Youth Unemployment

LEBANON

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الجمهُورية اللبنانية مُصتب وَزيرُ الدَولة لشؤون الشمية الإدارية مُركز مستاريع وَدرَاسَات القطاع الْعَام

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List of Interviewees

• Miss Maila Bakhache	Executive Director of the Movement Social
• Mr. Mohammed Barakat	Director General of the Social Welfare Institution Lebanon Islamic Orphanage
• Mr. Moussa Gédéon	Director General of the National Employment Office
• Mr. Hussein Haidar	Director of the Department of the Service Centers Ministry of Social Affairs
• Dr. Zuhair Hatab	Professor at the Lebanese University and Consultant at the Educational Center for Research and Development Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports
• Mr. Ghassan Khalil	Secretary General of the Higher Council for Childhood
• Miss Adele Khodr	Project Officer for Basic Services, UNICEF
• Dr. Kamel Mohanna	President of the Amel Association and General Coordinator of the Arab NGOs Collective
• Mr. Georges Nehmé	Director of the Department of Social Services, Ministry of Social Affairs
• Dr. Youssef Sader	Director of the Pedagogical Research Department, Educational Center for Research and Development, Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports.

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1. Introduction

Unemployment is one of the most acute and chronic problems that economies suffer from, be they industrialized, developing or in transition. The average unemployment rate is persistently high in industrialized countries; it reached 8.6% in 1994. In developing countries, the bulk of the labor force is engaged in low productivity employment, the state having failed "to create a growing proportion of higher productivity jobs for a rapidly expanding and increasingly better educated labor force"(International Labour Office, 1996). As for the economies in transition, they have witnessed a dramatic increase in their unemployment rate which jumped from zero to 15% of the labor force (in countries such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) and this within two years of the initiation of the transition process (Ibid).

It is important to note here that there are vulnerable groups which are more adversely affected than others in periods of faltering growth or recession. These are essentially women and youth. In the case of the former, one witnesses a process of feminization of the labor force coupled at the same time with a greater incidence of unemployment among women, the first being linked to the relatively lower wages they receive and the second to the fact that they lose their jobs much faster than men when labor retrenchment occurs (Cagtay and Ozler, 1995). As far as youth is concerned, its rate of unemployment in most countries is much higher than that of adults. ILO statistics indicate that the unemployment rate of the 15-24 year age group in the industrialized countries in 1993 was twice as high for young women (17% as compared to 8.2% for all women) and more than double for young men (16% as opposed to 7% for all men). A similar pattern is witnessed in developing countries and transition economies where the gap is often much wider between young men and women and their adult counterparts.

The world unemployment situation is expected by many economists to deteriorate even further as a result of the growing globalization of the world economy on one hand and the "jobless growth" resulting from labor saving technological improvements on the other.

The case of Lebanon, as far as unemployment issues are concerned, is similar to that of many developing economies except that these issues have been exacerbated by

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seventeen years of civil strife, the impact of which is still severely felt at all socio-economic levels, seven years after the end of the hostilities.

This paper addresses basically the issue of youth unemployment within the overall context of the Lebanese labor market conditions; youth being defined, as men and women aged between 15 and 24.

The study is divided in four sections:

- An overview of the Lebanese labor market;
- The youth labor market and the factors contributing to youth unemployment;
- Programs and policies adopted to alleviate youth unemployment:
 - At the governmental level
 - At the non-governmental level;
- Conclusions and policy recommendations.

2. Overview of the Lebanese Labor Market

The analysis of the conditions prevailing in the Lebanese labor market cannot be dissociated from the great upheaval that struck the Lebanese economy, as a result of the hostilities that raged in the country as of 1975.

2.1 The Lebanese Economy Prior to the Civil Strife

Prior to the onset of the war, the Lebanese economy was experiencing impressive rates of real economic growth and relatively high levels of employment. The average annual rate of growth was estimated at around 7% during the 1968-73 period, while GDP per capita stood at around \$1,100 by the end of 1973 and the average inflationary rate at 3%. At the same time, surpluses were registered in the balance of payments and limited deficits in the government's budget (Khalaf, 1993).

This growth in the Lebanese economy during the 1964-1974 period could be essentially attributed to:

- a high investment ratio averaging 20% per year;
- a young and rapidly growing population investing in human capital and supplying a highly skilled labor force at a relatively low wage; while unskilled and cheap immigrant labor was provided by neighboring countries;

- a liberal economic policy which led to the development of a competitive economy and facilitated the adoption of new technology from the rest of the world (Saidi, 1986).

It should be mentioned, however, that this seemingly flawless path of development was tempered by structural imbalances, related essentially to an uneven distribution of income, a big disparity in standards of living between rural and urban areas and little provision of social services by the State particularly in the fields of health and education.

2.2 Impact of the Civil Strife at the Socio-Economic Levels

The civil strife accentuated drastically these imbalances and led to:

- an almost complete destruction of the infrastructure (water, electricity, communications...);
- a collapse of important components of the service sector the leading sector in the Lebanese economy such as transit, tripartite trade and tourism;
- a segmentation of both the labor and good markets resulting in a lower labor and good mobility between the different regions. The loss and increasing costs of mobility led to a decrease in productivity and output since resources were not allocated in the most efficient way and did not move to their optimal locations.
- a huge outflow of capital estimated at \$10 billion in 1991 in addition to \$ the 35-40 billion deposited or invested by Lebanese abroad.

As a result, economic indicators registered:

• a significant decrease in GDP levels: The GDP losses during the period 1975-1993 are estimated at LL. 98 billion (at 1974 constant prices) or 24 times the value of the 1993 real GDP (at constant 1974 prices), while GDP per capita in 1993 amounted to 48% only of its value in 1974 (Eken et al, 1995). (Table 1). As far as the sectoral distribution of GDP is concerned, substantial increases in the share of the service and construction sectors have been registered over the last three decades as opposed to the housing, transportation and communication sectors where drastic reductions in their shares have taken place during the same period of time (Table 2).

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Year	Nominal GDP (mill.LL)	Real GDP	CPI	Average Real GDP Growth (%)	Exchange	Nominal GDP	Real GDP	Rate of
1970	4866	6108	79.66	6.59	3.27	1488.07	1867.89	:
1971	5399	6672	80.92	9.23	3.23	1671.52	2065.63	:
1972	6365	7496	84.91	12.35	3.05	2086.89	2457.7	6.25
1973	7103	7891	90.01	5.27	2.61	2721.46	3023.37	5.88
1974	8137	8137	100	3.11	2.33	3492.27	3492.27	11.11
1975	7500	6824	109.91	-16.14	2.3	3260.87	2966.96	10.00
1976	4099	2894	141.64	-57.59	2.87	1428.22	1008.36	27.27
1977	8199	4853	168.93	67.71	3.07	2670.68	1580.78	19.64
1978	8799	4728	186.09	-2.58	2.96	2972.64	1597.3	10.45
1979	11150	4841	230.33	2.38	3.24	3441.36	1494.14	22.97
1980	14000	4912	284.99	1.48	3.44	4069.77	1427.91	24.18
1981	16800	4939	340.16	0.54	4.31	3897.91	1145.94	19.47
1982	12599	3122	403.55	-36.79	4.74	2658.02	658.65	18.52
1983	16573	3831	432.6	22.71	4.53	3658.5	845.7	6.88
1984	28171	5535	508.97	44.48	6.51	4327.34	850.23	18.13
1985	59329	6880	862.4	24.3	16.42	3613.22	419	69.31
1986	59329	6414	1685.2	-6.76	38.37	2817.2	167.16	95.32
1987	108096	7487	9893.9	16.72	224.6	3298.05	33.33	487.13
1988	740743	5375	25229.45	-28.21	409.23	3313.54	13.13	154.97
1989	1356000	3107	43445.1	-42.18	496.69	2717.99	6.26	72.20
1990	1973000	2690	73342	-13.43	695.09	2838.48	3.87	68.82
1991	4132000	3720	111085.25	38.27	928.23	4451.48	4.01	51.46
1992	9499000	3887	244372.4	4.5	1712.79	5545.92	2.27	119.99
1993	13122000	4161	315368.06	7.05	1741.36	7535.49	2.39	29.11
1994	15305000	4465	342805.08	7.3	1679.74	9111.53	2.66	8.70
1995	18028000	4742	380170.84	6.21	1620.94	11121.94	2.93	10.90
1996	20552000	4906	418948.26	3.45	1570.94	13082.61	3.12	10.20
Source: IMF,	Banque du Lib	Banque du Liban and estimates	tes					

Table 1
GDP, Average Real Growth and Inflation

Table 2 Sectoral Distribution of GDP - 1997 (%)

Sector\Year	1964	1972	1973	1977	1994	1995
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	11.9	9.9	9.4	8.5	12	12.4
Energy, Water and Industry	15	15.9	16.3	18.5	17.7	17.3
Construction	5.6	4.5	4.4	3.4	9.4	9.2
Transportation and Communication	8.1	7.6	7.4	7.7	2.8	2.8
Commerce	32.1	31.5	32.4	28.3	28.7	30.1
Housing	7.8	8.7	8.7	8.9	4.5	4.2
Services	11.9	14.4	14.3	14.5	16.7	16.4
Public Administration	7.6	7.5	7.1	10.2	8.3	7.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Administration Centrale de la Statistique, L'Etat des Comptes Economiques, Etudes Statistiques, No. 5, Octobre 1997.

• a sustained deficit in the Government's budget, basically because of the difficulties encountered in collecting revenues on one hand and the growing share of expenditures on the other - the latter representing over one-third of GDP (Table 3).

Table 3 Public Sector Operations (LL million)

Year	Nominal GDP	Revenues/GDP (%)	Expend./GDP (%)	Budget Def./ GDP (%)	Exchange Rate LL/\$
1974	8137	15.61	14.98	0.63	2.33
1975	7500	10.64	13.61	-2.97	2.30
1980	14000	20.77	36.00	-15.23	3.44
1985	59329	7.32	43.09	-35.77	16.42
1990	1973000	6.41	39.45	-33.04	695.09
1995	18028000	16.82	32.48	-15.66	1620.94
1996	20552000	17.19	35.15	-17.97	1570.94

Source: Ministry of Finance and IMF

- an unprecedented rise in the public debt, "where the debt situation seems to be approaching the red line of 100% of GDP"(Hitti, Shehadi, Houry, 1997).
 - As a result of the budgetary deficits, the government had to issue treasury bonds with high interest rates to finance its ever-growing expenditures. This led to a steep increase in the cost of servicing the debt and it is estimated that the interest on the domestic debt alone will eat up all the revenues collected during 1997(Ibid);
- a drastic drop in the value of the Lebanese pound from LL.2.33 per dollar in 1974 to LL.1570 per dollar in 1996. It should be mentioned here that the macroeconomic policy of the Lebanese government has centered basically on stabilizing the exchange rate and fighting inflation rather than alleviating unemployment.

The negative impact of the Lebanese war was not limited to the economic sphere, but encompassed the social one as well, as revealed by the following indicators:

- A huge displacement of the Lebanese population: several studies on this subject have been undertaken. The figures arrived at differ, however, from one study to another. While the Ministry of the Displaced estimates their number at 235,230 persons, the study carried out by the University of Saint Joseph in cooperation with the University of Laval assesses their number at 681,000 persons, while according to a third study (Faour, 1993), their number reached 898,000;
- an unprecedented high level of brain drain and emigration of skilled labor which led to a severe deterioration in the quality of human resouces, one of Lebanon's most important, if not the most important, asset. In a study published in 1977 by the Beirut Chamber of Commerce and Industry, it is estimated that during the first three years of the war, 1975-1977, the following rates of emigration were registered:
 - 42% of the engineers, 15.6% of the medical doctors, 15.4% of the lawyers in addition to 32% of the workers in the industrial sector, 30% of the workers in construction, 10% of the workers in the commerce sector, 20% of the workers in the touristic sector, 10% of the workers in the transportation and communication sector and 7% of the employees in the banking and public sectors;
- a drastic reduction in the size of the middle class as a result of the ever-growing gap between income and expenditure levels. The minimum monthly wage rate actually dropped from \$243 in 1983 to \$64 in 1990; while the minimum monthly level of expenditures for a family of five was estimated at \$313 for the same year.

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• a significant deterioration in the quality of the health and social services provided which, coupled with all the factors mentioned above, has adversely affected the quality of life in the country.

2.3 Characteristics of the Labor Market

Any assessment of the conditions prevailing in the Lebanese labor market has to be based on a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of both the supply of and demand for labor.

It should be noted at the outset that there is a dearth of statistical information regarding the labor situation in Lebanon. The first major data collection was undertaken by the Central Directorate of Statistics in 1970 which conducted a national household sample survey of the labor force and produced comprehensive statistics on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the economically active population of the country. Since that date, most of the available statistical information has been based either on partial inquiries or on extrapolations of the 1970 survey. As a result of the differences in the methodologies used and the partial approach resorted to in the various studies undertaken, one witnesses serious inconsistencies in the statistical data available and cannot therefore use them to detect reliable and significant trends in the labor market.

A major step in the right direction has been taken by the National Employment Office which has undertaken a survey of the labor market both at the household and enterprise levels, the results of which have been published in November 1997. Although this study is not a comprehensive one, since it did not include agricultural establishments, enterprises - including the construction ones - not registered in the National Social Security Fund, liberal professions, the public administration and the information sectors, it has to its credit to have provided researchers with orders of magnitude that could be used in drawing an updated profile of the labor situation in Lebanon.

In drawing this profile, the present report will basically rely on four studies:

- The 1970 Labor Force Survey prepared by the Central Directorate of Statistics;
- The Displaced Population in Lebanon, 1975-1987, undertaken jointly by the Saint Joseph University (Beirut) and the Laval University (Quebec);
- The Housing and Population Survey carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the United Nations Population Fund, October 1996;
- The Labor Market Survey of the National Employment Office, November, 1997.

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2.3.1 Population and the Labor Force

The last demographic census carried out in Lebanon dates back to 1932. So here again, all statistics related to the Lebanese population are, at best, close estimates.

- The 1970 Labor Force Survey

The resident population in 1970, according to the Central Directorate of Statistics survey, amounted to 2.1 million and the prevailing annual population growth rate to 2.4%. As to the labor force, it was estimated at 538,000 persons; 82.5% of whom were males and 17.5% females. 70% of them had permanent jobs, while 10% were seasonally employed and 15% were occasionally employed. The nature of the work of the balance (5%) was undetermined. The bulk of the labor force was engaged in the service sector (56%). while the share of the agricultural sector equaled that of the industry and energy sectors (around 19%) and that of the construction sector stood at 5%. As to the level of education of the labor force, 29.4% were illiterate, 35.3% had received less than an elementary education, 15.2% had an elementary education, 15.8% an intermediate or secondary education, while only 4.3% had attained the university level.

- The 1985 - 1987 Displaced Population Survey

One had to wait for almost two decades to get another reliable, though not comprehensive, set of information on the population and labor force. According to the study on the Displaced Population in Lebanon conducted by the Saint Joseph and Laval Universities, the resident population in Lebanon in 1987 reached 3.0 million registering an increase of 42.8%, using 1970 as a base year. The percentage increase in the labor force was higher (73.2%), the labor force being estimated at 932,000 persons. This jump is to be essentially attributed to:

- The significant change in the age distribution of the population where the percentage of the Lebanese between 15 and 64 years rose from 50.7% in 1970 to 61.6% in 1987;
- The galloping inflation which prevailed in the economy and the resulting deterioration in the purchasing power of income which led a large portion of the Lebanese to join the labor market.

The share of women in the labor force decreased slightly (16.15%) when compared with the 1970 figure. It is doubtful that this has actually taken place, given the deterioration in the prevailing economic conditions referred to above. A possible explanation for this alleged decrease could be the different methodological approaches used in the two studies.

The average rate of economic activity which was estimated at 27% in 1970 increased to 28.5% in 1975 and 30.1% in 1987.

A significant decrease in productivity was, however, registered and the percentage of those who were economically active among the Lebanese who emigrated abroad, was higher than that of the economically active in the total resident population (Issa, 1996).

The sectoral distribution of the labor force was still characterized by the predominance of the service sector with a significant increase in its share (65.3%), while the share of the agricultural sector decreased (12%) and that of the industrial and construction sectors maintained more or less the same share of the labor force (17.3% and 5.4% respectively).

A substantial improvement was witnessed in the level of education of the labor force with drastic decreases in the illiteracy (12.4%) and below elementary levels (9.7%) coupled with high increases in the intermediate (21.6%), secondary (15.5%) and university levels (14.8%).

- The 1996 Housing and Population Survey

The resident population was estimated, according to this survey, at 3.1 million, with a labor force of 944,281 persons, 79.3% of which were males and 20.7% females. The rate of economic activity remained almost the same as that of 1987 (31.7%).

As for the distribution of the economically active population, work permanency and sex, it stood as follows:

Nature of Work	Total	Males	Females
Permanent work	83.6	64.6	19.0
Seasonal work	5.5	4.7	0.8
Occasional work	10.9	10.0	0.9

A look at the sectoral distribution of the labor force reveals still the dominance of the service sector (63.3%), followed by the industrial sector (19%), the construction sector (10%) and the agricultural sector (7.7%). The drastic decrease in the share of the latter which stood at 19% in 1970 could be partly attributed to the massive exodus of the population from rural to urban areas and to different methodological approaches used in the survey undertaken. Keeping in mind these limitations, it is interesting to mention here that the drop in the participation of women to the agricultural labor force is more significant than that of men: the femininity rate in that sector declined from 21% in 1970 to 11.4% in 1996 (Comité National de la Femme, 1997).

The improvement witnessed in the educational level of the labor force in the 1987 study was accentuated in 1996 with a sustained drop in the illiteracy (9.3%) and below elementary (12%) levels and an increase in the secondary (18.1%) and university (15.1%) levels.

It should be noted here that the methodological differences coupled with the adoption of a new job classification, entailing a modification of the old categories and the introduction of new ones, make it difficult to trace the evolution of the occupational structure of employment by socio-professional groups during the period under consideration (1970 - 1996).

- The 1997 Labor Market Survey of the National Employment Office

The information available in the National Employment Survey is slightly different from that reported in the previous studies. Its main highlights are the following:

- Two thirds of the Lebanese labor force surveyed is salaried with a permanent job;
- Women represent 27.8% of the workers surveyed. They are young (68% of them are less than 30 years old), single (48.6%) and better educated than men (27.5% are university degree holders and 38.3% have a baccalaureate degree compared to 18.4% and 21% respectively for men). This could be partly explained by the nature of women's work basically in education, health, secretarial jobs which requires a high level of education;
- On the job training seems to be the most common way through which workers acquire their skills. Only 17% of them declared having followed a special training program;
- the majority of the labor force is young since the age of 2 out of 3 workers does not exceed 30 years and 44.3% of them are unmarried;
- the average number of working hours per week is 43 with a peak of 50 hours and more in sectors like hotels, restaurants, paper industries;
- 4.3% of the workers have more than one job. This percentage would have probably been higher had it not been for the fear of the workers to have this information leaked to the owner of the business. This fact reflects clearly the discrepancy that exists between the salaries received and the cost of living;
- the wage scale varies between 384,000 LL. (middle cadres in teaching) and 1,134,000LL. for directors and higher cadres with an average wage rate of 561,000LL. Wage rates received by men exceed by 27% those received by women and wage differentials reach at times 85%;

- the average wage level is estimated at LL.560,000 per month and varies according to:
 - age (from LL.384,000 for a less than 20 year old worker to LL.682,000 for a worker aged between 50 and 55 years);
 - level of education (from LL.396,000 for an illiterate person to LL.791,000 for a university degree holder);
 - sex (LL.606,000 for a man and LL.447,000 for a woman; i.e. a 26.2% differential in favor of men);
 - profession (from LL.414,000 for an unskilled laborer to LL.1,134,000 for a higher cadre)
- A high mobility of the labor force coupled at the same time with a change of profession. The latter characteristic has encompassed 11% of the 1993 economically active population between 1993 and 1996 and has particularly hit 69.1% of the labor force engaged in the agricultural sector, a phenomenon which reflects the dismal state of this sector of the economy.

2.3.2 Unemployment

In trying to assess the unemployment situation in Lebanon, it is important to note that there is no accurate information about this problem. The only reliable source, though a very partial one since it covers only 4019 unemployed persons in a sample of 2751 families, is the study undertaken by the National Employment Office as part of its labor market survey (November 1997).

The 1970 labor force survey had put the unemployment rate at 8%. It is estimated that this rate was more or less maintained during the period 1975 - 1982, basically because of:

- the international mobility of the Lebanese work force. In fact, the long tradition of outward migration had resulted in a network of contacts which facilitated mobility:
- the expansion of the Arab oil economies which generated a high demand for Lebanese technical and linguistic skills. It is reported that the Ministry of Labor has given during this period 78,000 expertise certificates to Lebanese trying to get visas to these countries. This number represents 80% of the Lebanese who emigrated to the oil producing countries during the period 1975 1982 (Labaki, 1992):
- the relative size of Lebanon which enjoys the "advantages of a small open economy inside a much larger economic space" (Khalaf & Remlinger, 1982). This led to the transfer of a significant part of the Lebanese economic activity from the

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domestic to the international scene. Thus, there was an alleviation of unemployment at home coupled with an increase in foreign factor earnings which compensated in part for the drop in gross domestic product and helped maintain more or less acceptable standards of living (Ibid);

• the absorptive capacity of the informal sector and the development of parallel economic activities. It should be noted here that a significant number of young Lebanese joined the militia ranks and were able therefore to earn some income.

A wide range of unemployment rates have been quoted as having prevailed after 1982, varying between 10% and 40%. A 10.1% rate of unemployment was estimated to have prevailed in 1987 according to the study on the Displaced Population. According to Lebanon's National Report to the International Conference on Population and Development (1994), the rate of unemployment reached more than 20% of the labor force in 1991. The unemployed were essentially persons who had lost their jobs during the war, along with new entrants. The destruction of machinery and the closing of commercial enterprises reduced further the productivity of the labor force and many potential workers were driven in the informal sector. In fact, women carried a significant brunt of the war burden. The number of women headed households which was estimated at 9.2% in 1954 jumped to 15.3% in 1984 (Zurayk and Armenian, 1985) and 20.0% in 1992 (Deeb and Khayat, 1993). As a result, many of them joined the informal sector where they worked in low paid and unprotected occupations.

The Ministry of Social Affairs Housing and Population Survey estimated the unemployment rate at 8% in 1996, while ILO put it in the range of 14 to 16%.

The results of the Household Statistical Survey carried out by the National Employment Office draws the following profile of the unemployment market:

- Youth rate is high in the sample of the unemployed: 63.4% of them are below 30 years of age and 32.6% are 30 years old and above.
- The geographical distribution of the unemployed indicates that the share of the Mohafazat of Mount Lebanon is the largest (33.9%) followed by the Beirut Mohafazat (18.2%), the Bekaa Mohafazat (15.7%), the Mohafazat of North Lebanon (15.5%), the Mohafazat of South Lebanon (10.4%) and the Nabatiyeh Mohafazat (6.3%).
- Women represent 23.7% of the sample, 34.5% of them are unemployed compared to 45.8% for men, 42.2% of the women are looking for a job for the first time while the rate for men is 18.9% only (Table 4).

Table 4
Distribution of the Sample by Sex, Age and Activity, 1997 (%)

		Ā	Activity		Size of the Sample
Age	Works	Unemployed	Looking for a job for the first time	Other	total = 100%
		<u>. </u>	Males		
< 20	30.1	29.9	39.7	0.3	605
20-24	30.5	36.8	28.3	4.4	711
25-29	32.6	48.0	19.0	0.4	527
30-34	33.8	54.2	11.5	0.4	260
35-39	36.6	58.9	2.9	1.7	17:
40-44	46.5	52.8	0.7	0	142
45-49	49.0	50.3	0.7	0_	15:
50-54	34.6	61.5	0.8	3.1	130
55-59	37.4	58.1	0.6	3.9	15:
60-64	28.4	68.8	0.9	1.8	10
65	22.3	71.3	0	6.4	9.
Undetermined	16.7	33.3	0	50.0	200
Total	33.3	45.8	18.9	2.0	306
			Females		1.
< 20	20.0	14.2	65.8	0	15
20-24	28.1	25.2	46.7	0	27
25-29	20.8	34.7	44.1	0.5	20
30-34	21.7	44.2	33.3	0.7	13
35-39	26.8	47.9	25.4	0	7
40-44	21.3	57.4	19.1	2.1	4
45-49	18.5	63.0	14.8	3.7	2
50-54	14.3	76.2	9.5	0	
55-59	0	62.5	37.5		
60-64	12.5	50.0	37.5		
65	20.0	80.0	0		95
Total	22.9	34.5	42.2	0.4	90
			Total		1 7/
< 20	28.0	26.7	45.0		76
20-24	29.9	33.6	33.3		98
25-29	29.4	44.3	25.9		72
30-34	29.6	50.8	19.1	0.5	39
35-39	33.7	55.7	9.3		24
40-44	40.2	54.0	5.3		18
45-49	44.4	52.2	2.8		18
50-54	31.8	63.6	2.0		1:
55-59	35.6	58.3	2.5		
60-64	27.4	67.5	3.4		
65	22.2	71.7	0		9
Undetermined	16.7	33.3			
Total	30.8	43.1	24.5	1.6	40.

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in Cooperation with ILO and UNDP, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

- Two thirds of the persons interviewed in this survey are single (63.6% of the men and 77.4% of the women). Their share increases dramatically in the category of those looking for a job for the first time 96.2% for men and 83.8% for women.
- The educational level of the unemployed is relatively good, the illiterate constituting only 6.5% of the total, while the holders of university degrees amount to almost 10% (Table 5).

Table 5
Distribution of the Unemployed by Sex and
Educational Level - 1997 (%)

Educational Level	Tota	ıl	Mal	e	Fema	le
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Illiterate	261	6.50	217	7.07	44	4.62
Can Read	537	13.36	486	15.85	51	5.36
Elementary	1234	30.70	1007	32.83	227	23.84
Intermediate	951	23.66	696	22.69	255	26.79
Secondary	644	16.02	418	13.63	226	23.74
University	392	9.75	243	7.92	149	15.65
Total	4019	100	3067	76.31	952	23.69

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in Cooperation with ILO and UNDP, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

When looked at in terms of geographical distribution, there seems to be a direct relationship between unemployment and the level of education, with unemployment being the highest in the Mohafazat of Mount Lebanon where the level of education is highest, despite a high illiteracy level and the lowest in the Nabatiyeh Mohafazat where the levels of education and illiteracy are the lowest (Table 6).

Table 6
Distribution of the Unemployed by Mohafazat and
Educational Level - 1997 (%)

Mohafazat\Level of Education	Illiterate	Can Read	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	University	Total
Beirut	17.24	18.81	14.99	14.72	20.03	33.42	18.19
Bekaa	8.81	15.08	21.80	14.30	11.80	11.48	15.68
Mt. Lebanon	23.37	23.46	34.12	38.80	37.11	37.24	33.88
Nabatiyeh	6.51	6.33	6.89	7.99	5.90	1.02	6.32
North Lebanon	30.65	17.88	11.10	16.30	17.39	11.22	15.53
South Lebanon	13.41	18.44	11.10	7.89	7.76	5.61	10.40
Total	6.50	13.36	30.70	23.66	16.02	9.75	100

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in cooperation with ILO and UNDP, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

This could be partly explained by the fact that the Nabatiyeh Mohafazat is more of an agricultural area than the Mohafazat of Mount Lebanon. As a result, the definition of "unemployed" is less rigid and education is not as vital for finding a job.

- The average duration of unemployment is 13.5 months; it reaches 16% in the case of those looking for a job for the first time. The duration of unemployment seems to be a problem at all age levels: It takes on average one year for the Lebanese aged 24 and 25 years to find a job, while 6 out of 10 of the unemployed whose age exceed 40 years remain unemployed for more than one year.
- One unemployed out of two has lost his job because of "economic reasons". "Economic reasons" in this context refer either to the fact that the employer has closed his business or that the employee has been fired to reduce expenditures. The first interpretation seems to be the most prevalent one, since 60% of the employers or of the independent workers are or were unemployed, while this applied to only 35% of the workers with a permanent job (Table 7).

Table 7
Distribution of the Unemployed by Previous Status and Cause of Unemployment - 1997 (%)

			Cause of	Unemployn	nent	·		
Previous Status	End of Contract	Conflict with Employ- er	Economic Reasons	Sickness	Work Accident	Marriage	Other	Size of Sample (Total = 100%)
Employer	0.9	0	59.3	11.1	3.7	0.9	24.1	108
Independent Worker	1.4	0.5	59.7	11.3	2.7	0.5	23.8	558
Permanent Employee	6.2	19	35.1	5.1	0.5	2.1	31.8	997
Working on a Daily Basis	3.6	11.7	49.5	10	1.2	0.2	23.8	832
Other	12.3	15.4	33.8	0	0	1.5	36.9	65
Undetermined & no Answer								56
Total	4.4	11.5	45.8	8.5	1.3	1.1	27.4	2616
Without Previous Work								1403
Total Sample								4019

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in cooperation with ILO and UNDP, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

Economic reasons seem to constitute also the major cause of unemployment when one looks at the previous sectoral activity of the worker: 47.4% of the unemployed in the agricultural sector, 52.0% in the industrial and energy sector and 54.4% in the construction sector have lost their jobs because of financial difficulties.

• The vast majority of the unemployed who were able to re-integrate the labor market did so through personal contacts. This applies to 83% of the salaried workers and 86.7% of those working on a daily basis.

2.3.3 Foreign Labor

International labor movements are one of the salient features of the Lebanese labor market. Traditionally and prior to the civil strife, Lebanon always relied on foreign unskilled labor which was essentially employed in the agricultural sector, while its skilled labor force emigrated abroad, particularly after the oil boom in the Gulf area, seeking higher returns.

- Size of the Foreign Labor

There are no reliable data regarding the volume of foreign labor. Although foreigners' work is theoretically subject to a prior permit issued by the Ministry of Labor, the figures reported by the Ministry are way below the actual ones, because the majority of the foreign laborers - basically Syrians - work without a permit. Estimates regarding Syrian labor fluctuate within a wide range: while their number was estimated at 200,000 in 1992 by the Council for Development and Reconstruction, the General Directorate of Public Security assessed the net inflow of Syrian workers to be 1.6 million between the beginning of 1993 and the end of 1995. It should be mentioned, however, that since there is no accurate information on the departure of the Syrian labor, the actual figure is probably much smaller. There seems to be a general consensus among experts in the field that the number of foreigners in Lebanon fluctuated around 600,000 at the end of 1995, with the Syrian share amounting to 450,000 (UNDP, January 1997).

- Profile of the Foreign Worker

The profile of the foreign worker is generally that of an unskilled laborer who lives under difficult conditions and earns a monthly salary ranging mainly between \$75 and \$250 (Ibid).

In fact, the bulk of the imported labor has a low level of education (either illiterate or below elementary level) and does basically work which is socially considered demeaning by Lebanese labor (garbage collection, household work, manual work on construction sites or in rehabilitation of the infrastructure...) Foreign workers are not covered by the social security scheme and face major problems in case of accident or illness. Their living conditions are generally quite unsatisfactory. Those who work in the construction sector, or in the capital, live usually in the half destroyed buildings in downtown Beirut and do not have, as a result, to pay any rent. This - coupled with the fact that they come from countries where minimum wage rates and standards of living are low - explain their willingness to be paid wages which are way below those requested by Lebanese workers.

This overview of the Lebanese labor market makes it possible to delineate its main characteristics:

- A relatively young, well educated labor force engaged essentially in the service sector;
- A high level of unemployment due basically to the economic dislocation of the country, following the civil strife;

- A traditional trend of migration of skilled Lebanese labor;
- A massive presence of foreign labor.

3. The Youth Labor Market

With the available - though partial and, at times inconsistent - statistical information, an attempt will be made in this section to examine the characteristics of the youth labor market with special emphasis on youth unemployment and contributing factors to this unemployment.

3.1 Demographic Characteristics

A comparison of the population pyramid between 1970 and 1996 indicates a substantial increase in the share of youth in the total population between 1970 and 1987 (17.8% and 23.6% respectively). As a result of the negative impact of the war in terms of an increase in death rates and emigration rates, particularly among male youth - that share decreased to 19.8% in 1996. When split by age group (15-19 years and 20-24 years), the share of the 15-19 year category amounted to 10.2%, 12.3% and 10.1% in 1970, 1987 and 1996 respectively, compared to 7.6%, 11.3% and 9.7% for the 20-24 year category for the same years.

In 1996, the distribution of youth by sex was almost even (around 51%) between males and 49% for females (Table 8).

3.2 Share in Economically Active Population

For the same year, youth amounted to 18.74% of the total active population - defined in the Ministry of Social Affairs' study to include all those aged 10 years and above; with females representing only 22.3% of the total. 81.85% were employed outside their residences, 1.81% were employed inside their residences, 2.69% were formerly employed and 13.65 were never employed (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1996).

3.3 Sectoral Distribution

The bulk of the youth active population was enrolled in the private sector, 82.84%, while the share of the public sector amounted to only 16.69%, (Table 9).

Table 8

Distribution of Population in Lebanese Households by Age (15-24 years), Current Place of Residence and Sex - 1996 (%)

Mohafazat/Age		Total	15 -	19	20-2	24
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grand Total					L	
Males	302,791	51.10	155,326	51.30	147,465	48.70
Females	289,801	48.90	146,708	50.62	143,093	49.38
Total	592,592	100	302,034	50.97	290,558	49,03
Beirut			,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,			
Males	36,752	51.01	18,244	49.64	18,508	50.36
Females	35,288	48.99	17,066	48.36	18,222	51.64
Total	72,040	100	35,310	49.01	36,730	50.99
Bekaa	L	<u> </u>				
Males	43,030	52.39	22,360	51.98	20,662	48.02
Females	39,106	47.61	20,566	52.59	18,540	47.41
Total	82,136	100	42,935	52.27	39,202	47.73
Mt. Lebanon			······································			
Males	108,608	51.05	53,434	49.20	55,174	50.80
Females	104,161	48.95	50,818	48.79	53,343	51.21
Total	212,770	100	104,252	49.00	108,518	51.00
Nabatiyeh	•					
Males	19,846	49.66	10,180	51.29	9,666	48.71
Females	20,120	50.34	9,821	48.81	10,299	51.19
Total	39,966	100	20,001	50.04	19,966	49.96
North Lebanon		- · · ·				
Males	68,753	51.30	37,425	54.43	31,328	45.57
Females	65,279	48.70	34,887	53.44	30,392	46.56
Total	134,032	100	72,312	53.95	61,720	46.05
South Lebanon						
Males	25,799	49.95	13,675	53.01	12,124	46.99
Females	25,849	50.05	13,551	52.42	12,298	47.58
Total	51,648	100	27,226	52.71	24,422	47.29

Source: Based on Ministry of Social Affairs and United Nations Population Fund, Housing and Population Survey, Survey Results, October 1996.

Youth Unemployment In Lebanon

Table 9
Distribution of Economically Active Population
(15-24 years) in Lebanese Households
by Sector and Sex (%)

	Total		15-19	9	20-24		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Grand Total							
Males	137,354	77.62	44,186	32.17	93,168	67.83	
Females	39,613	22.38	8,000	20.20	31,613	79.80	
Total	176,967	100	52,186	29.49	124,781	70.51	
Public Sector	<u></u>				·		
Males	26,924	91.15	1,941	7.21	24,983	92.79	
Females	2,613	8.85	203	7.77	2,410	92.23	
Total	29,537	100	2,144	7.26	27,393	92.74	
Private Sector	,			· · ·			
Males	109,906	74.97	42,129	38.33	67,777	61.67	
Females	36,694	25.03	7,735	21.08	28,959	78.92	
Total	146,600	100	49,864	34.01	96,736	65.99	
Non-Government S	Sector				<u>-</u> !		
Males	191	41.08	53	27.75	138	72.25	
Females	274	58.92	52	18.98	222	81.02	
Total	465	100	105	22.58	360	77.42	
Joint Sector		····					
Males	52	83.87	10	19.23	42	80.77	
Females	10	16.13	10	100.00	0	0.00	
Total	62	100	20	32.26	42	67.74	
Other	·						
Males	281	92.74	53	18.86	228	81.14	
Females	22	7.26	0	0.00	22	100.00	
Total	303	100	53	17.49	250	82.51	

Source: Based on Ministry of Social Affairs and United Nations Population Fund, Housing and Population Survey, Survey Results, October 1996.

As for the distribution of the economic active population (15-24 years) by major sectors of economic activity, it stood as follows:

Industry, oil and metallurgy 23.3%, trade and maintenance 19.58%, public administration 14.73%, construction 11.4%, agriculture 6.54%, education 5.04%, social services 5.04%, health and social work 2.62%. Males dominate all the major sectors, except for education and health and social work where females represent the vast majority of the youth economically active population (Table 10).

Table 10
Distribution of Economic Active Population (15-24 Years) in Lebanese Households by Major Sectors of Economic Activity and Sex (%)

Sector of Economic Activity \Age	Tota	ıl T	Age 1	5-19	Age 20-24		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Grand Total					<u> </u>		
Males	137354	77.62	44,186	32.17	93,168	67.83	
Females	39,613	22.38	8,000	20.20	31,612	79.80	
Total	176,967	100	52,186	29.49	124,781	70.51	
Industry, Oil and Metallurgy		.4-					
Males	35,038	84.85	15,981	45.61	19,057	54.39	
Females	6,256	15.15	2,106	33.66	4,150	66.34	
Total	41,294	100	18,087	43.80	23,207	56.20	
Trade and Maintenance							
Males	26,897	77.60	10,536	39.17	16,361	60.83	
Females	7,762	22.40	1,748	22.52	6,014	77.48	
Total	34,659	100	12,284	35.44	22,375	64.56	
Public Administration			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
Males	25,636	98.37	1,618	6.31	24,018	93.69	
Females	424	1.63	10	2.36	414	97.64	
Total	26,060	100	1,628	6.25	24,432	93.75	
Construction	<u>.</u>						
Males	19,706	97.60	7,067	35.86	12,639	64.14	
Females	486	2.40	104	21.40	382	78.60	
Total	20,192	100	7,171	35.51	13,021	64.49	
Agriculture, Fishing and Forestry							
Males	9,657	83.40	3,611	37.39	6,046	62.61	
Females	1,924	16.60	834	43.35	1,090	56.65	
Total	11,581	100	4,445	38.38	7,136	61.62	
Education				4			
Males	1,234	13.83	217	17.59	1,017	82.41	
Females	7,689	86.17	604	7.86	7,085	92.14	
Total	8,923	100	821	9.20	8,102	90.80	
Social Services				•			
Males	6,046	67.83	2,465	40.77	3,581	59.23	
Females	2,868	32.17	765	26.67	2,103	73.33	
Total	8,914	100	3,230	36.24	5,684	63.76	
Health and Social Work							
Males	789	17.03	180	22.81	609	77.19	
Females	3,844	82.97	648	16.86	3,196	83.14	
Total	4,633	100	828	17.87	3,805	82.13	

Source: Based on Ministry of Social Affairs and United Nations Population Fund, Housing and Population Survey, Survey Results, October 1996.

Youth Unemployment In Lebanon

The majority of the young has a permanent job (82.94%) while those with occasional work represent only 12.35% of the total, the balance (4.71%) being involved in seasonal work (Table 11).

Table 11

Distribution of Economically Active Population in Lebanese
Households by Age (15-24 years),
Work Permanency and Sex - 1996 (%)

Work & Sex\Age	Total		15 -	19	20 - 24		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Grand Total							
Males	137,354	77.62	44,186	32.17	93,167	67.83	
Females	39,613	22.38	8,000	20.20	31,613	79.80	
Total	176,967	100	52,186	29.49	124,781	70.51	
Permanent Work	<u>-</u>		<u> </u>				
Males	110,568	75.33	34,876	31.54	75,692	68.46	
Females	36,206	24.67	6,768	18.69	29,438	81.31	
Total	146,774	100	41,644	28.37	105,130	71.63	
Seasonal Work	J			·············	·		
Males	6,363	76.31	2,146	33.73	4,217	66.27	
Females	1,975	23.69	729	36.91	1,246	63.09	
Total	8,338	100	2,875	34.48	5,463	65.52	
Occasional Work							
Males	20,422	93.45	7,164	35.08	13,258	64.92	
Females	1,432	6.55	503	35.13	929	64.87	
Total	21,854	100	7,667	35.08	14,187	64.92	

Source: Based on Ministry of Social Affairs, United Nations Population Fund, Housing and Population Survey, Survey Results, October 1996.

3.5 Unemployment

3.5.1 Demographic Characteristics

The available statistical information on unemployment (The National Employment Office Study, November 1997) indicates that 43.3% of the sample are young people below 25 years of age; 75.6% of them are males and 24.4% are females, 26.7% of those aged below 20 are unemployed; out of the females in this age category 14.2% are unemployed, compared to 29.9% for males. In the age group 20-24 years, 33.6% are unemployed; here again the percentage of males in this age bracket is higher than that of females (36.8% vs 25.2%).

3.5.2. Geographical Distribution

The bulk of youth unemployment is located in Mount Lebanon, followed by the Bekaa and North Lebanon. In fact the geographical distribution of youth unemployment follows the same pattern as that of all the unemployed (Table 12).

Table 12 Geographical Distribution of the Unemployed by Mohafazat and Age - 1997 (%)

Mohafazat ∖Age	< 15	15-17	18-20	21-23	24-27	28-30	31-35	36-40	41 >	Total per Mohafazat
Beirut	27.91	11.06	15.72	16.7	18.5	19.45	19.5	23.98	18.56	18.19
Bekaa	30.23	20.19	23.18	18.43	19.02	17.62	11.47	8.54	9.28	15.68
Mt. Lebanon	9.3	22.12	25.15	30.78	34.9	31.35	40.73	39.84	39.67	33.89
Nabatiyeh	2.33	4.33	6.09	6.78	7.68	5.26	5.54	3.66	7.62	6.32
North Lebanon	11.63	23.08	16.7	15.65	13.44	16.7	14.91	15.45	14.36	15.53
South Lebanon	18.6	19.23	13.16	11.65	6.46	9.61	7.84	8.54	10.5	10.39
Total per age	1.07	5.18	12.66	14.31	14.26	10.87	13.01	6.12	22.52	100

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office, in cooperation with ILO and UNDP. A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

The distribution of the unemployed youth by status in the labor market indicates that there are substantial differences between men and women. While around 30% of the male youth (30.1% for those below 20 and 30.5% for those between 20-24 years of age) who were unemployed, at the time the survey of the Ministry of Social Affairs was carried out in 1996, had already found a job in 1997 (date of the National Employment Office Study), only 20% of the women in the less than 20 year age bracket and 28.1% in the 20-24 year category had done so.

The share of those looking for a job for the first time was, understandably, quite high, particularly among women: 65.8% for those below 20 years and 46.7% for those in the 20-24 year bracket compared to 39.7% and 28.3% respectively for men. This is partly due to the deterioration in the prevailing socio-economic conditions and the need to secure an additional source of income within households. A further supporting evidence to this argument is that 37.5% of the women aged between 55 and 64 years were looking for a job for the first time.

3.5.4 Duration of Youth Unemployment

3.5.3 Status of the Unemployed Youth

The duration of unemployment is relatively low for those aged below 17. Most of them, however, are dropouts from schools who have not usually received any formal training and are willing to work for wages below the minimum wage rate. As far as those aged between 24 and 25 years, they have to wait on average for a year in order to be able to find a job. It is worth mentioning that the situation is not much better for people aged above forty, 6 out of 10 workers in this age group remain unemployed for a period which exceeds one year. (National Employment Office, 1997), (Table 13).

Table 13
Distribution of the Unemployed by Age and
Duration of Unemployment - 1997 (%)

Duration	< 15	15-17	18-20	21-23	24-27	28-30	31-35	36-40	40 >	Total
months\Age								:		
1	0.0	8.9	17.9	17.9	19.6	8.9	14.3	5.4	7.1	1.4
2	1.0	5.8	21.4	26.2	14.6	4.9	8.7	1.9	15.5	2.6
3	1.3	10.8	15.8	22.2	13.3	7.6	9.5	5.1	14.6	3.9
4	1.3	8.4	16.8	11.6	20.0	10.3	7.7	6.5	17.4	3.9
5	2.6	8.4	15.6	19.5	12.3	14.3	7.1	3.9	16.2	3.8
6	0.5	8.5	13.9	16.4	14.9	9.0	14.4	7.5	14.9	5.0
7	1.7	7.6	10.1	21.0	19.3	10.9	13.4	3.4	12.6	3.0
8	1.3	9.2	13.8	15.1	11.8	15.8	8.6	5.3	19.1	3.8
9	0.8	4.0	12.8	14.4	10.4	11.2	9.6	8.0	28.8	3.1
10	1.2	8.5	12.1	19.4	11.5	10.9	10.3	8.5	17.6	4.1
11	2.3	2.3	29.5	11.4	6.8	2.3	13.6	11.4	20.5	1.1
12	1.1	2.9	15.5	14.0	15.1	12.8	16.6	4.7	17.3	13.7
13	3.1	7.7	13.8	13.8	10.8	10.8	12.3	10.8	16.9	1.6
14	0.0	6.2	12.3	14.8	14.8	8.6	13.6	4.9	24.7	2.0
15	0.0	1.1	16.0	9.6	17.0	10.6	12.8	2.1	30.9	2.3
16	0.0	3.9	8.7	11.7	19.4	11.7	13.6	2.9	28.2	2.6
17	0.0	0.0	11.6	14.0	9.3	11.6	16.3	4.7	32.6	1.1
18	1.4	6.1	9.4	11.3	13.6	10.8	11.5	6.6	29.3	10.6
19	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.4	5.3	10.5	18.4	15.8	31.6	0.9
20	0.7	2.8	11.7	10.3	12.4	11.7	13.1	4.8	32.4	3.6
21	0.9	3.4	8.9	11.7	13.7	10.5	15.7	7.9	27.4	17.1
22	1.2	2.9	11.8	12.4	15.6	11.5	13.8	5.9	25.0	8.5
23	0.0	0.0	5.9	11.8	17.6	0.0	11.8	11.8	41.2	0.4
Total	1.1	5.2	12.7	14.3	14.3	10.9	13.0	6.0	22.5	100.0

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in Cooperation with ILO and UNDP, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

Unemployed youth, as expected, has a higher level of education than the overall category of unemployed, except at the university level where the percentage is 7.91 for those aged below 25 and 9.7 for all the sample of the unemployed. This could partly be due to the economic crisis prevailing in the country where more than one breadwinner is needed per household and the increasing costs of university education (Table 14).

Table 14
Distribution of the Unemployed Youth According to
Level of Education - 1997 (%)

Level of Education\Age	15-17	18-20	21-24	Total
Illiterate	2.75	1.73	1.74	2.05
Can Read	12.18	9.21	5.23	8.75
Elementary	51.47	31.13	26.52	35.78
Intermediate	26.52	32.69	25.13	28.18
Secondary	6.28	19.13	25.30	17.32
University	0.78	6.09	16.06	7.90
Total	30.72	34.70	34.58	100

Source: The Lebanese Republic, National Employment Office in Cooperation with ILO and UND, A Study of the Labor Market, Results of the Household Statistical Survey, 1997.

3.5.6 Contributing Factors to Youth Unemployment

Determinants of youth unemployment could be broadly grouped under factors affecting the demand for youth labor and those influencing the supply of youth labor on the other.

- Demand for Youth Labor

Demand for youth labor is directly linked to:

a - Prevailing Economic Conditions

Although the civil strife in Lebanon is over, the economy has not yet recuperated from its negative impact. According to the National Employment Office Statistical Survey, 5.9% of the establishments included in the sample are about to close, while

4% are considering reducing their level of activity. Another study carried out in 1995 indicates that 10% of the industrial establishments (which amount to 2000) simply disappeared, while - according to the Central Administration of Statistics - only 431 new ones were created during the same period. (National Employment Office, 1997). Such a situation cannot but adversely affect young people who are looking for a job for the first time.

b - Recruitment Practices of Employers

Youth trying to join the labor market has no access to information indicating the needs of that market. The National Employment Office study reveals that the recruitment method mostly used by establishments is personal contacts (60.6%), followed by media tools (7.5%). Only 1.0% of them resort to employment offices. When asked whether they would rather have recourse to a national employment agency, 60.2% of the owners of establishments answered negatively, 30.6% responded positively and 9.2% simply did not answer.

c - Foreign Labor

The massive presence of foreign labor has adversely affected the demand for Lebanese laborers, particularly the unskilled young ones among them.

There seems to be a marked preference on the part of Lebanese employers for foreign laborers because, according to them:

- foreign workers are willing to work at wages that are below those asked for by Lebanese workers;
- they do not have to be registered in the social security scheme;
- they abide more closely to technical instructions and working hours and have, as a result, a value added contribution which is higher than that of their Lebanese counterparts (UNDP, January 1997).

- Supply of Youth Labor

Among the most important factors that affect the supply of youth labor, one could refer to:

a - Population Movements

Emigration, as mentioned earlier, has had a positive impact on the rate of unemployment and has been "a major factor in averting economic disaster" (Khalaf and Rimlinger, op.cit.). It seems, however, to have slowed down with the end of the

hostilities and the deterioration of economic conditions in the Gulf area. Consequently, Lebanon is witnessing an influx of Lebanese nationals who had emigrated at earlier and different stages of the civil upheaval. Although the net outcome of these movements is difficult to assess, anecdotal evidence seems to indicate that the number of youngsters looking for a job, particularly for the first time, has increased.

b - Qualifications of the Youth Labor Force

The improvement in the educational level of the Lebanese labor force which was essentially registered among the young was not translated into a better performance neither at the employment nor at the productivity level. This is basically due to the deterioration in the quality of education during the war period on one hand and the mismatch between market needs and skills available on the other.

The bulk of Young Lebanese, if qualified enough to join universities - and more specifically professional schools - would do so, regardless of whether there are job opportunities available in these fields or not. Being a medical doctor, an engineer or a lawyer gives you a social status that a technical degree does not. Between 1969 and 1992, the number of medical doctors more than tripled, while in the USA a 60% increase was registered for the same period (UNDP, January 1997). The situation is similar in the case of engineers. According to the Order of Engineers, there are 9 engineers for every 1000 inhabitants in Lebanon, an extremely high rate when compared to the average in developed countries (between 2 to 3).

Technical education and vocational training does not attract a large number of students. They totalled 48064 during the academic year 1995-1996, of whom 21.83% were enrolled in public technical and vocational schools, and 78.17% in private ones. Males constitute the bulk of the student body (65.9%) in public schools. No distribution by sex is available for the private schools. (Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, 1997).

A significant majority of the graduates from the governmental technical and vocational schools receive a BT which corresponds to a high school degree in the regular education system, followed by those who receive a degree of high technicity (table 15).

Table 15
Graduates of Vocational and Technical Schools in the
Public Sector, 1994-1995

Degree	Duration of Study (No. of Years)	No. of Students	%
- CPA (Certificat Accéléré Professionel)	2	224	4.24
- BP (Brevet Professione)	2	652	12.34
- BT (Baccaleauréat Technique	3	3563	67.46
- TS (Technicen Supérieur)	3	763	14.45
- LT (Licence Technique)	4	80	1.51

Source: Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, Educational Center for Research and Development, Preliminary Estimates for the Academic Year, 1995/1996, 1997.

There is a significant predominance of the private sector (including NGOs) in technical education and vocational training: Out of the 307 schools operating during the academic year 1995-1996, 278 (90.55%) were private schools (Ibid). There is no governmental involvement in the activities of the private institutions neither at the standard setting nor monitoring levels. The type of training provided is, in general, of low quality due essentially to unqualified teachers and outdated facilities. In addition, there are no links with the labor market (UNESCO / UNDP, 1993).

The discrepancy between the demand for and the supply of labor is evident in the labor market survey undertaken in 1997 by the National Employment Office. Almost one third of the employers reported a shortage in the number of employees needed, while 21% of them complained about the unavailability of qualified and skilled laborers. The shortage is essentially registered in the metallurgy industries (24%), followed by the electricity sector (7.5%), the textile and cloth industries as well as the transportation sector (more than 4%). The most important needs are for skilled laborers capable of operating machines (50%) and craftsmen (23.1%) with a marked preference for practice and experience rather than degrees.

53.4% of the jobs offered are specifically earmarked for men, while 13.8% only require women. Employers reported being indifferent as far as the balance is concerned.

Establishments stressed also the need for training sessions for their present employees, particularly in the educational field where the demand was highest (11.20% of the total), followed by the marketing (10.02%) and the handicapped (9.89%) fields. Despite the urgency of this need, only 8.4% of the total number of surveyed establishments offer themselves training programs for their employees. They are large institutions and employ 34.7% of the total number of laborers.

It is obvious from what has been said above that unemployed youth is unaware of potential work opportunities, is inadequately trained and does not satisfy, as a result, market needs.

4. Governmental and Non-Governmental Programs and Policies

The economic liberalism which prevailed in Lebanon prior to the war with little government interference in macroeconomic issues and the subsequent even smaller role played by the authorities, as a result of the civil strife, explain partly the lack of adequate programs and policies related to unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular.

There are, nevertheless, despite the absence of an unemployment policy at the macroeconomic level, programs and policies formulated and implemented by both governmental and non-governmental institutions which address this problem. To these should be added other factors which although not directly aimed at young people do indirectly influence the level and pattern of youth unemployment. Among these, specific attention will be given to national legislation and education.

4.1 National Legislation

The Lebanese Labor Code dates back to 1946. It has been implemented for the last fifty years with some occasional amendments.

It is only in July 1996 that the chapter dealing with child labor was amended. The main change introduced relates to the minimum employment age which was pushed forward from eight to thirteen years. In addition, children below the age of sixteen are not to be employed in jobs that are considered either dangerous for their lives and health or have a negative impact on moral ethics. Up to the age of eighteen, medical certificates to ensure the fitness of the youth to do the job are required. These are delivered free of charge by the Ministry of Public Health. It should be noted here that:

- workers cannot join trade unions before completing eighteen years of age;
- minimum wage laws are applicable to employees above the age of twenty.

Needless to say that the inclusion of such clauses in the labor law favors the exploitation of youth labor and makes it impossible to fight such an exploitation which is legally allowed.

4.2 Education

Although the 1994 plan for educational reform recommended the adoption of compulsory education up to the age of fifteen and a decision "de principe" was taken by the Council of Ministers (No.33, dated October 25, 1995), to impose compulsory education up to the age of twelve, such a decision has not yet been implemented.

Despite the absence of a minimum school leaving age, the total number of students below university level, during the academic year 1995-1996 was 829,338 (89.87% of the total number of Lebanese aged between 5 and 19) of whom 162,817 were enrolled in pre-elementary schools, 378,186 in elementary schools, 212,686 in intermediate schools and 75,649 in secondary schools (Table 16). The predominance of the private school - whether a paying or a non-paying one - is here quite apparent since 30.56% of the students are registered in public schools, while 69.44% are in private schools.

As mentioned earlier the hegemony of the private sector is also felt at the technical and vocational training level. At the university level the picture is slightly distorted because of the large enrollment of students (61.64% of all the Lebanese university students) at the Lebanese University.

Table 16
Distribution of Students by Educational Level,
Sex and Sector, 1995/96 (%)

Educational Level\Sector	Sex	Public	Private (Free)	Private (Paying)	Total
Pre-elementary	Male	50.22	52.18	52.41	52.00
	Female	49.78	47.82	47.59	48.00
	Total	17.13	16.47	66.40	19.63
Elementary	Male	50.09	52.04	53.05	51.96
	Female	49.91	47.96	46.95	48.04
	Total	29.04	22.22	48.74	45.60
Intermediate	Male	42.48		50.57	47.37
	Female	57.52		49.43	52.63
	Total	39.65		60.35	25.65
Secondary	Male	41.61		50.31	46.69
	Female	58.39		49.69	53.31
	Total	41.56		58.44	9.12
Total	Male	46.52	52.07	51.96	50.31
	Female	53.48	47.93	48.04	49.69
	Total	30.56	13.37	56.07	100.00

Source: Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, Educational Center for Research and Development, Preliminary Statistics for the Academic Year, 1995/96, 1997

4.3 Governmental Institutions

There are essentially two governmental institutions which are directly involved with labor market issues. These are the Ministry of Labor and the National Employment Office.

4.3.1 The Ministry of Labor

Prior to 1993, there was one ministry - the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs - which was in charge of labor issues, the formulation and implementation of a

social development plan along with the settlement of social problems which resulted from the war. Law No.213 dated April 2, 1993 split the Ministry into two separate entities, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Social Affairs. The main role of the Ministry of Labor, as stipulated by law, is to address all issues related to work and to be in charge of the preparation, coordination and implementation of labor and social legislations. Unfortunately, almost all the key departments of the Ministry of Labor are non-operational. This is the case of the Employment Department - which is in charge of supervising governmental and private employment offices, along with monitoring supply and demand in the labor market - and the Statistics Department which is supposed to collect data related to employment, analyze it and suggest alternative solutions to the problems faced (Issa, op. cit.).

Unless such departments are revitalized in terms of qualified manpower and adequate funding, the effectiveness of the Ministry of Labor in addressing labor issues would remain negligible.

4.3.2 The National Employment Office

The National Employment Office was established in 1977 and was put under the tutelage of the Ministry of Labor. Its main objective was set to be the formulation and implementation of the employment policy in Lebanon through:

- creating and supervising employment offices in Beirut and all the Lebanese region;
- improving the organization of the labor market;
- undertaking studies and research projects which will help formulate employment policies.

The National Employment Office headquarters were destroyed during the war and its documents depleted. The Office resumed its activities in 1995. It is now operating as an autonomous body with a Board of Directors headed by the Minister of Labor and the membership of:

- the director of the Educational Center for Research and Development;
- the representative (a dean) of the Lebanese University;
- the director general of the Ministry of Vocational and Technical Training;
- the director general of the Ministry of Labor;
- five representatives of the Employers' Associations;
- three representatives of the Labor Syndicates.

The composition of the Board of Directors clearly reflects the determination of the authorities to link the formulation of the national employment policy to the educational system on one hand and the needs of the market on the other.

Among the activities carried out by the National Employment Office is the Accelerated Training Program. To implement this program, the National Employment Office contracts training institutions. The training period varies between 400 and 700 hours. The targeted groups are exclusively young people who have failed in their studies or are having difficulties in pursuing them, along with those who are joining the labor market for the first time. Training areas include: sewing, industrial sewing, heating and cooling, carpentry, metallurgical works, plumbing. The program provides also youth with training as nurse aid, nursery assistant, waiter, cook assistant....

The National Employment Office has also integrated in its program an awareness dimension by exposing students to their rights and duties once they join the labor market as stipulated by the Lebanese Labor Code and the National Social Security Fund regulations.

The number of students registered in this training program increased from 422 in 1995 to 806 in 1996 and is anticipated to have doubled in 1997. The cost of training per student varies between LL. 1 million and LL. 1.3 million. The National Employment Office pays to the training institution LL.500,000 per student. It should be mentioned here that the contracted institutions train half a student, at their own expense, for every student who is covered by the National Employment Office. The budget allotted for the training program increased from LL. 125 million in 1995 to LL. 250 million in 1996, reaching LL. 450 million in 1997.

Along with its technical training program, the National Employment Office has started opening employment offices in all of Lebanon. The first one in Beirut, was inaugurated on November 19, 1997. The Office hopes to open one every three months in various Lebanese regions. The purpose of these offices is not only to secure jobs for the unemployed but also to orient youth towards areas where qualified people are needed.

In order to be able to define market needs more precisely and satisfy them adequately, the National Employment Office is undertaking a series of market surveys. The results of the first one have just been published. It is expected that more specific sectoral surveys will be undertaken in the near future in order to be able to

design an employment policy for each sector of the economy. Preliminary work (outline of the study, preparation of questionnaires) has already started for the touristic sector. Along with these sectoral surveys, a study on the integration of youth with a training certificate from the National Employment Office is underway.

4.4 Non-Governmental Organizations

Historically non-governmental organizations have always been among the most important actors on the Lebanese social scene. Their role obviously gained a new dimension during the civil strife when they took over, very smoothly, part of governmental activities and met the needs of the deprived and displaced population. In fact, the dismantlement of the public sector did not allow the latter to play its social role adequately, at a time when it was badly needed. As a result, the NGOs undertook essentially during that period, work of a relief nature.

4.4.1 Vocational Training

NGOs kept, however, providing technical training. One of the most important NGOs reported having trained during the period 1978 - 1990, and basically in the field of construction, some 30,000 persons, the bulk of whom were below 24 years of age. Their graduates did not have any problem finding jobs but, in most cases, the work was seasonal and temporary in nature. The daily pay was good by Lebanese standards, fluctuating within the range of \$30 to \$50.

It is worth noting that this same NGO held during the period 1990-1996, 410 training sessions for women in sewing, pearling, embroidering, knitting and secretarial skills in which 6021 women participated and 5010 graduated.

Another NGO mentioned that its target group in vocational training is essentially school dropouts (from the ages of 13 to the age of 18). It is estimated that they represent around 10% of the total number of students enrolled in schools and amount roughly to 80,000. They are given technical training in centers all over Lebanon and in areas that correspond to the economic needs of the region. They follow also an awareness program related to their rights at work, the importance of environment and health problems.

It was reported that girls among the dropouts are more of a problem. They do not work any more as househelps, because of the negative social connotation such a job entails and the flooding of the domestic market with foreigners who are willing to work at relatively lower prices. As result, they end up staying home, giving a little hand around the house and watching TV for the balance of the day.

4.4.2 Major Problems Facing NGOs

With the end of hostilities and the reemergence of governmental institutions, NGOs are facing an identity crisis and have to address a series of issues the answers to which are not quite clear cut. The main constraints they are facing are:

- The shortage in adequate funding: During the war, NGOs depended essentially on foreign donations to finance their activities. These funds came either from foreign governments or international NGOs. With the return to normalcy, these funds started dwindling away, leaving NGOs insecure about their future prospects;
- The lack of specialization in specific sectors: As a result of their high dependency on foreign aid, NGOs kept adjusting their activity programs to satisfy the objectives of the funding agencies. This led to an overlaping of activities among them and to the inefficient allocation of scarce resources:
- The shifting from relief to development work: the study undertaken by the Middle East Council of Churches and the "Collectif des ONG au Liban" (1995) reveals that among the most important difficulties faced by NGOs in undertaking this transition, one should mention the lack of:
 - statistical information and quality studies;
 - experience and specialization of NGOs staff;
 - cooperation between NGOs and the public sector on one hand and between NGOs themselves on the other;
 - confidence of the public sector in the capabilities of the NGOs to partake in the development and rehabilitation process;
 - expertise in funding strategies;
 - willingness on the part of the population to provide a helping hand on a voluntary basis.

5. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

- The Lebanese Labor Market

Youth unemployment cannot be examined except in the overall context of the labor market. The salient features of the Lebanese labor market could be summarized as follows:

- the Lebanese labor force is relatively young and well educated;
- women constitute 20% of the labor force;
- the service sector employs the bulk of the Lebanese workers;
- foreign labor is present in the market in massive numbers;
- migration of skilled Lebanese labor is a traditional trend which has been accentuated as a result of the war.

- Unemployment

The civil strife has led to an increase in the level of unemployment. Unemployment has essentially hit young people below 25 years of age and affected young women more adversely than young men.

In addition, men seem to find jobs faster than women and they constitute a smaller share of those looking for a job for the first time.

Youth unemployment has been relatively low in terms of duration for those below the age of 17, while its average is around one year for those aged between 24 and 25 years. Men seem to find jobs faster than women and they constitute a smaller share of those looking for a job for the first time.

- Determinants of Youth Unemployment

The determinants of youth unemployment could be broadly grouped under factors affecting on one hand, the demand for and on the other, the supply of youth labor.

On the demand side, one could trace the negative impact of three variables on youth unemployment:

 the deterioration of the prevailing macroeconomic conditions in terms of inflation, budgetary deficits and public debt;

- the recruitment practices of employers which basically resort to personal contacts, depriving thus youth from having access to information related to market needs;
- the massive presence of foreign laborers.
 - On the supply side, the most important factors are:
- the population movements of Lebanese and foreigners both in and out of Lebanon;
- the qualifications of the youth labor force: the level of education of youth is relatively good, but it does not meet market needs; leading therefore to a mismatch between the demand for and the supply of labor.

Although there is no well formulated labor policy in Lebanon, elements of such a policy could be traced through the revival of some governmental institutions - such as the Central Administration of Statistics and the National Employment Office - and suggested amendments at the educational and vocational training levels.

- Non-Governmental Institutions

Despite the identity crisis through which NGOs are passing, they have played a very important role during the war, particularly in the field of relief work. Although the transition from relief to development work is not an easy preposition, such a bridge should be crossed to enable NGOs to partake fully in the socio-economic development process.

5.2 Policy and Program Options

There is an urgent need to devise an "employment friendly" growth strategy which would focus at:

- the administrative level on the restructuring and modernizing of government institutions dealing with labor issues, enabling them to follow closely changes in the labor market and correcting any trend they deem necessary to be corrected. Priority should be given in this respect to the Ministry of Labor which is far from being considered as a vital one, since its share in the 1995 budget amounted to 0.3% only. More specifically, the Employment, Statistics and Control of Foreign Labor Departments within the Ministry should be reshuffled and properly equipped, in terms of both manpower and technical facilities, to enable them to perform their functions properly and lay the grounds for the formulation of an adequate labor policy;

- the legislative level on the drastic revision of the fifty year old labor law and the removal from it of all clauses which affect negatively youth employment and reduce their bargaining power;
- the vocation and technical level on the amendments of the programs which were introduced in the sixties and have not been modified since, thus not taking into account neither the technical and scientific progress achieved over the last forty years, nor market needs. There is, in fact, a wide gap between the specialties being taught in the vocational and training programs and the needs of the market, let alone the archaic equipment being used and the highly theoretical content of the programs;
- the informal sector level on the creation of income-generating activities, selfemployment, provision of credit facilities;
- the foreign labor level on the formulation of a strict and clear policy regarding the employment of foreigners in Lebanon. The adoption of measures that would reduce the level of competition between them and the Lebanese laborers should be well studied;
- the gender level on the elimination of discrimination in job opportunities, wages, training and job security. Special attention should be given to the provision of supporting facilities for young working women enabling them to perform efficiently their double role of family makers and breadwinners.

It should be noted here that realizing the seriousness of the problems at hand, the Ministry of Vocation and Technical Training - established in 1992- devised in 1993 a plan for the rehabilitation of the vocational and technical teaching in Lebanon. The main objectives of this plan, which is supposed to be implemented in the 90's, are:

- improving the quality of the vocational and technical training provided through changes in the curriculum taking into account technical and scientific developments, and the provision of better qualified teachers and up-to-date equipment;
- increasing the percentage of skilled workers in the labor force and improving their productivity through formal and informal training;
- revalorizing manual work and developing professional ethics;
- ensuring the compatibility of the training provided with market needs.

Republic of Lebanon Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform

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