories but are finding none.⁶ Other industrialists do not want to have both men and women work together because of the many difficulties that may arise as a result.⁷ Industrialists generally pay a lower wage to women than men for doing the same or similar jobs. This is because *of the limited opportunities for work open to* women are usually not capable of producing as much as men. Some employers believe that women cannot resist fatigue as men can. Hence, if they were to choose between employing men or women with the same wage, they would certainly choose men. In spite of all this, some industrialists who are not employing women at present expressed the view that they are willing to pay them the same wage as men if they happened to come to the factory and perform a similar job.

The percentage of female workers to total industrial workers is 22.32 percent. About three-fourth of the total female workers in 1955 were employed in tobacco manufacturing, textiles, and in footwear, wearing apparel and other made-up textile goods as

5. See Chapter V.

6. Interview with Mr. Kamil Munsef.

7. Interview with Mr. Yusuf Butros, Phoenecian Factory.

Table VI shows.

Generally, industrialists do not employ children (below 16 years of age) except when they work as apprentices and receive little pay or nothing at all.⁸ The reason offered by industrialists is that these apprentices may destroy some machinery and materials which might outweigh their benefit. In addition, some industrialists claim that children workers do not understand instructions properly. Sometimes, industrialists employ children of existing workers as full-time workers, and for only the summer in other cases where the relationship between the employer and his workers is very intimate. Some students seek jobs during the summer vacation and sometimes they work with their fathers in the same factory.

Statistics for employed children in industry are not available. However, the Industrial Census of 1955 mentioned that there were 3,881 persons under 18 years of age out of a total of 35,013 workers engaged in Lebanese industry. This should be considered in the light of the fact that all workers at present want to send their children to schools. It is expected that in future the number of employed children will decrease as a result of this attitude towards education.⁹

About 60 percent of the total employed (below 18 years of age) are working in the Beirut district where a number of relatively poor people have emigrated from various parts of the country seeking

8. Interview with Mr. Kamil Munsef.

9. Personal opinion based on various discussions with a number of industrial workers.

jobs. The sons of these people who cannot afford to send their children to school are those working at present in Lebanese industry.

Table VI

Number of Female Workers Engaged Classified
By Industry, 1955

I n d u s t r y	Number of Female Workers
Metal Mining, Stone Quarrying, Clay and Sandpits	25
Food Manufacturing, Except Beverages	765
Beverage Industries	78
Tobacco Manufacturing	1,219
Textiles	2,911
Footwear, Wearing Apparel and Other Made-up Textile Goods	1,753
Wood and Cork Manufactures, Except Furniture	7
Furniture and Fixtures	72
Paper and Paper Products	86
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	157
Leather and Leather Products, Except Footwear	186
Rubber Products	155
Chemicals and Chemical Products	86
Non-Metallic Mineral Products	29
Metal Products, Except Machinery and Transport Equipment	66
Electrical Machinery, Apparatus and appliances	35
Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries	185
Total Number of Females Engaged in Industry	7,815

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955, mimeograph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.45.

Table VII

Number of Persons Engaged Classified
By Age-Group and by Locality, 1955
(Both sexes)

Locality	Total Number of Persons Engaged	Aged 18 years and Over	Under 18 years
Beirut	15,294	12,982	2,312
Mount Lebanon	12,835	11,999	836
North Lebanon	5,173	4,725	448
South Lebanon	780	672	108
Beka'a	931	754	177
Total Number of Persons	35,013	31,132	3,881

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Industrial Census - 1955, mimeograph, (Beirut, June, 1957), p.46.

CHAPTER FOUR

Recruitment, Selection and Training of Workers.

Recruitment of Workers

Most industrial workers in Lebanon have been recruited directly by their employers without the help of any intermediary agency. Usually recruitment is done by the industrialists themselves because of the absence of any personnel department in most factories.

The most usual method of recruiting is to hire workers waiting at the doors of factories to see the industrialists. Some industrialists have assigned a certain day of the week for employing workers while others are willing to employ them on any day except Sunday. This method of recruiting workers has been made possible by the abundance of unemployed workers, usually unskilled or semi-skilled, who are searching for work. Employers do not bargain on the terms of employment with such workers because the former have got the stronger position in bargaining and hence they tend to impose their terms. If workers accept, they will be recruited. While this is true in the case of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, it is not true in the case of skilled workers who are badly needed in Lebanese industry and whose supply in relation to demand is relatively small. Generally, skilled workers tend to bargain with employers because the former know that they are badly needed for the proper operation of the factories.

Another method used by employers to recruit workers is to inform their employees of their intention to employ additional workers and the employees will take the news to their unemployed friends.

Furthermore, industrialists recruit workers by contacting some of their relatives or acquaintances who might be willing to work in their factories.

A fourth method of recruiting workers is through religious clubs whereby industrialists who are members in these clubs employ other members.

Finally, industrialists can recruit workers through the Employment Bureau at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. When workers are unemployed they register their names and qualifications at this Bureau. Very few industrialists tap this source in recruiting their workers, however, and hence the unemployed workers are not encouraged to register their names. Only in case an industrialist asks for a work permit for a foreign skilled worker from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is the Bureau of significant help to the unemployed. The Ministry before granting such permission will see whether or not there are any unemployed Lebanese skilled workers with the same qualifications. If there are such workers, the Ministry will not grant the work permit to the foreign worker, and instead will inform the industrialist about the existence of a Lebanese skilled worker with the same or similar qualifications.

Industrialists rarely recruit any of their workers through advertising in news-papers or magazines. In addition, private employment bureaus are non-existent at present in Lebanon and if they are established they will not have prospects of success in the near future as far as industrial labor is concerned,¹ because it is cheaper to recruit workers by the above mentioned methods.

1. Personal opinion based on interviews with officials in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

Moreover, industrial labor unions do not have employment bureaus, which are found in some other parts of the world, because the workers are union members and Lebanese industrialists try to avoid recruiting union members.² They are afraid that if they recruit union members, all of their workers would become members of that union. Industrialists do not like their workers to become union members because of their belief that unions exist to increase employers' worries and troubles with their workers. While this is generally true in Lebanese industry, there are a number of industries that are more or less fully unionized such as textiles, cement and tobacco.

Selection of Workers

As a result of the abundance of unemployed industrial workers, a larger number than needed apply for jobs at factories. Industrialists usually choose workers on the basis of their skills and on the results of physical examinations. In some cases workers carry the recommendations of notable persons, but industrialists will not accept them unless the workers meet their specific requirements.

The skills of the workers are tested on the job for a few days. If the employer is satisfied, the worker will be employed for three months on a probationary basis after which he will become a permanent worker if the industrialist is still satisfied with him; if not, the worker will be dismissed without any indemnity. In some cases the employer hires more workers than he needs for one week, after which he makes his selection amongst them. This is because it takes less time to select a good worker by this method than it would take to try one worker each week until a satisfactory one is found.

2. See Chapter VII.

In addition, workers might be skilled in a particular job while industrialists place them in jobs in which they might not be fully skilled. The industrialists are, however, aware of the fact that the potentialities of their workers are not fully utilized at present as a result of improper placement mainly due to the absence of job description and job analysis in their factories. Thus errors are often made in the selection and placement of industrial workers.

Training of Workers

"Skilled occupations: This group includes craft and manual occupations that require predominantly a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of processes involved in the work, the exercise of considerable independent judgment, usually a high degree of manual dexterity, and, in some instances, extensive responsibility for valuable product or equipment. Workers in these occupations usually become qualified by serving apprenticeships or completing extensive training periods."³

"Semi-skilled occupations: This group includes manual occupations that are characterized by one, or a combination of parts, of the following requirements: the exercise of manipulative ability of a high order, but limited to a fairly well defined work routine; major reliance, not so much upon the workers' judgment or dexterity, but upon vigilance and alertness, in situations in which lapses and performance would cause extensive damage to product or equipment; and the exercise of independent judgment to meet variables in the work situation, which is not based on wide knowledge of a work field and with the nature and extent of judgments limited either a) by application of a relatively narrow task situation or b) by having important decisions made by others. These occupations may require the performance of part of a craft or skilled occupation, but usually to a relatively limited extent".⁴

3. Division of Occupational Analysis, United States Employment Services, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, V.2, Second Edition, (March, 1949), p.81.

4. Ibid., p.167

"Unskilled occupations: This group includes manual occupations that involve the performance of simple duties that may be learned within a short period of time and that require the exercise of little or no independent judgment. Characteristically, such occupations do not require previous experience in the specific occupation in question, although familiarity with the occupational environment may be necessary or very desirable. The occupations in the group vary from those involving a minimum of physical exertion to those characterized by heavy physical work."⁵

As will be seen later on, there is a shortage of skilled workers in Lebanon.⁶ For this reason industrialists, in trying to meet the need for skilled workers, are training their workers on the job. Sometimes they are training each of the workers on two or more jobs in the factory in order to have available replacements for absent workers.

A few large factories send some of their workers abroad for training. In some cases when a machine is newly installed the producing foreign factory sends an engineer to train the local workers to operate it. One industrialist mentioned that he had imported very modern machinery but did not find any Lebanese workers capable of running it and at the same time could not afford employing foreign skilled workers. Therefore, he had to sell the machinery to another industrialist in the U.A.R.⁷

Training costs industrialists large amounts of money and very often when a worker acquires a particular skill he starts asking for

5. Ibid., p.319

6. Discussed later in the Chapter.

7. Interview with the industrialist.

a wage increase or threatens to go to a competitor who is usually willing to pay him a higher wage for his skill after his training is complete. The workers are thus able to get higher wages from their employers. This is because there is a shortage of skilled workers in Lebanon. The worker does not take into consideration that the industrialist incurred heavy expenses in training him. For this reason industrialists prefer to recruit skilled workers and pay them a higher wage rather than train them in their factories. But the supply of skilled workers falls short of the demand for them and hence training on the job becomes inevitable.

The costs of training are increased because most workers are illiterate. Such workers usually need much more time to understand instructions than literate workers, and frequently misinterpret instructions.

Vocational Schools in Lebanon

Very few factories in Lebanon have graduates of vocational schools, either government or private, because of the small number of graduates from these schools and the limited number of skills these schools^{try}/to develop.

There are both government and charitable schools in Lebanon that develop some industrial skills. There are no private non-charitable vocational schools in the country that develop similar skills.

There are two government vocational schools in Lebanon :

1. The Sanayeh Vocational School; and
2. The Vocational Schools with branches in Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahle, and Deir El-Kamar.

There is one vocational school which has been established through the cooperation of I.L.O. and the Lebanese Government. It is called the Vocational Training Center for Adults at Dikwayneh newly established in May, 1961.

In addition, some of the charitable vocational schools are the following:⁸

1. Benedictan Fathers' School - Tripoli, Al-Kubbah;
2. Al-Kubbah Center Vocational School - Tripoli;
3. Father Kartbawi's Vocational School - Aley;
4. Lazarist's School - Beirut;
5. Dar-al-Yatim Lil-Rahmah - Tripoli;
6. Capucins' Fathers School; - Obe'ye;
7. The Moslem Orphanage Center - Beirut; and
8. Bhannes Reformatory Vocational School.

One should distinguish between vocational training and vocational education schools. Government vocational schools have only vocational education while there is only one school having vocational training in Lebanon, namely the Vocational Training Center for Adults at Dikwayneh. Charitable establishments have only vocational education like government vocational schools. Vocational education schools offer mostly theoretical background in industrial skills while vocational training schools concentrate on the application of such theories.

8. This list may not be comprehensive. It has been prepared privately by interviewing a number of people.

The Sanayeh Vocational School

Only students having at least the Brevet Certificate⁹ are accepted in this school. This requirement is part of an attempt to raise the quality and standard of its students. The students are required to study for four years after which they will sit for an exam to qualify for graduation. Table VIII shows the number of students accepted each year from 1950 to 1961 and the total number of graduates per year. The difference between the sum of accepted students for the prior four years and the total body of students represents the number of students who have discontinued their studies. Statistics start with 1950 because the school was completely reorganized in 1949 after which only the students having at least the Brevet Certificate were accepted. However, the school was originally established in 1925, and until 1938, it graduated 242 master craftsmen.⁹ In addition, Table IX shows the number of graduates in each particular field since 1952.

During the last nine years only 113 students have graduated from the Sanayeh Vocational School in electricity, mechanics and industrial chemistry. This number is extremely small if compared with the need of industry for skilled workers. Some teachers in this school confessed that for the first year of work their graduates are not able to prove themselves, but after that they will generally progress more rapidly than workers who did not attend a vocational school.¹⁰ The school is buying new machinery every year so as to cope with the growing need for workers experienced with modern machinery and not simply with primitive tools.

9. Grunwald, Kurt and Ronall, Joachim Ol, op.cit., p.299.
10. Interview with Mr. E. Abu Jawdeh, Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education.

Table VIII

The Sanayeh Vocational School

<u>Year</u>	<u>Accepted Students</u>	<u>Total Number of students</u>	<u>Graduates</u>
1950	67	50	-
1951	37	68	-
1952	38	101	30
1953	35	85	28
1954	23	59	24
1955	36	62	13
1956	35	80	14
1957	50	120	26
1958	50	130	37
1959	53	133	40
1960	80	152	39
1961	79	-	-

Source: Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education, The Government of Lebanon.

Table IX

Number of Graduates in Each Branch,
The Sanayeh Vocational School.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Electricity</u>	<u>Mechanics</u>	<u>Civil Engineering</u>	<u>Industrial Chemistry</u>	<u>Topo- graphy</u>	<u>Radio</u>
1952	7	9	9	5	-	-
1953	8	5	10	5	-	-
1954	5	5	11	3	-	-
1955	4	3	3	3	-	-
1956	3	3	5	3	-	-
1957		9	13	4	-	-
1958		6	12	-	16	3
1959		13	13	-	8	6
1960		9	14	1	7	8
Total	89		90	24	31	17

Source: Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education, The Government of Lebanon.

The Vocational Schools:

The vocational schools in Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahle and Deir-el-Kamar accept only students having at least the Elementary Certificate. The students study for four years after which they are eligible to sit for an exam and get a certificate in the branch in which they have specialized. The Beirut Vocational School teaches the following subjects:

1. Commercial Drawing
2. Casting
3. Printing
4. Car Repairs
5. Mechanics of Aviation
6. Machining
7. Electricity
8. Carpentry
9. Radio and Television
10. Welding
11. Metal Work.

All other vocational schools in Lebanon teach only machining, electricity, carpentry, radio and television, welding and metal work. In the first year, carpentry, machining and metal work are taught to all students, each for three months. In the next three years the students will specialize in only one field of those mentioned in Table XI. All students are exempted from tuition while the best 200 students in these government schools receive LL.50 each as a monthly allowance.

As Table XI shows, for the last twelve years the Government vocational schools have graduated 885 students who are supposedly working at present in Lebanese industry.¹¹ If estimates of the total industrial labor force in Lebanon are correct at 60,000 workers¹² then the efforts of the Government for the last twelve years have supplied skilled workers equal to only slightly more than one percent of the industrial labor force. Even if all these graduates are considered to be skilled workers, and we add to them the 113 graduates of the Sanayeh Vocational School in the last 9 years, it will be seen that the Government contributed very little towards increasing the supply of skilled workers in Lebanese industry. The problem is aggravated by the fact that most graduates of these schools tend to be employed in only a few industries, and thus a small sector of the Lebanese industry benefits from their skill. For example, a large number of graduates are employed in the Beirut Electricity Company and the Chekka Cement Factory.¹³

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11. Excluded from the estimate are graduates in car repairs, commercial drawing, radio, and mechanics of aviation, because they do not form part of the Lebanese industry. By industry is meant the manufacturing of new products. (Not all graduates are employed in Lebanese industry. Some of the graduates have emigrated from the country while others have changed their occupation).
 12. Interview with Mr. Kazem Sannan, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.
 13. Interview with Mr. E. Abu Jawdeh, Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education.

As seen from Tables VIII and X, the total number of graduates in the coming four years from Government vocational schools will be very similar to that of the last four years. Hence, one should not expect that the efforts of the Government in the coming four years will help Lebanese industry very much by supplying it with qualified skilled workers.

Table X

Number of Students in Government Vocational Schools.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Beirut</u>	<u>Zahle</u>	<u>Tripoli</u>	<u>Sidon</u>	<u>Deir el-Kamar</u>
1949	79	51	67	59	-
1950	136	54	96	87	-
1951	256	31	72	71	-
1952	287	52	83	82	-
1953	212	63	92	79	-
1954	223	81	80	77	-
1955	177	62	96	67	-
1956	208	73	82	67	-
1957	273	70	95	48	-
1958	353	71	96	64	30
1959	352	91	131	87	54
1960	321	80	115	93	70
1961	303	82	119	97	88

Source: Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education, The Government of Lebanon.

Table XI
Number of Graduates in Each Branch From Each Government Vocational School (f)

Year	Name of School	Elect-ricity	Machi-ning	Welding & Metal Work(e)	Carpen-try	Car Repairs	Metal Work	Weld-ing	Cast-ing	Weav-ing	Print-ing	Commer-cial Drawing	Radio	Mechanics of Avia-tion
1949	Tripoli Zahle	9 1	7 5	4 6	- 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950	Sidon Tripoli Zahle Sidon	11 7 9	11 8 10	7 7 16	3 6 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
^a 1951 1952	- Mount Lebanon (Beirut) ^b Tripoli Zahle Sidon	- 17 8 4 9	- 11 10 5	- - 9 5 8	11 4 1 3	8	9	9	6	2	2	-	-	-
1953	Mount Lebanon (Beirut) Tripoli Zahle Sidon	21 7 3 9	13 5 1 9	3 2 9	4 4 - 4	15	4	6	3	3	3	3	3	-
1954	Mount Lebanon (Beirut) Tripoli Zahle Sidon	14 8 5 6	8 3 7 8	5 3 10	3 1 3 1	15	4	6	3	3	6	6	6	-
1955	Beirut Tripoli Zahle Sidon	10 8 6 6	8 8 6 6	4 4 7 7	4 4 2 - 3	9	5	6	6	6	6	6	4	-
1956	Beirut Tripoli Zahle Sidon	10 7 3 3	6 4 4 4	7 7 - 5	2 2 6 - 3	5	-	2	1	-	-	-	4	4
1957	Beirut Tripoli Zahle Sidon	13 8 4 4	1 5 6 3	7 2 5 - 3	3 3 1 1 1	10	3	2	1	1	1	4	4	4
^c 1958 1959	- Beirut Tripoli Zahle Sidon	- 13 9 4 6	- 6 6 4 3	- - 3 2 5	2 2 7 2 2	11	2	1	-	-	-	4	5	12
1960	Father Kartbawi's School (d) Beirut Tripoli Zahle Sidon	13 3 3 5 5	3 3 5 4 1	- 4 1 5	1 1 1 - -	6	2	-	-	-	1	2	7	15
Total		298	223	159	105	79	29	30	18	14	9	11	23	15

- a) There were no graduates in 1951 because the period of study was extended to three years instead of two.
 b) The Beirut Vocational School was called Mount Lebanon Vocational School before 1955.
 c) There were no graduates in 1958 because the period of study was extended to four years instead of three.
 d) Father Kartbawi's students attended Government examinations only once in 1959.
 e) Graduates of both branches are separated only in the case of the Beirut Vocational School.
 f) The Deir al-Kamar Vocational School had not had any graduates yet. In 1961, it will start graduating its students.

Source: Ministry of Education, Directorate of Vocational Education, The Government of Lebanon.

Vocational Training Center for Adults at Dikwayneh

Feeling the necessity of increasing the supply of skilled industrial workers, the Vocational Training Center for Adults at Dikwayneh was established in May, 1961. Annually, three groups of trainees will be trained, each for four months. At present they are training ten workers on machining and another ten workers on electricity and welding. These trainees are workers whose employers pay them their full wage while being trained in the Center.

Charitable Vocational Schools

The problem of lack of skilled workers has been partially met by the existence of some charitable vocational schools, already mentioned, which are training their students in metal work, carpentry, electricity, printing and machining.

Father Kartbawi's school, having 400 students, is the largest among these charitable vocational schools. The Lazarists' school has 350 students including a number of girls studying tailoring, while Dar al-Yatim Lil-Rahma has 100 students. The total number of students graduating from all these charitable vocational schools is estimated to be 100 annually.¹⁴ The graduates of these schools are not as qualified as those graduating from Government Vocational Schools, because they lack training on modern machinery. However,

14. Estimates provided by Father Kartbawi. The reason why the annual number of graduates is small in relation to the total body of students is that in such charitable establishments students are kept for a number of years until they are old enough to work and support themselves.

most of the graduates of these schools work as craftsmen and not in a factory.¹⁵ Thus the need for skilled workers is not fully met by the graduates of these charitable vocational schools.

The Need for Skilled Workers in Lebanese Industry.

In 1959, the Association of Lebanese Industrialists carried out a survey the purpose of which was to study the composition of the Lebanese industrial labor force. The survey covered 57 industrial establishments. The results of this study are shown in Table XII.

Table XII shows that only 483 workers (engineers, technical managers, and technical staff) out of 12,344 are skilled workers. As a percentage of the total labor force in these establishments, they are about 4 percent. It is believed that this is not sufficient if the continuous rapid progress of technology and the increase in the installation of automatic machinery are taken into consideration.¹⁶ While skilled workers are able to run automatic machinery properly, other workers in the process of learning might damage some parts of the machinery on which they are working.

Both the government and the industrialists are aware of the lack of skilled labor and hence the Vocational Guidance Council was established in which the Association of Lebanese Industrialists and

15. A speech delivered by the Director of the Moslem Orphanage Center in 1959 in a reception in honor of Dr. Abdul Hafiz Tabbara attended by the writer.

16. Abdallah al-Khouri, Head of the Association of Lebanese Industrialists, memorandum regarding vocational training in Lebanon, 1960.

representatives of the Ministry of National Economy, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs are members. The purpose of this council is to advise the various vocational schools in Lebanon on the particular skills needed in industry.

Because of the difficulty of finding qualified Lebanese skilled workers, a number of industrialists have employed foreign skilled workers. Some industrialists hope that these foreigners will be able to train their Lebanese workers in order to replace the foreigners in future. However, most Lebanese workers do not know any foreign language, and hence, industrialists, at present, are very keen on employing workers who can speak the language of the foreign skilled workers. But such workers are difficult to find at present because of the attitude toward manual work by the more educated people.¹⁷

Table XII

Composition of the Industrial Labor Force
in 57 Establishments, 1959.

Non-technical managers	118
Engineers and technical managers	229
Assistant directors	163
Technical staff	254
Ordinary employees	495
Foremen	475
Draftsmen	127
Semi-skilled workers	5,162
Unskilled workers	5,321
	<hr/>
Total number of workers and employees	12,344

Source: Abdallah el-Khoury, Head of the Association of Lebanese Industrialists, Memorandum regarding vocational training in Lebanon, 1960.

17. See Chapter V.

CHAPTER FIVE

Characteristics of the Lebanese Industrial Worker

The characteristics of the Lebanese industrial worker have been influenced mainly by religion, tradition, culture and Lebanon's recent industrialization.

Characteristics Influenced by Religion and Tradition

The Fatalistic Attitude of the Workers: The industrial workers in Lebanon, as in some other parts of the Middle East, regard their present living and working conditions as predestined and believe that if anything evil happens to them it is because of destiny. The reasons for this attitude appear to be both religious and traditional. In the Moslem religion for example everything is "Maktoub 'Al-Jabin" or predestined. In addition, the workers throughout the centuries have had the same attitude towards life which has not yet been changed. The modification of this attitude might need the time of many generations.

When some of the industrial workers were asked about the reasons for which they have chosen their present jobs, their answers were concentrated on chance and predestination. Moreover, the workers rarely try to improve their working conditions by themselves and wait for some external forces to the factory to impose any improvements e.g. through the Government's efforts¹, most usually

1. Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs visits on each Tuesday three to four factories and advises managers to improve working conditions of their factories to protect the health of their workers, otherwise they refer them to the courts.

when very serious trouble arises among the workers.² Workers complain only to the Government when something serious happens. In addition, because of this fatalistic attitude the workers rarely provide any funds for their future and hope that God will "manage" their affairs when they fall into any difficulty. However, although the workers know the advantages of education rarely have any of them ever attempted to attend an evening school, and they just accuse their bad luck for their illiteracy.³

Furthermore, if any accident takes place within the factory , it is because of fate, and they say it is "Kada Wa Kadar" and not because of lack of safety measures, insufficient training of the workers, improper machinery, or any other possible reason.

The workers' belief in fate is clear when most of them prefer to remain in their jobs even if they have a legal excuse to ask for their indemnity which is sufficient to start a new business for themselves and hence a new life. They do not like to shift to

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2. When the workers think of going on a strike having in mind sometimes only one demand, later the list of demands increases in an effort to get as much as they can from their employers. This is the opinion of Mr. Hassan Nasser of the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.
 3. Most of those who attend evening schools are non-industrial employees.

another job even in the same factory and they resist their employer's efforts to transfer them to other jobs.⁴

The Individualistic Spirit of the Workers: The majority of industrial workers in Lebanon do not cooperate with each other for their mutual benefit. The industrialists are happy about this and prefer things to continue unchanged because they can impose the terms of employment which suit themselves. If the worker does not accept these terms he will be unemployed because industrialists rarely bargain with a worker and usually pay the wage that suits themselves.

This individualistic spirit of the workers is an important enemy to the establishment and development of industrial labor unions.

The Attitude Towards Manual Work: Skilled workers look very highly upon manual work and are proud of their skill. Unskilled and some semi-skilled workers do not share this opinion for the most part and prefer mental or clerical jobs. Unskilled and some semi-skilled workers concentrate on manual work inside the factory in order to

in the

4. The writer has read, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, many letters of complaint written by workers against their employers concerning change of job. For example, a worker complained that he was responsible for the weighing of goods manufactured. His employer placed him on the pressing machine and the worker had to abide by his employer's decision because the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs did not support the worker's claim.

receive a wage and nothing more. The main reasons underlying this attitude are the following:

a. Industrial workers believe that manual work needs more effort than mental or clerical jobs - they believe that the latter are more comfortable occupations;

b. Industrial labor believes that mental or clerical work is cleaner than manual work;

c. Industrial workers hold the view that persons having mental or clerical jobs receive much more money than persons doing manual work; and

d. It is a tradition in Lebanon to look down at manual work.

The Attitude of Male Workers Towards Female Workers:

Historically, work was considered as a taboo to women in Lebanon. Women were not allowed to work in any firm. They had to stay at home. Gradually, as social change took place, the picture changed and women were allowed to work. At the beginning the Christians were pioneers but later on Moslem women joined factories and began working like Christian women. Social change took place as a result of contact with the habits and customs of the western world. Christians had more connections than Moslems with the West because of religious affiliations.

At present most Moslem male workers believe that women should not work but should stay at home and take care of the home

and children. While most Christian male workers hold the contrary view and believe that women should be allowed to work. Male workers, both Moslems and Christians, claim that women workers cannot be a substitute for them in their own work, and their employers would not, anyway, replace them by women. In addition, some Moslem and Christian male workers expressed their view that they do not like to work with women in the same factory because "we will be distracted from our work" as one male worker mentioned.⁵

However, women workers expressed the opinion that they are willing to accept lower wages than men for doing the same job if it is physically possible for them to do so. They also do not object to working side by side with men.

Characteristics Influenced By Other Aspects of Culture

High Level of Illiteracy Among Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Labor: A great number of unskilled and semi-skilled male workers do not know how to read and write Arabic. In Addition, most female workers are illiterate. Few male unskilled workers ever went to school.⁶ If any one of them happens to know a foreign language it is likely to be French perhaps learned while working with the French army when the latter was in the country. This situation makes instruction

5. This worker was interviewed personally by the writer.

6. See Chapter II.

of the workers very difficult. Communication between the different levels of the organization is hindered. Workers are not able to express their views and problems adequately to their superiors who are in a position to handle them. Illiterate workers are not in a position to execute orders as they should and may, sometimes, misunderstand them. In addition, and since most industrialists tend to train their workers on the job, the instructors need much more time in training the illiterate than in training the literate workers. Such illiteracy of the workers tends to increase the costs of training for the industrialists.

However, the illiterate workers having become aware of the difficulties illiteracy has brought to them and after becoming convinced of the benefits of education want to have their sons avoid the difficulties they faced by sending them to schools.⁷

The Lebanese Industrial Worker's Eagerness to Learn: The Lebanese industrial worker is eager to learn if he is given the opportunity. He is open-minded and ready to accept guidance and advice in performing his job. The majority of the workers employed in Lebanese industry have started as unskilled workers and, with the experience gained while working, they have become skilled and semi-skilled workers. Only through the acceptance of the advice

7. All the workers interviewed conveyed this to the writer.

and the instructions of the more experienced did the unskilled workers become skilled. This applies as well to the illiterate workers.

Workers' Sense of Importance: The industrial workers in Lebanon are aware of the fact that the Lebanese economy cannot grow and prosper without their efforts.⁸ They are proud of that and this gives them a sort of self-satisfaction. The workers believe, therefore, that they should be cared for and that the Government and industrialists should give them a say in matters pertaining to their future and destiny. For this reason, some of the more enlightened workers are either forming industrial labor unions or joining existing industrial unions in order to have stronger bargaining power.

Characteristics Influenced By Lebanon's Recent Industrialization

Lack of "Conscience Professionnelle" Among Lebanese Industrial Workers: Lebanese industrialists usually blame their workers for low productivity on the grounds that the workers do not feel responsible for the work they perform. They do not like to assume responsibility for their work. Their main reason for working in the factory is not to do any work but to receive wages at the end of the day. It does not matter to the worker how much he produces or how many hours he works; his sole interest is the money. Workers do not take into consideration that the daily wage they receive should be comparable to their daily production.

8. Based on interviews with workers.

Workers, however, are not aware of the concept "conscience professionnelle" because of Lebanon's recent industrialization and the prevailing illiteracy among unskilled and some semi-skilled workers.

High Degree of Absenteeism Among Industrial Workers: When the workers feel that they are not interested in their work they will try to absent themselves from the factories. The main reasons why some workers are not interested in their work are due to their family troubles and worries, and to the favoritism of the industrialists who according to their likes and dislikes determine the misery or happiness of their workers. Moreover, "unsuitable working conditions naturally tend to increase absenteeism. Thus long hours, unduly fatiguing work, unsuitable temperatures, inefficient ventilation or the like may raise absence rates well above the normal for comparable workers in other firms or industries, while attention to the workers' welfare may reduce them below the average".⁹

Sometimes the workers absent themselves and invent excuses which they believe to be legal while at other time they absent themselves without even giving prior notice to their supervisors. When the workers were asked about the number of days they absent themselves from the factory without a legal excuse annually, they answered that they never absent themselves without a legal excuse.

9. Fenelon, K.G. Management and Labour, (London, 1939), p. 76.

When the industrialists were asked about this, they mentioned some of the "legal" excuses that the workers invent such as "they were drunk the evening before; they did not find a bus to return to the factory from their village on Monday; they were feeling a little bit tired and hence should get a sickness report. Other workers were more courageous and mentioned that they have been hunting or on a trip." The workers, however, claim that they are entitled to 15 days of rest a year and hence they should choose the days they like and not the days their employers like. Some workers said that since the industrialists do not give them their annual leave, they take it without their permission. Under such circumstances the employer sends a warning to the workers concerned and a copy of it to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs where it is kept. After three warnings the industrialists can dismiss the worker without giving him his compensation for dismissal.¹⁰

However, women workers absent themselves more than men workers, while on the contrary they get in most cases a sickness report from a doctor.¹¹

Labor Turnover: "The term labor turnover is used to designate changes in the personnel of a firm caused by the replacement of persons who

10. See Chapter VII.

11. This is because women are apt to have certain physical troubles which men do not have.

have left its employment for any reason."¹² Most of the skilled workers interviewed had not changed their place of work during their working experience. Some skilled workers have changed their job mostly because they were offered a higher wage for they happened to have a particular skill. The highest degree of labor turnover is among the unskilled workers. The degree of labor turnover is also high among the semi-skilled workers because they possess some of the characteristics of skilled workers, and different industrialists happen to evaluate them differently. So these semi-skilled workers leave for better paying jobs. The lowest degree of labor turnover is among the skilled workers because they are more interested in their work and the wages they receive suffice their daily needs. Most skilled workers are happy and satisfied with their work and employers. The industrialists are very keen on satisfying the needs of their very few skilled workers who are usually very difficult to find. A factor determining the degree of labor turnover is the probationary period allowed by law which is usually three months during which the industrialists can dismiss their workers without giving them any compensation for dismissal if they are not satisfied with their work. This probationary period encourages industrialists to replace their unskilled workers with new unskilled workers and thus avoid the payment of such a compensation. In addition, industrialists

12. Fenelon, K. G., op.cit., p.78.

have developed certain procedures by which they can avoid such payment at the expense of a higher degree of labor turnover. As was mentioned before, after sending three warnings to the worker, the employer can discharge his workers without the payment of any dismissal compensation.

Industrialists also tend to dismiss their workers who happen to join an industrial labor union.¹³ This is especially the case when the industry is not fully unionized. Joining a labor union often means expulsion from work with a "legal" excuse.¹⁴ Another factor responsible for the high degree of labor turnover is that some workers when they find that they have got a legal excuse to ask for their compensation for dismissal which is sufficient to start a new business for themselves, they will demand it. This is because the Lebanese worker likes to be his own "boss" which is an old tradition among the Lebanese. This attitude is evidenced by the increasing number of peddlers and retailers.

However, a factor which has the tendency of decreasing the degree of labor turnover in Lebanese industry is that when employers find that the indemnity due to their workers in case of dismissal is great, they prefer not to dismiss them only because they have not got sufficient money to cope with such payments and hence they prefer to use the warning procedure already mentioned.

13. Such cases are found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

14. See Chapter VII.

Industrial Discipline:¹⁵ In spite of what has been mentioned, the industrial workers in Lebanon are becoming more industrially disciplined. The workers are more accustomed to factory rules and regulations. Thus they do not smoke when and where it is forbidden; they do not move away from the machine on which they are working unless they take the prior permission of their supervisors. In addition, the workers are accustomed at present to come to the factory and to leave it at fixed predetermined hours, accept orders from their supervisors without any question and have developed the habit of discussing their problems with their supervisors.

Effects of Carelessness On the Part of the Workers

The Workers' Ignorance of the Method in Which their Wages are Determined:

The industrial workers in Lebanon do not know exactly how their wages are determined. They believe that industrialists determine their wages in comparison with wages existing in other firms.¹⁶ All the workers interviewed believe that they deserve more money than they are getting at present while the employers interviewed believe that the workers are getting more than they deserve if their output is taken into consideration. Thus employers claim that although labor costs

15. Based on personal observations and on discussions with industrialists.

16. This is not the only method in which wages are determined. Favoratism plays also an important role in determining wages.

appear to be low in Lebanon they are actually higher than in other parts of the world if the productivity of the workers is taken into consideration.

The Workers' Indifference with Regards to the Plans of Management:

Industrial workers in Lebanon seem not to be interested in the plans of their management nor is management interested in informing their workers about their plans. Industrialists in Lebanon in most cases tend to inform only middle management or the key persons in the factory of their future plans, and might take their opinion if the particular decision happens to fall within their realm of specialization.

When the workers are interested in the plans of their management, this means that they are interested in the future activity of the factory, which means that they are interested in their future happiness or misery within the factory. The indifference of the workers with regard to the plans of management is another aspect of their fatalistic attitude towards life.

Ignorance of the Workers of the Industrialists' Problems: The workers are ignorant of the difficulties that the industrialists are facing while running their factories. It happened that some workers asked their employers for a wage increase and threatened to go on strike. The industrialists happened at the same time to be thinking of dismissing some of their workers in order to curb their production as a result of the increase in their inventories and the contraction of their market. The workers in such cases have chosen the wrong time to approach their employers and if they had known their difficulties

they would have waited until the situation improved. If the workers had succeeded in forcing the industrialists to grant them a wage increase under such circumstances the industrialists would have become bankrupt in a short period and the workers would have been unemployed.¹⁷

Workers' Carelessness at Work: Industrialists and workers believe that the reason for accidents in Lebanese industry is fate and carelessness on the part of workers, and not the lack of safety measures, inadequacy of the maintenance of machinery, lack of sufficient training of the workers, lack of proper supervision, and improper machinery.¹⁸ Moreover, the frequency of accidents varies between one type of industry and another and within anyone industry between one type of work and another. Thus, where the machinery is completely automatic and the workers have to watch and control only, accidents are very rare. Accidents in metal industries, for example, are more frequent than in soft drinks industry. Due to the lack of official statistics of industrial accidents it is impossible to make any worthwhile judgment of whether or not industrial accidents form a serious hindrance to the development of industry in Lebanon. Industrialists, when

17. Personal opinion based on cases in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

18. Based on interviews with both industrialists and workers.

interviewed, tended to ignore the importance of accidents and said that only a very few workers are slightly wounded annually. Some of them confessed that some accidents might occur within their factories of which they are not aware.

The Workers' Ignorance of the Labor Code: It is quite extraordinary to find that the majority of Lebanese industrial workers have not had the opportunity to read or have somebody read for them the Labor Code of 1946. Even the head of an industrial labor union said very frankly that he had not read the Labor Code although he knows how to read and write Arabic.¹⁹ There is no reason justifying this except the workers' carelessness, because they can obtain the Labor Code very easily from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

When the workers are ignorant of the Labor Code they are not likely to know exactly their legal rights and in case of dispute with their employers they might not know whether or not the law is on their side. In some cases the workers happen to use the services of lawyers in telling them whether or not they have any right in their dispute with their employers.

19. Based on an interview with the head of an industrial labor union.

CHAPTER SIX

Physical Working Conditions in Lebanese Industry¹

The physical working conditions in ten of the fifteen factories visited are extremely poor. When entering two of these factories wastes of raw materials and pools filled with dirty water during the winter time are seen at their entrances. These pools very often smell badly. Workers have to walk on mud when entering the factory during the winter time. This is of particular concern because one of these factories belongs to the foodstuff industry. Health and Safety Inspectors in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs have complained of such unhealthy surroundings and advised managers of these factories to make changes, but the managers rarely accepted their advice to improve the situation.

Factories are located primarily in the suburbs of towns and cities. They are located in various parts of the country without

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1. Based on personal observations and on warnings sent by the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, to industrialists.
 2. The reason why industrialists do not accept such advice is that almost any improvement of the physical working conditions would cost more than the ten Lebanese Pounds which is the usual penalty. This is based on an interview with Mr. Hassan Nasser, Head of the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

any thorough planning or control on the part of the Government and without considering whether or not they are located in a healthy center. Some factories in the food industry are located in the slum area of "Al-Maslakh" in the northern suburb of Beirut.³ The buildings of two factories visited appear to be old and unsafe, and it is clear that expansion of such buildings was gradual and without a proper plan or design in mind. It seems that the owners of these factories bought some machinery and found that the existing buildings could not hold such machinery. Hence, they broke the walls of the existing building and added sufficient room to hold the newly purchased machinery. In two other factories the buildings look to have been originally designed as houses for living, but the owners decided to turn them into factories. The machinery in such buildings is improperly installed. In some cases the machinery is not properly fixed to the floors and so it shakes while in operation. Moreover, some of the machinery is inadequately spaced which shows that newly purchased machinery has been placed on any vacant floor and with no regard to the smooth flow of work. For example, in a foundry visited the smoothing of the cast iron was done in a place not adjacent to the place where iron is casted although there was room for the smoothing of the cast iron, but different types of machinery were placed instead.

3. One of the factories visited is in this area. The writer personally knows of at least two flour mills located in it.

In addition, some of the machinery has belts which are not fenced thus endangering the workers.⁴ In three of the factories visited the stairs are broken and there is a strong possibility of workers' injury. The Health and Safety Officers in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs warned the owners of such factories regarding the latter's obligation in improving the stairs. Industrialists, however, rarely listened to such demands as was mentioned earlier.

Six of the factories visited do not have enough windows where light and air can pass through. In the absence of a sufficient number of windows and hence in the absence of sunlight, these factories have not provided for proper lighting which allows workers to see clearly. In some cases the roofs of factories are supported with wooden plates instead of the iron plates needed for safety.⁵

The floors in three of the factories visited are unpaved which makes their continuous cleaning, for hygienic purposes, impossible. In addition, some factories are located in the basements of buildings and underground.⁶ A doctor in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs mentioned that some workers in such establishments had tuberculosis because light, fresh air and cleanliness were not available. The degree of cleanliness and sanitation in some factories is not very high and Health and Safety Inspectors of the Ministry of Labor and

4. Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

5. Ibid.,

6. Interview with Mr. Hassan Nasser, Head of the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

Social Affairs are very keen on keeping cleanliness and sanitary standards in Lebanese industry as high as possible by referring to courts the violating managers of factories.⁷ At present, such efforts have not resulted in worthwhile improvements on the cleanliness and sanitary standards in Lebanese industry due mainly to the inefficient methods applied in the enforcement of law.

Wastes of raw materials in two of the factories visited are seen within the work place and, apparently, no attempt to remove them, for months, has been made. In addition, eight of the factories visited just pile the manufactured products within the work place and as a result workers can hardly walk between these piles. There is also the danger that some of these products might fall, but no measures to insure the workers' safety have been taken.

The Health and Safety Inspectors of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs complain of inadequate electrical installations in some factories which endanger the safety of the factory and of the workers. The problem is also aggravated in these factories by the absence of fire extinguishers.

Ten of the factories visited are not properly ventilated and workers sweat heavily during summer time. Furthermore, dust and soot spoil the atmosphere within five of these factories. In a factory where cast iron is produced tiny bits of iron were seen

7. Ibid.,

shining on the clothes of a visitor to the factory. In such a filthy atmosphere the health of the workers will degenerate. In another factory there was an extremely bad smell coming out of the raw materials used in production which are found in an open place in the factory. No fans were used in order to remove the smell, and the workers had either to accept the smell in the factory or to leave work. A number of workers left the factory, one of the reasons being the bad smell and the poor ventilation within the plant. In six of the factories visited too many workers are placed in one room with very poor ventilation.⁸

In three of the factories visited, if accidents occur, it takes a good deal of time until a doctor can examine the injured worker who is not given first-aid due to the lack of responsible persons equipped with the necessary medicine in these factories.

Some factories do not provide drinking water for their workers.⁹ Actually, only one of the factories visited did not provide drinking water for its workers. In addition, eleven of the factories visited do not provide washing and bathing facilities for their workers after they finish their daily work.

Furthermore, eight of the factories visited do not provide dining-rooms and lockers for their workers, although the law requires that all establishments having more than 40 workers should provide a

8. In one of the factories visited 60 workers were placed in one room 15 meters in length and seven meters in width.

9. Interview with Mr. Hassan Nasser, Head of the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

place for workers to eat. Eleven factories visited had more than 40 workers each. Five out of the eight factories that do not provide dining-rooms and lockers for their workers have more than 40 Workers each.

The physical working conditions in the other five factories visited were much better. Standards of cleanliness and sanitary conditions are maintained properly within these factories.

In constructing such factories proper design and long range expansion of the factory had been taken into consideration hence allowing for the proper arrangement and placement of machinery which permits the smooth flow of work. In these factories when a certain product needs to be manufactured by six machines, for example, the machines are arranged in such an order that allows the products to be transferred quickly and without much difficulty from one machine to another that eliminates any mistake in applying the machine to the product in its proper turn. The machinery installed insures the safety of the workers as much as possible because it is designed and fenced properly. In nine of the factories visited there are sufficient windows that allow enough light to pass through which makes the work of the workers less dangerous. These factories have in addition proper lighting facilities in case sunlight may not be sufficient.

Furthermore, the floors of five of the factories visited are paved which makes continuous cleaning of the floors more feasible if it is desired by the managers of such factories. Wastes and

finished products are delivered to special places within the factory after which they are transferred away from the factory.

In only a very few factories in Lebanon are humidity and temperature controlled because owners of factories do not believe in such "luxuries". In some cases, as in textiles for example, the control of humidity and temperature are essential to the quality of the product. In these factories, dust, soot and smell are not found because a proper ventilation system is usually installed.

In addition, in the five new and modern factories visited drinking water, washing and bathing facilities, dining-rooms and lockers are provided although the law does not oblige them to provide a dining-room if the factories have less than 40 workers. Furthermore, all of these factories have first-aid boxes containing the necessary medicine.

Very few industrialists ever supply their workers with items that help insure their safety against possible hazards of work. For example, the worker might need special eye glasses and gloves in order to do his work safely, yet his employer does not supply him with them on the grounds that the worker is not accustomed to them. In the food industry very few industrialists are supplying their workers with clean white clothes for work and with hats to prevent hair from falling into the mix.¹⁰ In addition, in such an

10. Warnings sent to industrialists by the Health and Safety Officers of the Ministry of labor and Social Affairs.

industry, few industrialists ask their workers to wash their hands and clean their nails before they start working.¹¹

Of course, workers in the new and modern factories are much more satisfied than workers in the old factories. Hence the workers in the first type of factories seldom ask their employers for an improvement in physical working conditions.¹²

Workers in the older factories ask for improvements of the physical working conditions when they can no longer bear it. Owners of these factories tend to improve very little the working conditions in their factories. They tend to improve some working conditions only when they are forced by workers' collective action or by the Health and Safety Section, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Under no other circumstances are employers willing to pay attention to the improvement of working conditions within their factories.¹³

11. Ibid.,

12. Complaints regarding the inadequacy of physical working conditions in these new factories have not been sent to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

13. Personal opinion based on discussions with officials in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Non-Physical Working Conditions in Lebanese Industry

In handling labor problems, industrialists do not pay sufficient attention to the long run interest of their workers and try to find only immediate and sometimes temporary solutions or remedies. Some of the non-physical working conditions in Lebanese industry that affect morale and hence productivity will be studied below. Industrialists at present seem to ignore the importance of morale on production of their workers. As a result of this it is not strange to find that employers do not attempt to find ways by which the morale of their workers could be raised if it happened to be low, as is likely the case in the larger establishments. Moreover, industrialists frequently violate the labor law as far as wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, family allowances, work contingencies, and compensation for dismissal are concerned. Furthermore, management - labor relations tend to affect workers' morale adversely.

Violation of the Labor Law

Wages: Wages in Lebanese industry are not determined scientifically but are determined by the interplay of supply and demand for labor. Employers do not bargain with their workers especially with the unskilled and tend to impose the wage they want to pay. The employers mentioned that they do not have any job evaluation system on which

the workers' wages could be determined equitably (an equitable wage is a wage that satisfies both employers and employees). This situation has created a feeling among the workers that they are being exploited by their employers and that they are getting as a wage less than they actually deserve. Employers feel that the wages they pay to their workers are equitable and hence most industrialists do not grant annual wage increases.

Most workers interviewed claimed that the wages they receive are not sufficient to cope with their personal expenses because of the high cost of living. They are not saving anything at present for their future. Only some skilled workers who received relatively high remuneration are able to satisfy their living needs and save a little for old age and for securing higher education for their children. Some female workers mentioned that they are not saving anything of their wages which barely meet their personal expenses. Faced with such difficulties, most workers asked their employers to give them advances on their wages. The latter, however, are not willing to do so on the grounds that they will not be repaid because since the workers at present are not meeting their living needs, then they are not likely to meet them in the future when the cost of living rises further and, at the same time, most employers do not have the intention of increasing the wages of their workers.

When the workers were asked about how they would support themselves when they become old their answers were concentrated on the following points: in future they might be able to save some

money; when they become old they will see about it; God will do something about it; their children will support them; and in case of girls, they hope to get married and their husbands will then support them.

Employers know this, but they believe that their workers are spending at present all the money they receive in an effort to live a luxurious life. So the employers would argue: "why give any wage increase to workers if they will be dissatisfied and will still ask for wage increases?" Most industrialists argue that they cannot afford to give wage increases to their workers, because they will not be able to compete with the foreign manufactured products.

At present, skilled male workers in Lebanese industry receive a daily wage of LL.7 - 15, semi-skilled male workers receive LL.5 - 7, while unskilled male workers receive LL.3 - 5 daily. Apprentices receive about LL.2 - 3 while female workers receive LL.2 - 4 daily.¹ Thus in some establishments the difference between the highest and lowest wages paid to workers is LL.2 - 15. It is, however, believed by both industrialists and workers that this large difference in wage payment does not lower the morale of the workers who are paid low wages because everybody "knows the worth of his skill".²

In determining these wages, the majority of industrialists do not take into consideration the opinion of unions whose bargaining power is still weak.

1. These estimates are based on interviews with workers and industrialists.

2. Based on interviews with workers and industrialists.

Most workers receive their wages on a weekly basis, others every fifteen days while still others receive their wages on a monthly basis. The majority of workers are paid on a time-rate basis and very few of them are paid on a piece rate basis. The nature of the industry will determine whether or not it is possible to determine wages on a piece rate basis. In some cases the workers prefer the piece rate system, if it is equitable, because if they work harder they will get more money. Nevertheless, some industrialists prefer it because they can avoid the overtime payment in case the workers work beyond the maximum hours allowed by law. In addition, most industrialists give bonuses, if they happen to give any, only for increased production while they tend not to give bonuses for the steady attendance of their workers and for the quality of the latter's production. Actually, very few industrialists give bonuses to their efficient workers. Some industrialists, however, mentioned that although they do not give bonuses to their workers, they take all these factors into consideration when they consider wage increases for their workers. Furthermore, some workers expressed their view that even if their employers increased their wages they are not likely to produce more. A worker in a factory worked very slowly and in a lazy manner and when asked about the reason for doing this, he answered that he was exerting an effort equivalent to his wage.³ It seems in this case that if

3. The case of this worker is found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

the worker had his wage increased he would exert an extra effort and hence produce more. The worker might have worked lazily only to compel his employer to increase his wage.

When the workers were asked to choose either increasing the fringe benefits to them or increasing their wages, all of them wanted the latter.⁴ This indicates that the workers are more interested in money than in anything else given by their employers.

In addition, some industrialists do not pay wages to their workers when they fall due because the former are in financial difficulty or they are still accustomed to this method from the "old golden days" in order to keep their workers with them for as long a period as they can.⁵ Sometimes industrialists in penalizing their workers do not pay them their wages when they are due. This method may be effective with the workers if they happened not to have any savings which is usually the case as was mentioned earlier. In some cases, industrialists in penalizing their workers cut-off their pay for one or two days, if the latter happened to damage the interests of the factory. In other cases industrialists dismissed their workers for one or two days without any payment. Certain cases existed where industrialists were paying less than the legal minimum wage of LL.125 a month.⁶ This induced workers to ask continually for wage increases which were never granted except in very few cases where collective

4. Based on interviews with workers.

5. See Chapter II.

6. Many complaints concerning this problem are found in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

action by workers was taken. However, a law was passed in April, 1961, obliging employers to increase the wages they pay to their workers by fifteen percent if they had not increased them for the last five years. When the employers heard this, immediately they asked their workers to sign papers that they had benefited from such an increase in the last five years so that the law would not apply to them. In some cases workers refused to do so and complained to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, but industrialists, as will be mentioned later, in taking revenge on these workers will arrange for excuses by which they can dismiss them without paying them their compensation for dismissal.⁷ For this reason, most workers will sign such papers without any complaint and hence the intentions of the Government in raising their wages will be defeated by the workers' efforts. If the workers do not help the Government in its efforts for raising their standard of living the present situation will continue to the disadvantage of the workers.

While all workers expect that their wages will be increased as time passes and as they continue working in the same factory, certain cases exist where the opposite takes place. One employer reduced the wage of one of his workers from LL.7,50 per day to LL.3,50 after the worker had worked in the factory for a number of years. The worker was given the choice, in order to keep his daily wage as it was, of either doubling his daily

7. Such cases are found in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

output or hiring another worker on his own account to help him.⁸ It is true that this might be a special case, yet other cases exist where employers threaten to close their factories if wages are not reduced because competition is extremely keen and they are not finding markets.⁹ In such a case some industrialists give the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs the choice of either dismissing their workers or reducing the general wages of their workers. Under such circumstances workers have no hope of wage increases. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is thus faced with the dilemma of not allowing the dismissal of any worker or reducing his wage and will instead contact the Ministry of National Economy to help the industrialists who are in trouble by protecting their industries through the imposition of custom duties. Sometimes, industrialists prefer the alternative of dismissing their workers a few days a week without paying them any money in an effort to limit the size of their production and hence of their accumulating inventories. One large factory in Lebanon usually dismissed its daily, and not permanent, workers a month or two per year without paying them any money in an effort to curtail production.¹⁰

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8. This complaint was found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.
 9. Such cases are found in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.
 10. This factory is a special case because it has some workers considered to be permanent and other workers considered daily workers who could be dismissed more easily than permanent workers. This factory is a monopoly supervised in certain respect by the Government.

Some workers when injured at work ask their employers to pay them their wages while absent from work. Very few industrialists do this thus violating the labor law. Actually, complaints of non-payment exist at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

Furthermore, some industrialists tend to reduce the wages of their workers if the electric current is cut-off and the workers are not able to work as a result.¹¹ Industrialists claim that their workers have not worked the whole day and hence do not deserve their full daily wage and should get the wage equivalent to the number of hours they actually worked. Workers on the other hand claim that they were willing to work and stayed in the factory throughout the day and hence they deserve their daily wage complete. They do not want to lose their wage for a fault for which they are not responsible.

Finally, the majority of Lebanese industrialists in asking their workers to work overtime are abiding by the law which stipulates that hours worked beyond the customary maximum (8 hours per day) must be paid at the rate of 50% more. However, industrialists are not allowed to ask their workers to work overtime unless they obtain the prior permission of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs to do so. Still, not all industrialists apply for such permission from the Ministry and not all of them pay the 50% more for overtime work.

Occasionally industrialists in promoting some of their workers and possibly in wage increases follow unjust procedures, in

11. This case is found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

the eyes of the workers, in which nepotism, favoritism and religious ties play a dominant role. This tends to lower the morale of the workers who are not promoted or cared for by the industrialists.

Working hours: It is stipulated by the law that workers should not work for more than 48 hours a week; the week being considered as six days. Any hour beyond this maximum limit must be paid at the rate of 50% more. However, certain industrialists are employing their workers eight and a half hours daily, i.e. 7:30 - 12:30 a.m. and from 1:00 - 4:30 p.m., instead of eight hours only. There are numerous complaints regarding this "illegal" unpaid half an hour addressed to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The law also stipulates that workers should not work for more than six hours consecutively without at least an hour of rest. This is also being violated constantly by the industrialists just mentioned. The strange thing about it is that the workers are still working under such circumstances in spite of the fact that complaints were sent to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. This shows that industrialists are influential in keeping things as they want and proves that a dispute requires many years before it is settled in front of the courts. In addition, although it is stipulated by law that industrialists must attach a paper concerning the daily hours of work, on the gates of their factories, very few of them are doing so. Some workers complained to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs when their employers changed the schedule of their

daily hours of work because of the fact that their homes are far away from the factory and hence they could not come at the new scheduled time. The employers insisted and the workers had to abide by the new regulation.

Annual Leaves: Workers are entitled by law to have fifteen days of rest a year, which is being violated by industrialists very frequently. Some industrialists require their workers to sign documents stating that they have taken their annual leaves since they started working for their present employers. The workers will be thus deprived of their annual leaves. Industrialists are induced to do this because they cannot give certain skilled workers even one day of leave. If skilled workers are given leave, production in the factories would be curtailed. However, some industrialists are giving their workers their legal annual leave as one vacation, but some workers are still not satisfied on the ground that they want this vacation at the time they wish and not at the time their employers impose. This demand on the part of the workers, of course, will not suit their employers especially when automatic machinery and line production are found, and if one section's workers take their annual leave the activities of the other sections will be hindered as a result.

Sick Leave: Generally, whenever a worker presents a sickness report to his employer, the latter should give permission to the former to absent himself. It very often happens that the worker brings the sickness report from the doctor and comes to the factory personally to present it to his employer. The employer might be willing to give such permission but because other workers are absent he cannot

allow the sick worker to leave the factory because production would be curtailed or hindered especially when there is automatic machinery and line production. Therefore, employers usually ask their sick workers to do their best and work. Workers in order not to displease their employers will try to do their best while sick and their health becomes poorer. This is in spite of the fact that the law entitles the workers to a sick leave with payment varying with the number of years of service for their present employers.¹²

Family Allowances: Most industrialists are not paying their workers their legal monthly allowances which are LL.10 for the wife, LL.10 for the first child, LL.7.50 for the second child, LL.7.50 for the third child, LL.5 for the fourth child and LL.5 for the fifth child. When asked about whether or not they are paying these family allowances, some of the industrialists said that they are paying such allowances, while actually they are not doing so according to their workers who have no incentive to lie. One worker complained that he had been working for eleven years for his present employer and for this period he was getting LL.3,75 as a daily wage. This worker got married and had two sons. The amount of money he was getting was not sufficient to cope with all his personal expenses and so he asked his employer to give him his family allowances as the law stipulates. When the worker pressed for his right, his

12. Such cases are found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and are based on the claims of the workers.

employer just dismissed him.¹³

When workers see that the law is not being enforced at present and that workers who claim their legal rights are being dismissed, other workers will be discouraged and will not ask their employers to apply the law. In only a few cases when collective action is taken by the workers, are clauses of the Labor Law applied.

Work Contingencies: Some of the injured workers stay at their homes during the period of their recovery while others have to rest in hospitals if their cases are very serious. However, not all employers are willing to pay the medical expenses of the injured workers and most industrialists do not even pay the wages of their injured workers during their recovery period. Industrialists claim that accidents take place within their factories because of carelessness on the part of their workers and of destiny, and not because of lack of safety measures, improper machinery, lack of training of workers or any other possible reason. Hence they should not compensate any of their injured workers. This is actually taking place in spite of the fact that the law requires industrialists to compensate their injured workers.

Some industrialists in an attempt to overcome such difficulties are insuring their workers. When any accident takes place the

13. The case of this worker is found in the files of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

insurance company will compensate the injured workers. Industrialists believe that it is cheaper to pay a fixed premium than to worry about the health of their injured workers. Very few industrialists have full time doctors ready to examine the health of the workers at the expense of the factory whether or not they are injured.

Compensation for dismissal: Although the law is clear on this point in compelling industrialists to pay one month's wage for each year of service if the worker is discharged from his job without any fault of his own, some industrialists are following certain procedures which insure the non-payment of such compensation. Whenever a worker absents himself from the factory without a prior permission or legal excuse, his employer will immediately send him a warning, a copy of which is kept in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Of course, workers are likely to commit many sorts of mistakes in the factory and when the employer is always on his guard the worker will have two warnings sent to him in a relatively short period of time. Sometimes industrialists in their effort to compile warnings send unjustified warnings to workers who usually complain to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs for such injustice. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs officials usually investigate such matters. The employer will save the third warning until he wants really to dismiss the worker without paying him his compensation for dismissal. It is relatively easy to find a third excuse and as such and with everything being "legal" the industrialist will be able to save large amounts of money that should have gone to the workers to help them live and support their families when they are unemployed.

In some cases, when the industrialists are not in a position to have excuses for dismissing their workers without paying them their indemnity, they will have other excuses which tend to reduce the amount of the compensation to the workers as much as possible. What industrialists usually do in this case is to tell their workers that they have been working in their factories for only two years for example instead of four years which is their actual years of service. The workers are thus paid the compensation for only two years because of the absence of written contracts which proves their exact years of service. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in order to put an end to this practice obliged all employers to have employment books in which the names and the dates of enrollment of workers in the factories are registered. However, the problem still exists because not all industrialists are abiding by this regulation. Therefore, there are still at present some industrialists who follow unjust ways in reducing the amount of compensation for dismissal of their workers and in completely eliminating it.¹⁴

A social security scheme has been proposed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs which has not yet been approved by the Parliament. This scheme will partly help industrialists in

14. Many complaints concerning this are found at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Workers complain and employers tell the Ministry Officials that workers are lying. When the Ministry Officials investigated such complaints, they found out that the workers' complaints were justified.

applying the Labor Law properly for they will not be induced to violate it as far as sick leave, family allowances, work contingencies and retirement pensions are concerned. The social security scheme covers four benefits which are health (including maternity) insurance, family allowances, retirement pensions, and insurance against accidents or sickness incurred through work.

The social security scheme is to be financed solely by employers except for the health insurance whereby workers are required to contribute a certain percentage of their taxable salary. The Government is not supposed to contribute towards the financing of the social security scheme. For this reason employers are afraid that they might pay money for a project which might be discontinued for financial reasons. So employers ask the Government to guarantee the financial solvency of the social security scheme before they incur heavy expenses. Moreover, workers are not satisfied with the sickness indemnity the scheme offers because payment to the workers start as of the seventh day while under present legislation payment starts as of the first day of absence. In addition, "the retirement indemnity specified by the new regulations is inferior to that generally obtainable at present by convention if not by the strict letter of the Labor Code. The new regulations provide for an indemnity equivalent to the sum of multiplying the average monthly pay of the last three years by the number of years of service whereas under present practice the indemnity is equal to the sum of the

average monthly pay of the last year, multiplied by the number of years of service".¹⁶

Management - Labor Relations

Personal Relationship Between the Industrialists and Their Workers:

The industrialists and their workers carry with them to the factory their respective social positions. Thus the master - serf attitude predominating in Lebanese society as a result of the feudal system that existed in Lebanon and its existing remnants have their place within the Lebanese factory. The industrialists believe that the workers in their factories are exactly like servants in their houses and as such they have the right to ask workers to do anything for them both within and outside the factory and sometimes even after the legal working hours of the day have expired. Most of the industrialists seem to have a sort of "superiority complex" within their factories and they look down on their workers. Therefore, it is logical to find that some workers do not like their employers and in some cases they hate them.¹⁷ This of course leads to low morale and has an adverse effect on productivity.

Sectarianism and Favoratism in Employment: Industrialists in Lebanon in employing workers look at their skills and not at their religion. In some cases where the factory is located near a center in which people of a certain religious group live, especially if the factory is small, it is logical to find that the majority of the workers in

16. Saba, Elias, "Social Security in Lebanon: A Blessing or a Curse?" Al-Kulliyeh, Middle East Forum, April, 1961, p.29.

17. Based on personal observations and on various discussions with workers.

that factory belong to that religion. In cases where the factory happens to be large, people of different religions tend to be employed in it because the factory draws on the population of all parts of the town or city. In an extremely few cases the industrialists having small factories tend to employ workers belonging to their religion in key positions in order to control other workers, these employers having more trust in workers who have religious ties with them. This attitude, unfortunately, has been inherited from the past and needs many years to be changed. As long as sectarianism is found in government services and in political circles it is difficult to change this attitude in Lebanese industry. However, the workers do not mind being employed in any factory regardless of the religion of the owner because they want to be employed and earn money. Some Arab workers do prefer to be employed by a non-Armenian industrialist because the majority of Armenian industrialists prefer to have the majority of their workers Armenians. They believe that Armenian workers are generally more skilled than other types of workers and are worthy of their confidence. This applies to only relatively small factories. When an Arab worker finds himself in the midst of such group, who most of the time speak the Armenian language, he will be unhappy and isolated. Furthermore, most industrialists tend to employ only their relatives in key positions in the factories because they trust them in keeping their business secrets. A non-relative might leave the factory and go to a competitor if he is offered a better wage and with him will go

the secrets of the factory which will become known to the competitor. The main reason underlying this attitude is traditional, that is the loyalty to the family, which is a remnant of the tribal form of organization that the Arabs had and that they still have in some parts of the Arab World. The tendency of the industrialists to employ their relatives in key positions in the factories is an obstacle in the face of non-relative workers when promotions and advancement in work are considered by the industrialists. This fact also lowers the morale of the more efficient workers in the factories who are not relatives of owners when they see that other employees who are not as efficient as they are, are being promoted and their wages increased only because they happen to be relatives of the industrialists.¹⁸ However, the tendency of the industrialists to depend on their relatives in occupying the key positions in the factories limits the size and the expansion of these factories especially when most industrialists have centralized and not decentralized authority concentrated in their hands.

⊗ Workers' Collective Action in Lebanese Industry:

a. The Nature of Industrial Labor Unions in Lebanon: Labor unions are "organizations of employees using persuasion or legitimate force to affect favorably for them the labor decisions of their employers".¹⁹

18. Based on interviews with workers.

19. Dubin, Robert, Working Union Management Relations, (Englewood Cliffs, N.Y., 1958), p.69.

Industrial labor unions are labor unions limited only to industry.

Industrial labor unions' bargaining power in Lebanon is weak in relation to the industrialists' bargaining power. Therefore and as a result of this, industrialists tend to impose the terms of employment that suit their interests. Industrial labor unions are weak because of the individualistic spirit and the fatalistic attitude of the workers, mentioned earlier. In addition, the lack of union tradition and of financial strength render the unions' bargaining power weak. The majority of industrial labor unions were established in the last two decades and especially after the Second World War. Industrial labor unions are weak financially and hence they can not support strikes. They are financed by the membership fees, usually either half a Lebanese pound or one Lebanese pound per month, lottery tickets and workers' grants. The government, however, subsidizes only federations of labor unions with LL.50,000 annually, and not independent labor unions. Furthermore, not all union members are paying their membership fees. Workers usually pay their membership fees only when they are in trouble with their employers and need the unions support of their claims.

Usually, industrial labor union officials are not educated. They barely know how to read and write Arabic. It was mentioned earlier that a president of an industrial labor union confessed that he had not read the Labor Code yet although he knows how to read and write Arabic. This fact will reflect itself on the unions' bargaining power with the employers because union officials will not know whether or not the law is on their side.

Some union officials have political and personal motives underlying their claim that they are "servants" of workers and whose job is only to help workers and improve their working conditions. Frequently, the different labor union officials quarrel with each other especially when a foreign country invites two union officials in a federation of labor unions to visit its country.²⁰ The different labor union officials usually quarrel over whom should accept the invitation. In some cases compromise is not reached and labor union officials will not cooperate with each other any more for the benefit of the workers belonging to their industry.

Finally, the abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled workers defeat, in some cases, the labor unions efforts in forcing employers to grant them their demands. Thus industrialists are in a position to employ the workers they need in order to replace those workers who are on strike.

The fact that there are several industrial labor unions competing in the same industry tends to weaken the industrial labor unions' bargaining power in the face of industrialists.

Generally, industrial labor unions in Lebanon strive for the application of the Labor Law concerning wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, compensation for dismissal, family allowances and work contingencies. The Government usually supports

20. Based on interview with industrial labor union officials.

such demands, but is unable to apply them fully in Lebanese industry due to the lack of proper means of enforcement of the Labor Law.

b. Managements' Attitude Towards Union Members: It has already been mentioned that industrialists dislike employing union members of because/employers' beliefs that unions only exist in order to increase their worries and difficulties as far as the human element in production is concerned. Some industrialists believe that they can do nothing to prevent their workers from joining unions while others believe that they can prevent them from joining unions in one of the two ways discussed below.

a. A few industrialists, who consider themselves as enlightened managers, think about the reasons their workers want to join unions. One industrialist claimed that none of his workers would ever think of joining a union because he is doing everything he can to protect their interests. He believes that workers join unions only when they have problems. If they do not have problems, they will not join a union and will save the membership fee that is paid by union members. When union officials were asked about the truth of this statement all of them admitted that it is true. This is also evident from the reluctance of workers to pay their membership fee which is paid only as problems arise.

b. Some industrialists, however, are not willing to solve any of their labor problems if any heavy expenditures are involved. Workers in this case would be induced to join unions in order to be

able to ask as a group for the improvement of their working conditions. Thus some industrialists in this case will just dismiss the workers who joined a union under any of the pretexts mentioned earlier, and will not say that the workers were dismissed because they joined a union. In one case, the employer, whenever one of his workers committed a mistake, asked him to sign a paper admitting his mistake and asking forgiveness. It happened that six of his workers joined a union. The employer automatically dismissed them on the grounds that he could not forgive them for ever for their mistakes. The union threatened but could do nothing because everything looked to be legal. The only thing this union did as revenge was to ask its members not to buy or sell the product of the industrialist.²¹

c. Strikes: When workers as a group cannot bear any longer their employers' treatment or their working conditions, they will be forced to take collective action and go on a strike until their demands, in whole or in part, are fulfilled by their employers.

When workers do not go inside the factories to perform their daily duties and instead gather near the gates of the factories, their employers will post a notice on the gates of the factories asking their workers to return to their jobs and listing the names of the absent workers. A warning is sent to each absent worker, a copy of which is kept in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

21. This case is found in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

However, if an employer finds that some of his workers are urging other workers to go on a strike, he will automatically send a warning to the former.

If the strike is carried out successfully by the workers and they compel their employers to accept their demands then usually the employers will also be compelled to pay the wages of their workers when they were on strike. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs enters always as a third party in any dispute that might arise between workers and their employers and helps reach settlement in the shortest possible period of time. If not settlement is reached the whole case will be referred for arbitration to the Labor Court whose decision is binding on both parties in the dispute.

In some cases, after the strike is over, employers are tempted to take revenge on the workers who called for the strike. Most employers will tend to dismiss these workers one after another over a period of time and for a number of excuses without paying them their compensation for dismissal. This is an attempt to eliminate all workers who are likely to cause troubles in the future. Thus employers claim that they will have more time in future to devote to production because labor demands will be much less as a result of the absence of "courageous" workers who could voice such demands.

CHAPTER EIGHT

C o n c l u s i o n s

Summary

The industrial labor force in Lebanon at present has been estimated at 60,000, forty thousand of which are employed in establishments employing five or more workers each. In 1955, there were 35,013 workers employed in such establishments of which 3,881 workers were younger than 18 years of age and 7,815 were female workers. 26,305 workers were engaged in only six industries out of a total of 21 industries mentioned in the 1955 Industrial Census.

Women are usually employed in jobs that do not require any heavy physical effort. Of the total female workers employed in 1955, 75.27 percent were employed in only three industries out of a total of 21.

Child labor (below 16 years of age) at present is no longer a problem in Lebanese industry as it used to be in the past because industrialists are either not finding children, who are usually at school, or hesitant to employ them due to the existence of unemployed older workers. However, some children are employed in Lebanese industry as apprentices and receive very little wage or none at all.

Workers are recruited directly in Lebanese industry from the doors of factories, by informing existing workers of the need for additional workers, through personal contact of industrialists with workers, through certain religious clubs, and finally, through the

Employment Bureau at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The workers after being recruited are usually selected on the basis of their skill which is tested on the job for some time. They are selected to fill vacant jobs which sometimes do not fully utilize their qualifications.

When workers cannot perform their jobs properly, industrialists are compelled to train them. Training usually takes place on the job and not at any vocational school. Skilled workers are very badly needed in Lebanese industry. However, Government vocational schools and charitable establishments graduate a relatively small number of students annually who are still not properly trained. The problem is aggravated by the fact that such graduates, if they happen to work in Lebanese industry, are employed in a relatively small number of industries. There is only one school that provides vocational training as opposed to vocational education in Lebanon, namely the Vocational Training Center for Adults at Dikwayneh, but only a small number of workers will be trained in it annually. The Vocational Guidance Council helps advise vocational schools in Lebanon to develop the skills mostly needed in Lebanese industry.

The characteristics of the Lebanese industrial workers are influenced mainly by religion, tradition, culture, and Lebanon's recent industrialization.

The characteristics which are influenced by religion and tradition are the workers' fatalistic attitude and their individualistic

spirit in addition to the workers' attitude towards manual work and the attitude of male workers towards female workers.

The characteristics which are influenced by other aspects of culture are the high level of illiteracy among unskilled and semi-skilled labor, the Lebanese industrial worker's eagerness to learn, and their sense of importance.

The characteristics which are influenced by Lebanon's recent industrialization are the lack of "conscience professionnelle" and the high degree of absenteeism and labor turnover among the Lebanese industrial workers. However, inspite of Lebanon's recent industrialization the workers are becoming industrially disciplined.

Finally, carelessness on the part of workers results in workers' ignorance of the method in which their wages are determined, and their ignorance of the industrialists' problems and of the Labor Code. In addition, the workers are indifferent with regards to the plans of management and are careless at work.

The physical working conditions in ten of the factories visited are extremely poor. Two of these factories are located in unhygienic centers and in slum areas. The buildings of ten of the factories visited are not properly designed and machinery is improperly installed and spaced. Safety measures, lighting, ventilation and cleanliness are inadequate, within these factories while washing and bathing facilities, dining-rooms and lockers are also non-existent.

The physical working conditions in the other five factories visited are much better. The buildings are modern and properly designed and the machinery well spaced. In addition, sanitary conditions, cleanliness, lighting, ventilation, and safety measures are quite satisfactory within these factories. Furthermore, there are also dining-rooms, lockers, and washing and bathing facilities in these factories.

The workers in the factories where physical working conditions are good, are much more satisfied than those in factories where physical working conditions are poor. This tends to reflect itself on the workers' morale and in the relatively small number of labor demands.

Industrial workers in Lebanon believe that they deserve a higher wage than they obtain at present while their employers believe that the wages they pay are equitable. The reason for this dispute is that wages are not determined scientifically in Lebanese industry. Wages barely satisfy the workers' living needs and therefore provision of funds for future contingencies under such circumstances would be impossible. Usually, industrialists do not give advances on wages to their workers for the fear of non-payment. later on when the cost of living rises further. The daily wages in some establishments range between LL.2 - 15 which does not seem to affect morale adversely. The legal minimum wage is LL.125 per month.

Industrialists in Lebanon very frequently violate the Labor Law and most employee demands are for the application of the law. The law is violated as far as wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, family allowances, work contingencies and compensation for dismissal are concerned. Management-labor relations in Lebanese industry are characterized by the personal relationship between the industrialists and their workers. Moreover, favoritism and sectarianism play an important role in the selection and promotion of workers.

Most industrialists dislike employing union members and frequently, if any of their existing workers join a union, "legal" excuses for dismissing them without the payment of any indemnity will be found. Industrialists are tempted to dismiss union members because employers believe that unions exist only to increase their worries and difficulties as far as the human element in production is concerned.

In addition, when the workers as a group find that they are dissatisfied with their working conditions and cannot bear it any more they will not leave their employers, but instead they will go on strike until their demands are fulfilled.

Finally, industrialists rarely satisfy all the demands of their workers and if any compromise is reached, the long run interest of the workers is not aimed at.

Conclusions

Productivity is the ability to produce per man-hour which is determined by the supply of material resources, quantity of capital, technology, managerial and labor efficiency and the scale of production.¹

"It is impossible to express productivity in physical output terms unless an industry has a fairly homogeneous product structure".²

In this text productivity of Lebanese industry as a whole is taken into consideration and not of one industry only. In such a case the products are heterogeneous. Even in factories that produce homogeneous products proper statistics are lacking in Lebanon.

If labor efficiency is isolated as a determinant of productivity, then any improvement concerning labor is likely to influence productivity favorably.

Some of the determinants of labor efficiency are the skills of workers, sex, age,³ and the working conditions, both physical and non-physical. Of course, when a worker is skilled in his job, he is likely to produce more than if he was unskilled. Lebanon as mentioned earlier, lacks skilled workers and hence the efficiency of workers as a whole is low.

1. Lewis, John P., Business Conditions Analysis, (New York, 1959), p.95.

2. Galenson, Walter, Labor Productivity in Soviet and American Industry, (New York, 1955), p.1.

3. Ibid., p.49.

"It is generally assumed that the annual productivity of a female worker is less than of a male worker, but precise measurements are lacking."⁴

In Lebanon, roughly one-fifth of the total industrial workers, employed in establishments employing five or more workers, are female workers. Thus it is likely that labor efficiency and hence labor productivity is lower among roughly one-fifth of the industrial labor force than among the remaining four-fifths.

In addition, "it is arguable whether a younger labor force is more productive than an older one."⁵ In Lebanon, about eleven percent of the industrial labor force is younger than 18 years of age. It is believed that since most of them work as apprentices and their degree of skill is relatively low, then their efficiency is low, and hence their productivity.

Finally, how could working conditions influence labor efficiency and hence productivity? If physical working conditions are taken into consideration, then their effect on the physique and morale of workers will influence the workers' ability to produce, but precise measurements are lacking concerning the effect of physical working conditions on labor efficiency and hence on labor productivity.

If the factory is located in an unhealthy center, the health of the workers will be effected adversely and hence their

4. Ibid., p.50.

5. Ibid., p.51.

efficiency will decline. If the humidity and temperature are high within the factory, the workers will not be able to exert maximum effort which will affect productivity unfavorably. When there is dust and soot in the atmosphere within the factory, the workers' health will be affected adversely. When safety measures are inadequate, the workers will lose time by working carefully so as not to be injured and their efficiency would then certainly decline. In addition, lighting plays an important role in reducing the time needed in safeguarding one's self against possible injuries when safety measures are inadequate within factories. Furthermore, when the workers are working in a pleasant environment they are likely to be satisfied and their morale is likely to be higher. Hence their efficiency will be also higher.

If the non-physical working conditions are taken into consideration, their effect on the morale of the workers will also influence the workers' efficiency and hence their ability to produce.

Generally, when workers believe that they deserve higher wages than those they obtain, their morale is likely to be lower than if they were satisfied with their wages. Moreover, where the personal relationship between industrialists and their workers is intimate morale is likely to be higher than if it were not. However, where there is favoritism and mistrust between industrialists and their workers morale is likely to be lower than if there were not.

When morale is low workers are not likely to do their best for the factory and hence lower morale is likely to affect productivity adversely.

In addition, when workers observe that industrialists are violating labor laws with respect to wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, family allowances, work contingencies and compensation for dismissal, they will feel that they are being exploited by their employers. Hence the workers will be dissatisfied with their employers and their morale will become lower, hence reducing their efficiency.

Insofar as the sample of firms used in this study is representative of Lebanese industry and the information gathered is valid and the generalizations concerning productivity earlier in this chapter are correct, this study indicates that productivity in Lebanese industry is being adversely affected by both physical and non-physical working conditions to a significant extent. The adverse effect is apparently brought on by poor ventilation in about 65 percent of the factories, by factories' location in unhealthy centers in about 13 percent of the factories, and by poor lighting in 40 percent of the factories. In addition, since safety measures are inadequate in Lebanese factories, workers' efficiency has apparently been reduced.

Furthermore, it would seem that because of the widespread belief among Lebanese industrial workers that they are being exploited

by their employers because of low wages and because of the failure of employers to fully apply the Labor Code, morale has been adversely affected in all Lebanese factories.

Recommendations:

In order to increase the supply of skilled workers in Lebanese industry, the Government should establish or encourage the establishment of vocational schools under the supervision of the Vocational Guidance Council.

Since the Labor Code is frequently violated by Lebanese industrialists as far as wages, working hours, annual leaves, sick leave, family allowances and work contingencies are concerned, proper means for the enforcement of the Labor Law should be adopted. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs should be strengthened by staffing itself with sufficient number of qualified officials and labor inspectors. The Labor Courts should be empowered to make quick decisions and impose strict penalties on the violators of the Labor Law. Thus, if the law is fully applied the workers are likely to be satisfied and their complaints reduced.⁶

In addition, since the Labor Code is at present being misused and misinterpreted by employers, thus leading the workers to believe

6. If the law is fully applied employers are likely to complain that they will not be able to compete favorably with foreign manufactured products because their costs are likely to increase. This might not be true on the grounds that when workers are satisfied and their morale high, they are likely to produce more and hence employers' extra costs are likely to be offset.

that they are being exploited, it is expected that the new Labor Law will prevent such abuses. Before approving the new draft of the Labor Law by the Parliament, the Parliament should see to it that misinterpretation of the law be impossible in the future by studying and defining accurately the terms that are likely to be misinterpreted.

Furthermore, in order to prevent the establishment of new factories with unsatisfactory working conditions, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs when properly staffed with qualified officials will be able to investigate more thoroughly the technicalities of the newly established industrial establishments before granting them a work permit. At present such permits are usually given without any difficulty on the part of the industrialists.

Moreover, a management training center should be established in Lebanon for the purpose of developing managerial talents both in Lebanese industry, which is likely to improve industrial relations, and in other sectors of the economy. Courses should be given in Arabic in order to enable all Lebanese interested in the field of management attend this center. Thus persons knowing only one foreign language, usually either French or English, beside the Arabic language, will not be discouraged from attending the center for language difficulties.

Finally, qualified officers from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs should visit the various factories in Lebanon and

give expert advice to both the industrialists and their workers concerning the application of the Labor Law and the improvement in the working conditions which is to the advantage of both, industrialists and workers.

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