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Khudhran Khadhir M. Al-Thubaity

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RURAL MIGRANTS IN TAIF: THEIR MIGRATION

AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

by

Khudhran Khadhir M. Al-Thubaity

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بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah,

the most gracious, the dispenser of grace.

Praise be to Allah,

and Peace be upon His Prophet Mohammad .

ABSTRACT

RURAL MIGRANTS IN TAIF: THEIR MIGRATION
AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

by

Khudhran Khadhir M. Al-Thubaity

This study is concerned with a specific group of migrants,
namely rural migrants, in Taif, Saudi Arabia. The overriding purposes
of this research are to examine the process and motives of rural migra-
tion and to analyze the rural migrants' residential mobility within
the city. The data for this research are based on information gathered
in the field during the summer of 1980 and from 572 randomly-selected
households of which 53 percent are rural migrants. In analyzing the
data, four statistical techniques were employed: the chi-square test
of association, factor analysis, multiple discriminant analysis and
regression analysis.

The major findings are: 1) rural migration to Taif is increas-
ing every year at a steady rate, 2) the major rural migration fields
for Taif are located to the south of the city within the mountainous
range of the Southwestern Region, 3) rural migration to Taif is a
direct one, and is a complete family migration, 4) the majority of
the rural migrants are at least 25 years of age and unskilled, 5)

the major causes of migration are family attraction, family size, climatic conditions, family problems, urban attraction and employment factors, 6) migrants are concentrated in ruralized quarters due to their low economic status and strong kinship ties, 7) a positive correlation is found between the urban experience and the rate of change in residence, 8) the relationship between the rate of change in residence and socioeconomic, locational and housing variables is very weak, 9) the majority of rural migrants have made intercommunity rather than intracommunity moves, and 10) three major factors account for these moves: social ties, homeownership, and dwelling size.

This continuous increase in rural migration volume will eventually result in a decrease in rural population, as well as a vast increase in the city's population. This is an alarming indicator of rural neglect and deterioration and tremendous pressure on Taif in terms of increased demand for community services. Further research should be directed to an examination of the spatial and social assimilation of the rural migrants within Taif. Rural areas should be examined in an attempt to identify prospective migrants and their planned destinations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Saudi Arabia is a vast country of about seven million
inhabitants. The distribution of that population is uneven. The
major urban centers are few and clustered in specific regions
(Figures 1 and 2). Based on figures from the national 1974 popu-
lation census, there are sixteen major cities in the country of
more than thirty thousand inhabitants (Table 1).

Due to lack of accurate records, the history of the country's
population growth is unknown. Any attempt to estimate population
change and growth would be difficult and unreliable. However, during
the last few decades the country has witnessed rapid expansion. It
is postulated that such expansion is due to economic development
which began in the 1940s with the exportation of oil. Urban popula-
tion was measured at 25 percent in 1970 (Ibrahim, 1974) and 38 per-
cent in 1974 (Population Census, 1974).*

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*The annual growth rate for the urban population is calculated at
6.4 percent (Ibrahim, 1974). Individual cities and towns have
different rates (Table 2).

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Population Settlement of Saudi Arabia

FIGURE 1

Source: Dar Al-Shoroq, Jeddah

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

JORDAN

IRAQ

KUWAIT

IRAN

ARABIAN GULF

QATAR

U.A.E.

OMAN

Oman Bay

ARABIAN SEA

SOUTH YEMEN

YEMEN

RED SEA

N

300 Km
150

0 150 300 M

Settled
Unsettled

7,000,000
1,750,000
750,000
150,000

Total Population of Saudi Arabia

3

Administrative Divisions of Saudi Arabia

FIGURE 2

Source: Dar Al-Shoroq, Jeddah

TABLE 1

URBAN CENTERS OF MORE THAN 30,000 POPULATION

City	Population (Number)	No. of Families (Number)
Riyadh	666,840	101,506
Jeddah	561,104	97,363
Mecca	366,801	67,947
Taif	207,857	30,877
Medina	198,186	35,390
Dammam	127,844	21,513
Hufuf	101,271	14,551
Tabouk	74,825	10,696
Buraidah	69,940	8,774
Al-Mobarraz	54,325	7,775
Khamis-Mushait	49,581	8,142
Al Khobar	48,817	9,023
Najran	47,501	9,149
Ha'il	40,502	6,065
Jizan	32,812	5,648
Abha	30,150	5,413

Source: (1974) Population Census, Saudi Arabia.

TABLE 2

THE ANNUAL URBAN GROWTH RATES FOR
SOME MAJOR URBAN CENTERS, SAUDI ARABIA

City	Census 1962	Census 1974	Annual Growth Rates*
Riyadh	170,000	666,840	6.21%
Jeddah	148,000	561,104	6.14%
Mecca	159,000	366,801	4.72%
Taif	54,000	204,857	6.14%
Medina	72,000	198,186	5.31%
Hufuf	115,000	155,596	2.17%
Dammam	35,000	127,844	6.05%

*Caculated by the author.

Source: 1962 and 1974 Population Census, Saudi Arabia.

This process of recent urban expansion is not peculiar to Saudi Arabia; rather it is a feature of our modern era. Other Arab countries are also experiencing similar increases in the concentration of people in cities; in turn they are losing population in the rural areas (Table 3). The annual urban growth rates for all Arab countries (except Kuwait and Qatar) range from 3.1 percent in Gazza to 8.1 percent in the United Arab Emirates (Table 4). The major causes of this recent urban growth are the natural increase in cities' population and the massive rural migration to cities (Jones, 1967; Hurewitz, 1969; Ibrahim, 1975). Estimates of the percentages of rural migrants in some of the Arab and Middle East cities include 33 percent in Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1965), 26 percent in Beirut (Churchill, 1954), and 38 percent in Tehran (Bharier, 1968). Jones (1969) reports a large-scale migration from rural areas into Baghdad at a rate of about 5 percent a year. In Algeria an estimated 110,000-120,000 rural residents annually move into towns (Sutton, 1972). Malik (1973) has estimated that approximately 75 percent of the total increase in the population of Riyadh alone was due to migration.

Saudi Arabia is a developing country that is passing through rapid economic development and social change. Internal migration within the country, specifically rural-urban migration, is significant in numbers and in the rate at which it is occurring. Riyadh

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TABLE 3

POPULATION OF SOME ARAB COUNTRIES, 1950-1970
(in millions)

Country	Population 1950 Number	Population 1970 Number	Rural Population 1950 Number	%	Rural Population 1970 Number	%	Urban Population 1950 Number	%	Urban Population 1970 Number	%
Algeria	8.9	13.7	6.7	75	8.5	65	2.2	25	5.2	35
Egypt	20.5	33.3	14.0	68	18.7	55	6.5	32	14.5	45
Libya	1.0	2.0	.8	78	1.3	62	.2	22	.8	38
Mauritania	.7	1.2	.7	98	1.1	97	.01	2	.03	3
Morocco	9.0	15.5	6.9	77	10.0	65	2.0	23	5.5	35
Sudan	10.0	15.6	8.4	94	14.3	90	.6	6	1.3	10
Tunisia	3.6	4.9	2.5	69	2.8	57	1.1	31	2.1	43
Bahrain	.1	.2	.03	29	.06	26	.09	71	.2	74
Gazza	.3	.5	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.5	--
Iraq	5.2	9.1	3.4	65	5.1	57	1.8	35	4.0	43
Jordan	1.3	2.4	.8	65	1.4	56	.5	35	1.1	44
Kuwait	.2	.7	.07	42	.1	20	.1	58	.6	80
Lebanon	1.8	2.9	1.3	60	1.6	45	.5	40	1.3	55
Oman	.5	.6	.5	97	.5	94	.01	3	.03	7
Qatar	.02	.1	.01	50	.03	30	.01	50	.07	70
Saudi Arabia	5.3	7.4	4.8	91	5.5	75	.5	9	1.9	25
Syria	3.4	6.1	2.2	65	3.8	58	1.2	35	2.3	42
U.A.E.	.08	.2	.06	75	.07	45	.02	25	.1	55
North Yemen	4.0	5.0	3.9	98	4.7	90	.08	2	.3	10
South Yemen	.7	1.0	.06	81	.7	66	.1	9	.3	34
TOTAL	75.4	122.4	57.6	75	80.2	64.7	17.8	25	42.2	35.3

Source: Compiled from Ibrahim, 1974, p. 75.

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TABLE 4

ANNUAL URBAN GROWTH RATES FOR SELECTED
ARAB COUNTRIES 1950/60 AND 1960/70

Country	1950/60	1960/70
Algeria	4.4	4.5
Egypt	4.2	4.0
Libya	4.6	4.6
Mauritania	3.9	2.4
Morocco	5.0	4.9
Sudan	4.2	6.0
Tunisia	3.5	3.2
Bahrain	3.4	5.0
Gazza	3.0	3.1
Iraq	4.0	4.0
Jordan	4.1	4.8
Kuwait	7.1	18.0
Lebanon	4.0	4.0
Oman	4.4	4.1
Qatar	10.4	15.2
Saudi Arabia	7.2	6.4
Syria	3.3	3.4
U.A.E.	7.2	8.1
North Yemen	8.5	5.9
South Yemen	5.1	4.2

Source: Ibrahim, 1974, p. 76.

is not the only fast growing city in the country. Some other major
cities, including Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, Damman and Taif, are grow-
ing rapidly as well. When considering the rate of natural increase
for Saudi Arabia, which is 3 percent per year, the population of the
country would double in about 23 years. Many of the above cities
have annual growth rates exceeding 5 percent, which means they will
double in less than 15 years (Table 2). Between the first and the
second population census (12 years) the percentage of the population
defined as urban tripled (Table 3). These increases were not only
the product of natural increases, but are also attributed to large-
scale in-migration from rural areas.

Visible signs of rapid expansive urbanization in Saudi Arabia
are numerous. There are increased numbers of public facilities and
above all the physical expansion of the individual cities themselves.
These changes are much in evidence in Taif, the focus of this re-
search. The city has changed enormously during recent years. Forty-
four years ago there were only three residential quarters in the
city (an area of about two square kilometers). These quarters
formed the core area of the city. At the present time there are
twenty-five quarters in an area of about twelve square kilometers
(an increase of 83 percent). This calculation indicates that Taif
is growing at a scale of about 9,500 square meters per year.

Urban expansion at the scale mentioned above would not have occurred in Taif without the increased housing demands created by massive rural migration. It is rural migrants and rural migration that need to be examined in detail. This study is concerned with examining rural migrants in Taif in terms of (a) the motives and process of their migration into the city and more importantly (b) the process of their residential mobility. An examination of these topics will not only shed light on the problem of rural-urban migration from place of origin, but also household destinations within the city. Such a study should prove useful to urban and rural policy-makers who wish to understand better the spatial and temporal processes and to bring about a better understanding of the social and economic changes in the rural areas and within Taif.

Scope and Purpose of the Study

The rural-urban migration processes can be viewed in two major perspectives: (a) the movement of rural migrants into an urban center and (b) their movement within the urban space. The two themes are very much interrelated. The flow of migrants from their rural areas represents a shift not only of location but one in which a new way of life is likely to occur. Whatever the reasons behind the rural-urban migration, it can be anticipated that migrants are exposed to a new

and urban way of life, and, more importantly, the problem of resi-
dential choice. It is anticipated that one state of the adjustment
process to the urban atmosphere is the selection of a satisfactory
dwelling on a suitable location (quarter or neighborhood). This
search process may involve elements of surprise for the newcomers.
Therefore, a number of intraurban residential moves are expected.
The search for suitable dwelling and location is determined by time
(length of urban experience), social and economic characteristics of
the population in relation to available housing types, and character-
istics of the houses and quarters themselves.

The overriding purposes of this study are twofold: (1) to
examine the process and motives of rural-urban migration to Taif and
(2) to analyze rural migrants' residential mobility within the city,
especially the resultant spatial patterns. Based on the writer's
long experience and observations on the movement of the rural popula-
tion into Taif, the city's residential growth, the major questions
asked in this study are the following:

1. Where did these rural migrants come from?

2. What kind of migration did they make?
    (i.e., individuals or households?)

3. What were their motives for migration?

4. Where did they initially settle in Taif?

5. Have they ever changed the location of their
   residence since they moved? Where? How many
   times? When? and Why?

6. What are the salient patterns of their movement
   within Taif?

7. Where are they presently located in the city?
   and Why?

This study is an attempt to understand, interpret, and analyze the spatial dimensions of rural-urban migration to Taif, Saudi-Arabia, as a process that is not ended merely by getting into the urban space, but rather one that continues to operate within the city until the migrants are satisfied with a specific dwelling and location. In summary, the major objectives are threefold: (1) to examine the spatial processes and motives of rural-urban migration to Taif; (2) to investigate the rural migrants' residential mobility within the different quarters of the city; and (3) to identify and analyze ongoing patterns of their residential movements. The results should provide useful information and recommendations to those who are concerned with urban and rural planning development in Taif and throughout Saudi Arabia.

The Scope of Study Within Geography

This study considers the process of rural-urban migration and the rural migrants' residential mobility within Taif. Migration

is viewed as a form of human behavior (Speare, 1971) that results in some distinct spatial patterns. Migration is a change in the location of residence by individuals or groups of people with the intention of "permanent or semi-permanent movement" (Woods, 1979, p. 165). Geographers are particularly interested in the temporal-spatial aspect of migration.

Migration is a subject that has been dealt with at great length by human geographers. This research on the rural migrants in Taif falls within the sphere of three major subfields of human geography: population, social, and urban geography. These subfields of human geography have as a common underlying dimension a concern for explaining the spatial patterns and processes of phenomena. In population geography, the focus of study is on the distribution and variations in the population phenomena (processes and patterns) through place and time (Zelinsky, 1966). Social geography is concerned with the individual spatial behavior (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976) and the resultant spatial patterns (Brunn, 1977). Urban geography deals with the different processes which create spatial patterns in the city (Carter, 1976).

The flow of people from rural areas is a process that results in new spatial patterns once these newcomers arrive within the city. The question, "Why do migrants initially sort themselves out in urban

space?" (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976) is fundamental to this study on Taif. Herbert argues that "the spatial patterning of residential areas at any one point in time is the end result of a decision-making process on where to live" (Herbert, 1972, p. 240).

From the behavioral point of view, this study attempts to un-ravel the processes underlying the resultant patterns. The behavioral approach in geography though not new, was not well established until the late 1960s when human geographers began to consider the processes associated with human behavior and spatial organization (Mitchell, 1979). This study will benefit from the behavioral thrust and com-ponents within geography in that individual decision-making processes are examined.

Organization of the Study

This study is divided into seven chapters. In Chapter Two, the concern is focused upon the ideas, concepts and themes related to migration theories and literature. Chapter Three outlines the spa-tial structure of Taif, and includes a discussion of the pilot study. The research hypotheses and sampling procedures utilized comprise Chapter Four, followed by a discussion of the process of rural migra-tion to Taif in Chapter Five. Chapter Six deals with residential mobility among the rural migrants and the resultant spatial patterns

of their movement. Chapter Seven concludes with a summary of the
study itself as well as implications of the study and recommenda-
tions for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Because of the interest in human migration that exists in many scientific disciplines, including geography, sociology, economics, anthropology, and psychology, the amount of literature on this subject is staggering. White and Woods (1980) describe the study of migration as being both a multidisciplinary and, in its widest sense, an interdisciplinary field. Migration is a form of human behavior (Speare, 1971) that is exercised over space and time. Although scholars in the social sciences approach migration from different points of view, all would agree that migration represents a change in the location of residence or the movement from one place to another. Migration takes many different forms; however, for the most part it can be defined as either external or internal. External migration is defined as migration between countries, as opposed to migration within a country or internal migration. Today, internal migration is the more prevalent form in most parts of the world. The sphere of internal migration involves not only movement between

rural and urban communities, but movement within urban and rural areas as well.

Geographers recognize these two types of migration, that is, internal and external. Although geographers may benefit from other socioeconomic approaches to migration, geographical studies of human migration are distinguished by their concern with the spatial and temporal dimensions. Although considerable attention is given to social and economic variables as they relate to the characteristics and motives of migration, geographers are inherently very interested in the spatial patterns and flows of migrants that exist between origins and destinations. Migration is a form of population redistribution in space. That is, a process which involves changing the spatial and socioeconomic structures of areas. White and Woods (1980) termed these changes the "geographical impacts of migration."

A distinction needs to be made here between the terms migration and mobility. Although the verb "to migrate" connotes motion of some sort to the author, it is not synonymous with mobility, which is a more general term that comprises different forms of social and spatial movements. We often differentiate between vertical and horizontal mobility. Horizontal mobility usually implies movement over space, while vertical mobility is often applied to social, economic, or political stratifications. Thus, the study of migration among geographers is mainly concerned with horizontal mobility, although

there are some aspects which are associated with vertical mobility, as in the case of stepwise or stagewise migration. The literature of migration contains such terms as total displacement, partial displacement, interurban mobility, and intraurban mobility. Other concepts, including migration field, migration streams, hinterland migration, channelized migration, hierarchical migration, and return migration are also well-developed (See Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman, 1976). This chapter will focus upon ideas related to migration theories, rural-urban migration and intraurban or residential mobility as they provide a foundation advancing and testing specific hypotheses.

Types of Migration Theories

Several theories on the process of migration have been formulated. These theories can be classified into three general types: 1) those related to the spatial patterns of migration streams, 2) those related to the socioeconomic characteristics of migrants, and 3) those related to the causes of migration. This simple classification is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather, provides a general indication of the main research trends dealing with theoretical aspects of migration. The major views of each classification are presented below.

The Spatial Patterns of Migration Streams

Scholars of migration have observed the movement of people between places. Their attention has focused on the relationships between the direction of migration flows and the volume or number of migrants who move between one area and another. The study of such relationships is concerned with evaluating the effect of distance on the size of migration streams between two points: the origin and the destination. These points of origin and destination can be areas or cities that are adjacent or distant. The central concern for theories of this type is how far people move from their previous residences.

Ravenstein (1885; 1889) is considered the first demographer to offer broad generalizations on the patterns of spatial flows between origins and destinations. Ravenstein called his generalization the "laws of migration." These laws of migration can be summarized as follows: 1) the majority of migrants who move a short distance are females, while those who move a long distance are mostly males who proceed to major industrial and commercial centers; 2) the direction of flows, on the whole, is from rural to urban and the process of migration proceeds in a series of stages; 3) for each migration stream there is also a counter-stream; and 4) the causes or motives of migration are generally economic.

Ravenstein's laws of migration were formulated in the nineteenth century. His generalizations were based on the degree of development of the society for which they were generated. Although one may question the relevance of Ravenstein's findings to modern-day situations, it is safe to say that his laws have stimulated a great amount of subsequent research on migration. For example, Zelinsky (1971) based his model of mobility transition on the relationship between an increase in volume of migrants and the development of commerce and industry. This notion, although not well developed by Ravenstein, possibly stems from his ability to understand and measure the significance of the spatial variations of the economic development of his time and their impact on migration flows. As White and Woods (1980) comment, Ravenstein's work on the "laws of migration" has formed a cornerstone of geographical thought on migration (also Grigg, 1977).

Another major development in migration theory was proposed by Stouffer in 1940 when he argued that migration flows between places are not only influenced by distance but also by intervening opportunities. His theory suggests that the number of migrants moving a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. In other words, migrants are exposed

to some intervening opportunities that appear between their first residences and the subsequent one. In 1960 Stouffer introduced the concept "competing migrants" in studying the interaction between areas. The idea here is that it is not only the distance and number of opportunities between origins and destinations but also the number of migrants competing for opportunities at the destinations which has an impact on the volume of migrants to that particular destination.

With regard to distance and migration streams, Rose (1970) examined the socioeconomic status of migrants in relation to how far away they migrate. He found that on the average, upper class migrants move greater distances than lower class migrants. His hypothesis was also based on the notion of opportunities, that is, those with high aspirations seek better opportunity and must move greater distances while those with fewer skills and aspirations would look for less desirable opportunities and move shorter distances.

In addition to the theories of distance and opportunities, there is Zipf's hypothesis which states that the volume of interstate migration is a function of the population of the place of origin, the population of the place of destination, and the distance between them (Zipf, 1940). His idea is that migration flows between two places are directly related to the size of their populations and inversely related to the distance between them.

In his famous article "A Theory of Migration" Everett S. Lee

proposed that "no matter how short or how long, how easy or how dif-

ficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination,

and an intervening obstacle (1965, p. 48). Lee summarized the factors

involved in the process of migration as being (1) factors associated

with the area of origin; (2) factors associated with the area of des-

tination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) personal factors (Lee,

1970). Lee's idea of the factors associated with origin and destina-

tion is similar to the well-known "push-pull" theory of migration.

Bogue further elaborated on the attributes of places in relation to

out and in-migrations. He stated that "selectively of out-migrants

from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attrac-

tive "pulls" from the other community and inversely with the explosive

"pushes" from the community itself"(1961, p. 12). The theory of push-

pull factors will be discussed further below.

The Socioeconomic Characteristics of Migrants or "Migration Selectivity."

One of the most frequently pondered topics in the literature

of migration is an analysis of the typical migrant. Ever since the

introduction of and search for the laws of migration, social scien-

tists have sought to establish a universal migrant prototype. The

term "selectivity" refers to the characteristics of a group or

individual who tend to be more migratory than others. In the litera-
ture, these characteristics are identified as migration differentials.
They include age, sex, educational level, occupation, economic status,
and social status. In the attempt to differentiate migrants from non-
migrants, these differentials become highly significant. White and
Woods (1980) proposed two generalizations with regard to these attri-
butes: first, that migrants are not randomly selected from the popu-
lation at the place of origin, and second, that migrants at a certain
destination do not form a random cross-section addition to the poula-
tion. Furthermore, Bogue, in his paper "Techniques and Hypotheses
for the Study of Differential Migration" (1961) suggested that when
testing hypotheses related to migration selectivity, one should con-
sider population and environmental conditions both at the origin and
at the destination. In essence, when studying migration patterns re-
searchers must be aware of differences between societies in terms of
stage of development, economic growth, technological improvements,
and cultural nuances.

Numerous studies on the relationship between age and the ten-
dency to migrate reveal that young adults are the customary migrants.
For example, most migrants in the United States are between 20 and 34
years of age (Thomas, 1958). In India, Connel et al. (1976) reported
that village inhabitants between 15 and 24 years of age were the most
common migrants. Schults (1971) in Colombia found that most migrants

were between 18 and 27 years old. The majority of rural Taiwanese

migrants, according to Rempel (1970), were between the ages of 15

and 24. Shaw (1975) in his book review on migration argued that

migration varies inversely with age; he cites several citations

from independent studies to support his generalization. Age, how-

ever, cannot by itself be considered a criterion of differentiation.

Another frequently employed migration differential is sex.

While it has generally been accepted that the propensity to migrate

is greater among males, sex-selectivity seems to vary with space and

time. While Arias (1961) found that internal migration was more com-

mon among males than females in Guatemala, Lee's (1961) study of mi-

gration patterns in the United States indicated very minimal differ-

ences between males and females with regard to their propensity to

migrate. Even within a given country, variations in the sex vari-

able may exist. In Brazil, male migrants outnumbered females when

examining urban migration from large cities; however, in terms of

migration from small towns and rural areas, female migrants were in

the majority (as cited by Jansen, 1970, from Hutchinson, 1960). In-

deed, sex as a universal migration differential appears less depend-

able than others (Peters, 1976).

Differentiation among migrants based on occupational or edu-

cational levels or according to economic or social status also has

frequently been employed in studies of migration. Here too, however, it becomes evident that these differentials are defined by space and time. Sahota (1968), in studying Brazil, found that migration is directly related to education. Conversely, Ducoff (1963) discovered that a substantial number of migrants to San Salvador had little or no education. Shaw (1975) in his review of the migration to and from the southern United States concludes: 1) migration to and from the southern U.S. is positively correlated with education; 2) migrating peoples include proportionately more of the better-educated persons than non-migrants, regardless of age, sex, color, or direction of movement to and from the southern U.S.; and 3) migration of better-educated persons becomes more pronounced as the migration distance increases.

The relationship between migration and occupation also varies with differences in the occupational classes of societies. Rose (1970) found that persons of high status move greater distances than those of low status who seek less desirable opportunities and move shorter distances to fulfill their goals. In Britain, Willis (1972) found that professionals were more migratory than other occupational classes. Also, Tarver (1964) in studying labor force migration in the U.S. reported that migration was higher among professional, technical and kindered employees than any other group.

In studying such a complex process as migration patterns, demographic variables as well as social and economic differentials must be considered on a spatial as well as temporal basis. Universal generalizations based on a single differential would be inaccurate and misleading. Students of migration behavior and processes need to be keenly aware of the relationships between age, educational level, occupation, and sex in determining migration patterns. Researchers must not only consider the interaction of these differentials, but also the degree of development, urbanization, and industrialization within a given region.

Causes of Migration

The third major area of human migration in our general classification treats the factors that motivate individuals or groups to migrate from one place to another. As discussed previously, Ravenstein (1885; 1889) recognized the importance of industrial and commercial development in attracting migrants to an area. Weeks (1977) believes that people migrate to obtain jobs, while Todaro (1969) argues that it is in fact higher wages in urban areas that attract migrants. White and Woods (1980) state that migration occurs because of the migrant's perception of the spatial differentiation of opportunities. In other words, migrants believe that different geographical locations

offer different levels of potential prosperity to prospective migrants. People are drawn from one place to another according to their needs and desires and the availability of opportunities to fulfill them.

There are specific factors associated with a given origin or destination which would make it more or less desirable to a potential migrant (Lee, 1966). The push-pull hypothesis, which utilizes the idea of factors, has been commonly used in attempts to describe the causes of migration. The classification of migration motives into push (negative) and pull (positive) factors is rather general, even though the process of migration itself is very complex. Factors associated with rural-urban migration may differ from those related to urban-urban migration which also differ from those factors involved in intraurban mobility. Whatever the specific causes behind migration, they can generally be classified into economic, social, and political categories. These categories should not be isolated from spatial variations and the distribution and level of opportunities between two areas in question. Terms including labor migration, educational migration, and retirement migration, all of which are found in the literature, illustrate the main causes of migration. Perhaps the most comprehensive approach to understanding the mechanisms of migration is the conceptualized framework of general systems theory offered by Mabogunje in 1970. He provided a general approach through which

the underlying causes of migration can be understood. His view pro-
vided that migration is a continuous spatial phenomenon that is part
of complex interrelationships of social, economic, governmental, tech-
nological and other mechanisms. Any changes in one part of the gen-
eral system would generate changes in others.

Rural-Urban Migration

Internal migration between rural and urban areas is a common
phenomenon in most of the world's countries. As stated by Kempinski,
"in many countries there is a definite movement of people from agri-
culture to town employment" (1961, p. 71). Rural areas have been
the reserve of workers (Windham, 1961). The migration of rural
persons into towns is a cumulative process (Freedman and Freedman,
1956). The industrial revolution in the advanced countries of the
West stimulated the movement of the rural population into cities.
The major migration patterns have been from populous rural areas
into the major cities or manufacturing centers (Fielding, 1975).
Within the United States, the major migration streams have been
from the agricultural South to the industrial North (Roseman,
1977). Recently, the rural-urban migration in the industrial
Western countries has lessened. For example, in the United States

United States there has been a turnaround, new form of population migration (Beale, 1976). This migration defines people who are now retreating or returning into nonmetropolitan areas (McCarthy and Morrison, 1977). Several factors are assumed to have influenced such new movements, especially toward areas of economic opportunities (Lycan, 1975).

In the developing countries there has been a mass of continuous movement from rural areas to urban centers in recent decades. This is evident when we compare the increasing numbers of people living in cities in most of the Third World regions to that of Europe and North America (Table 5). It is rapid improvements in the aspects of health, education, employment, social affairs and other amenities of the new modernization in the major cities and towns of the Third World that have motivated the rural man to migrate. Few of these services have yet reached the village level (Kempinski, 1961).

The general patterns of rural-urban migration in the developing countries are far from being uniform. In Africa, studies indicate that, historically, migration streams have developed from a tribal-based to a traditional state-based to a colonial type (Harvey, 1969). Mabogunje (1972) described migration in Africa as being primarily regional, where individuals

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGES OF URBAN POPULATION IN WORLD REGIONS
FOR 1970 AND 1979*

Region	Percent of Urban 1970	Percent of Urban 1979
North America	72	74
Europe	65	68
Latin America	40	61
Arab World	35	59
Asia	25	27
Africa	15	25

*The 1970 figures were obtained from United Nations, 1976 and the
1979 figures were calculated by the author from the 1979 World
Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau.

or groups of people cross ethnic or national boundaries. From the spatial-temporal viewpoint, rural-urban relationships in Africa are divided into four categories: 1) rural-rural; 2) rural-urban; 3) urban-rural; and 4) urban-urban. In terms of time there are circulation-types of movement (daily, periodic, seasonal, long-term) and migration (irregular and permanent) (Gould and Prothero, 1975). For the most part, rural-urban migrations in Africa are labor force-type of movements (Prothero, 1976).

In Asia, although rural to urban migration is pronounced, there are some countries that exhibit different patterns. For example, in Malaysia rural residents were attracted to new settlements created between 1950 and 1960 (Wikkramatileke, 1965). In Indonesia people were transferred from crowded Java to frontier lands (Withington, 1963). Because of the economic development taking place in these and other countries, "transmigration" schemes are becoming increasingly commonplace. In India, the most outstanding characteristic of Indian migration is that people spend their entire lives within or near the district in which they were born, or within their native states (Gasal and Krishan, 1975). This phenomenon may indicate how deeply people are attached to their mother land and culture. The destinations of Indian migration are to be one of the following areas: urban-industrial concentrations, plantations, newly-developed agricultural lands; multipurpose

project sites, other areas with developmental activities; and
mining areas (Gosal and Krishan, 1975).

In Latin America, the frequent source of internal migra-
tion is from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and Carribean
coasts or to lowlands east of the Andes (Butland, 1966; Dozier,
1969). It has been estimated that about 60 percent of the Latin
America population is living in cities (see Table 5 and also
Brunn and Thomas, 1970). Due to development in agriculture and
infrastructure, people are migrating to frontier lands (Dozier,
1971). In the migration literature on Latin America, the move-
ment of persons between areas has been described as being a pro-
cess of step-wise and stage migrations (Thomas and Mulvihill,
1980). Patterns of direct movements to capital cities also exist
(Thomas and Mulvihill, 1980). Patterns of direct movements to
capital cities also exist (Thomas and Catau, 1974).

In countries of the Arab world in North Africa and the Middle
East, two major types of movement are recognized: rural-urban migra-
tion and nomad migration. During the last few decades the frequency
of nomad migration has been reduced. The reason is that various
settlement projects have brought the nomadic people into direct
contact with sedentary life and style (Awad, 1952; Shamekh, 1975).
In terms of rural migration there are two major streams: the

movement of rural populations to major towns and cities and the migration to oil centers and industries. Rural-rural migrations are found in countries that have more agricultural potential, such as Egypt, Sudan, Iraq and Syria (Clarke and Fisher, 1972). The processes of rural-urban migration and the development of nomad settlements in the Arab world have been accelerated since the exploration of oil in the 1940s and because of modern improvements in health, education, transportation and economic opportunities that are associated with cities.

The majority of the internal migration studies conducted in the developing countries have focused on rural-urban migration. The major research thrusts in the literature are upon migration causes and migrant characteristics. Indeed most of the literature is related to the social and economic aspects of migrants. Some researchers have attributed rural-urban migration to population pressure in the rural areas (McGee, 1971), while others cited primarily economic factors (Robock, 1968; McNulty, 1966, and Gulliver, 1965). The economic motives are usually explained in relation to the sending areas (push factors) as well as to the receiving centers (pull factors)

In terms of migrant characteristics, investigations are generally concerned with age, sex, education and literacy as important components that differentiate migrants from non-migrants. This

differentiation holds true for several studies done on Latin American migration (Elizaga, 1966; Browning and Feindt, 1969; Bock and Iutaka, 1967). Some studies identify a higher percentage of females among rural migrants (Ducoff, 1962). In an Indian study more than half of all migrants, especially when speaking of rural-rural migration, were females (Gosal and Krishan, 1975). In Ibadan, Nigeria, Callaway (1967) reported that about 70 percent of all migrants were 15-25 years old. In Kenya, the majority of migrants were 20-25 (Rempel, 1970). Generally, studies on African migration reveal that most migrants are young adult males or school-leavers (Byerlee, 1974; Callaway, 1969).

The picture of rural-urban migration in the Arab world is similar to that of Latin America except for a few exceptions. In fact, there is a scarcity of literature on rural-urban migration in the region due to a lack of reliable statistical data on the subject. As stated above, studies reveal that most migrants are attracted by economic opportunities in cities. Phillips (1959) observed that in Iraq, rural conditions act as the push and the nature of urban areas as the pull. In Libya, Hartley (1972) described the causes of rural-urban migration as much the same. In Iran, the decline in agricultural productivity and the attraction of towns were essential factors in terms of propensity to migrate (Bharier, 1968). These findings

reveal that seeking work or better jobs and wages in urban places are major reasons for rural migration. Other researchers have indicated that population pressure in rural areas is another justification for rural-urban migration. This situation was considered important in Lebanon where the population increase in the rural areas had exceeded the availability of land or farm employment (Tannous, 1942; Khuri, 1967). In Morocco, the most fundamental cause of rural-urban migration is the poverty and population pressure in the regions from which most of the migrants are drawn (Blake, 1972). Studies in Iraq, Lebanon, and Egypt have shown that younger persons, mostly males (Baali, 1966, Khuri, 1967, Abu-Lughod, 1961), and complete family migrations, are most common. The majority of the migrants intend to live in towns (Phillips, 1959 and Azeez, 1968). This latter finding is at variance from rural migration research in Africa, where migrants usually return to their areas of origin (Amin, 1974 and Mabogunje, 1972). In Morocco, small towns attract predominantly local countrymen and the larger towns, migrants from greater distances (Blake, 1972).

Thus far the process of rural-urban migration in some of the developing world and Arab countries has been described in terms of patterns, motives and selectivity. The main purpose of this thesis is to examine rural migration as a continuous process which starts

with out-movements from rural areas and continues operating through
movements within the urban center. This movement continues until
the migrants find residential satisfaction, either by accepting perma-
nent residence in the city or moving back to their original home.
The questions that need to be addressed to rural migrants in the
urban center are: Where are they located within the city, and their
primary reasons for being there. The movement of the urban dwellers
within cities is generally labeled residential mobility, the next
topic we want to discuss.

Residential Mobility

Residential mobility can be defined as a change in residence
within cities. In other words, residential mobility is a process
which includes the movement of people from one residence to another
for some reason or other. The term residential mobility, within the
geographic literature, is actually more than just a form of movement,
it considers questions of who moves and why they move. From the
spatial viewpoint, it looks at where people have moved to and why
they live where they do (Abler, Adams and Gould, 1973). Residential
mobility involves the movement to a new dwelling and location (Rossi,
1955). Other characteristics that are also important relate to
neighborhood and housing types (Lansing and Barth, 1964).

The study of residential mobility in the social sciences is not a new subject. Sociologists as well as geographers have examined the topic for several decades. Numerous studies exist in the American literature. Two major approaches are used; the ecological point of view and the behavioral viewpoint. From the ecological point of view, Park (1936) observed the existence of different population groups within cities and saw that the competition for residential space among these different groups resulted in what he termed an invasion-succession process, that is, specific groups settle in the places occupied previously by others. This ecological approach to the study of a city's residential structure originated at the University of Chicago in the 1920s; the approach is known as urban ecology. Subsequent to Park's study several models on the residential structure of cities were developed including Burgess' concentric zone theory (1925), Hoyt's sectoral theory (1935), and the Harris-Ullman multiple-nuclei theory (1945).

The work of the ecological school of Chicago or urban structure stimulated other researchers. During the 1950s a new approach for the study of the residential structure of cities was proposed by Shevky and Bell (1955). This new approach was called social areas in cities. Such studies were based on the collection of the socioeconomic characteristics of residents for specific areas in

cities; the units used were census tracts. The aim of social area
analysis was to delineate subregions in cities for various social
groups. The social areas approach paved the way for the introduc-
tion of factor analysis. Examples of factor analytic studies re-
search are studies by Murdie (1968); Berry and Rees (1969) and Abu-
Lughod (1969). The utilization of this multivariate technique has
enabled researchers to consider a large number of interrelated
socioeconomic and demographic variables. The ultimate result of
factor analysis is to identify the residential structure of cities
and subdivide areas on the basis of different factors including
social, economic, family and ethnic status.

From the behavioral point of view, researchers have considered
the decision-making process used by individuals in determining their
residential mobility. The ecological or social space approach in
the study of residential mobility described above is a method that
gives major attention to aggregate population flows and thus is re-
garded as providing a macrostudy of residential mobility. Examples
of their macrostudies are found in Hempel, 1969; Clark, 1970; Simmons,
1974; Quigley, 1976; and Moore, 1979. But for the behavioral model,
an individual's behavior is more important, and generally these
studies can be considered microstudies. Examples of such re-
search are Barresi, 1968; Brown and Moore, 1970; and Palm, 1976.
These behavioral studies and others have three prevalent themes:

1) factors affecting the decision to move, 2) the search process for alternatives, and 3) factors leading to the selection of the new residence.

In his review article, Morgan (1973) states that <u>Why Families Move</u> (Rossi, 1955) must be regarded as one of the fundamental contributions to the study of intraurban migration. Indeed, Rossi's work has drawn attention to the roles of individual decision-making power and the family life-cycle in the change of residence process. In regard to the decision-to-move Rossi (1955) divided the underlying reasons into negative and positive factors and how they related to housing constraints, income constraints, and stage in the family life-cycle. Moore argues that in order to understand the household's movement we should "assume that each individual possesses a set of values regarding personal lifestyles, housing conditions, and neighborhood characteristics" (1972, p. 3). He adds that these values enable the individual to define some major aspects, such as expectations, evaluation, and preference. According to Moore (1972) there are four types of lifestyle aspirations: consumption-oriented; social-oriented; family-oriented; and community-oriented. In a similar context, Goodman states that "the dominant determinant of where someone moves to is where they moved from"(1978, p. 17).

Individual mobility has been explained in terms of "place utility," which as defined by Wolpert is "the net composite of

utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some

position in space"(1965, p. 162). Other basic concepts to individual

mobility are "search behavior" and "awareness space" proposed by

Brown and Moore (1970). Both concepts are interrelated. The search

behavior concept involves the process of individuals in space becoming

familiar with alternative locations; awareness space identifies the

total knowledge individuals have about the entire urban space in

which they live. Several additional concepts that are important in

examining residential mobility are the individual's action space and

activity space (see Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman, 1976 and White, 1977).

Other researchers have used individual's perception (Butler, et al.,

1969; Ross, 1962) and the effect of information (Brown and Moore,

1971) or stresses (Clark and Cadwallader, 1973). Clark and Cadwal-

lader (1973) identified three types of stresses: psychological,

sociological, and locational. They examined the locational stresses

and their impact on an individual's decision to move or remain.

Closely related to stresses is the concept of satisfaction (Speare,

1974) or what Newman (1975) called the subjective determinants of

residential mobility.

From the above research several generalizations regarding the

movement of persons in cities have been reached. Most, however, are

related to the stage in the life-cycle and mobility; age and mobility;

distance and mobility; tenure status and mobility; and time and

mobility. It should be noted here that the previous assumptions

and generalizations have been applied to Western cities, especially

to those in the United States. Many of these studies were concerned

with ethnic groups, including Black Americans (Taeuber and Taeuber,

1965; Rose, 1966, 1970, 1977; Deskins, 1972; Simmons 1968), Dutch

(Wheeler and Jakle, 1969) and Italians (Gad, Peddie and Punter, 1973).

To the writer's knowledge, the study of residential mobility

in developing countries in general, and the Arab world in particular,

has been very limited. There are studies that have examined

rural migrants in cities. Those that have been done in Arab coun-

tries include observations from Cairo (Abu-Lughad, 1961); Alexandria,

Egypt (Sedky, 1965); Tripoli, Lebanon (Gulick, 1969) and Riyadh,

Saudi Arabia (Malik, 1973). These studies conclude that rural

migrants live in clusters or specific sections in these cities and

that they tend to retain some social characteristics generally asso-

ciated with rural societies. Rural migrants were also found in semi-

skilled and unskilled occupations with low-wage employment income

(Phillips, 1959; Baali, 1966; Malik, 1973).

Summary

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study of human migration, vast amounts of literature exist, and numerous theories have been developed. These theories can generally be broken down into three major categories: 1) theories relating to the spatial patterns of migration streams, 2) those theories outlining the socio-economic characteristics of migrants, and 3) theories concerning the causes of migration. Theories related to the spatial patterns attempt to define and explain the relationships that exist between the direction of major migration flows and the volume or number of migrants. Migration selectivity studies, or those pertaining to the characteristics of migrants, attempt to classify and identify a universal protype of migrants. It is generally held, however, that most socio-economic variables related to migrants vary according to space and time, and thus no prototype has yet been established. Theories with regard to the causes of migration seek to classify such motives into social, economic and political categories. The most comprehensive approach to such studies involves developing a framework of general systems theory in which migration is viewed as a continuous spatial phenomenon involving the relationship between social, economic and other factors. A change in any one of these factors results in a change in those remaining.

Rural to urban migration is the most common form of migration in the world today. This is especially true of Third World countries where vast improvements in health, education and employment opportunities in cities have created a mass influx of rural migrants. In the Arab world, two types of migration are recognized: 1) rural-urban migration and 2) nomad migration. The introduction of settlement projects which facilitate contact with a sedentary lifestyle has greatly reduced the frequency of nomad migration. However, rural-urban migration is very evident, and generally is comprised of movement to major towns and cities, or to oil centers and other particular industries.

Residential mobility, or the change in residence within cities, is a topic of concern to the thesis. Included in this area are the factors which influence the decision to move, the characteristics and classification of housing-types and neighbornhoods, and the role of the individual decision-maker. Studies of residential mobility within the Arab world are extremely limited.

The ideas, themes, and theories presented in this chapter are intended to provide a framework for our discussion of rural migration to Taif. These concepts will be utilized throughout the analysis of migration patterns and residential mobility which follow. Prior to these discussions, however, the basic spatial structure of the city of Taif and its change through time must be outlined, which is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TAIF

Introduction

The main objectives of this chapter are to trace the development and growth of Taif and to provide some insight into the spatial structure and arrangement of the city. The materials for the analysis are based on data collected through field work observations and from information obtained from governmental sources including reports and/or census documents.

Taif is an ancient city in western Saudi Arabia (Figure 1). Its development as an urban center goes as far back as the fifth century after Christ. What we know about its history is very limited; however, historians report that Taif was known before the rise of Islam and that prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) had visited it in the sixth century (Hassan, 1963; Kamal, 1969). The city is located in a mountain range at an elevation of about 1700 meters above sea level (Figure 3). It is believed that Taif has long functioned as a trade center and, by virtue of its moderate climate, served (and still serves) as a summer resort as well. Its site had given it a strategic advantage as it functioned as a military stronghold for

FIGURE 3
Taif Physical Features
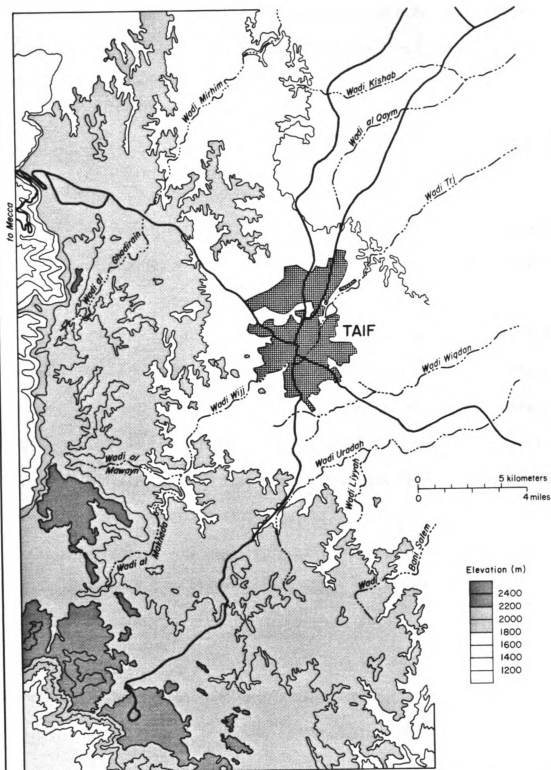
Source: Taif Planning and Development Department

several ages. Taif is well known for its wall and citadel which survived until the late 1920s when they were removed. The spatial structure of Taif as a city can be briefly explored throughout the following sections.

The Pilot Study

In view of the absence of comprehensive and reliable records on the development, structure and function of Taif, direct observations via field survey become essential. To fulfill this goal, a pilot study (mentioned in Chapter I) was carried out during the summers of 1978 and 1979. The purpose of these surveys was to collect in the field some first-hand information concerning the study area, authorities, and inhabitants so as to become familiar with potential problems and difficulties that might arise with respect to the techniques to be used and the time required.

In terms of the research area it is necessary to describe the expansion of Taif itself. Background investigation was needed to explore the changing structure of the city. To accomplish this it was important to the pilot project, and subsequent research, to contact the leaders and the people of the community for two reasons. First, it was critical to obtain approval from official authorities

to carry out the research plans. Secondly, and more importantly, it was necessary to contact selected individuals of the community for house-to-house interviews and to evaluate the questionnaire design.

For purposes of determining city growth, some reference points or landmarks had to be recorded on the base map and used to trace neighborhood development. Scale and measurement questions had to be considered in conducting field surveys. In terms of scale, time is also considered a critical cornerstone. The spatial expansion of Taif into several quarters can be explained chronolog- ically; that is, specific stages can be identified according to the time of their development. The age of specific dwelling units was difficult to obtain; however, time and the building material used are very much interrelated in our case. The measurements that were employed to explain the city's development over time are building materials, viz. mud, stone, and cement. The introduction of cement as an essential element in building houses is very recent. In the past, houses were built from mud or stone or some combination. While it is true that most newly-built houses in all recently de- veloped quarters are built from cement, there are many others that still possess the construction characteristics of the past. It was these less modern units that were used in the overall study of Taif's expansion and the classification of housing types.

Another technique employed to determine neighborhood growth was to conduct interviews with the Omad[1] and senior residents concerning the history of certain old houses or mosques in various neighborhoods throughout the city. Such contacts were useful. The outcome of these field investigations and interviews regarding the city's developments spatial structure and function are discussed below.

Spatial Expansion and Development of Taif

The introduction of cement into the area as a new building material, but not an essential one, is believed to have occurred soon after World War II. At that time, cement was imported from foreign countries as the domestic economy had just begun to develop, a situation that remained until about the mid-1960s. Therefore, construction from 1945-1965 shows a variety of houses, the majority having been built from the local material, and a few from cement or

---

[1]Omad (singular Omdah) are official leaders of neighborhoods, usually appointed by the Emire (governor) of Taif. The major task of each of these leaders is to be aware of whatever problem(s) might be found in their area(s) and to report them to the Emire or other appropriate public safety department. Omad are also responsible for the identification of persons living in their quarters whenever it is needed. For example, if a person were to apply for social security, his eligibility could not be determined without the Omdah's approval. However, the power of the political role of these omad, in solving social problems or in participating in the overall planning and development of their areas or of Taif itself, is minimal if not nil.

containing some cement. It should be noted that there are two types of houses made of cement: those built from cement bricks with wood roofs and those built from cement bricks but with concrete reinforcement. During the period from 1945-1964, houses made with concrete reinforcement are believed to number very few.

The period from 1965 to date has witnessed great social and economic changes in the country due to the increase in oil production and revenues. The economic development, which has started in the cities, has attracted streams of rural to urban migrants and has created excessive demands for urban housing. With the establishment of cement factories in different parts of the country and with the availability of capital and cheap labor, largely from North Yemen, new neighborhoods have sprouted up in Taif. This period of great expansion in housing could be termed the "construction boom."

Thus far, we have identified two major periods of city expansion, that is, 1945-1964 and 1965 to the present. These two periods represent Stages Two and Three of city growth and expansion. Through careful examination of construction materials and by consulting senior citizens, we find that Taif did not experience significant changes prior to 1945. There are several reasons for this slow expansion. First, Taif was surrounded by a wall until the late 1920s. Second, even after the removal of the wall, evidences of important

changes are not ostensible. It is thought that residents during this particular period were not sufficiently motivated to relocate their homes outside the core area. This state of reluctancy by city dwellers can be attributed to concerns about security, transportation, and capital finance. The period before 1945 witnessed the development of the core of the city. It can be viewed as Stage One and might be called the "stage of formation."

As a result of the field survey and the analysis of construction period classification with respect to the historical development of Taif, the different residential quarters of the city are then grouped into three major chronological categories (Figure 4). Finally, it should be recognized that in classifying these quarters similarities as well as differences do exist. These similarities and differences are explored below.

Spatial Arrangement and Structure of Taif

Two main themes of research in urban geography are (1) the study of differences between cities and/or between cities and their hinterlands, that is, the study of external relations for cities and (2) the study of differences within cities themselves, that is, their internal spatial organization. The latter theme is the concern of this section.

to Riyadh
(900 km)

to Mecca (86 km)
and Jeddah (160 km)

N

0   500 meters

to Abha
(540 km)

to Ash Shafa
(25 km)

FIGURE 4

■ Before 1945

▨ 1945 to 1964

▨ 1965 to 1978

The Expansion
of Taif

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.
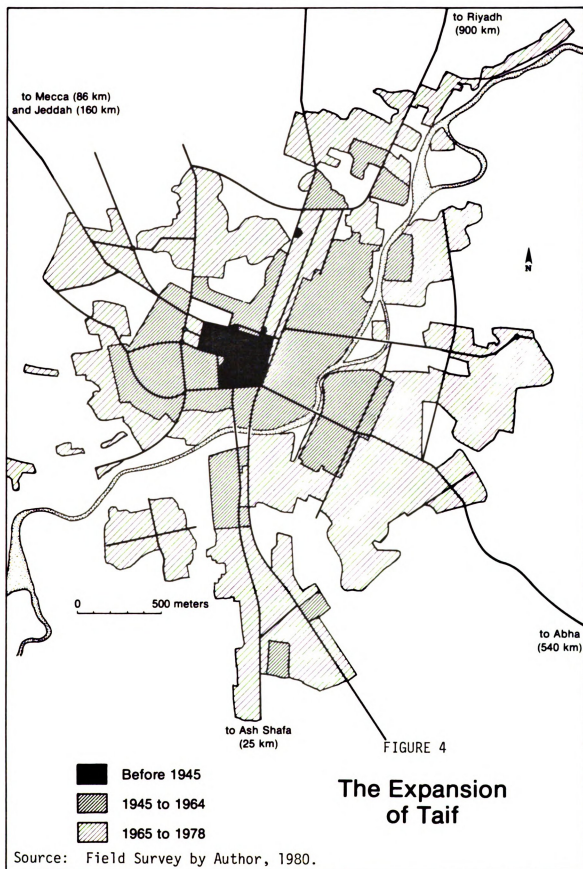
One of the early studies on city morphology was provided by Smailes in the 1950s; he proposed townscape analysis. His aim was to identify some sub-regions or areas within the city according to three criteria: land use, street patterns, and building types (Smailes, 1955). The goal of this approach is to obtain a general description of regions within the urban settlement. Another morphological approach was proposed by Watson whose study of Halifax was based upon the effect of relict elements on the direction of urban growth and change (Watson, 1959). A third example was suggested by Johnston in the 1960s in his study of Melbourne through the use of housing-types as a criterion for classification (Johnston, 1969). Similarly, Amato, in his study of Bogota'was able to identify three sub-areas based on distinct housing types: colonial, European, and American (Amato, 1969).

The above studies of urban morphology represent useful approaches that can be used to understand the spatial typology of city structure. Housing-types can be used to classify areas within Taif. Based on the field survey, the residential quarters of Taif can be classified according to housing types, viz., old traditional, new traditional, ruralized, and modern housing type. Exploring the differences between these classifications helps facilitate the description of their inhabitants' occupations. In fact, it was

observed that the relationships occur between city growth and develop-
ment discussed earlier and between housing types and the dwellers of
each type. To illustrate this association, it is necessary to des-
cribe each housing type and explain some of the underlying factors
that have given rise to the general patterns.

1. <u>Old traditional housing type</u>: This housing type, found in the
   inner city, is the old part of Taif. Although one might specu-
   late that some changes took place within this part of the city
   through history, the internal shape of Taif and a substantial
   number of houses have remained farily constant through time.
   These remaining houses resemble the character of the old Arab
   housing types. Such housing types are made of two or three
   stories and are built primarily from stone. Some, however, are
   made of mud with stone bases; houses of this type are typically
   arranged from the inside around an open space. All houses are
   attached and some have ground floors designed for commercial
   businesses or food storage. This housing type is found in the
   three old quarters of Sulaimaniah, Fouq, and Asfal. Residents
   of these quarters are basically native urbanites who perform
   various jobs in the public as well as in the private sector.
   Most are merchants, craftsmen, lawyers, managers, government
   clerks, bankers, and teachers (Figures 5 and 6).
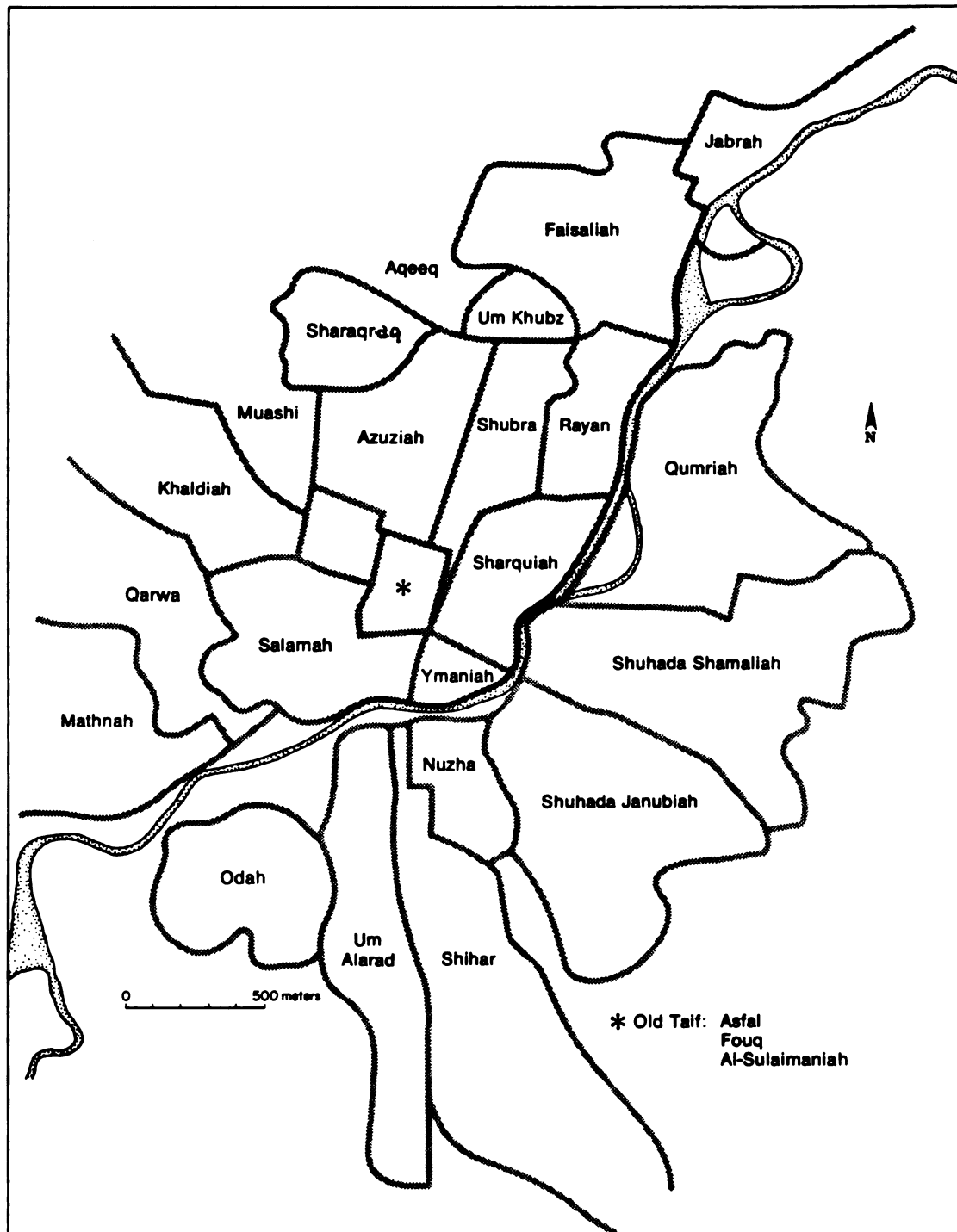
FIGURE 5

Taif's Residential Quarters

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

FIGURE 6

Taif:
The Walled City

Approximate
location
of the wall

* Main gates

0   200 m

Source: Field survey by author.

King Faisal Bin Abd el-Aziz Road

King Road

Abu Bakr Road

Al Heel
(I-Heel)
Mosque

AL-MANTIQAH AL-MARKAZIYYAH

Abdellah
Bin Abbas

As-Salamah Road

Cemetery

Government Buildings

Al-Qamhah Road

Municipality Road
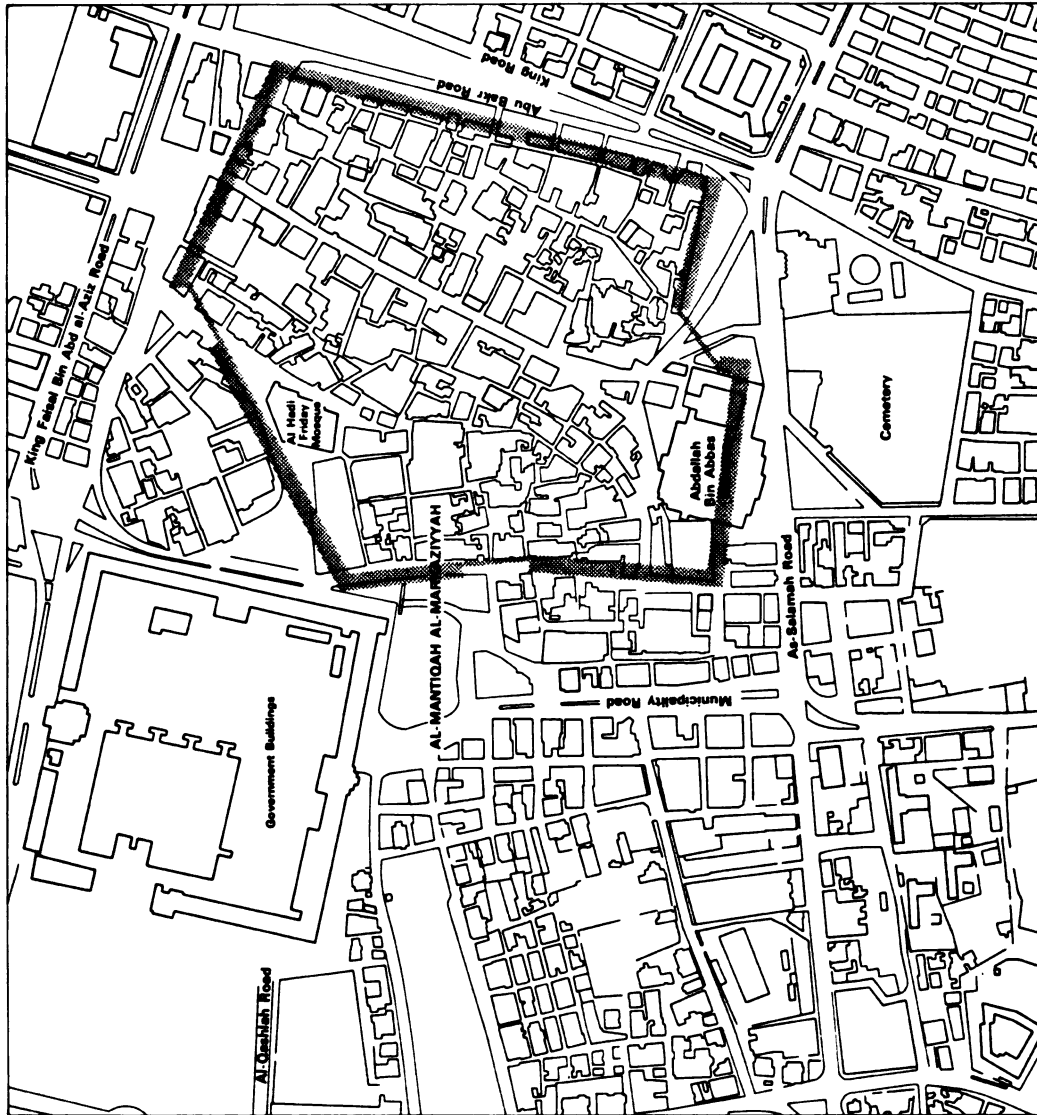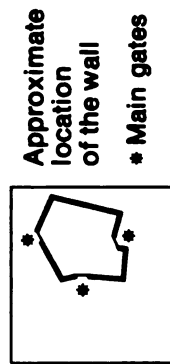
2. <u>New traditional housing type</u>: This type of house emerged when the city's wall was removed opening up the surrounding suburbs for development. This took place from about the late 1920s until the 1950s. It should be emphasized, however, that not many people had moved out during the above period of time, because of security measures, the fact that people were attached to their jobs within the old part of the city, and because of the lack of modern transportation. It is assumed that for those people who did move, they selected the locations nearest to the old city.

The removal of the wall in the 1920s marked a new era in the history of Taif. New residents came in and a new housing type was developed. The main characteristics of this new type are that most were built from mud bricks and comprised one or two stories. Unlike the old traditional housing type, the new houses, although attached, occupied specific and defined lots, were more outward oriented, and had more than one exposure to the street. The external appearance of the houses was different as well in that they were covered with a white layer of lime. These new traditional houses are found in quarters close to the old part of the city. These quarters are Yamaniah, Salamah, Azeeziah, Shobrah, and Sharqiah, especially its southern portion, known as Bukhariah.

In terms of occupations, the quarters of Yamaniah, Bukhariah
and Sharqiah were inhabited by migrants from Yemen, Turkistan,
and the central part of Saudi Arabia, respectively. The presence
of these different groups in Taif at this stage of development
has created some new social and occupational stereotypes. Mi-
grants from Yemen provided very cheap unskilled labor, while
migrants from Turkistan were mainly bakers, tailors and cobblers.
Native migrants from the central part of the country were mainly
merchants and government employees.

3. Ruralized housing type: With the increase in oil production,
   more money was poured into the cities with the result that the
   rate of urbanization accelerated. Also,the availability of
   capital and the increasing attention from government authoriza-
   tion in social as well as municipal projects created more em-
   ployment opportunities. The rural population was attracted
   by the city's modern amenities and jobs. The process of rural
   migration is estimated to have begun during the 1950s. This
   period of time was distinguished by two major characteristics:
   the availability of new construction materials and the develop-
   ment of new modes of transportation. The rural migrants
   settled in areas such as Sharqiah, Yamaniah, Azeeziah, and

Shobrah. During the last few decades, the volume of rural migration has drastically increased. To accommodate these masses of migrants, more lots had to be developed, thereby creating the new neighborhoods of Shuhada Shamaliah, Shuhada Janubiah, Qumriah, and Sharqraq.

Houses in these ruralized areas of Taif were built from mud and cement bricks. Unlike the new traditional housing types, these houses were built on small lots. On the average, each house includes three rooms. Most houses are one-story dwellings. As observed by Malik in Riyadh and Abu-lughod in Cairo, the physical appearance of these new neighborhoods resembles village life (Malik, 1973; and Abu-lughod, 1969).

4. **Modern housing type**: There has been considerable progress in the physical development of Taif since the 1960s. New streets have opened up, others have been paved and lighted. Additional new neighborhoods have been created, primarily for a new local social stereotype and not the typical rural migrant.

Due to changes in the social and economic aspects of the population, some wealthy, literate, and educated groups have become prominent in the community. In addition, Taif is a popular summer resort for people from Mecca, Jeddah, Medina, Riyadh, and other parts of the country, not to mention the

transfer of government offices to Taif during the summer
season.

In contrast to the previous housing types, modern resi-
dential quarters have been developed for the affluent people.
Houses built in these new residential areas are made of rein-
forced concrete. They occupy rather large lots, are less
attached, and are one or two stories high. These villas, as
they are called by the local people, are surrounded by walled
gardens. Streets are paved and lighted. Quarters with this
type of housing number few. They include Khaldiah, Faisaliah,
Oadah and Shihar. The families inhabiting these quarters
usually have fewer members than the other housing types.

The housing type regions described above are similar to
those suggested by Malik in Riyadh or Abu-Lughod in Cairo.
Malik grouped the different districts, ruralized districts,
traditional urbanite districts, and modernized districts
(Malik, 1973). Similarly, Abu-Lughod divided Cairo into four
sub-cities: rural, chiefly traditional urban, mixed tradi-
tional and modern, and chiefly modern (Abu-Lughod, 1969).

Based on the field survey in Taif and previous analysis
of housing types, the present residential quarters of Taif
can be classified into five major housing types (Figure 7 and

Modern Housing Types
Traditional Housing Types
Ruralized Housing Types
Mixed Ruralized-Traditional Housing Types
Mixed Ruralized-Modern Housing Types

FIGURE 7

Housing Types in Taif

0   500 meters

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

Table 13, Chapter IV). It should be noted here that this analysis defining neighborhoods based on housing types does not claim to be complete or comprehensive. Rather the classification represents an attempt to provide a general overview of Taif's development; its main disadvantage lies in the overlapping between new and old residential areas where a dividing line is often difficult to draw.

It has been observed from field survey and from interviews with local officials that some of the houses described above will soon disappear from the scene. There is a growing demand for modern houses, due to changes in the social and economic aspects of the society. New living quarters are being built every day; these new structures are primarily apartment buildings. This trend in housing types is a form of evolution. People are no longer using mud or stone bricks but rather reinforced concrete; most are more than one story and contain from three to five apartments. Small shops are usually built on the first floor. The outer walls are usually painted with some colored covering layer in an unstandard fashion. Limestone is used for decorating the lower part of the front walls. There are several factors behind this recent trend in modern housing type. They are: 1) the availability of modern construction material, 2) the availability of inexpensive labor, 3)

the growing demand for housing, 4) the continuing tradition
of the extended family, and 5) the interest-free loans pro-
vided by the government to finance the building of new dwell-
ings or the rennovation of old houses.

This modern housing type which emerged during the 1960s,
was well developed by 1980. It was accelerated by the govern-
ment loan programs. Modern housing has become a feature in
every single quarter in Taif. Based on their socioeconomic
survey, Speerplan and Koshak (1978) divided Taif into nine
zones (Figure 8). Housing units were counted in each zone
based upon their structure. The results of their survey are
summarized in Table 6. Apartment dwellings are more numerous
than any other type in almost all of the nine zones, except
for Zone One where the traditional housing type is most common
(more than 47 percent) and Zone Eight where the modern housing
type is dominant (also more than 47 percent). Another important
conclusion from the Speerplan-Koshak study is that when combin-
ing all housing units, about 71 percent of all housing units
in Taif are classified as apartment dwellings.

This last conclusion should not be confused with the above
analysis of modern and ruralized housing types. The main reason
is that the purpose of classification of housing units in the
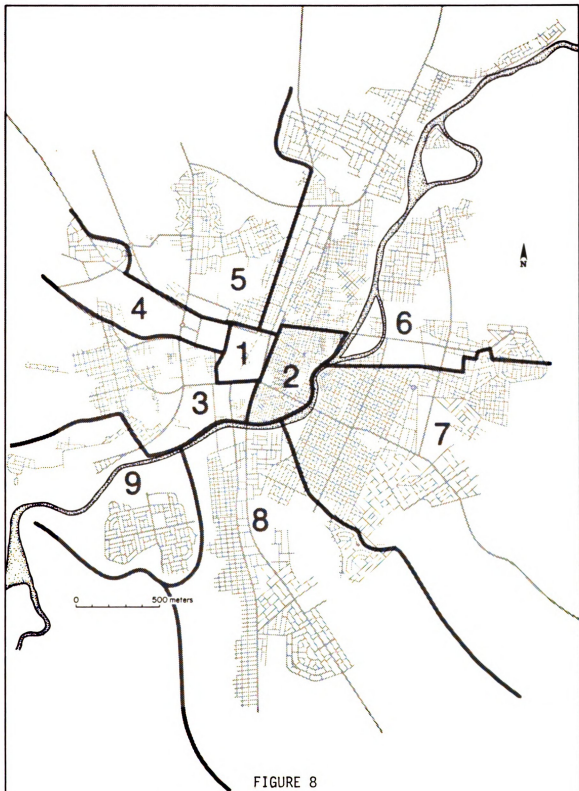
FIGURE 8

Existing Socio-Economic Survey Zones

Source: Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

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TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING UNITS BY DWELLING-TYPE BY ZONES

Zones	Shack Hut Cottage	%	Old Arab House	%	New Arab House	%	Villa	%	APARTMENT 1-2 Floors	%	3-4 Floors	%	>5 Floors	%	Public Bldg.	%	Other	%	TOTAL	%
1	3	.14	135	6.32	880	41.16	0	0	174	8.13	279	13.05	36	1.68	631	29.52	0	0	2138	5.79
2	0	0	612	9.48	346	5.36	0	0	1811	28.07	2028	31.44	653	10.12	1001	15.53	0	0	6451	17.34
3	4	.09	450	10.94	318	7.74	508	12.35	1439	34.99	839	20.42	264	6.42	290	7.05	0	0	4112	11.05
4	0	0	4	1.91	2	.96	25	11.96	168	80.38	2	.96	0	0	3	1.44	5	2.31	209	.56
5	173	4.73	223	6.11	21	.57	102	2.79	2627	71.87	304	8.32	35	.96	151	4.13	19	.52	3655	9.83
6	9	.12	546	7.39	94	1.27	318	4.31	4601	62.33	1097	14.86	83	1.13	633	8.57	1	.02	7382	19.84
7	66	.64	370	3.57	153	1.43	146	1.42	6467	62.52	1897	18.34	15	.15	1229	11.38	0	0	10343	27.81
8	7	.31	46	2.04	42	1.86	1076	47.59	864	38.21	152	6.72	0	0	74	3.27	0	0	2261	6.08
9	0	0	165	25.42	0	0	12	1.85	400	61.63	64	9.86	0	0	7	1.08	1	.15	649	1.75
TOTAL	262		2551		1856		2187		18551		6662		1086		4019		26		37200	
%		.71		6.86		4.99		5.88		49.37		17.91		2.92		10.80		.07		

Source: Compiled from Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

*Percentages calculated by the author.

Speerplan and Koshak study was to identify the number of people residing in each unit. Their classification failed to differentiate between buildings designed as villas and those built as apartment buildings and also to consider the spatial distribution or location of any type in relation to prevailing occupations. There are many structures within the modern quarters of Taif that have more than one story and with some apartments, but are called villas. These structures were built either to accommodate small families or extended families or to be rented to visitors during the summer vacation months. What makes these particular villas different from those built elsewhere is that they occup rather large areas and are surrounded with walled gardens or back yards.

If one is to consider the lot size of dwelling units as a criterion for the differentiation between quarters, a number of conclusions can be reached. The segmentation of lots for eventual construction differs from one housing type to another. Blocks also vary in size between modern quarters to ruralized ones. The traditional housing type, especially in the quarters of Sulaimaniah, Fouq, and Asfal, is irregular in shape and size, which makes it hard to generalize about this type. Income level of the residents is often a determinant of block size in the remaining quarters. In the modern neighborhoods, including Shihar, Faisaliah, Khaldiah,

and parts of Qarwa and Muashi, which were designed for the more affluent population, the lot sizes of the dwelling unit range from 600 to 3600 square meters. In contrast, in the ruralized areas, inhabited primarily by low income families, the typical lot size ranges from 100 to 400 square meters.

The residential quarters of Taif are spatially segretated with respect to the areas set aside for houses and their location within blocks (Figure 9). Traditionally people in Saudi Arabia prefer houses with several exposures; therefore, the more exposure to outside streets, the more desirable the house. Some of the reasons for this preference are related to local climate and economic aspects. For example, a corner house receives more cool air and sunlight than any other locations within the block. Such a house is more likely to be rented or sold than any other. Corner houses are also usually the most expensive, a finding which coincides with the peak land value intersection proposed by Murphy and Vance (1954). Other factors controlling the prices of housing units or land in Taif are their location with respect to major streets and distance from the city's center. Housing prices in Taif have increased at an alarming rate; in fact, the price of land has more than tripled from 1970 to 1979 (Figure10). Taif is a city that is currently passing through a great construction era. The number of dwelling

FIGURE 9

Possible Size and Location of Houses within Blocks

Street (6 meters wide)

40 m

Street (15 meters wide)

Street (10 meters wide)

40 m

40 m

	20 m		20 m
10 m	**B**		**A** (20 m)
18 m	**C**	10 m **D** (10 m)	
	10 m	**F**	**G** (10 m)
10 m	**E** (10 m)	20 m (20 m)	**E** (10 m) (10 m)

Street (6 meters wide)

40 m
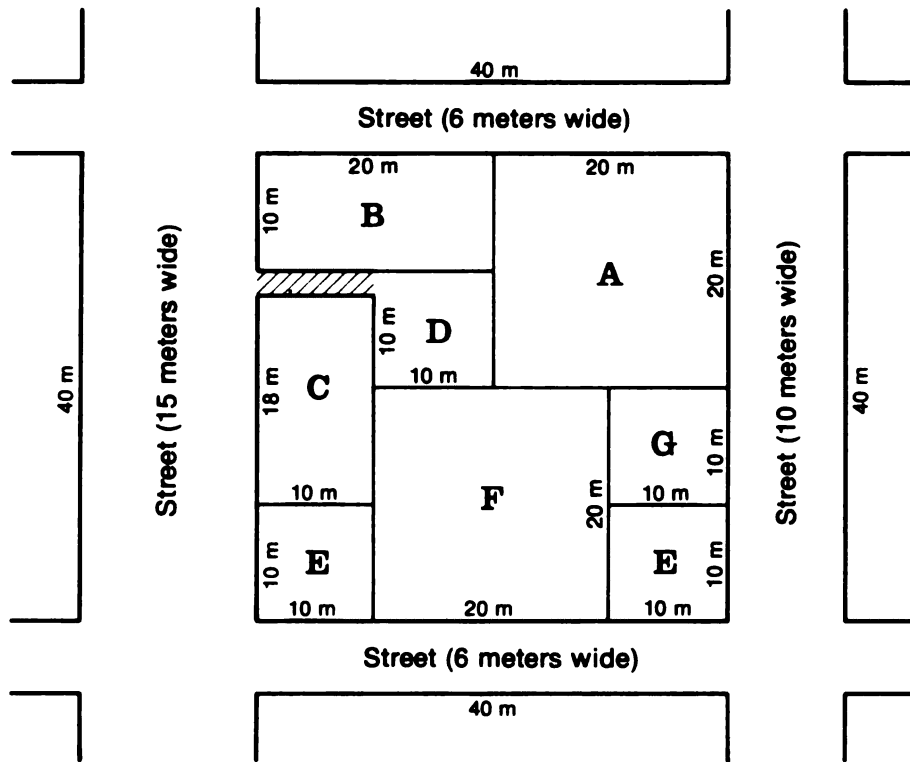
⬚⬚⬚ Alley into interior units

A through G comprise a 40 x 40-meter block

A - a complete 20 x 20-meter corner

B - a 10 x 20-meter half-corner

C - a 10 x 18-meter half-front

D - a 10 x 10-meter interior quarter

E - a 10 x 10-meter quarter-corner

F - a 20 x 20-meter complete front

G - a 10 x 10-meter quarter front

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980

FIGURE 10
Land Value in Taif, 1970 and 1978

1978

Land Value per Square
Meter in Riyals

5,000
1,200–2,000
600–1,199
300–599
100–299

0   500
Meters

Source: Spoerplan and Koshak, 1978

1970

Land Value per Square
Meter in Riyals

2,000
100–600
50–99
30–49
10–29

0   500
Meters

Source: Spoerplan and Koshak, 1970
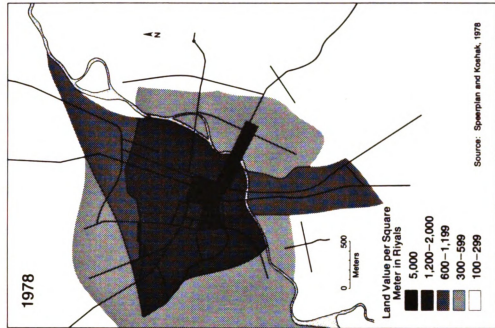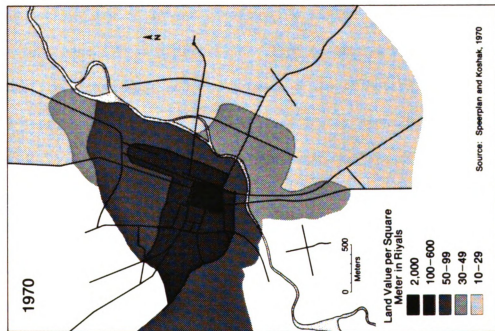
units has increased from 9,200 in 1971 to 37,000 in 1978. an in-
crease of about 31 percent (Speerplan and Koshak, 1978).

An interesting aspect of the spatial arrangement of Taif
is its street patterns between the old and the new residential
quarters. The principal characteristic of traditional Taif is its
narrow and wandering streets. Streets within the old sections of
the city display a dendritic or rather netting pattern. A few
avenues within this old part have been constructed as main axes
for modern transportation, for example, Al Abbas Street and the
Municipal Road. In those quarters Yamaniah, Sharqiah, and Salamah
developed after the destruction of the wall, the streets, although
short and narrow, are no longer winding. In contrast, new residen-
tial quarters have almost a rectilinear type of street pattern.
Most streets run east-west and are between 6 and 15 meters wide.
Major streets, however, run north-south and are between 20 and 35
meters wide. There are some major avenues that radiate from the
peripheries of the old city forming the axes of the new residential
areas. Major avenues are: Hassan Bin Thalbit or Taif-Hijaz Road,
Khalid bin Al-Waleed Street, King Faisal Street, Shihar or Ashafa
Road and Hawiah or Matar Road (Figures 11 and 12).

Another feature of the spatial arrangement and structure of
Taif is the land use pattern. The most striking pattern is the

to Riyadh
(900 km)

to Mecca (86 km)
and Jeddah (160 km)

N

to Abha
(540 km)

0   500 meters

to Ash Shafa
(25 km)
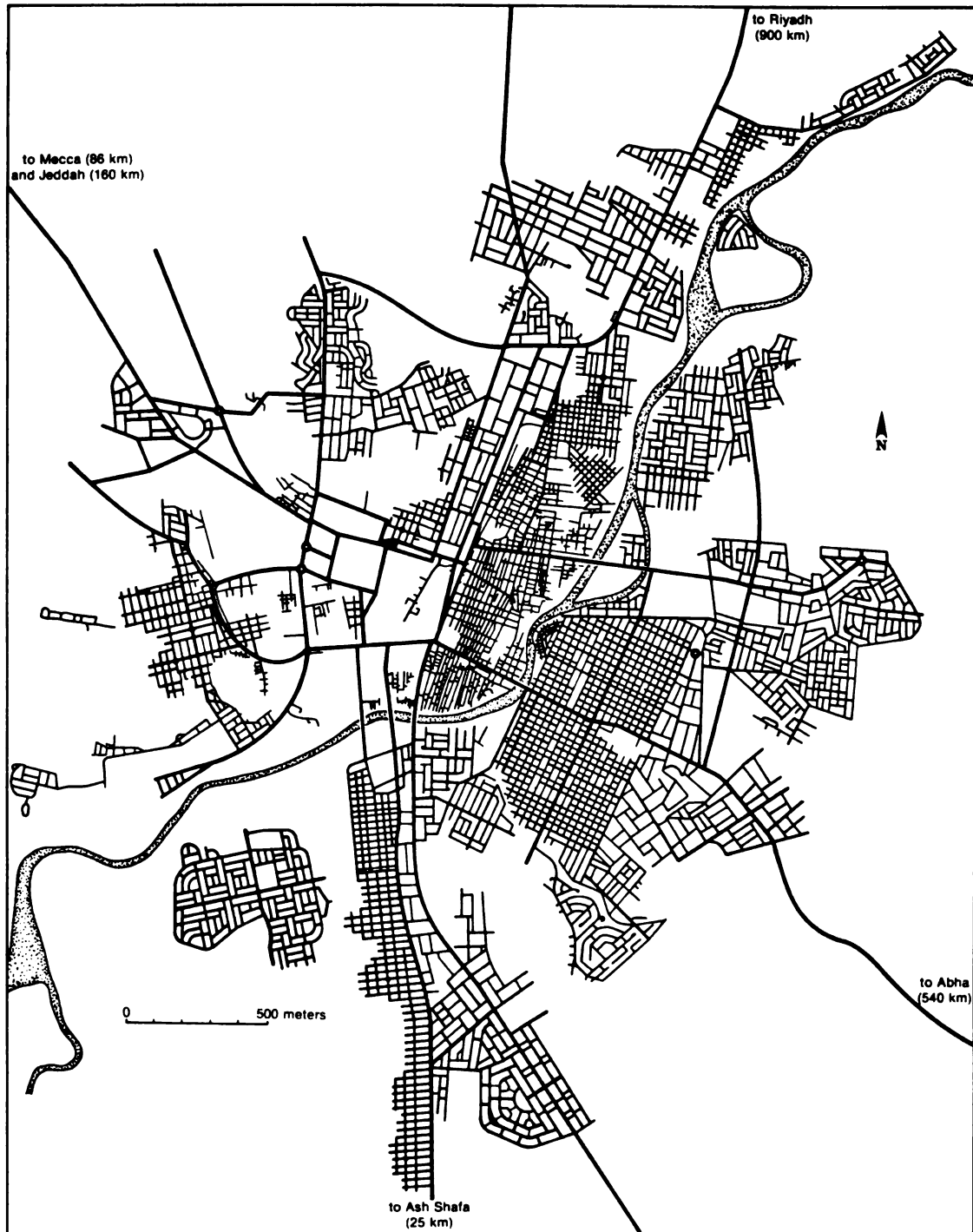
FIGURE 11

Taif Street Pattern and Layout

Source: Taif Planning and Development Department.

to Riyadh
(900 km)

Thakafah Street

Alhawiah-Matar Road

to Mecca (86 km)
and Jeddah (160 km)

Taif-Alhada Road

Aljaish Street

Shobrah Street

Wiji

King

Faisal St.

Khalid Bin Alwaleed Street

Hassan Bin Thabit

Street

Almathnah St.

Wadi

Twenty Five

Taif-Hijaz Rd.

to Abha
(540 km)

N

Taif-Alshafa Road

Shihar Road

0   500 meters

to Ash Shafa
(25 km)
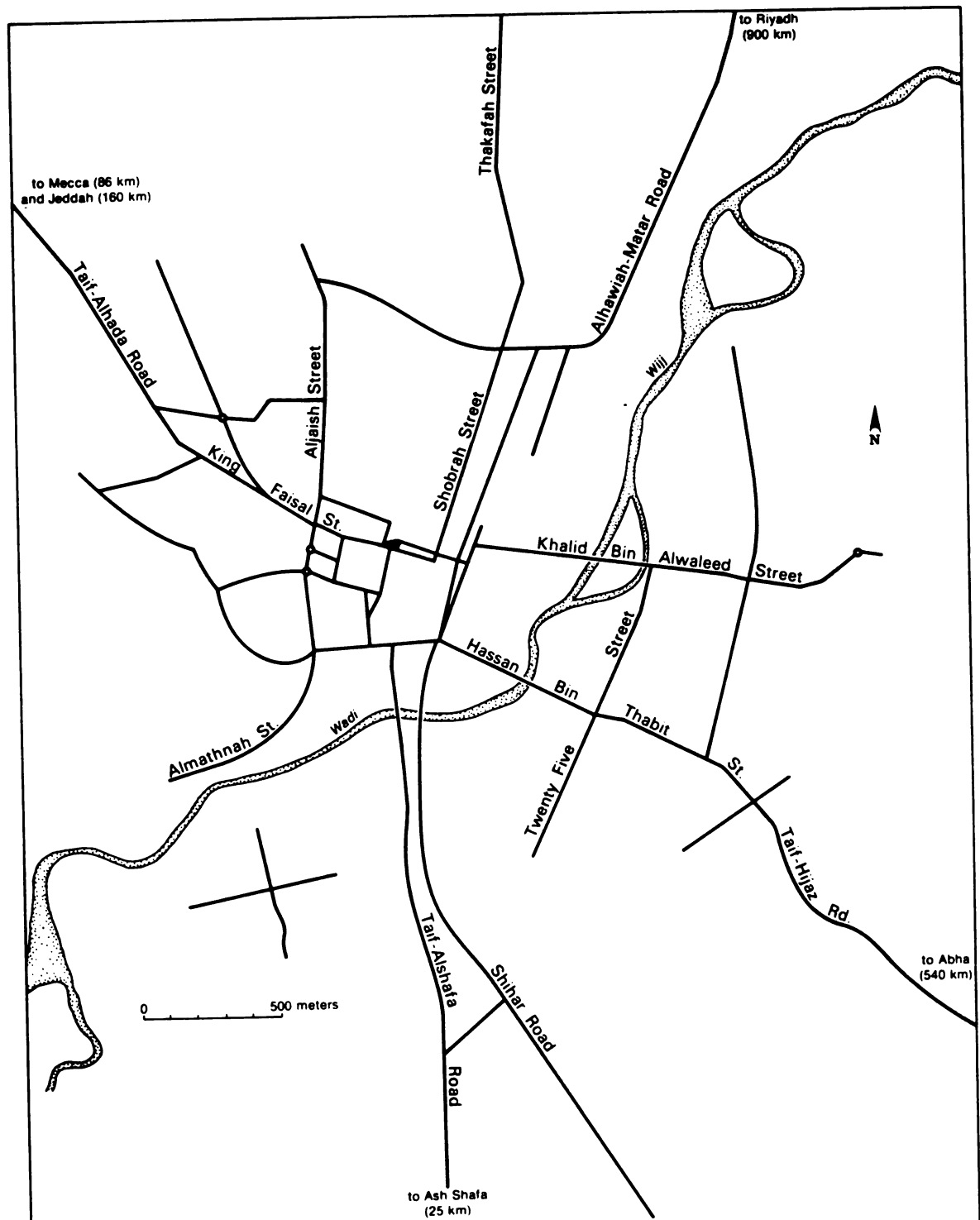
FIGURE 12

Taif Major Roads

Source: Taif Planning and Development Department

large amount of residential area. More than 70 percent of the urban area is occupied by housing structures. This high percentage can be explained in several ways. There is a lack of open spaces within the city, especially recreational areas. Moreover, most all of the commercial activities are practiced within the residential units. In other words, commercial activities, including shops, are very rarely isolated from residences.

With respect to its total spatial structure, Taif is a pre-industrial city. Its old core, although modified over the ages, resembles the traditional symbol of Muslim communities. For this reason, Taif is little different from the pre-industrial city model proposed by Sjoberg in 1960. At the core center there are the central mosque, or Al-Masjid Al Jamea, and central market or Suq. The court, police department, and other official offices are no longer in the central city, but have moved into the more recently developed areas. The central part of Taif is a mixed area of residential and commercial activities. Those living in the central area tradition-ally preferred to reside close to where they work. The central Suq of Taif is composed of several small markets which reflect different specializations. There is the Suq of meat and vegetables (Al Man-shiah), the Suq of tanners (Al Dabbagheen) and the Suq of Jewelers or goldsmiths (Al Saghah). These markets are all arranged close to

each other. Some new and small westernized shops are also found

within the central Suq of Taif. These new shops carry modern

products including watches, radios and televisions, electric

appliances, modern clothes, shoes, perfumes, and women's cosmetics.

In contrast to cities of the western world, models of urban

growth including the Burgess concentric zone model (1925), Hoyt's

sectoral model (1939), and Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei

model (1945) are not likely to fit the growth and development of

the nonWestern city. Two reasons may account for this discrepancy.

First is the absence of a zone in transition and second is that high

status groups, that is, the elites, are found in the old part of the

nonWestern cities as well as in the peripheries. In addition, slums

in the nonWestern societies are found in the peripheries and take

the form of shanty towns. Middle class groups are not very well

identified in the nonWestern cities; the only dominant class groups

are those in high and low status categories. Even the process of

neighborhood residential succession is indistiguishable in Taif.

The growth of Taif's residential areas and commercial busi-

nesses have developed in a manner somewhat similar to the sectoral

and nuclei models. As discussed earlier, Taif has grown in three

major directions: 1) in a southward direction along the Shihar

Road where modern quarters of high status such as Shihar and Oadah

are developing; 2) in a northward direction along the Hawiah Road, where a mixture of modern and ruralized neighborhoods such as Umkhubz, Faisaliah, Rayan, and Shobran, are side by side; and 3) in an easterly direction. Along two major axes of Hassan Bit Thabit or Taif-Hijaz Road and Khalid bin AlWaleed Street one finds the most rapidly growing sections of the city, that is, the Shuhada Shameliah, Shuhada Janubiah, and Qumriah.

The new commercial businesses are found along the major avenues (Figure 13). However, some nucleated clusters can be found in a small agglomeration of shops which form local markets within specific neighborhoods. There are two major focal markets in Taif, along Shuhada on Taif-Hijaz Road and in the central area of the Shar-qiah quarter. There are other small local markets in Yamaniah, Bukkariah, Qumriah and Shuhada; these markets, which can be considered subcities within Taif, have a spatial organization no different from that described for the old city except that these shops are more modern.

Shopping centers in the sense of the Western cities do not exist in Taif. Rather, what is observed is a large number of small shops along the major avenues and intersections, most of which have only 2-3 meters of frontage and are part of the ground floor of apartment buildings.

Existing Land Use in Taif

FIGURE 13

to Riyadh (900 km)

to Mecca (86 km) and Jeddah (160 km)

N

to Abha (540 km)

0   500 meters

to Ash Shafa (25 km)

Residential
Commercial
Gov't. Institutions
Industrial
Agricultural
Mixed use
Open spaces

Source: Field survey by author.

Industrial development within Taif is unfortunately nonexis-
tent except for some traditional ones that provide limited products
and services. There are several shops that produce electrical ma-
chinery, perform automobile repair, and make woodwork products.
Automobile repair shops are generally found in Shuhada laong the
Taif-Hijaz Road.

Taif as a Unit

One of the common themes in urban geography is the study
of the external relationships between cities. The significance of
any urban center lies in part on its impact on the surrounding
areas and on other urban centers. The determinants of city influ-
ence on other settlements are its size, function, and role. These
characteristics are, in turn, affected by the location of the city
itself. In the literature of urban studies, terms and concepts
such as city hinterland, city region, urban field and urban fringe
have been developed. The underlying significance of such terms
is the impact cities have in relation to their surrounding areas
or to other cities.

Taif has grown by virtue of its central location. In the
past, the city had functioned as a stronghold or garrison town.
However, this function was not the only source that attributed to

the city's existence. Taif has always relied to a great extent upon its hinterland. The surrounding areas were primarily agricultural lands which provided the city with fruits, vegetables and grains (Figure 14). Historically,Taif functioned as a trade center; the relationship between Taif and its hinterland has been very strong. The city was supplied not only with food but also with migrants. As a result, Taif has grown, unfortunately at the expense of the surrounding agricultural lands. Several villages have been absorbed by the expansion of Taif; villages including Umkhubz, Salamah, Mathnah and Rayan were among its victims.

At the present time, the importance of Taif is not merely its function as a trade center for the immediate rural areas but more importantly, its function as an administrative and summer resort area. Taif is the administrative center (Emirate of Taif) of a large region (Figure 15) with more than 470,000 inhabitants (Table 7). This region is known as Taif Region. The significance of the Taif region lies within its agricultural potential and human resources. There are about 174,000 dunums of arable land in this region of which 32 percent is found within the city hinterland (Table 8). The region is noted for its fruit, especially for grapes, figs and pomegrantes. Cash crops, such as vegetables and alfalfa, are also raised.

FIGURE 14

Taif Hinterland in 1900

N

Settlements
Field boundaries
Trails

0   500 meters

Source: Taif Planning and Development Department
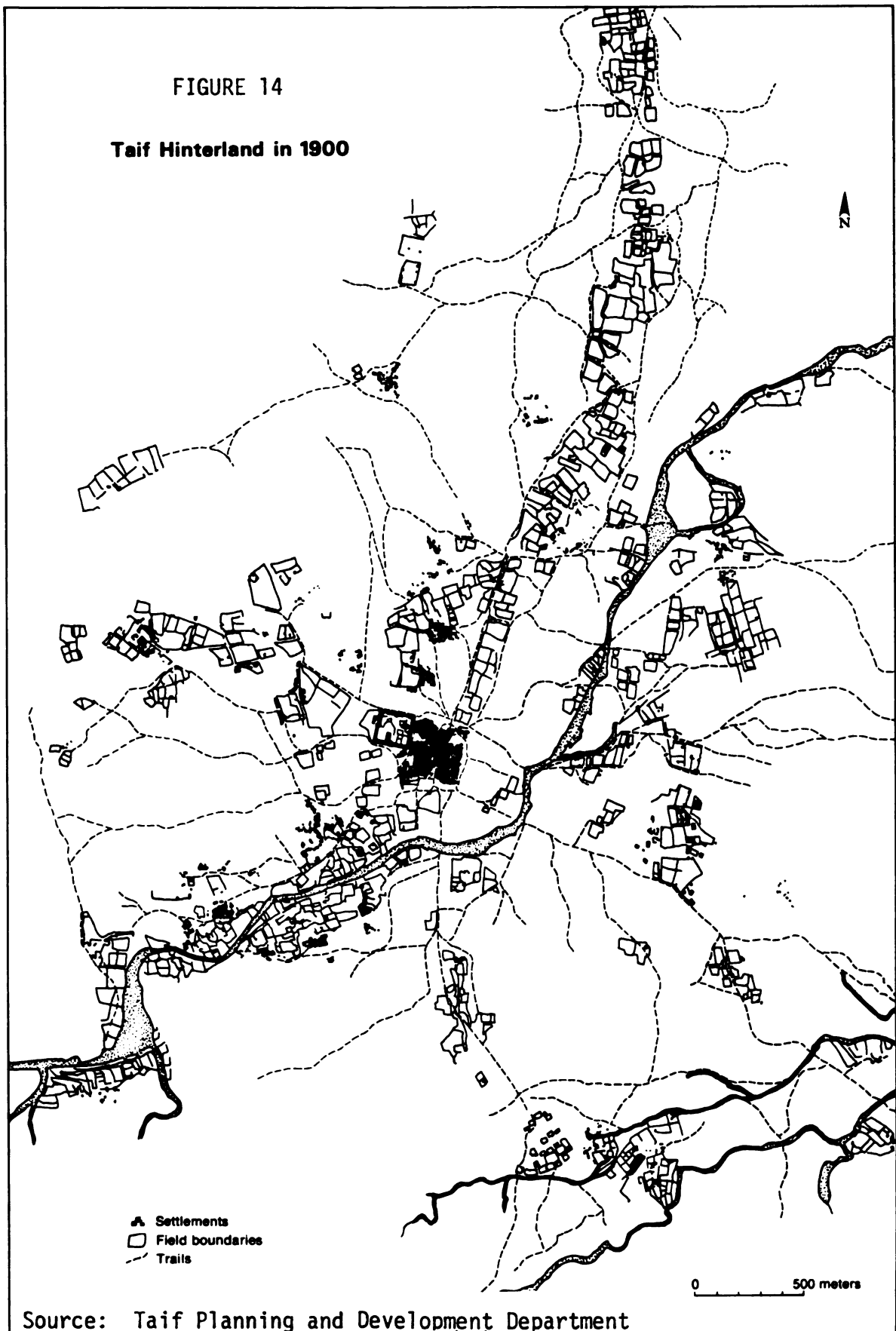
FIGURE 15

The Region
of Taif

to Riyadh

Riyadh Road

to Turabah

Road 59

to Al Bahah

Ashayrah

As Sayl al Kabir

Taif Metropolitan Airport

Jalil

Kulakh

Muzalalah

to Al Bahah

Wadi Shuqsan

Wadi Bisil

Hijaz Road

Wadi al Yamaniyah

Sharqah

TAIF

Al Farah

to Al Azbah

to Zaymah

to Mecca

ESCARPMENT

0   10   20   30   40   50
Kilometers
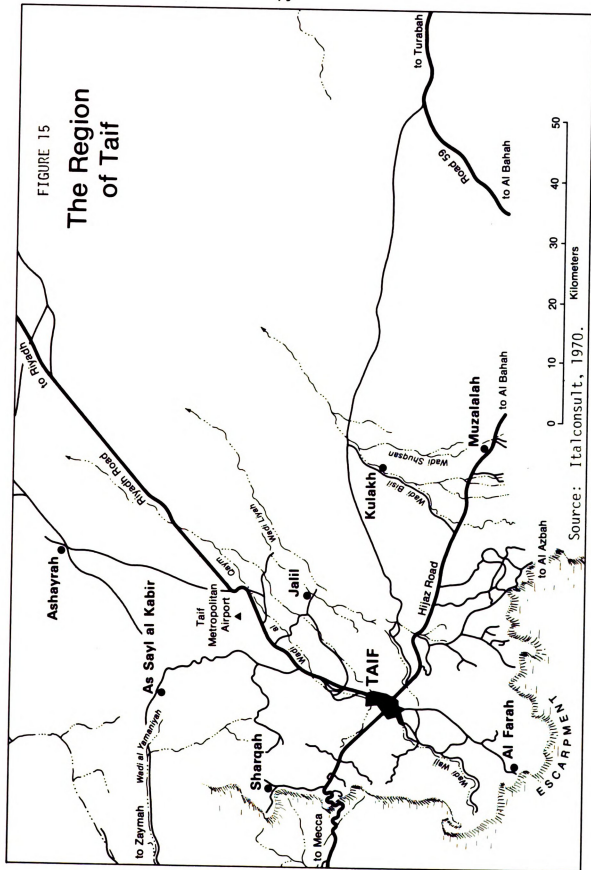
Source: Italconsult, 1970.

TABLE 7

POPULATION OF TAIF'S REGION

Name of Locality	No. of Subjects	No. of Families	Population		
			Settled	Nomad	Total
Taif City	1	30,877	203,981	876	204,857
City hinterland	292	13,719	44,692	33,360	78,052
Al-Hada	45	1,325	7,135	273	4,708
Al-Sail	14	734	2,076	2,598	4,674
Aushairah	16	1,554	2,268	5,796	8,064
Al-Safa	66	1,116	5,804	144	5,948
Gheia	14	2,031	516	9,831	10,347
Aburakan	22	2,429	121	13,026	13,147
Bani Saad	59	2,853	12,797	1,197	13,994
Maisan	131	2,957	13,909	2,082	15,991
Thagheef	35	832	4,745	--	4,745
Haddad Ben Malik	128	1,629	10,604	12	10,616
Al-Gharea	171	2,064	12,198	--	12,198
Tarabah	68	7,335	9,522	30,576	40,098
Al-Khurmah	77	3,889	11,983	10,776	22,759
Total*	1,139	72,905	342,351	128,547	470,898

Source: 1974 Population Census, Saudi Arabia.
*Calculated by the author.

TABLE 8

MAIN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS OF TAIF

Districts	Areas of Arable Lands	Areas of Permanent Crops	Other Lands Areas	Total Lands Areas
Taif	56,199	30,346	2,042	88,589
Hada	6,294	2,432	85	8,811
Shafa	10,928	1,280	122	12,330
Bani Saad	13,434	1,746	186	15,366
Balharith	20,760	2,788	422	23,970
Haddad (Bani Malik)	20,918	1,265	102	22,285
Thaqeef	7,431	523	37	7,991
Tarabah	11,444	15,267	192	26,903
Khurmah	26,855	26,504	326	53,684
TOTAL	174,262	82,151	3,514	259,929

Source: Compiled from the Results of the General Agricultural Enumeration of Mecca, Madinah and Al-Baha, Ministry of Agriculture and Water, Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, Part IV, 1973-74, Riyadh (in Arabic).

Taif is the only urban center within the region and conse-
quently most of the agricultural products are marketed in Taif.
Three major markets in Taif specialize in agricultural products.
They are spatially organized in different parts of the urban area.
There is the fruit and vegetable market or Al Halaqah which is
located near the city center. Another market, for sheep and live-
stock, is Al-Maqafah; it is located at the periphery of Shohada
Junubiah to the southeast. A third market known as Al Hajlah,
designed for grains, is located in the center of the old city.
All three markets operate on the auction system.

There is no city in the area that has as direct an effect
on the region as Taif. Although it is the only dominant urban
center within the mountainous region of southwestern Saudi Arabia
however, there are other small towns, including Al-Baha, Balju-
rashi, and Abha, located to the south of Taif and all with popu-
lations of 30,000 inhabitants or less (Figure 16).

Another characteristic of Taif is its high elevation which
moderates its climate especially during the hot season (Figure 17).
It is estimated that about 30,000 visitors spend their summers
there each year (Mathew, 1971). The majority of them are drawn
from the central part of the country as well as from the major cities
of Mecca, Jeddah and Madina (Figure 18). In addition to being a summer

FIGURE 16

Southwestern Region of Saudi Arabia

Source: Italconsult, 1970.

FIGURE 17

Maximum, Average, and Minimum Temperatures in Taif by Month
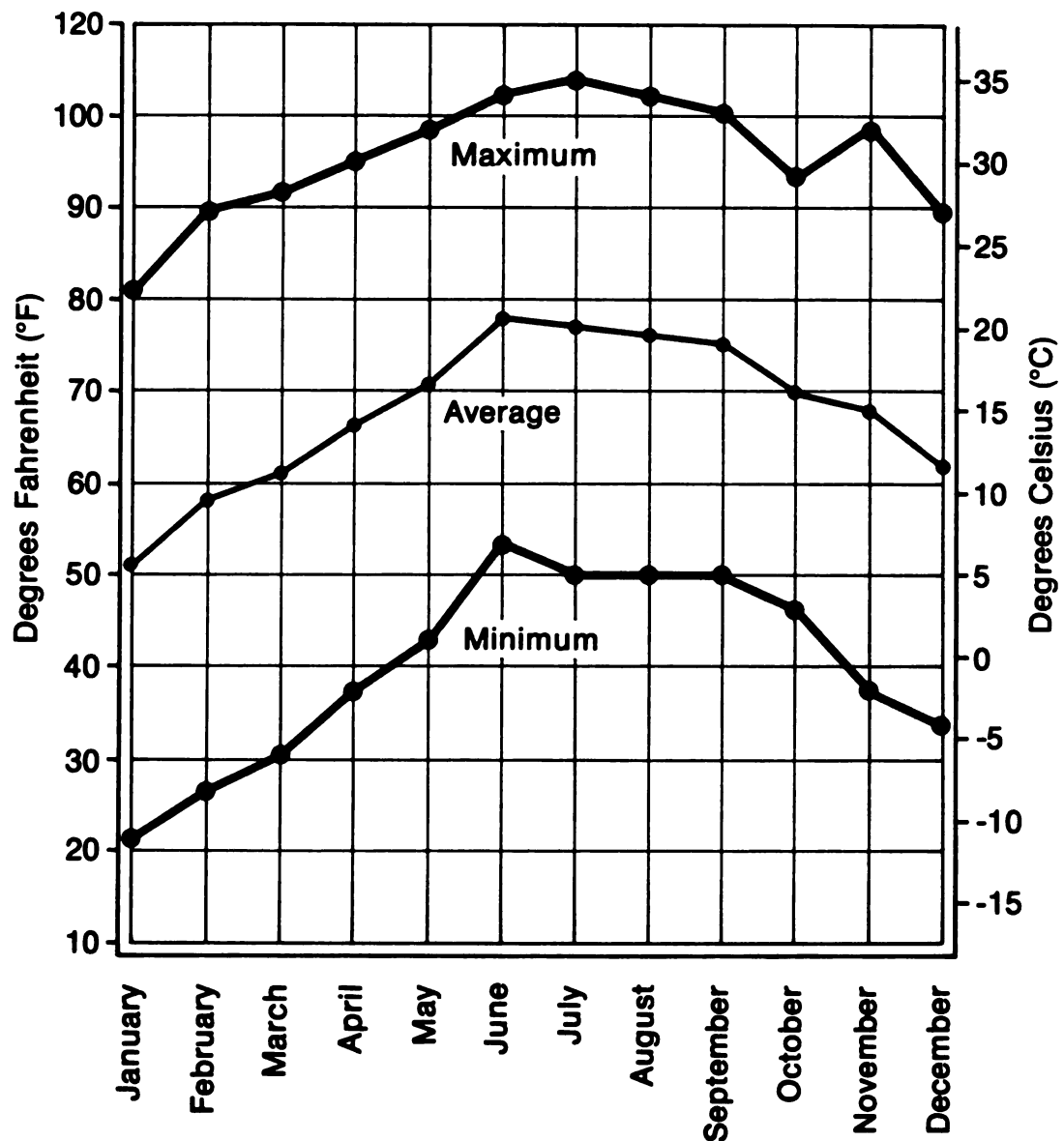
Source: Speerplan & Koshak, 1978.

FIGURE 18. REGIONAL CONTEXT

International Boundary
Undefined Boundary
Major Roads
Railways
Air Links (Direct)
Major Influxes of Visitors

Source: Speerplan and Koshak, 1978

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

JORDAN

EGYPT

SUDAN

IRAQ

IRAN

KUWAIT

ARABIAN GULF

QATAR

U.A.E.

OMAN

Oman Bay

ARABIAN SEA

S.YEMEN

N. YEMEN

RED SEA

Tabuk

Hail

Quasim

Medina

Yanbu

Jeddah

Mecca

Taif

Najran

Abha

Bisha

Jizan

Riyadh

Jubail

Dammam

Dhahran

Hofuf

0   150   300 Km
0   150   300 M

N

resort, Taif functions as a temporary station for visitors from the eastern, central and southern parts of Arabia on their journey to Mecca to perform their pilgrimage.

Due to the fact that jobs, opportunities and modern amenities are more plentiful than in any other place in the area, Taif has attracted masses of rural migrants from different areas and subsequently grown drastically. The spatial expansion of Taif, discussed earlier, although a good indicator of city growth, does not serve to fully illustrate the impact of Taif's growth on the entire region. Population trends present a better picture of such relationships. The population has increased very dramatically during the last few decades, particularly since the 1960s (Table 9).

From Table 10 one can observe the large increase in the percent rate of increase of the population for the years between 1964 and 1978. It can be noted that the rate of increase in the city's area for the same year does not compare with that of the population. It is also evident that the city has gained some 49 percent in its area and 58 percent in its population during 1964-1978. It should be mentioned that these percentages do not account for the actual rate of increase in area or population for a given year. The annual increases are good measures of how the city is growing annually in terms of its area and population. The more than tripled percent

TABLE 9

POPULATION GROWTH OF TAIF

Years	City Population	Percent of Increase*	Percent Rate of Increase	City Area Hectare	Percent of Increase	Percent Rate of Increase	Population Density
1951	37,500	-	-	250	-	-	150
1956	50,500	14.77	22.66	390	12.87	.23	130
1964	57,500	6.48	8.75	480	10.35	.35	120
1978	217,779	58,23	114.48	1,402	48.99	.65	155

*All percentages are calculated by the author.

Source: 1--Figures for the years 1951, 1956, and 1964 are taken from Italconsult, 1971.
2--Figures for the year 1978 were taken from Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

rates of increase in the population of Taif from 1964 to 1978 are
by far the result of masses of inmigration. In summary, the con-
tinuous urban growth in Taif's area and population is a reflection
of the city's expanding sphere of influence over the surrounding
agricultural lands and population. What has enhanced this urban
sprawl is the recent improvement in interurban communication and
the development of better motor transport, both of which have per-
mitted closer contact with surrounding villages as well as other
urban centers within the country. Any further development with
regard to communication and road services will also no doubt be
reflected in the continued growth of the city.

Population Growth and Distribution in Taif

Little is known about the history of population growth and
change in Taif. According to the Census of Population for Saudi
Arabia, the city had 200,000 inhabitants in 1974. Based on their
100 percent house-to-house survey of Taif in 1978, Speerplan and
Koshak calculated the population to be 220,000 inhabitants.

The distribution of the population within the city is un-
even (Table 10). There is a high density in Zones One and Two.
In fact, Zone One represents the core of Taif, while number Two

TABLE 10. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY ZONE

	ZONES[1]									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
No. of dwelling units	2138	6451	4112	209	3655	7382	10343	2261	649	37200
Population	12599	36174	23717	1277	21653	43644	61204	13711	3799	217779
% Population	5.78	16.61	10.89	.58	9.94	20.04	28.11	6.29	1.74	--
Area in Hectare	38	84	166	21	178	252	392	238	33	1402
Population density	332	431	143	61	122	173	156	58	115	155

Source: Compiled from Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

[1]See Figure 8 for zone locations.

represents the quarters of Yamariah, Bukhariah and Sharqiah, all
of which are located to the east of the old town. The high densi-
ties within these two major districts are due to a concentration
of people in multiple family dwellings and a lack of open space.
Another observation that can be made from an examination of Table
11 is the high percentages in Zones Six and Seven. These two areas
represent the largest part of the ruralized quarters in our typology
of housing types. These districts contain a relatively high density
of population. Low density of population is found in districts Four
and Eight, the two districts with modern residential quarters. The
city of Taif has an average population density of 155 persons per
hectare. This figure can be explained by the fact that people are
concentrated in a very limited space, a problem created both by im-
precise city planning and real estate speculation.

The distribution of population in Taif can also be looked
at from another perspective, that is, the distribution of people
in relation to dwelling types within districts (Table 11). The
most striking feature is that more than 70 percent of the people
in Taif live in apartments. When considering individual districts,
we find that more than 70 percent of the population in districts
Two, Four, Five, Six, Seven and Nine are apartment dwellers. The
majority of these apartment dwellers live in one or two floor

TABLE 11. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY DWELLING TYPES

DWELLING TYPES	ZONES																			TOTAL	
	1	%	2	%	3	%	4	%	5	%	6	%	7	%	8	%	9	%		%
Shack, Hut, Cottage	14	.11	0	0	19	.08	0	0	830	3.83	43	.09	317	.52	34	.25	0	0	1258	.57
Old Arab House	724	5.75	3283	9.07	2414	10.18	21	1.64	1196	5.53	2929	6.71	1985	3.24	247	1.81	885	23.29	13686	6.28
New Arab House	5443	43.21	2140	5.92	1967	8.29	12	.94	130	.60	581	1.33	946	1.54	260	1.89	0	0	11479	5.27
Villa	0	0	0	0	3132	13.21	154	12.06	629	2.91	1960	4.49	900	1.47	6633	48.37	74	21.95	13432	6.19
Apartment:																				
1-2 floors	1063	8.44	11065	30.58	8792	37.07	1026	80.34	16050	74.13	28111	64.41	39512	64.56	5279	38.51	2444	64.33	113343	52.05
3-4 floors	1515	12.03	11014	30.45	4557	19.22	11	.86	1651	7.63	5958	13.65	10303	16.83	826	6.03	348	9.16	36181	16.62
> 5 floors	156	1.24	2827	7.82	1143	4.82	c	0	152	.71	359	.83	65	.11	0	0	0	0	4702	2.16
Public Building	3684	29.24	5845	16.16	1693	7.14	18	1.41	882	4.07	3696	8.47	7176	11.73	432	3.15	211	1.08	23466	10.77
Other Building	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	2.74	133	.62	7	.02	0	0	0	0	7	.18	182	.08
TOTAL	12599		36174		23717		1277		21653		43644		61204		13711		3799		217779	

Source: Compiled and calculated by the author from Spperplan and Koshak, 1973.

apartment buildings. As was discussed earlier, this housing type

is a rather new phenomenon that can only be explained by the social

and economic changes occurring within the whole country. Above all,

the rapidly growing demand for housing during the last few years is

attributed to masses of rural migrants entering the city. In this

context, one would assume that there is a tendency among families

toward individualism. That is, some members would prefer to live

in separate houses, a behavior that deviates from family tradition

and that can be attributed to those with higher levels of education,

income, and preferences for modernization. Another reason for

building more apartment buildings is the speculation by real estate

brokers. Landholders are very aware of the rapidly growing economy

of Saudi Arabia and aware of the growing demands for housing and

land. These landowners are very cautious about limiting the supply

of available land in order to keep the price of these lands high.

The distribution of population in Taif and its vicinity

can be examined with respect to age structure (Table 12 and Figures

19 and 20). It is evident from Table 12 that there is a higher

proportion of children (0-14) in Taif and its vicinity. The strik-

ing feature about the age/sex ratio is the higher proportion of men

between the ages of 15 and 44 in the city than in its vicinity. It

is assumed that this high percentage is due to the presence of men

TABLE 12

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION IN TAIF AND VICINITY

Age Groups	Taif		Vicinity	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	7.3	6.6	10.4	7.7
5-9	7.8	7.1	8.1	10.1
10-14	7.5	6.7	7.0	6.2
15-19	6.4	5.9	6.2	5.4
20-24	4.9	3.5	3.0	3.5
25-29	4.3	3.2	2.5	3.1
30-34	3.5	2.8	2.0	3.3
35-39	3.6	2.9	1.9	2.2
40-44	2.9	1.9	2.7	2.1
45-49	2.2	1.2	1.8	0.8
50-54	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.0
55-59	0.9	0.4	1.1	0.5
60-64	0.8	0.6	1-0	0.9
>65	1.3	0.7	2.6	1.2

Source: Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

FIGURE 19

Age Structure in Percent of Total Population

Source: Table 13.
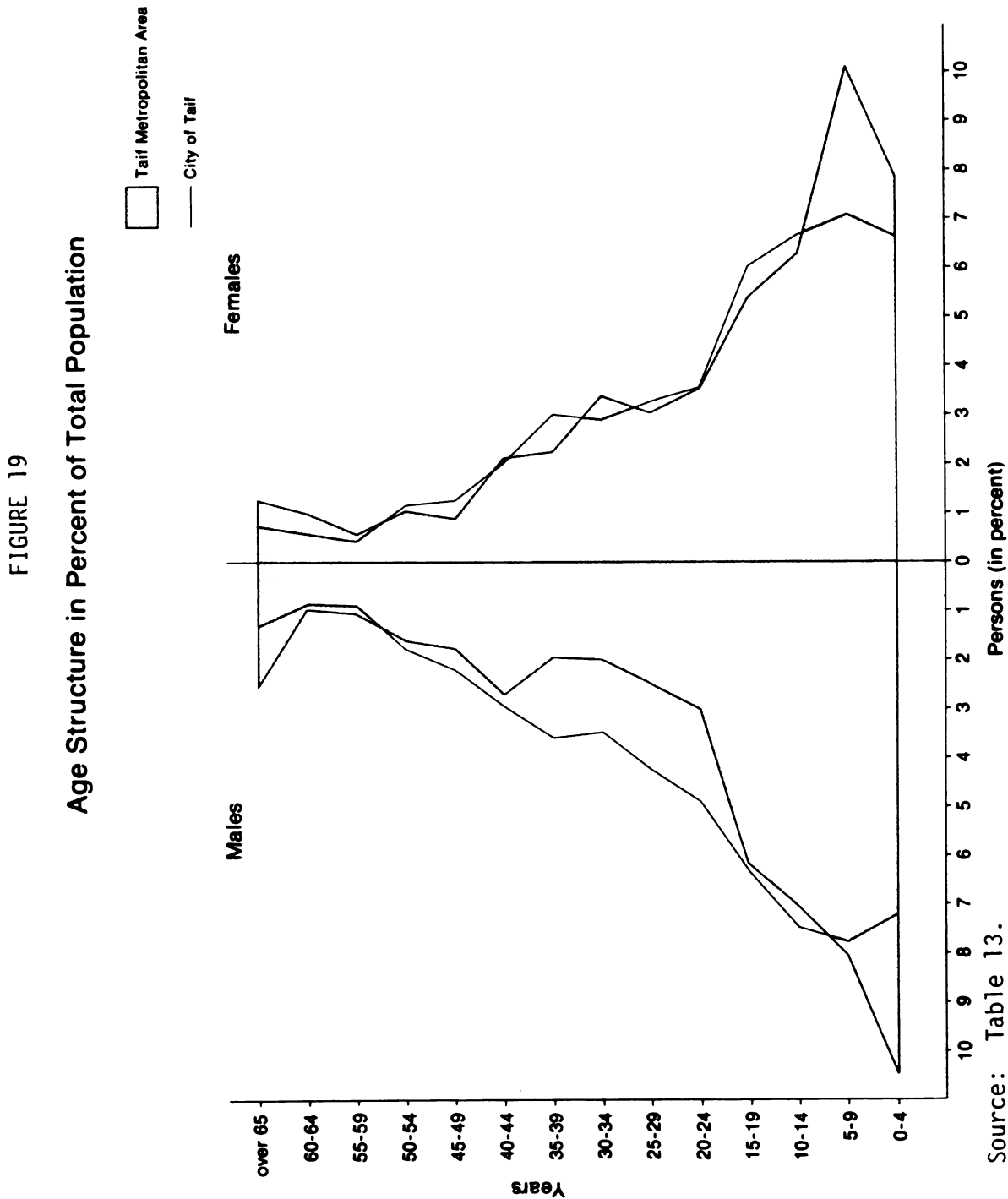
Taif Metropolitan Area

FIGURE 19

An Numuwh · Tutah

Al Mubayriz

Rihab

Al Hawwiyyah

Al Hurqah

Mihshaka · Al Miltawi

Ad Dar

Al Hada · Ad Dar El Beida

Al Qasran · Al Masha'ik

Al Kummal · Al Lawamiyyah

Al Qubsah

Umm Alhamd

Umm Raghiy · Al Mraysiyyah

Umm Sad'an

Khdayra

Ar Rwqiyyah

At Ghadirain

Az Zinan

TAIF

Al Faisaliah

Al Kek

Al Khalediah · Al Qumriah

Qarwah

Ad Dahya

Al Matna

Odah · Shohad

Khatasha

Al Bargah

Al Wahat

Shihar

Barash

Umm Alukur

Al Qarah

Um Al Khatan

Al Wihayt

Al Madiq

Shaqrah

Hidhayl

Al Uqaylih

Muntala

Ath Thabt

Ash Sha'abat · Al Husuin

Al Ahriyyah

Al Hmaydi

As Sad

Al Awas

Asrab

Ash Shafa

Namir

Al Far

Al Qir

Harjal

	Roads
	Tracks

0 — 5 kilometers
0 — 4 miles

in the city from other areas who are working or looking for work,
leaving behind them both older and younger men and women. Accord-
ing to Speerplan and Koshak (1978), about 32 percent of Taif's
population in 1978 had migrated within the preceding two years.
They have projected that Taif will reach a figure of 331,000 in-
habitants by the year 1995 (Figure 21). Much of this increase in
the population growth is attributed to rural urban migration (Speer-
plan and Koshak, 1978).

In sum, these findings regarding the spatial expansion of
Taif, housing types and population growth seemed to support the
pilot project in relation to the question of rural migration to Taif.
It has been found through discussion interviews with Omads and
based on questionnaire findings of sixty sampled householes inter-
viewed in the summer of 1978, that there is an increasing number of
rural migrants in the city every year. Generally, there are indica-
tions that these migrants have come from different areas, especially
from the mountainous region of southwestern Saudi Arabia. The rural
migrants in Taif live in neighborhoods that suit their rural tradi-
tions (Figure 22). The existence of a group of migrants from one
village or an area in a specific neighborhood seems to have some
effect on their concentration. Most of the new neighborhoods of
ruralized housing type are mixed with people from different areas,

FIGURE 21

Increase of Taif City Permanent Population, 1975-1995

☐ Population Projections - Base: Census 1974,
Socio-Economic Survey 1978

■ Robert Matthew - Population Growth Forecast 1971-1991
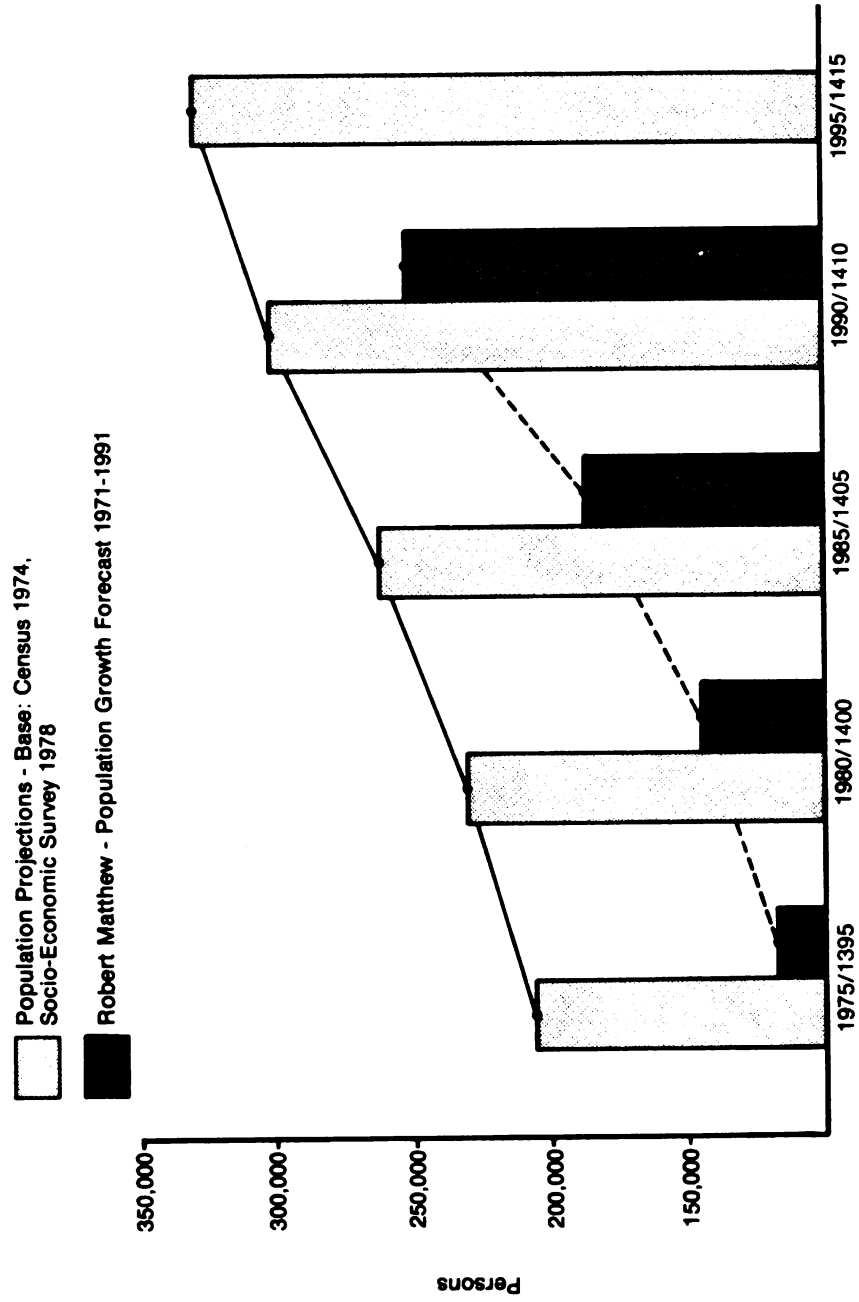
Source: Speerplan and Koshak, 1978.

FIGURE 22

Migrants' Distribution in Taif, Saudi Arabia
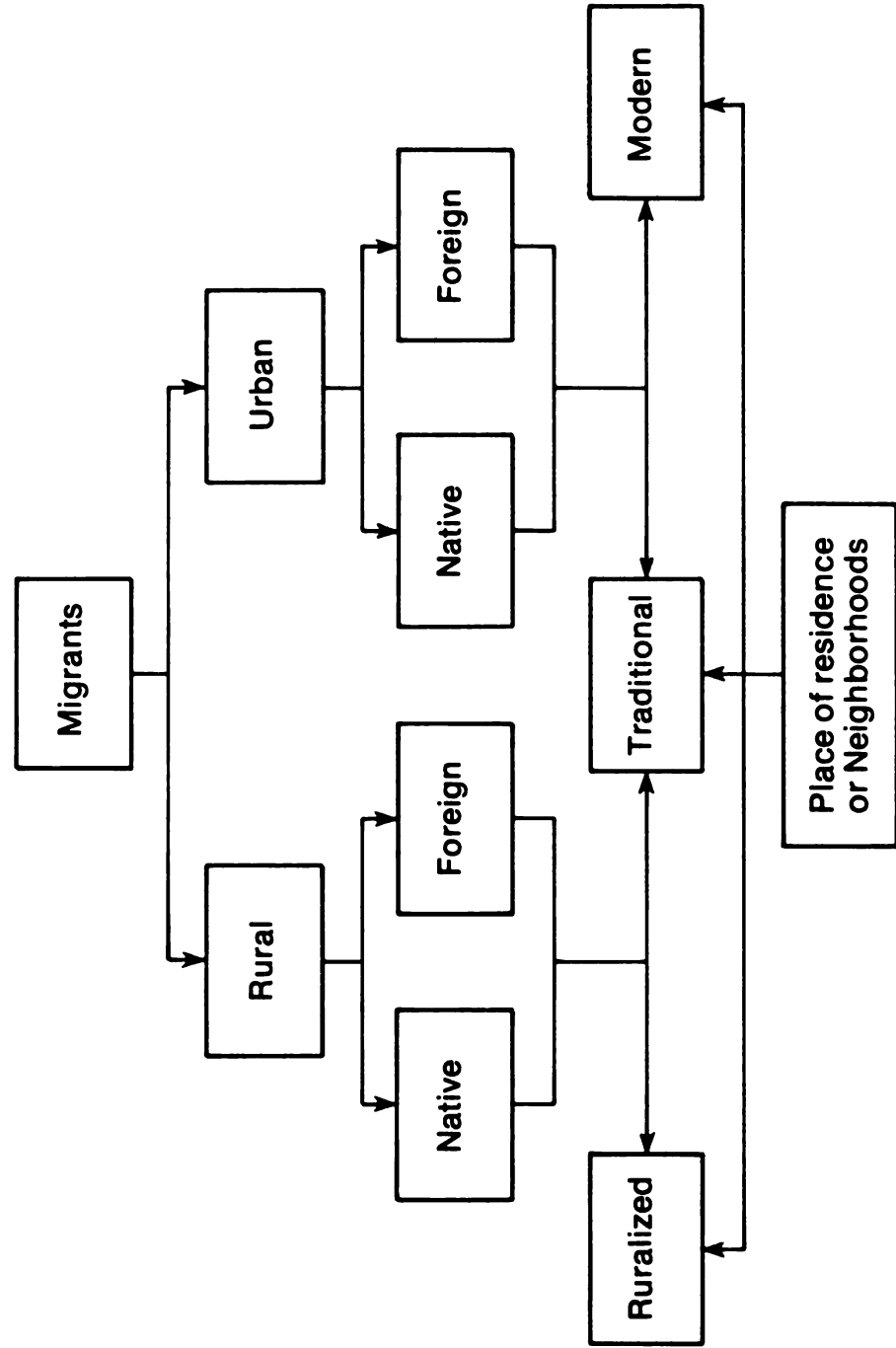
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

but mostly rural migrants. Such findings will be further examined

in view of the general assumptions of this thesis regarding the

process of rural migration and residential mobility which will be

presented and analyzed through subsequent chapters.

Summary

Taif is an ancient city which functions as a trade center as

well as a summer resort. It is located in the western region of

Saudi Arabia within a mountain range at an elevation of approxi-

mately 1700 meters above sea level.

Because of a lack of available records regarding Taif's devel-

opment, a pilot study was carried out during the summers of 1978 and

1979. The general objective of the pilot study was to obtain an over-

view of the city as well as to become familiar with the inhabitants

and community leaders. Such interviews were also useful in determin-

ing the city's growth and patterns of expansion.

Analysis of housing material was used to determine the age of

dwelling units, as adequate records are not available. Three major

periods of expansion can be identified: 1945-1964 and 1965 to the

present. The period prior to 1945 witnessed the development of the

city's core, but was a time of extremely limited expansion.

The field survey also proved useful in classifying the residential quarters of Taif. Such classification was conducted according to housing type. Four major housing types were identified: old traditional, new traditional, ruralized, and modern.

Other factors which tend to distinguish one residential quarter from another are lot size, block size, and street patterns. Modern neighborhoods, for example, are usually comprised of larger lots, the average block size is larger, and streets are wider and less winding than in the older sections.

Taif's total spatial structure most resembles that of a pre-industrial city with the central area composed of both commercial and residential areas. The growth of both sectors is somewhat similar to the sectoral and nucler models.

Taif functions as an administrative center for a large region known as Taif's region and is the only important city within that region. Central markets are located in Taif, as well as modern amenities and opportunities not available elsewhere in the region. Consequently, its population has steadily increased; according to the 1974 population, Taif had 200,000 inhabitants.

Population distribution is uneven in Taif, with the densest areas being the old central core, and the district located to the east. Lowest population density is found in the modern residential quarters.

This chapter is intended to familiarize the reader with the city of Taif: its unique character, spatial design, and residential patterns. This background will be useful in subsequent discussions of the patterns of migration, residential mobility, and characteristics of the migrants, which follow. Our next topic, however, is the research hypothesis itself, and the data collection methods employed in carrying out the objectives of this study.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In this chapter more discussion of the research problem in relation to migration literature is given. The research hypotheses, the process of data collection, sampling procedure and the methods used in the analysis of our data are presented.

The Research Problem and Literature

Based on the literature discussed in Chapter Two, we find that scholars treating the spatial and temporal dimensions of migration ask four major questions: Who moves? Why do people move? Where do they move from? and Where do they move to? Clearly, answers to these questions deal with (a) migration selectivity, (b) migration process, and (c) motives of migration. For purposes of this research these three major themes are considered. Students of migration also have tended to differentiate between the motives of rural-urban migration and the motives or reasons behind residential mobility. As stated earlier, the primary goals of this research are to examine the process and motives of rural-urban

migration to Taif and to analyze rural migrants' residential

mobility within the city.

The major focus of this thesis is concerned with one type

of migrant, that is, rural migrants, since they left their areas

of origin to move to where they live now (within Taif). When con-

sidering this group of migrants as well as their movements into and

within the city, they are expected to exhibit similar patterns in

relation to their motives for migration and in respect to their

residential mobility. One major objective of this work is to

examine the different reasons given by the rural migrants for

leaving their original homes and their reasons for selecting Taif

as their destination. Other questions also investigated are: Have

they made any move(s) since they moved to Taif? What are their

reasons for such movements? As a result of their movements within

the city, what patterns do they exhibit? In other words do these

rural migrants move within their initial quarters or do they move

to other quarters of the city? Do they prefer the same housing

types or do they choose different housing types?

It is assumed that these rural migrants in the study area

are attracted to areas of ruralized housing types (see Chapter Three).

Moore (1972, p. 9) writes that "lifestyles can only be achived through

interaction with others with the same set of group-oriented values."

The rural migrants' residential mobility in Taif will be examined

against their socioeconomic status and their housing tenure and

types in relation to them as one group and/or as sub-groups based

on their origins. It is believed that their length of the urban

experience, that is, the possible span of time for a rural migrant

in the city, is more likely to affect their residential mobility.

The Research Hypotheses

Based on the results of previous literature and the personal

knowledge of the study area, the following hypotheses have been

advanced. They are divided in two major sub-headings, those re-

lating to rural-urban migration and those focusing on residential

mobility.

A. ## Rural-Urban Migration Hypotheses

1. The majority of migrants are drawn from rural areas

    located to the south of Taif and from surrounding

    villages as well.

2. The rural migration to Taif is a form of household

    migration.

3. The rural migration to Taif is a direct one, that is,

    no stepwise or stage processes operate.

4. The head of the household was at least twenty-five years of age at the time of migration, is unskilled and illiterate.

B. Residential Mobility Hypotheses

1. Villagers who have migrated to Taif tend to choose and live in areas of ruralized housing types.

2. It is anticipated that the longer the time rural migrants spend in the city, the more moves they will make before they finally settle in permanent dwellings and quarters.

3. The rural migrants in Taif tend to make intracommunity rather than intercommunity types of mobility.

4. Any intercommunity movement made by rural migrants is assumed to take place between quarters of similar housing types.

5. Rural migrants are attracted to areas where friends or relatives are located.

The major questions of this thesis and the above hypotheses will be discussed, tested, and analyzed in the following chapters (V and VI).

Data Collection and Sample Design

Intensive fieldwork was conducted in Taif during four months of 1980. During this period a social survey of households was carried out. A questionnaire was developed and administered to a sampled population of 700 heads of households chosen from random selected quarters of the city. The interviews were directed by the author with some technical and financial assistance from the University of Umm Alqura The survey was used to obtain data concerning the process of movement; the characteristics of migrants; the reasons for their migration and mobility. In addition, information related to housing characteristics and conditions, location and accessibility, as well as other socioeconomic variables was collected.

Due to the lack of statistical information on population numbers and characteristics for the city and residents of Taif, the sampling process becomes critical. The investigator attempted to collect relevant information through other sources. A pilot study was carried out in Taif during the summers of 1978 and 1979 to trace, as precisely as possible, the development and growth of the residential quarters in the city. As a result of these detailed field investigations, the city's twenty-five quarters were classified into five major categories (Al-Thubaity, 1978). The classification was based on housing types and building materials. The pilot study was

discussed in greater detail in Chapter III. The author was able

to obtain a complete file of the electricity subscribers from Taif's

electric company. The file contained information on names, numbers,

and addresses of subscribers. However, due to the uncertainty in

the soundness of addresses and for the lack of street names and

block numbers in the city, any attempt to use it for systematic

sampling of households was found to be unrealistic. Although such

conditions as unclear addresses and locations did prevail in the

utility company data, other information from the file was used. I

was able to calculate the total number of subscribers (in our case

households) for each quarter (Table 13). Based on the electricity

file, there were 31,766 households in the city of Taif in summer,

1979. For the proposed research, a decision was made to obtain a

2 percent sample of the total number of households. Also a 50

percent random sample of quarters from each of the major five cate-

gories was selected (Table 14). The 50 percent figure was decided

upon to insure representation from at least one quarter in any given

category.

The sample of households in each selected quarter is propor-

tional to the total population of all the selected quarters within

any given category and with regard to the total population sample

of the category under consideration. The following formulae have

been designed.

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSING TYPES

Housing Types	Symbols	Total No. of Households	Percent	Total no. of Quarters	Total No. of Interviews	Percent
Ruralized Housing	RHT	14,664	14.16	7	293	46.14
Modern Housing	MHT	2,939	9.25	5	59	9.29
Traditional Housing	THT	1,318	4.15	3	26	4.09
Mixed Ruralized Traditional Housing	MRTHT	6,926	21.81	4	139	21.90
Mixed Ruralized Modern Housing	MRMHT	5,919	18.63	6	118	18.58
Total	5	31,766	100.00	25	635	100.00

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

TABLE 14

SAMPLE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION (BY HOUSEHOLD) FOR THE SELECTED QUARTERS
(BY HOUSING TYPES)

Housing Types	ID. No.	Total No. of Households	Percent	Total No. of Interviews	Percent	No. of Clusters
RHT	1	5,207	25.61	139	21.86	4
	2	4,640	22.82	124	19.49	4
	4	828	4.07	22	3.46	1
	7	317	1.56	8	1.26	1
MHT	8	1,210	5.95	39	6.13	1
	10	519	2.55	17	2.67	1
	11	120	.59	4	.63	1
THT	13	568	2.79	17	2.67	1
	15	284	1.40	9	1.42	1
MRTHT	16	2,476	12.18	83	13.05	2
	18	1,685	8.29	56	8.81	2
MRMHT	21	1,348	6.64	64	10.06	2
	22	889	4.37	42	6.61	2
	25	240	1.18	12	1.88	1
TOTAL	14	20,331	100.00	636	100.00	24

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

$$IQJ_i = \frac{QHJ_i \cdot SCJ}{RCJ}$$

Where:

IQJ_i = the total number of interviews for the selected quarter in category J,

QHJ_i = the total number of households for the selected quarter i in category J,

RCJ = the total number of households for all selected quarters in category J,

SCJ = the total population sample for all selected quarters in category J.

For example: the total number of interviews for quarter No. 1 in category R (ruralized housing) =

$$IQJ_i = \frac{5207}{10992} \cdot 293 = 139$$

The total number of interviews for all quarters was conducted on the basis of cluster sampling (see Table [14]) according to the following rules:

1. To consider one cluster per any selected quarter where less than 40 interviews will be taken.

2. To consider two clusters per any selected quarter where 42 to 100 interviews are required.

3. To consider four clusters per any selected quarter where more than 100 interviews are needed.

The poles or centers of clusters for the interviews were the community mosques in each quarter. In most cases there are several mosques within each quarter in the city. Mosques are holy places for Muslims where they worship Allah five times a day. The five-times-a-day prayers are obligatory. Mosques can be regarded as the cores of every neighborhood. While there are some big major mosques in the city which have been built near to the city's center or in open spaces closer to the major roads to serve larger numbers of people, these mosques were not considered focal points for identifying households to interview. Only the mosques within each quarter that have been designated to serve small numbers of prayers were considered. The number or names of these small mosques were obtained during the fieldwork from the Department of Endowments in the city. Once they were obtained, they were listed and twenty-four of them were randomly selected and marked on the city map for passing interviews (Figures 23 and 24). The selection of households for the interviews was determined by the location of the mosques within the blocks (Figure 25) and on the basis of available heads of household being willing to participate in the survey. If the initial households selected were unable or unwilling to participate, their immediate neighbor or neighbor were surveyed.

to Riyadh
(900 km)

to Mecca (86 km)
and Jeddah (160 km)

to Abha
(540 km)

0   500 meters

to Ash Shafa
(25 km)
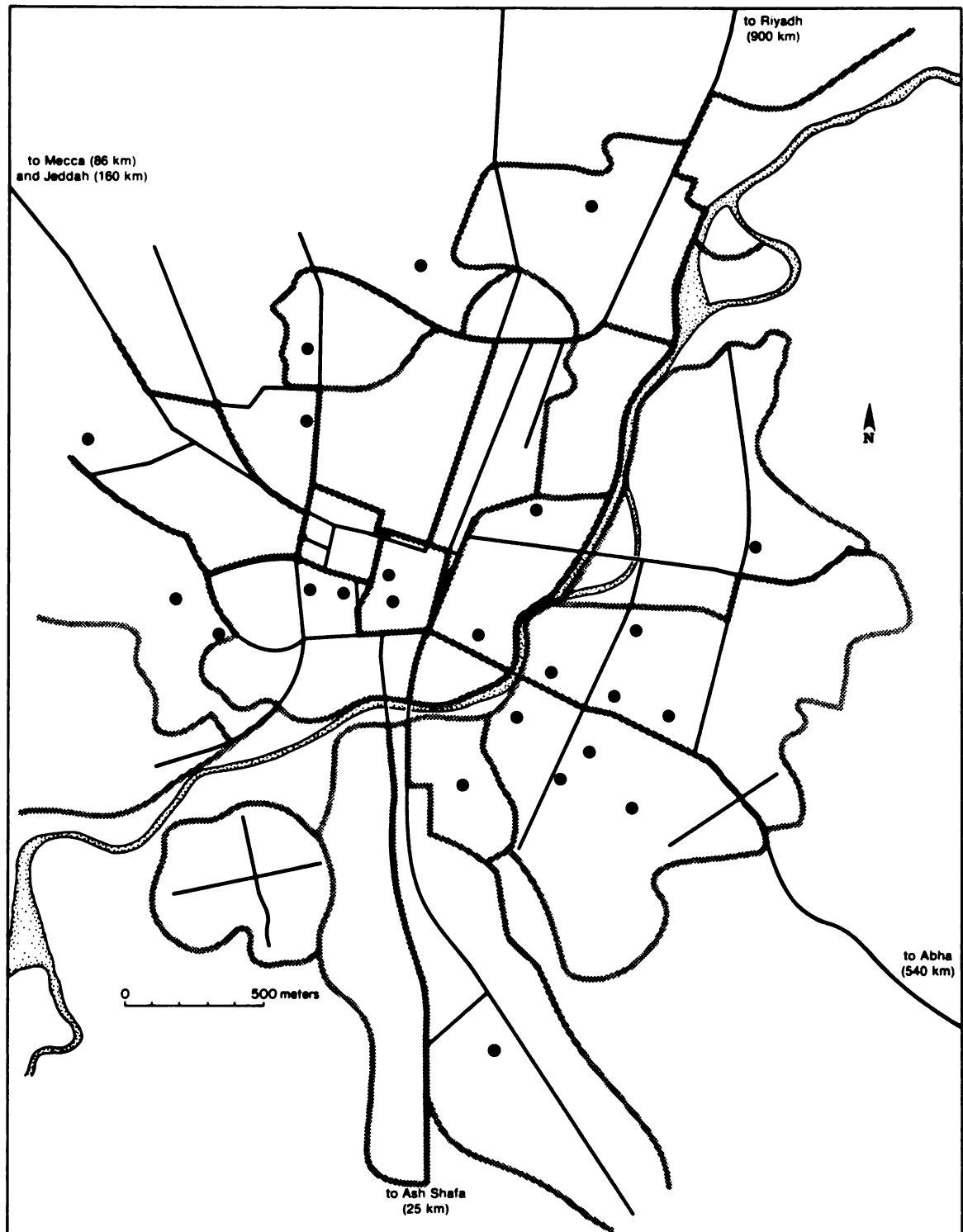
FIGURE 23

Sample Survey Locations in Taif

Each dot represents one sample survey location.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980

Each circle represents the
number of interviews in a quarter
as a percentage of all interviews in Taif

25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
1%
0%

0   500 meters

FIGURE 24

Sample Size by Quarter

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.
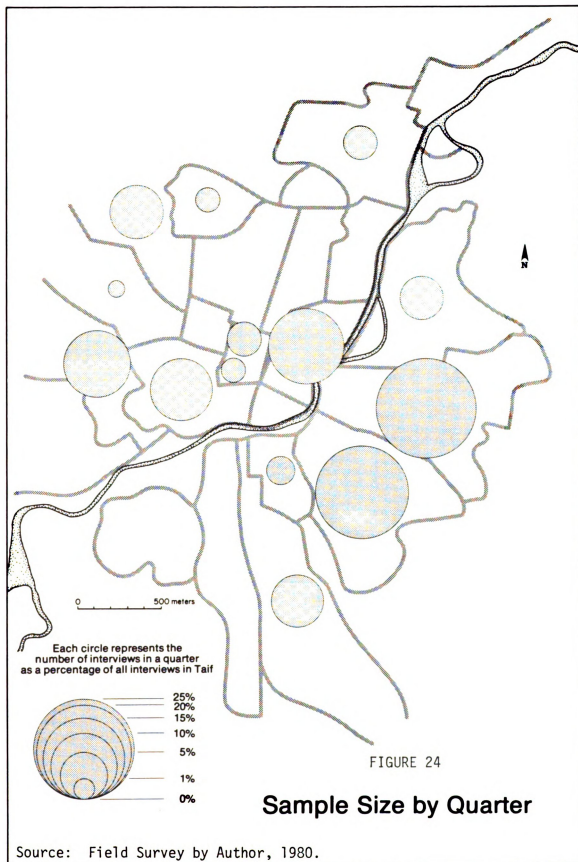
FIGURE 25

Possible Locations
of Mosques within Blocks

	Blocks

	Directions
	of interviews
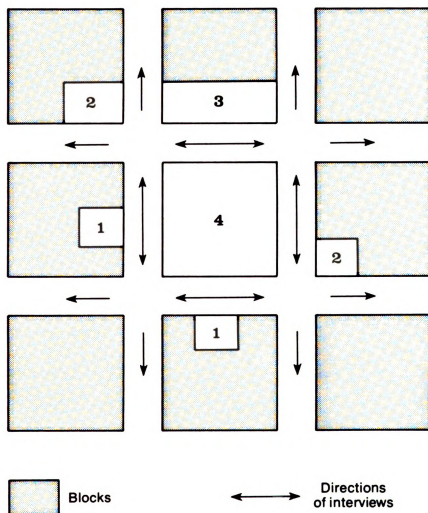
1 - a mosque with exposure on one street
2 - a mosque with exposures on two streets
3 - a mosque with exposures on three streets
4 - a mosque with exposures on four streets

These interviews and processes of data collection were not smoothly executed without some difficulties. One such difficulty was the time of the survey. The survey was carried out in the summer during which the city of Taif is always busy because it serves as a summer resort for the people of Saudi Arabia and its Government. During the summer days, people of Taif are always engaged in more than business because of the additional commerce that is brought in. Because of this summer traffic, it was sometimes hard to find our respondents at home during the day. Several visits were often required. Another difficulty encountered was the attitude of the public toward the survey. Although this situation was not encountered at all locations of interviews, it appeared that some people lacked knowledge and orientation as to the purpose of the survey and how it related to them. Because of a lack of awareness, some residents seemed to fear strangers knocking on their door once or twice a day seeking information concerning their movements. Many interviewees considered these matters as confidential and were very sensitive about answering questions. Such situations required more complete explanations and polite persuasion in order to fulfill the objectives of the study.

Methods of Analysis

Several statistical techniques and cartographic methods were applied in analyzing the data for this study. The major base maps of the city of Taif, used in the cartographic analysis, were obtained from the Taif Planning and Development Department. These maps were then used in the field where observations regarding the historical development and expansion of Taif, as well as the housing types were documented. The existing land use patterns were also recorded on these base maps. This cartographic analysis was instrumental in illustrating the location of the rural migrants in the city, their spatial distribution, and the intra-urban mobility of the rural migrants within the city. A small-scale mape of the Southwestern Region of Saudi Arabia was also utilized to identify the major rural migration streams.

Four basic statistical techniques were employed in an attempt to apply the data collected into a useful format. The first technique utilized was the chi-square test of association, a method often used when analyzing categorical data. Through the application of this test, it is possible to explore the relationship between two categorical variables, as well as to determine whether the variables are independent or related   (Norman et al., 1975).   In this thesis, the

chi-square test has been applied to social, economic and housing

variables related to the rural migrants. The results of any chi-square

test regarding this study are presented under crosstabulation tables.

Factor analysis was also utilized in this thesis. This

technique makes it possible to reduce a set of intercorrelated variables

into a smaller number of dimensions or factors, through a method called

the R-mode method of factor analysis (Rummel, 1967). Factor analysis

is also useful in identifying the underlying factors when working with

a large number of variables (Rummel, 1970). Factor analysis is

often used with data which are on an interval scale. However,

when the data contain nominal or ordinal data, incidence factor

analysis (sometimes called direct factor analysis) is used. In

incidence factor analysis ones are used to denote presence of

a certain variable, while zeroes denote the absence of the

variable (Berry and Barnum, 1962). When incidence factor

analysis is used, some researchers would transform the data

through use of the Phi Matrix. However, studies indicate that

there is no difference in using the Pearson correlation matrix

and the Phi matrix (Harris, 1975).

In this study, no data transformation took place, an inci-

dence factor analysis was used only with those variables that have

been dichotomized when necessary. Factor analysis was applied in identifying the underlying factors behind rural migration to Taif, and was extremely useful in this regard.

The third statistical technique utilized was multiple discriminant analysis. This is an extremely useful technique which helps in distinguishing between two or more groups. It is used for classifying data as well as examining the differences between classes. This distinction is based on a selection of variables which the researcher believes are good predictors of the differences between the group being analyzed, called discriminating variables. The results of this technique indicates whether or not there are apparent differences between groups. If little or no difference is evident in the analysis, the groups are usually homogeneous. Discriminant analysis is similar to factor analysis in that it utilizes interval data. Moreover, if categorical variables are used, the same procedure of ones and zeroes may be applied through dichtomization of the variables or the creation of dummy variables (see Norman et al, 1975).

In this research, discriminant analysis was used to discover whether differences among the rural migrants in relation to their regional origins exist or not. This was done in order to facilitate the analysis of residential mobility of the rural migrants in Taif. That is , if large differences are discovered between the migrants of

different regions, then they should be treated individually (i.e.
separate groups or regions), and if there are no observed differ-
ences, the migrants will be discussed as a single group. Accord-
ingly, the rural migrants were examined against their social,
economic and housing characteristics and found to be homogenous.

The final statistical technique which was employed is re-
gression analysis. This technique is valuable in predicting and
tracing the relationship between the dependent and the independent
variables. It is also useful in determining the direction and
relative strength of the relationship. For our purposes, regres-
sion analysis was utilized in examining the residential mobility
of the rural migrants. It was also used in testing the relation-
ship between the rate of change in residence and the length of time
the rural migrants had been in Taif, as well as this rate of change
and some socioeconomic, locational and housing characteristics of
the migrants. Finally, some graphic representations of the social
variables and the rate of change in residence were constructed.

CHAPTER V

THE PROCESS OF RURAL MIGRATION TO TAIF

Introduction

This chapter will deal with an in-depth analysis of the process of rural migration to Taif. The main objectives are to determine the sources of rural influx, the types of rural migration, and the reasons for migration, as well as to examine the characteristics of rural migrants and their location within the city upon first arriving in Taif. Before these objectives can be met, however, it is necessary to scrutinize the responses obtained in this field survey and observe the various types of migration that occurred.

Classification of Responses

Based on 700 questionnaires distributed within the sampled quarters in Taif in the summer of 1980, more than 71 percent of the respondents were identified as migrants (Table 15). Natives of Taif, that is, those born within the city, were the second most numerous group in Taif; they comprised 10 percent of the respondents. A third

TABLE 15.--CLASSIFICATION OF INTERVIEWS BY TYPES OF RESPONSES BY SAMPLED QUARTERS

Sampled Quarters	RESPONSES													
	Migrants		Natives[a]		Estab'm'ts[b]		Summer		Hajj		Incomplete[c]		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-S. Sanubiah	128	94.8	6	4.5	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	135	19.3
2-S. Shamaliah	127	80.9	3	1.9	1	.6	1	.6	3	1.9	22	14.1	157	22.4
3-Qumriah	15	57.7	5	19.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	23.0	26	3.7
4-Sharqraq	5	50.0	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	40.0	10	1.4
5-Sharqiah	81	89.0	1	1.1	-	-	5	5.5	2	2.2	2	2.2	91	13.0
6-Salamah	36	57.2	17	30.4	2	3.6	1	1.8	-	-	-	-	56	8.0
7-Qarwa	32	50.0	8	12.5	2	3.2	14	21.8	-	-	8	12.5	64	9.2
8-Muashi	35	71.4	3	6.2	1	2.1	4	8.2	-	-	6	12.1	15	2.2
9-Nuzha	13	86.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	13.4	15	2.2
10-Sulaimaniah	4	36.4	4	36.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	27.2	11	1.6
11-Asfal	10	55.5	6	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11.2	18	2.6
12-Faisaliah	9	45.0	8	40.0	-	-	3	15.0	-	-	-	-	20	2.7
13-Khaldiah	2	25.0	2	25.0	-	-	4	50.0	-	-	-	-	8	1.2
14-Shihar	5	12.5	6	15.0	7	17.5	19	47.5	-	-	3	7.5	40	5.7
Total Percent	502	71.7	70	10.0	13	1.8	51	7.3	6	.9	58	8.3	700	100

[a]Originally were born in Taif.
[b]Public and private establishments.
[c]Due to refusal from respondents or errors in documenting information by interviewers.

Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

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group with a significant number of members were those included within the summer-time visitor category, they represented 7 percent of the sample. Another distinct group of the residents were pilgrims, the annual visitors to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina. For the most part, these pilgrims came from eastern, central and southern Saudi Arabia as well as from North and South Yemen, Iran and Iraq. These pilgrims generally travel by car and stop in Taif for a relatively short time (usually one month or less) on their way to and from Mecca. Less than one percent of the respondents were identified as pilgrims enroute to Mecca.

The subject of pilgrims deserves some additional comment because of the unique nature of these travelers. Based on the author's knowledge of the area, there are basically two types of pilgrims. First, there is a distinguishable group from Iraq, Iran, and often, Turkey who travel in groups and usually camp in the open spaces on the outskirts of the city. They bring with them handmade articles from their countries and form a sort of "flea market" for the local people. Such markets serve two purposes: to finance the pilgrimage itself, or to realize higher prices for their goods than they would expect at home. The second type of pilgrim, generally from Yemen, stops temporarily on the journey to Mecca to visit friends and relatives who have already migrated to Saudi Arabia,

or to work temporarily in order to finance their pilgrimage. Whatever their origin or purpose, both types of pilgrims form a distinct and interesting part of Taif's population.

Since the interviewing was conducted by visiting each building in a selected area, some non-residential units were included, which accounted for 1.8 percent of the total respondents. These units represent government and/or private establishments.

The final category listed in Table 15 consists of those interviews that we considered unacceptable for detailed analysis. They comprised 8.3 percent of the total and were incomplete due to refusal on the part of the respondent to complete the questionnaire or because they contained suspicious or inaccurate information.

In summary, there is an uneven distribution of respondents within the sampled quarters. Migrants vastly outnumber the rest of the respondents except in quarters 13 and 14, where summer visitors were most prevalent.

Responses can also be classified in terms of the various housing types (Table 16). There are some substantial differences in the types of housing according to the various respondents. For example, the majority of respondents in the ruralized housing-type are migrants, while summer visitors are most often found in modern

TABLE 16.--CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY HOUSING TYPES

RESPONDENTS

Housing Types	Migrants		Natives		Estab'm'ts		Summer		Hajj		Incomplete		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RHT*	275	54.8	15	21.4	1	7.7	1	1.9	4	66.6	32	55.2	328	46.8
THT	14	2.8	10	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	8.6	29	4.2
MHT	16	3.2	16	22.8	7	53.8	26	50.9	-	-	3	5.2	68	9.7
MRTHT	117	23.3	18	25.7	2	15.4	6	11.9	2	33.4	2	3.5	147	21.0
MRMHT	80	15.9	11	15.8	3	23.1	18	35.3	-	-	16	27.5	128	18.3
TOTAL	502	100	70	100	13	100	51	100	6	100	58	100	700	100
Percent	71.7		10.0		1.8		7.3		.9		8.3		100	

*For symbols definition see Table 13, page 107 in this dissertation.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

housing type areas.   Variations within a given housing type exist.
For instance, while more than 54 percent of migrants are found in
areas having ruralized housing types, few migrants are located in
traditional or modern housing type areas (only about 3 percent each).
The urban natives show up mainly in areas of mixed ruralized-traditional
housing (26 percent) and modern housing (23 percent), which may indi-
cate that traditional urbanites are leaving the old city for new
neighborhoods.   This movement cannot be identified with the invasion-
succession model operating in Western cities, since the poor are not
moving into the inner city.   Rather, the affluent inhabitants may
move into the modern quarters, and yet retain ownership of their
property in the old quarters.   Summer visitors are more likely to
settle in areas of modern and/or mixed ruralized modern housing types,
mainly because these structures are the ones most frequently available
for seasonal renting.   Often these modern dwellings in Taif have been
built specifically to facilitate the needs and financial capabilities
of the summer visitor.   The modern housing type areas are generally
built for the wealthier inhabitants of Taif; summer visitors also
comprise part of this group.

Types of Migrants in Taif

As mentioned above, more than 71 percent of the respondents were identified as migrants. Further analysis requires a closer look at the types of migrants found within Taif. Three specific groups are identified: rural migrants, urban migrants, and foreign migrants (Table 17). Rural migrants are identified as those persons migrating to Taif from rural areas of Saudi Arabia, that is, from villages or from the desert. When we consider the population interviewed (excluding foreign migrants), this group accounts for over 72 percent of the total respondents and for 60 percent of all the migrants. Urban migrants refer to those who moved to Taif from other Saudi cities; they account for 7.5 percent of the respondents. Foreign migrants identify those who moved to Taif from other countries. Foreign migrants, somewhat surprisingly, who comprise 27 percent of the respondents are the second largest group of migrants. This high percentage is indicative of the dynamic economic changes and rapid development within the country, and the attraction of businesses and workers from other countries. Five major groups of foreign migrants to Taif were identified from the survey; they arrived from North Yemen (31 percent), Egypt (21 percent), Pakistan (14 percent), Turkistan (8 percent), and Palestine (8 percent). The remainder of the foreign migrants (19 percent) represent a mixture of various nationalities.

TABLE 17.—DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TYPES OF ORIGINS BY SAMPLED QUARTERS

Sampled Quarters	RESPONDENTS									
	Rural		Urban		Native		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-S. Janubiah	96	71.6	5	3.7	6	4.5	27	20.2	134	23.4
2-S. Shamaljah	89	68.5	7	5.4	3	2.3	31	23.8	130	22.7
3-Qumriah	9	45.0	4	20.0	5	25.0	2	10.0	20	3.5
4-Sharqraq	5	83.3	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	6	1.1
5-Sharqiah	27	32.9	7	8.5	1	1.3	47	57.3	82	14.4
6-Salamah	27	50.9	-	-	17	32.2	9	16.9	53	9.3
7-Qarwa	15	37.5	5	12.5	8	20.0	12	30.0	40	6.9
8-Muashi	21	55.3	1	2.6	3	7.9	13	34.2	38	6.7
9-Nuzha	9	69.2	1	7.7	-	-	3	23.1	13	2.3
10-Sulaimaniah	-	-	3	37.5	4	50.0	1	12.5	8	1.4
11-Asfal	3	18.7	-	-	6	37.5	7	43.8	16	2.8
12-Faisaliah	2	11.7	3	17.6	8	47.2	4	23.5	17	2.9
13-Khaldiah	-	-	2	50.0	2	50.0	-	-	4	.7
14-Shihar	-	-	5	45.5	6	54.5	-	-	11	1.9
TOTAL	303	-	43	-	70	-	156	-	572	-
Percent		52.9		7.5		12.3		27.3		100

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

The spatial distribution of migrants (Tables 18 and 19)

varies from one major classification to another as well as between

quarters and within housing type areas. In general, migrants seem

to be located in areas of ruralized, mixed ruralized-traditional

and ruralized-modern housing type areas. However, when examining

each migrant category, we see that rural migrants are the most

prevalent migrants in quarters of ruralized housing types (more

than 68 percent). They are also highly concentrated in areas of

mixed ruralized-traditional and ruralized-modern housing types.

Foreign migrants are also highly concentrated in the three housing

type areas mentioned above. In fact, foreign migrants represent

more than 41 percent of the population interviewed in the areas of

mixed ruralized-traditional housing type. Urban migrants, on the

other hand, cluster in ruralized and modern housing type areas.

The native urbanites of Taif, however, show a relatively even dis-

tibution within all five housing types, save the traditional hous-

ing type. Conclusively, all migrants represent a very small per-

centage of inhabitants in traditional and modern housing types,

with the exception of urban migrants, 23 percent of whom (or 31

percent of respondents) are found in quarters of modern housing

types (Table 18).

Detailed investigations into the associations between hous-

ing type and type of residents and the reasons for choosing certain

TABLE 18.--DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TYPES OF ORIGIN BY HOUSING TYPES

HOUSING TYPES	RESPONDENTS								Total	
	Rural		Urban		Native		Foreign			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RHT	199	65.7	16	37.2	15	21.4	60	38.4	290	50.7
THT	3	1.0	3	6.9	10	14.3	8	5.2	24	4.2
MHT	2	.7	10	23.3	16	22.8	4	2.6	32	5.6
MRTHT	54	17.8	7	16.3	18	25.7	56	35.9	135	23.6
MRMHT	45	14.8	7	16.3	11	15.8	28	17.9	91	15.9
TOTAL	303	100	43	100	70	100	156	100	572	
Percent	52.9		7.5		12.3		27.3		100	100

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

housing areas, as fascinating and interesting as both topics would

be, are beyond the scope of this thesis. What has been provided

is a cursory examination of residents and housing types within Taif.

The survey identified both the sizable proportion of residents

within Taif who are migrants as well as their location within the

city. The hypothesis that Taif's recent rapid growth has been

accelerated by rural migration has been supported from the detail

field survey. The detailed findings of the survey are analyzed

in the following sections.

Origins of the Rural Migrants

As stated in Chapter I, some of the fundamental questions

posed in this research are: Where did these rural migrants in Taif

come from? Have they ever lived in places other than their home

villages or Taif? In this context, it was hypothesized that rural

migration to Taif is a direct one and that the majority of rural

migrants are drawn from areas located to the south of Taif, as well

as from the villages which surround the city.

In attempting to answer these and other questions and

hypotheses, pertinent information with regard to the volume (defined

here as the percent of rural migrants from a given area) of rural

migration from various parts of Saudi Arabia to Taif are examined.

The data collected reveal that 98 percent of the rural migrants

interviewed in Taif have come from the southwestern region of Saudi

Arabia (see Figure 16, Chapter III, and Figure 26). More specific-

ally, this large group of migrants come from an area bordered by

As Sayl al Kabir to the north; the Saudi-Yemeni border to the south;

Al-Khurmah, Turabah, Al-Rawshan, and Najran to the east; and Al-Lith,

Al-Qunfadah and Jizan to the west. The number and percentage of

migrants from these areas are shown in Table 19.

The results of the field data, that identify the origins of

migrants to Taif reveal these are apparent differences in the volume

of rural migrants from specific areas (Table 19). Furthermore, the

migration streams to Taif are not equal in size (Figure 26). Migrants

from Mecca, Jeddah, Riyadh, Hasa and Tabuk account for a small per-

centage when compared with the migrants from the Southwestern region.

There are several factors which may help to explain this variation

in the magnitude of migration to Taif. First, the existence of the

major urban centers of Mecca, Jeddah,. Madina, Riyadh, and Dammam

have no doubt attracted many of the rural people within their own

areas of urban dominance. Each of these cities have distinctive

features which will attract rural migrants. For instance, Riyadh,

as the capital of Saudi Arabia, is located in the central part of

FIGURE 26

Rural Migration Streams to Taif

9 to Riyadh

JIDDAH

MECCA

TAIF

8

1

2

3

4

5

Al Bahah

Biljurshi

7

Al Qunfudhah

Hita Road

6

Khamis Mushayt

Abha

Zahran Janub

YEMEN

JIZAN

Percent of All Migrants

1%
5%
10%
20%
30%

Key to regions

1 – Taif hinterland
2 – Bani Saad district
3 – Bani Alharith district
4 – Bani Malik – Thaqeef district
5 – Al Bahah district
6 – Aseer region
7 – Tihama area
8 – Mecca – Jiddah – Al Madinah areas
9 – Riyadh – Qaseem – Tabuk – Alhasa areas

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

0   50   100 km

TABLE 19

CLASSIFICATION OF RURAL MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Identi- fication Number	Region* of Origin	Number of Migrants	Percent of Total N	Major Regions
1	Taif Hinterland	89	29.3)	
2	Bani Saad	35	11.6)	
3	Bani Harith	29	9.6)	"Southwestern
4	Bani Malik-Thaqeef	13	4.3)---	Region"
5	Al Baha	60	19.8)	98.0%
6	Aseer	60	19.8)	
7	Tihama	11	3.6)	
8	Mecca-Jeddah	2	.7)	"Western+Central+
9	Riyadh-Hasa-Tabuk	4	1.3)---	Eastern+Northern" 2.0%
Totals		303	100.0	

*See Figure 26 for migration streams and origins.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

the country. As the headquarters for all the government ministries and major offices, it is considered the administrative hub of the central region. By virtue of its political and administrative importance, Riyadh has a better chance for development of almost every aspect of life than any other cities in the country. It is anticipated that the rural population in the central region would most likely be drawn to Riyadh rather than Taif or other cities.

With regard to the eastern region, Dammam is considered the administrative and trade center. The entire region, however, has a character unique to Saudi Arabia. The eastern region is well-known for the oil industry as well as for its agricultural potential. It is expected that because of these activities in-migration would be more prevalent than out-migration. In fact, several agricultural and settlement projects already have been initiated in this area, such as the Al-Hasa Irrigation and Drainage Project and the Faisal Settlement Project at Haradh. The discovery of oil in the region has resulted in the creation of several urban settlements, such as Dhahran, Ras Tannurah, and Al-Khubar. These offer strong indications that this region is attracting people from outside the immediate area rather than losing inhabitants due to out-migration.

There are three large urban centers in western Saudi Arabia: Mecca, Medina, and Jeddah. Although complete documentation is not

available, it can be speculated that Mecca and Jeddah both are in competition for attracting migrants from their surrounding areas. This contest is enhanced by the fact that the two cities are very close to each other, only about 60 kilometers apart. The religious function of Mecca continues to attract people from all over the world, as well as from Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Jeddah's function as a major trade center, facilitated by its location on the Red Sea, attracts many migrants because of the greater employment opportunities. Whatever their final decision migrants make in this area, they will most likely choose one of these two cities over any other smaller settlements.

Madina like Jeddah and Mecca is also a growing city. Located 400 kilometers north of Mecca, it is also known for its religious functions. The city is considered the administrative center of a large district known as the Al-Madina area. One would expect that prospective migrants would move to Madina or Jeddah, as opposed to Mecca, Taif, or Riyadh, due to the physical proximity of Madina, not to mention the opportunities contained in Jeddah.

The northern region, represented in our study by Tabuk, is the area most distant from Taif. Any voluntary out-migration from this area would most likely be directed toward Madina, Riyadh, Dammam, or even Jeddah.

To re-emphasize, Taif seems to draw its rural population largely from the southwestern region. Even though the city is appealing as a summer resort for people from other regions, they generally are not attracted to make Taif their permanent home. There are even very few urban migrants, that is, those who lived previously in other urban centers represent a small fraction (8.5 percent) of the total migrants in Taif. In summary, the city's growth and importance as a primate city within the mountainous range of southwestern Saudi Arabia is attributed primarily to migrants from rural areas nearby.

Rural Migration Flows

In examining the hypothesis that the majority of Taif's rural migrants have come from areas south of Taif and the surrounding villages, it is evident that migration volume varies greatly between sending areas. A review of Table 19 supports the existence of major "rural migration streams." More than 29 percent of the interviewed migrants came from the surrounding villages. a fact that is not altogether surprising considering the dominant influence Taif exerts because of its location proximity and accessibility to small villages and rural areas. The percentage of rural migrants

decreases as the farther succeeding regions are southward from Taif.
There are two exceptions to this pattern, however, as both have
contributed a large number of migrants to the city. The rural
migrants from the regions of Al-Baha and Aseer, located approximately
250 and 540 kilometers[1] from Taif respectively, account for almost
40 percent of Taif's total rural migrants. Each region accounts
for 20 percent of the city's rural migrants.

The obvious question to this is why. If increasing distance
accounts for a decreasing volume of migration from an origin to a
destination, should this not hold true for all regions? Two factors
may account for this discrepancy in Southwestern Saudi Arabia. First,
both the above regions have very large rural populations which would
be expected to generate large flows of migration coming from them
(Table 20). Second, there is no city in this mountainous region
comparable to Taif. The absence of any large city in these regions
explains why migrants from these areas are likely to be found in
other cities as well, including Mecca, Jeddah and Riyadh.

The presence of a small number of rural migrants from the
Tihama area (4 percent) suggests the effect of urban centers other
than Taif. It is suspected that migrants from Jizan and other areas
along the coast of the Red Sea are more attracted to Jeddah and Mecca.

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[1]These distances are based upon the distance from Taif to
the major cities in each region: Al-Baha and Abha.

TABLE 20

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE SOUTHWESTERN REGION

Name of Area	Number of Inhabitants	Percent[a]
1--Taif Hinterland	93382	5.9
2--Bani Saad	13994	.9
3--Bani Harith	26338	1.7
4--Bani Malik-Thaqeef	15361	.9
5--AlBaha	185905	11.8
6--Aseer	681361	43.5
7--Tihamah[b]	551076	35.3
Total	1567417	100.0

[a]Percentages calculated by author.

[b]Included Jizan and Gunfudah areas in addition to Najran area.

Source: 1974 Population Census, Saudi Arabia.

In summary, we can conclude that distance alone may not have as strong an effect on the volume of rural migration to Taif as other factors. The size of the population at the region of origin and the alternative urban locations seem to account for the volume and direction of migration into Taif.

Types of Rural Migration

Another essential question investigated is the type of migration pattern followed by these rural migrants. Did they migrate directly to Taif or did they move into Taif after previous stops in small villages and towns? The survey results reveal that more than two-thirds of the rural migrants interviewed migrated directly to Taif (Table 21). This finding holds for all regions except for area number seven, in which more than half of the migrants had lived elsewhere in rural areas before settling in Taif. It should be noted, however, that those who did live in other places before coming to Taif generally settled in rural areas close to their origin, rather than villages near Taif. This finding lends credence to the assumption that, although Taif is the main urban center of attraction in the area, there are other small towns which are growing and which may affect the direction of movement to large cities. Examples of such alternate centers for rural migrants in the southwestern regions are

TABLE 21

TYPES OF RURAL MIGRATION TO TAIF

Region of Origin ID	Types of Rural Migration Direct No. %	Indirect No. %	Missing No. %	Total No. %
1	70 78.6	16 17.9	3 3.5	89 100.0
2	24 68.6	11 31.4	- -	35 100.0
3	18 62.1	10 34.5	1 3.4	29 100.0
4	8 61.5	5 38.5	- -	13 100.0
5	40 66.7	20 33.3	- -	60 100.0
6	33 55.0	24 40.0	3 5.0	60 100.0
7	5 45.5	6 54.5	- -	11 100.0
8	1 50.0	1 50.0	- -	2 100.0
9	3 75.0	1 25.0	- -	4 100.0
Total	202 66.7	94 31.0	7 2.3	303 100.0

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Abha, Khamis, Jizan, Sabia, Gunfadah and Najran

(See Figure 16). If the current rate of development and population

continues, several of these cities, especially Abha, may compete

with Taif in attracting rural migrants. In any case, an examination

of the findings in Table 21 should make clear that the process known

as stepwise migration, which exists elsewhere in developing countries,

is not prevalent in Taif; rather, the majority of movements are

of a direct nature.

Selectivity Among Rural Migrants

The previous analysis describes substantial movements of

people from rural areas, especially from the Southwestern region

of Saudi Arabia, to Taif. In order to more fully illustrate and

comprehend the nature of this movement process, it is necessary

to identify the salient demographic and social characteristics

of these migrants, the type of migration made (individual or com-

plete family), and the differences, if any, in the social charac-

teristics of those rural migrants from different areas. With re-

gard to these topics, the following hypotheses are tested: Rural

migrants to Taif were at least twenty-five years of age at the

time of migration, are unskilled, illiterate, and came to Taif in

a household movement, that is, a complete family migration.

In analyzing migration selectivity, social scientists, in-
cluding geographers, employ the factors of sex, age, education, and
occupation as tools for differentiation. As stated previously, vari-
ations between migrants according to these variables have been identi-
fied in other areas studied in the developing world. There is found
to be no significance of variation in the sex differential when speak-
ing of rural migration to Taif. Of all the rural migrants interviewed,
only two instances of sole female migration were documented, a finding
which can be directly attributed to cultural and religious restric-
tions. According to tradition, a woman is not permitted to
travel without a male chaperone. Even with regard to the two cases
encountered in a field survey, these single women had migrated with
their spouses; however, both had subsequently died. As a general rule,
internal migration within Saudi Arabia is headed by males.

More than   53 percent of the rural migrants in Taif were more
than 24 years old at the time of migration; however, differences between
age groups do exist (Table 22 and Figure 27). An analysis of the distri-
bution of ages into six categories suggests that two major groups of
migrants are distinguishable. The largest group is the 25 to 34 years
category (33 percent), closely followed by the 15 to 24 years cate-
gory (30 percent). Those migrants less than 15 years old at the
time of migration ranked third (15 percent). Rural migrants to Taif

TABLE 22. AGE STRUCTURE OF RURAL MIGRANTS

REGION OF ORIGIN[a]	≤ 14		15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		≥ 55		Absolute
	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	
1	14.7	29.5	29.5	29.2	32.9	28.7	12.5	30.6	7.9	35.0	2.3	50.0	88
2	17.2	13.6	28.6	10.9	31.4	10.9	11.4	11.1	8.6	15.0	2.8	25.0	35
3	17.3	11.4	31.1	9.9	31.1	8.9	13.8	11.1	6.9	10.0	-	-	29
4	-	-	46.2	6.6	30.8	3.9	15.4	5.6	7.7	5.0	-	-	13
5	18.3	25.0	33.3	21.9	40.0	23.7	5.0	8.3	3.3	10.0	-	-	60
6	15.0	20.5	30.0	19.8	33.3	19.8	11.7	19.4	8.3	25.0	1.7	25.0	60
7	-	-	18.2	2.2	36.4	3.9	45.5	13.9	-	-	-	-	11
Absolute	44		91		101		36		20		4		302
Percent	14.6		30.2		33.4		11.9		6.6		1.3		100

AGE GROUPS (Percent)

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted due to insignificant number, but they are included in total and percent calculations.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

FIGURE 27

Rural Migration by Age Groups
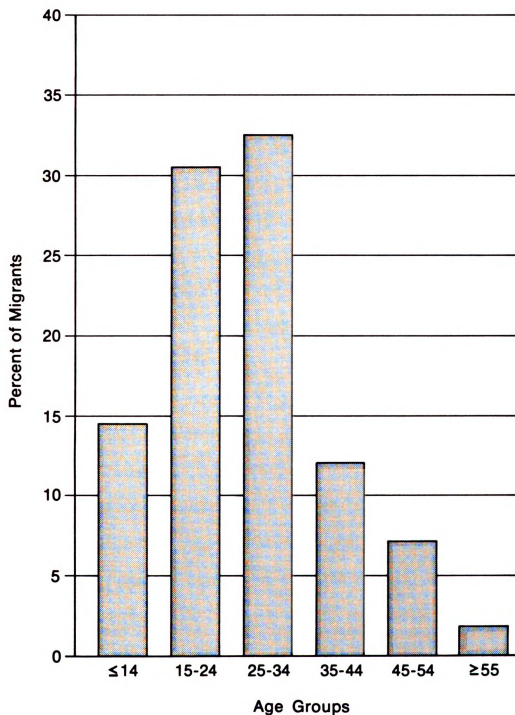
Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

were predominantly young adults between 15 and 34 years of age.

Rural migration seems to be less frequent among those who are

more than 35 years of age; however, when these percentages are

combined with that of the 25 to 34 years category, we find that

53 percent of the rural migrants surveyed were more than 24 years

of age at the time of migration. This finding substantiates the

hypothesis that the majority of rural migrants to Taif were 25

years or older at the time of migration.

Variations in the distribution of the migrants between

regions in relation to their ages are also apparent (Figure 28).

Although this may be merely a function of the variations in the

total population distribution within each region, it is unwise

and unnecessary, for our purpose, to speculate further. It will

suffice to say that such differences do exist and should be con-

sidered in our analysis.

With regard to educational level, the survey reveals that

more than 59 percent of the rural migrants are literate[1] (Table 23).

This finding refutes our expectation that the majority of the rural

migrants would be illitterate. When a test of confidence internal

was applied, it was found that the hypothesis is rejected at a 95

percent confidence level. Again, variation among the regions is

_____

[1] The literacy rate for Saudi Arabia is very difficult to
determine, as there are no standard levels of proficiency. However,
for our purpose, literacy is defined as the ability to read and write
as a result of some minimal education.

FIGURE 28

Distribution of Age Groups by Regions
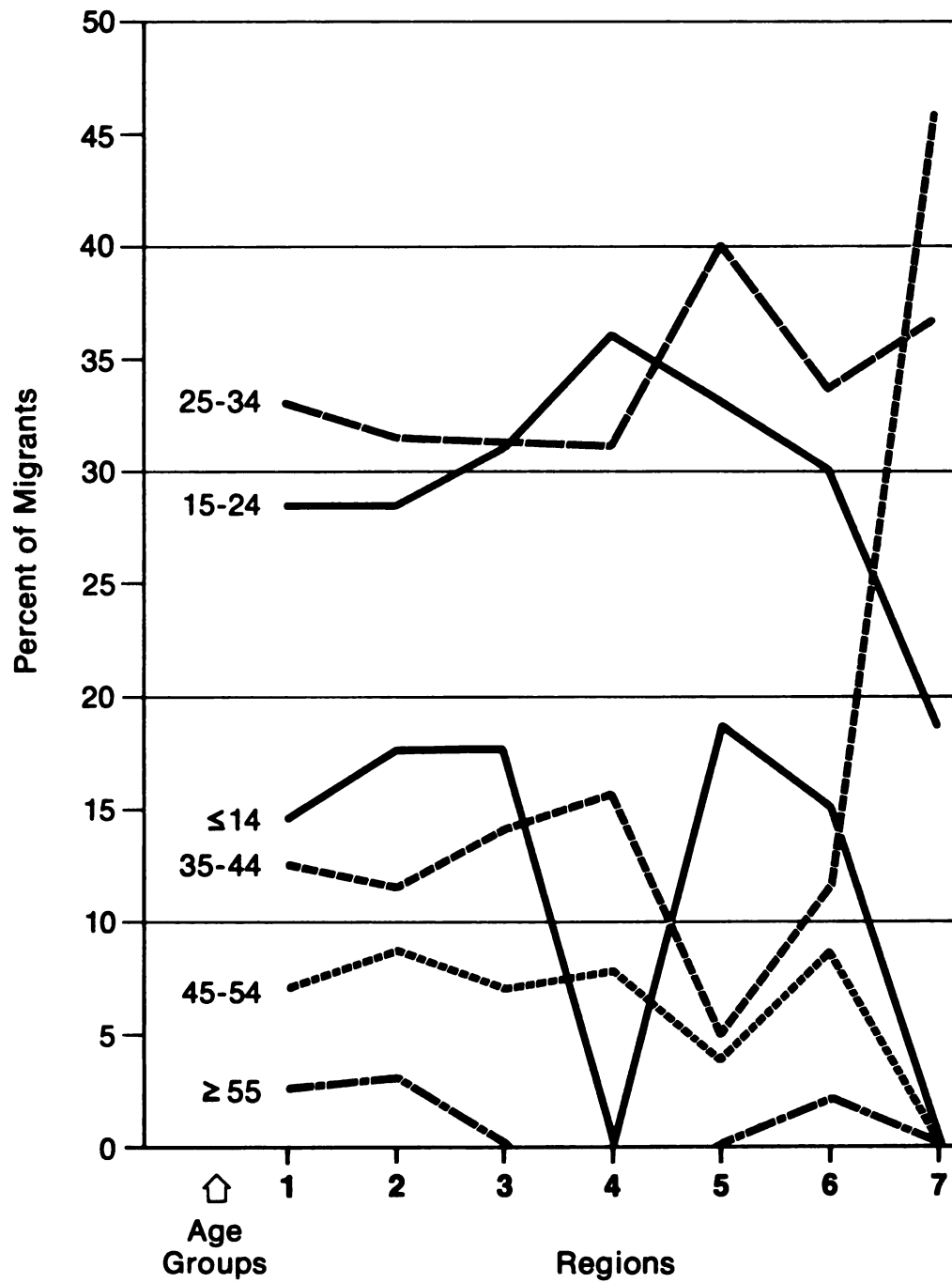
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

TABLE 23

THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RURAL MIGRANTS

Region of Origin[a]	EDUCATIONAL LEVELS (Percent)[a]				Abso- lute
	Illiterate	Limited Education	High School	Others	
ID	Percent Row Column	Percent Row Column	Percent Row Column	Percent Row Column	
1	46.6 33.1	31.8 25.0	15.9 29.2	5.7 26.3	89
2	54.3 15.3	25.7 8.0	11.4 8.3	8.6 15.8	35
3	44.8 10.5	41.4 10.7	13.8 8.3	- -	29
4	38.5 4.0	30.8 3.6	23.1 6.3	7.7 5.3	13
5	35.0 16.9	33.3 17.9	21.7 27.1	10.0 31.6	60
6	31.7 15.3	55.0 29.5	10.0 12.5	3.3 10.5	60
7	36.4 3.2	36.4 3.6	18.2 4.2	9.1 5.3	11
Absolute	124	112	48	19	303
PERCENT	40.9	37.0	15.8	6.3	100

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted due to insignificant number, but they are included in percent and total calculations.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

both expected and evident. Broad fluctuations are apparent, for instance, between Region Two, with a 54 percent rate of illiteracy, to Region Six, where 68 percent of the migrants are literate. The overall high literacy rate of migrants in Taif, however, contrasts sharply with Malik's (1973) findings in Riyadh, where literacy rates from migrants in villages and the desert were 27.6 percent and 23.6 percent respectively. For the most part, this difference is attrib-utable to the fact that Malik's findings were based on data collected in 1968. This twelve-year period has seen vast improvements in the literacy rate in Saudi Arabia.

When age is considered as a factor, differences between migrants in relation to their level of education are apparent. A test of the relationship between age and education was found to be significant at .0001 level (Table 24). An analysis of the table reveals that younger migrants are more concentrated in the higher levels of education, while those migrants over 35 years of age are within the lower categories. This finding is not unexpected as educational opportunities have increased drastically over the past 25 to 30 years and especially within the past 15 years.

In terms of occupational levels, the majority of rural migrants (46 percent) are government employees, such as managerial, clerical, and service-related employees (Table 25). A significant

TABLE 24. LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY AGE

Level of Education	AGE GROUPS (Percent)[a]										Absolute
	≤ 24		25-34		35-44		45-54		≥ 55		
	Percent Row Column		Percent Row Column		Percent Row Column		Percent Row Column		Percent Row Column		
Illiterate	2.4	16.7	5.6	13.5	27.4	47.5	29.0	45.0	35.5	60.3	124
Limited Education	2.7	16.7	15.2	32.7	26.8	37.5	31.3	43.8	24.1	37.0	112
High School	20.8	55.6	29.2	26.9	29.2	17.5	16.7	10.0	4.2	2.7	48
Others	10.5	11.1	73.7	26.9	10.5	2.5	5.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	19

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in percent and total calculations.

Chi square = 99.86 Significant at .0001 level with 12 degrees of freedom.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

TABLE 25. THE OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF MIGRANTS BY REGIONS[a]

Region of Origin ID	TYPE OF OCCUPATIONS (Percent)								Absolute
	Government		Construction		Trade		Informal		
	Row	Column	Row	Column	Row	Column	Row	Column	
1	36.4	22.9	3.4	27.3	15.9	40.0	44.3	33.6	88
2	31.4	7.9	5.7	18.2	5.7	5.7	57.1	17.2	35
3	34.5	7.1	-	-	13.8	11.4	51.7	12.9	29
4	61.5	5.7	7.7	9.1	7.7	2.9	23.1	2.6	13
5	58.3	25.0	5.0	27.3	13.3	22.9	23.3	12.1	60
6	55.0	23.6	1.2	9.1	6.7	11.4	35.0	18.1	60
7	72.7	5.7	9.1	9.1	9.1	2.9	9.1	.9	11
Absolute	140		11		35		116		302
Percent	46.2		3.6		11.6		38.3		

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in percent and total calculations.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

number (38 percent) are engaged in blue collar jobs, manual labor,

or small business ownership (titled "Informal"). "Informal" jobs

include any that are performed by semi-skilled or unskilled laborers.

Again, variations between regions are evident. For example, the

majority of the migrants in Regions Four, Five, Six, and Seven are

government employees, while those migrants from Regions One, Two and

Three are engaged primarily in informal jobs. Rural migrants are

not highly visible in construction jobs, due to the fact that most

of these jobs are filled, by foreign migrants, especially those

from Yemen.

There is, however, a significant relationship between the

type of work engaged in and the age of the rural migrants (Table 26).

Migrants between the ages of 24 and 34 are highly clustered in the

government sector, while those 35 years of age and older are concen-

trated in the category described as informal jobs. Construction and

trade careers seem to be equally popular among the migrants who are

45 years of age or older.

A significant relationship also exists between the type of

work engaged in and the level of education (Table 27). Those migrants

with little or no learning experience are highly concentrated in non-

governmental work. It should be pointed out, however, that not all

government jobs are of professional caliber as more than 50 percent

TABLE 26. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE OF MIGRANTS AND TYPE OF WORK

Type of Work	AGE GROUPS (Percent)[a]										Absolute
	≤24		25-34		35-44		45-54		≥55		
	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	
Government	9.3	72.2	27.9	75.0	27.9	48.7	21.4	37.5	13.6	26.0	140
Construction	9.1	5.6	9.1	1.9	9.1	1.2	36.4	5.0	36.4	5.5	11
Trade	-	-	5.7	3.8	20.0	8.8	42.9	18.8	31.4	15.1	35
Informal	3.4	22.2	7.8	17.3	28.4	41.3	26.7	38.7	33.6	53.4	116

[a]Chi Square = 49.02 with 16 degrees of freedom significant at .0001 level.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

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TABLE 27. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF WORK AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS

Type of Work	Illiterate		Limited Education		High School		Other		Absolute
	Percent	Row Column	Percent	Row Column	Percent	Row Column	Percent	Row Column	
Government	19.3	21.8	40.0	50.0	27.1	79.2	13.6	100.0	140
Construction	72.7	6.5	18.2	1.8	9.1	2.1	-	-	11
Trade	62.9	17.3	37.1	11.6	-	-	-	-	35
Informal	56.9	53.2	35.3	36.6	7.8	18.8	-	-	116
Absolute	124		112		48		19		303
Percent	40.9		37.0		15.8		6.3		100

LEVEL OF EDUCATION (Percent)

[a]Chi Squqre = 76.99 with 12 degrees of freedom. Significant at .0001.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

of these jobs are nonprofessional positions. Therefore, when this figure is added to those in the informal category, a total of 62 percent is obtained. In other words, the majority of rural migrants in Taif are unskilled. Again, the test of confidence interval indicates that at a 95 percent level of confidence, our hypothesis is not rejected.

Type of Initial Migration

In order to test our hypothesis that rural migration to Taif is a complete family movement, respondents were asked the manner in which they first moved to Taif (Table 28). The results reveal three classifications of rural migration patterns. The most prevalent pattern is that in which all members of the family moved to Taif at the same time (64 percent). Another substantial group of migrants were those who initially moved to Taif alone (24 percent) and were later joined by their family. The smallest group in our population (12 percent) moved to Taif alone and established their own families after migrating.

We can observe from a close examination of Table 28 that the percentage of migrants who initially moved to Taif alone increases as the distance from the city increases. It is speculated

TABLE 28

TYPE OF INITIAL MIGRATION (Percent)[a]

Region of Origin ID	Head of Household Was Alone		Complete Family Migrated		Others[b]		Absolute
	Percent		Percent		Percent		
	Row	Column	Row	Column	Row	Column	
1	3.3	4.1	91.1	41.9	5.6	13.5	89
2	20.0	9.6	71.4	12.9	8.6	8.1	35
3	31.1	12.3	31.1	4.6	37.9	29.7	29
4	84.6	15.1	15.4	1.1	-	-	13
5	26.7	21.9	60.0	18.6	13.3	21.6	60
6	30.0	24.6	63.3	19.7	6.6	10.8	60
7	27.3	4.1	18.2	1.1	54.5	16.3	11
Absolute	73		193		37		303
Percent	24.1		63.7		12.2		100.0

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in total and percent calculations.

[b]This category includes those rural migrants who migrated alone and then started their own families in the city after migration.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

that this relationship may be attributed to the fact that those

migrating from an area close to Taif are more familiar with the

city, and thus are less reluctant to bring their families on the

initial move, whereas those further from the city often migrated

alone in order to become more familiar with the area before bring-

ing the. rest of the family. There are, however, two exceptions

to this genralized pattern. Both in Region Five and Region Six,

the percentage of migrants who migrated as a family is higher than

that of regions Two, Three and Four. This variation from the pattern

cannot be attributed to any one factor; it is most likely owing to

individual circumstances which are not distinguishable from the

survey format.

In summary, the information obtained from our survey indi-

cates that the majority of rural migration to Taif is in the form

of family migration, whether a delayed family migration, or a com-

plete initial family move. With specific regard to our hypothe-

sis, therefore, the data supports our hypothesis that the most preva-

lent form of migration to Taif is family migration. To further

affirm this hypothesis, we are directed to the previous analysis

concerning the age of the migrants at the time of migration,

Since it was observed that 45 percent of all migrants were less

than 24 years of age, and 33 percent were less than 15 years of

age, it would logically follow that these migrants were part of a family movement, as opposed to individual migration at this early age.

Factors for Rural Migration

Thus far, our discussion has focused upon the nature of rural migration to Taif, the major migration streams, and the characteristics of the rural migrants themselves. In order to fully comprehend the process of rural migration to Taif, we now turn to an examination of the factors which generated the mass influx of rural people to the city.

To determine the underlying causes of rural migration to Taif, incidence factor analysis was applied. Components with eigenvalues greater than one are selected for analysis. Also, those variables that have loadings of $\pm$ 0.40 are used to label the resultant factors. The results of the factor analysis are summarized in Table 29.

The matrix of loadings indicates that the first component loads most highly on complete family migration and relatives living in Taif. This component is labeled the "family attraction factor." Both variables identify reasons for rural migration to Taif. It

TABLE 29

SELECTED RESULTS OF FACTOR ANALYSIS[1]

Factors/ Dimensions	Variables with > $\pm$ .40 Loadings for Each Factor	Factor Loadings
Component I "Family Attraction Factor"	Complete Family Migrated Relatives Are In Taif	.91 .51
Component II "Permanency Factor"	Years Away from Village Years Living in Taif	.85 .87
Component III "Family Size Factor"	Village Households Family Size at Village Too Many Members in the Family	-.69 -.66 .44
Component IV "Stress Factor"	Family Disputes Loss of Parents No Schools	.51 .56 .47
Component V "Farming Factor"	Farming Before Migration Farming After Migration	.88 .91
Component VI "Urban Attraction Factor"	Modern Amenities Taif is Closer More Opportunities	.85 .57 .72
Component VII "Employment Factor"	No Jobs Better Jobs	-.58 .49

[1]For more details of the variables used in factor analysis, see Appendix B.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Factor Program.

seems that whenever there are members of the family living in Taif,

these relatives exert influence in convincing the family to move

to the city as well as assist in their physical movement to Taif.

Component two may be labeled the "permanency factor." It

identifies the years the migrant has spent away from the village

and years in Taif. To illustrate this component, we will look at

the following example: According to the survey data, the majority

of the rural migrants (51 percent) have been living in Taif for

more than sixteen years. In fact, about 34 percent migrated

twenty or more years ago. This mass rural migration coincides

with the massive drought which prevailed in Saudi Arabia in the

1950s and 1960s and which stimulated a "push" out of rural areas.

Malik (1973) in his study of rural migration to Riyadh has cited

this event as one reason for rural migration.

The third component comprises the so-called "family size

factor" as it identifies characteristics of household and family

size. Three variables load more than $\pm$ 0.40 each in this dimen-

sion. The total number of village households and the total number

of family members in those households are related. The "family

size factor" can affect rural migration in two ways. First, large

villages tend to spawn more intense competition for employment,

and thus stimulate a higher volume of migration. Second,

large family size tends to exert pressure on the head of the house-
hold to provide for household needs which in turn tends to increase
the volume of migration. In addition, Islamic conditions for in-
heritance provide for equal division of land between all of the
children, which tends, over time, to put pressure on large families,
who depend on the land for food, to migrate in order to support
themselves.

Component Four has also been labeled the "stress factor,"
as it identifies stresses which contributed to the decision to
migrate. Stress may be social, psychological, economic, or poli-
tical, among others. In our case, family-related stress, such as
the loss of a parent or a family dispute, is the most prevalent.

The fifth component may be identified as the "farming fac-
tor," which is basically self-explanatory. Crop failure or farm
deterioration can be a push factor for rural populations. This may
be due to adverse climatic conditions of the region, the inability
to improve yields or production capabilities, and related agricul-
tural problems.

Thus far, the factors identified have been associated with
the origin of the migrants, that is, the rural areas and character-
teristics of migrants from those areas. Components six and seven,
however, identify the receiving center or destination, in this case,

Taif. Component Six has been named the "urban attraction factor."
The variables that load highest relate to modern amenities and
better opportunities which Taif, as the dominant city in the moun-
tainous southwestern region of Saudi Arabia, provides. The final
component is the "employment factor." It identifies the lack of
employment opportunity in the rural areas and the existence of
better jobs in Taif.

In terms of the relative strength of these seven components,
the first two account for one-quarter of the total variance explained.
The first accounts for 14.4 percent, while the second component
accounts for 11.2 percent of the total variance (Table 30). Suc-
cessively, the percent of variance explained by each component de-
creases, until the seventh component, the "employment factor,"
explains only 5.4 percent of the total variation. In sum, these
seven extracted components account for 62.8 percent of the total
variance.

To further illustrate the importance of the variables in
the factor analysis, communality estimates are utilized. Commun-
ality is a measure of the proportion of the total variation of
each variable explained in the components extracted. Table 31
shows the important variables which have 0.40 percent communality
or more. From the table, it becomes evident that the eight

TABLE 30

VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR BY SELECTED FACTORS

Factor	Eigenvalue	Percent Variance	Cummulative Percent
1	3.11	14.4	14.4
2	2.42	11.2	25.6
3	2.21	10.2	35.7
4	1.89	8.8	44.5
5	1.44	6.7	51.2
6	1.34	6.2	57.4
7	1.16	5.4	62.8

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Factor Program.

TABLE 31

VARIABLES WITH > .40 COMMUNALITY

Variables	Communility
Opportunities	.81
Years Living in Taif	.72
Farming Before Migration	.65
Family Size at Village	.60
No Jobs	.54
Better Jobs	.48
Modern Amenities	.44
No Schools	.41

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Factor Program.

variables contribute most to the pattern of the seven selected components discussed previously. They represent measures of employment, years residence in Taif, family size and amenities.

Origin--Destination Relationship

Having identified the flows of the rural migrants, their social characteristics, and the factors behind their migration, it is important that the initial location of these migrants upon arriving in Taif also be investigated. Other crucial aspects of the rural migration process relate to time. Specifically: when did this proess take place? Is the frequency of migration increasing or decreasing annually? Do rural migrants perceive their stay in Taif as permanent or temporary? How frequently, if ever, do migrants make contact with their place of origin and what is the nature of such contact? These spatial-temporal aspects are the focus of this section.

The spatial distribution of the rural migrants upon their initial arrival in Taif reveals several interesting patterns (see (Table 32). A plurality of the rural migrants (44 percent) settled in the quarters of Shuhad-Shamaliah and Shuhad-Janubiah. The quarters of Sharqiah, Yamaniah, and Salamah were the initial

TABLE 32. DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL MIGRANTS UPON ARRIVING (Percent)[a]

NAME OF QUARTER	RURAL MIGRANTS BY REGIONAL ORIGIN[b]														TOTAL	PERCENT
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7			
	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column		
S. Shamaliah	6.8	5.8	13.6	21.4	18.2	36.4	4.5	16.7	29.5	29.5	22.7	19.2	4.5	20.0	44	19.6
S. Janubiah	22.2	23.1	18.5	35.7	9.3	22.7	9.3	41.2	27.8	34.1	5.6	5.8	5.6	30.0	54	24.0
Sharqiah	15.4	11.5	5.1	7.1	10.3	18.2	2.6	8.3	23.1	20.5	41.0	30.8	-	-	39	17.3
Yamaniah	16.7	5.8	33.3	21.4	-	-	5.6	8.3	11.1	4.5	27.8	9.6	5.6	10.0	18	8.0
Salamah	78.6	21.2	-	-	7.1	4.5	-	-	7.1	2.3	7.1	1.9	-	-	14	6.2
Qarwa	50.0	21.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.3	2.3	33.3	7.7	8.3	10.0	12	5.3
Muashi	16.7	3.8	-	-	8.3	4.5	-	-	8.3	2.3	66.7	15.4	-	-	12	5.3
TOTAL	52		28		22		12		44		52		10		225	
MISSING	36		7		7		1		16		8		1		76	

[a]Quarters with .4 to 2.2 percent migrants are omitted from the table for insignificant number.

[b]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in total and percent calculations.

Note: Chi square = 401 with 152 grees of freedom.; Significant at .0001.

Source: Field Study by Author, 1980 and SPSS Crosstabs.

destination for 31.5 percent, a small number (11 percent) settled

in Qarwa and Muashi. The spatial distribution of the rural migrants

in relation to their arrival is found to be significant at the .0001

level using the Chi square tests. However, when those migrants

from the individual regions are examined, it appears that migrants

from Regions One and Six are clustered in areas described previously

as being composed of mixed ruralized-traditional housing type; they

are represented in the three quarters of Sharqiah, Yamaniah, and

Salamah. It is also observed that the majority of migrants from

regions Two, Three, Four, Five, and Seven are found in areas of

ruralized housing type represented by the two quarters of Shamaliah

and Janubiah. Only a small number of migrants (11 percent) are

found in areas of mixed ruralized-modern housing types, represented

by the quarters of Qarwa and Muashi.

The above discussion reveals that rural migrants are clus-

tered for the most part within Taif in areas of ruralized or semi-

ruralized housing types. It can be argued, however, that this distri-

bution is explained by events which took place before the modern

quarters of Taif were developed. The present spatial distribution

of the rural migrants in Taif shall be described and analyzed in

Chapter Six. The flow of rural migrants into Taif is not a recent

one or a precise one to document. The evidence obtained from this

field survey indicates that much movement took place before 1958.

That year coincides with the beginning of extensive development

in Taif. It seems that a large number of the rural migrants (34

percent) have been living in Taif for over twenty-one years (Figure

29). In examining the period from 1959 to 1979, it can be seen

that the rate of rural migration ranged from a low of 6.5 percent

of all migrants between 1959 and 1961 to 12 percent for the period

1971 to 1973. Minor fluctuations can also be discerned; however,

the rate has basically remained steady throughout the twenty-year

period and indicating there has been a fairly constant flow of

rural migrants each year.

When respondents were questioned in regard to the perceived

nature of their stay in Taif, 82 percent of the rural migrants said

that they intended to stay permanently in Taif. This result is re-

flective of the respondents in all regions and those of all ages

and occupations. This finding also indicates that the initial

attraction of the city or the rural "push" that led to the migra-

tion to Taif is likely to bring about permanent urban settlement

for most migrants.

When inquiry was made as to the extent of contact with

their homes or home areas, 89 percent responded that they have

maintained some contact with the rural areas from which

FIGURE 29
Rural Migration to Taif
between 1958 and 1979
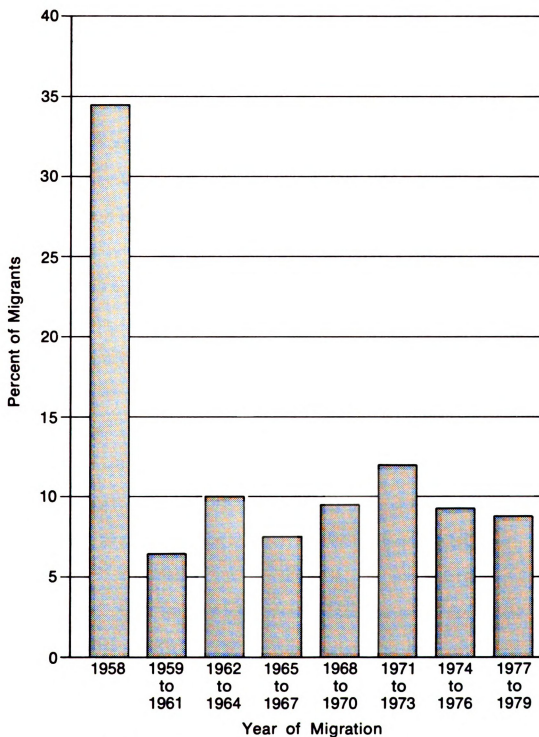
Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

they migrated. The most frequently mentioned reason for such con-
tact was visiting relatives (82 percent) followed by working their
farms (14 percent). It can be seen from the results in Table 33
that periodic visits are common among migrants from Region One, and
that the frequency of contact decreases as the distance from Taif
increases. It can also be observed that the majority of migrants
(28 percent) return to their origins annually, and a goodly portion
at least once a month.

The previous discussion has yielded several conclusions.
First, that once having migrated, the migrants tend to live in
quarters of similar housing types, and that variations, even among
migrants from different regions, are minimal. Furthermore, rural
migrants tend to view their stay in Taif as a permanent one, per-
haps because of the fact that the majority of them are from areas
close to Taif which permits frequent visits to their origin. Such
visits can be attributed to the close family ties which character-
ize the Saudi Arabian society as well as the improved quality and
availability of transportation. In addition, the construction of
the Hijaz road (see Figure 16) has facilitated easier access to the
migrants' origins, which encourages the migrants to keep residence
in Taif without severing the ties with family and friends in their
place of origin. This same highway also stimulates the outmigration
of young rural males and their households to Taif.

TABLE 33   FREQUENCY OF VILLAGE CONTACT (Percent)

FREQUENCY	REGION OF ORIGIN[a]														ABSOLUTE
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		
	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	Percent Row	Column	
Once a week	66.7	32.9	5.1	6.3	5.1	7.4	2.6	7.7	17.9	13.0	-	-	-	-	29
Once a month	42.6	32.9	14.8	28.1	14.8	33.3	4.9	23.1	16.4	18.5	4.9	5.3	-	-	61
Every 3 months	23.9	13.9	13.0	18.8	17.4	29.6	4.3	15.4	21.7	18.5	17.4	14.0	-	-	46
Every 6 months	15.4	5.1	23.1	18.8	7.7	7.4	11.5	23.1	15.4	7.4	26.9	12.3	-	-	26
Every 9 months	-	-	16.7	6.3	8.3	3.7	-	-	41.7	9.3	33.3	7.0	-	-	12
Once a year	11.7	11.4	9.1	21.9	6.5	18.5	2.6	15.4	22.1	31.5	40.3	54.4	6.5	62.5	77
Others	25.0	3.8	-	-	-	-	16.7	15.4	8.3	1.9	33.3	7.0	16.7	25.0	12
Absolute	79		32		27		13		54		57		8		273

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in total and percent calculations.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

Summary

Of the sample of 700 respondents, 71 percent were identified as migrants, 10 percent of the respondents were born in the city. An analysis of respondents according to housing type showed that most of the inhabitants of ruralized housing type are migrants, while summer visitors tend to occupy modern housing type areas.

With respect to the types of migrants found within Taif, three groups are identified: rural, urban, and foreign migrants. Rural migrants are by far the most numerous, accounting for 60 percent of all migrants to Taif, and they most often come from the southwestern region of Saudi Arabia, with the greatest numbers of migrants coming from areas close to Taif itself.

Migrantion to Taif was most often a direct type of movement, that is, two-thirds of the migrants interviewed migrated directly from their birthplace.

Classification of the migrants according to demographic variables showed no significant variation in the sex differential. Internal migration in Saudi Arabia is headed by males, a finding which is directly attributable to cultural and religious restrictions. Rural migrants were found to be predominantly young adults between 15 and 34 years of age. More than 59 percent of the migrants

were found to be literate. The majority of rural migrants are government employees (46 percent), of whom the blue collar workers account for 38 percent.

The initial migration move was a complete family movement in 64 percent of the cases studied. The percentage of respondents who initially migrated to Taif alone increases as the distance from the city increases.

Incidence factor analysis was applied to determine the causes of rural migration to Taif. As a result seven factors were extracted. They include factors of family attraction, permanency, family size, stress, farming, urban attraction factor, and employment factor. These factors account for 62.8 percent of the total variance.

An analysis of the relationship between the migrants' origins and their respective destinations reveals that rural migrants in Taif are clustered in areas of ruralized or semi-ruralized housing types. Furthermore, rural migrants were found to view their stay in Taif as a permanent one, although a large majority maintain contact with their place of origin.

Now that the process of rural migration to Taif has been defined, described, and mapped, the next step in our study is to identify the location of these migrants after their initial settlement

in Taif. The specific questions raised are: Where are those migrants now? What is the nature and frequency of their movement within the city of Taif itself? Such questions fall within the realm of residential mobility, the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter VI

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF THE RURAL MIGRANTS

Introduction

This study views rural migration to Taif as a continuous
spatial process. That is, it is expected that once these rural
people have decided to relocate to Taif, they will continue to move
within the city itself for some time after their initial arrival.
The selection of proper living quarters is a crucial step in the
process of adjusting to the urban environment. Several factors
affect this process of residential selection. For instance, the
migrants' awareness of the living quarters available has an effect
on where they decide to locate. Often, the presence of friends and
relatives within the city affects the amount and level of awareness
the migrant possesses. Job skills and opportunities and the amount
of accumulated urban experience a migrant has would also likely be re-
sponsible for a greater amoung of urban mobility. The term "urban
experience" is used here to refer to the amount of time the rural
migrant has lived in the city. In this context, it is assumed that
the longer the migrant has been in Taif, the more aware he is of

available dwelling sites, which would result in some movement after the initial place of residence within the city.

The major objectives of this chapter are threefold: 1) to analyze the spatial nature of the mobility process and to discover the resultant spatial patterns, 2) to examine the underlying factors which are associated with these residential mobility patterns, and 3) to forecast the future mobility of these migrants within Taif. Several major questions are posed in regard to these objectives:

(1) Where did these rural migrants initially settle in the city? Where are they at present?

(2) Has the location of their residence changed since their initial arrival?

(3) What is the rate and frequency of their mobility?

(4) What are the salient patterns of their movement within Taif?

(5) What are the major factors that account for their mobility?

The answers to these and other questions are presented in this chapter.

Residential Location of Rural Migrants

In this section, two major hypotheses are tested. The first

states that the majority of rural migrants in Taif are found in

areas of ruralized housing types and the second is that rural

migrants are attracted to areas where friends and/or relatives re-

side. These two hypotheses, understandably, are interrelated. As

such, they are respectively presented under the following sub-heads.

Initial and Current Distribution

In Chapter V, the spatial distribution of the rural migrants

upon their arrival in Taif was discussed. It was found that the

majority of the interviewed rural migrants (76 percent) established

their first residence in areas of ruralized and mixed ruralized-

traditional housing types. Only a few initially established their

homes in areas of traditional housing types. This finding is

accounted for by the development pattern of the city (see Chapter

III). A major result of that examination of the city's growth was

the classification of spatial expansion into three stages. Stage

One, termed the formation period, occurred prior to 1945, while

stages Two and Three took place between 1945 and 1964 and 1965 to

present, respectively. These stages were accompanied by the crea-

tion of four major housing types (old traditional, new traditional,

ruralized, and modern). As stated earlier, rural migration to Taif

is believed to have reached a peak in the 1950s. These rural migrants,

especially those who migrated twenty years ago or more, had to settle

in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditional (new traditional) housing

types such as Yamaniah, Sharqiah, and Salamah, all of which had many

vacant spaces. The quarters of the old traditional housing types,

Sulaimaniah, Fouq, and Asfal, were already densely populated, and

thus not as suitable for the rural migrants. The higher housing

costs usually prevented the migrants from living in areas of modern

housing types, as land values are much higher in the older parts of

Taif and in the modern housing type areas. The majority of the

migrants who came to Taif twenty or more years ago settled in the

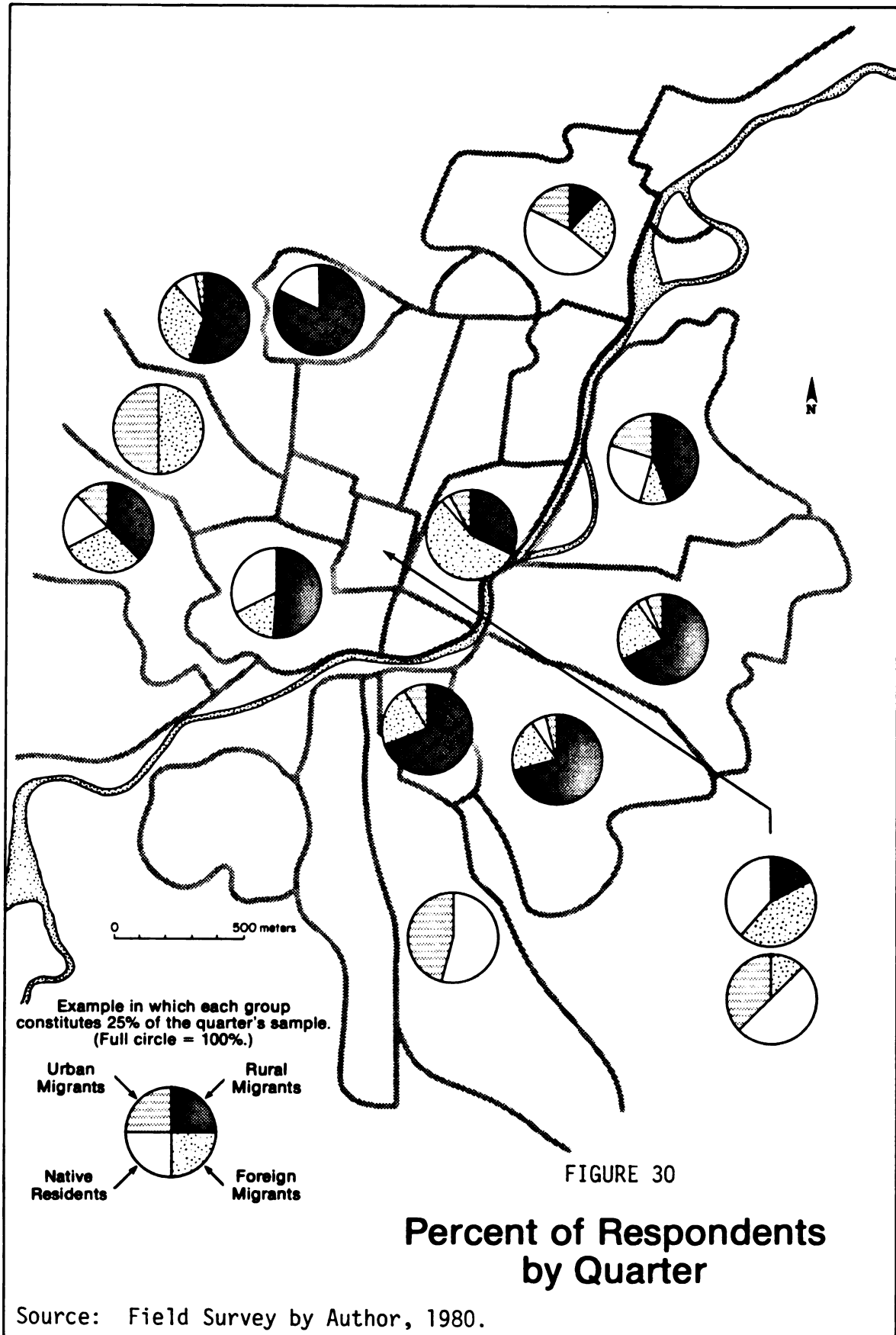areas of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types.

Those rural migrants who arrived in Taif less than twenty

years ago were faced with much the same situation as their prede-

cessors. The quarters of modern housing types were beyond their

economic means, and the older areas near the core of the city were

very densely populated. When these more recent migrants desired

open areas near the quarters where their friends and relatives re-

sided, the ruralized quarters of Shuhada Shamaliah, Janubiah and

Qumriah were created and gradually developed. As a result, these

more recent migrants are more often found in the ruralized quarters

rather than the mixed ruralized-traditional housing type areas inhabited by the earlier migrants.

At the time the survey was conducted, the spatial distribution and location of the rural migrants (Figure 30) was as follows: 1) the majority (66 percent) are found in ruralized housing types, 2) approximately 17 percent of the migrants are found in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types, 3) 15 percent are found in areas of mixed ruralized-modern housing types, 4) very few (2 percent) inhabit the traditional quarters (i.e. the old part of the city), and 5) none of the migrants in the survey resided in the modern housing type quarters, such as Shihar, Khaldiah, and Faisaliah. These findings, therefore, support our hypothesis that the majority of rural migrants are found in areas of ruralized housing types.

The initial location pattern of the rural migrants should be well established at this point. When the wall surrounding the city of Taif was first removed, they settled in the outskirts of the old city, which are identified as mixed ruralized-traditional housing type quarters. As increasing numbers of these migrants came to Taif and the economy of the area was improving, new quarters more suited to the rural origins of the migrants developed on the fringes of the mixed ruralized-traditional housing type quarters.

The major question that needs to be addressed at this point is: why are rural migrants presently found most often in quarters

Example in which each group
constitutes 25% of the quarter's sample.
(Full circle = 100%.)

Urban
Migrants

Rural
Migrants

Native
Residents

Foreign
Migrants

FIGURE 30

**Percent of Respondents
by Quarter**

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

of ruralized housing types rather than in those quarters of tradi-
tional or modern housing types? There are two extremely interre-
lated factors which account for this: the social factor and the
economic factor. Both factors are in turn very closely tied to the
spatial expansion and development of Taif itself.

Social and Personal Factors

The importance of the social factor has already been discussed
in Chapter III, especially as it is associated with the development
of the major housing types. Some additional comments, however, are
needed. First, the core of the city of Taif is densely occupied by
native urbanites. The new traditional quarters are comprised both
of migrants as well as natives. Other areas around the city, includ-
ing Um Khubz, Mathnah, and Rayan, are occupied by villages or reserved
for agricultural land. Finally, the modern quarters, such as Khaldiah,
Faisaliah and Shihar, are designed for the more affluent and educated
urban natives or urban migrants, save the summer visitors. Based on
these observations, and by virtue of their rural origins, it is under-
standable why the rural migrants gradually concentrated themselves
in the ruralized housing type quarters of the city.

To further illustrate the significance of the social factor
and its effect on the present location of rural migrants, the sampled

migrants were asked to identify the information source which most directly affected their choice of residential location. The results, shown in Table 34, reveal that relatives and friends play a significant role in the decision, as more than 45 percent of the respoondents identified this group as their primary source of information. Those migrants who located their present residence on their own number 40 percent. Real estate offices seem to have a limited influence (12 percent). In summary, friends and relatives are the dominant source of information when selecting location. Self-search is directly related to the amount of urban experience the migrant has had. The survey results reveal that those rural households which selected their present homes by themselves have been living in Taif for more than six years. This finding reinforces the earlier assumption that the increased urban experience is fundamental in the decision of permanent residence location.

Another method for analyzing the residential location of the rural migrants and the role of the social factor is to examine their distribution in relation to their regional origins (Table 35). From Table 35 it is clear that variations in the spatial distribution by quarters do exist. A Chi Square test of association reveals that these variations are significant at the .0001 level. There is frequently a concentration of migrants from a given region in a certain

TABLE 34

SOURCE OF INFORMATION USED BY STUDIED RURAL MIGRANTS
TO LIVE AT THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS

Source of Information	Number of Respondents	Percent of Total
Self Search	112	40.2
Relatives and Friends	126	45.2
Realtors	32	11.4
Others	9	3.2
TOTAL	279	100.0
MISSING	24	--

Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

TABLE 35

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL MIGRANTS BY REGIONAL ORIGINS BY QUARTERS (Percent)

Name of Quarters[a]	Regional Origins[b]							Absolute
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
S. Shamaliah	8.0	14.3	27.6	30.8	36.7	68.3	9.1	89
S. Janubiah	31.8	65.7	31.0	30.8	41.7	5.0	27.3	96
Qumriah	6.8	2.9	--	--	--	--	9.1	9
Sharaqraq	3.4	--	3.4	--	1.7	--	--	5
Sharqiah	4.5	--	24.1	15.4	11.7	10.0	--	27
Salamah	21.6	5.7	13.8	--	1.7	1.7	--	27
Qarwa	11.4	2.9	--	--	1.7	--	27.3	15
Muashi	9.1	--	--	7.7	3.3	10.0	9.1	21
Nuzma	--	5.7	--	15.4	--	5.0	18.2	9
Absolute	88	34	29	13	60	60	11	303
Percent	29.0	11.5	9.6	4.3	19.8	19.8	3.6	

[a]Quarters with < one percent rural migrants are omitted from the table.

[b]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number, but they are included in total and percent calculations.

Note: Chi Square = 416.6, significant at .0001 level.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980 and SPSS Crosstabs.

quarter. For instance, the migrants from Region One are highly con-
centrated in Shuhada Janubiah, Salamah and Qarwa, while migrants
from Regions Five and Six are clustered in Shuhada Janubiah and
Shamaliah, respectively. Further, rural migrants from Region Three
form major clusters in Janubiah, Shamaliah and Sharqiah, while
those from Region Seven are more commonly found in Janubiah and Qarwa.

This evidence of residential clustering is attributable to
one very important factor, namely, kinship relationships. It is tra-
ditional in Saudi Arabia to establish residence in close proximity to
friends and relatives; extended family situations are very common.
It was hypothesized above that rural migrants in Taif would be
attracted to areas where friends and relatives reside. The findings
support this hypothesis.

To further illustrate this finding about kinship, the sampled
rural households in the quarters of Shuhada Shamaliah and Janubiah
are examined in more detail. Each quarter has been subdivided into
four areas. The results show a significant concentration by region
(Table 36). For example, the majority of the rural migrants resid-
ing in location number one in Shuhada Janubiah are originally from
Region One, while a large number of migrants from Region Two are
found in the third location within the quarter. Migrants from
Region Six seem to be highly clustered in locations five and eight

TABLE 36

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE RURAL MIGRANTS
BY SUB-SAMPLES BY REGIONAL ORIGINS
(Percent)

Quarters	Name of Sub-samples[a]	Regional Origins						Absolute
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
S.Janubiah	1. M. Omair	42.8	7.2	--	--	--	2.3	18
	2. Bin Dilham	20.0	28.6	29.4	--	12.8	4.5	28
	3. T. Asswat	2.8	42.8	5.9	--	14.9	--	21
	4. H. Ghamdi	14.3	3.6	17.6	50.0	25.5	--	25
S.Shamaliah	5. P. Sultan	14.3	3.6	--	--	6.4	43.2	28
	6. Abulasah	2.8	7.2	23.5	25.0	2.2	4.6	12
	7. A. Ghamdi	--	3.6	17.6	12.5	34.1	9.1	25
	8. Halawani	2.8	3.6	5.9	12.5	4.3	36.4	22
ABSOLUTE		35	28	17	8	47	44	179

[a]These are the names of the selected mosques for interviews.

[b]Only regions of high percent of rural migrants in these locations are reported.

Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

within Shamaliah, while those migrants from Regions Three and Five are found in two clusters within Shamaliah and Janubiah. These findings lend support to the hypothesis that kinship relationships are very influential in choosing residential location. Not only are migrants from a particular region concentrated in a certain quarter of Taif, but they also tend to cluster in a particular location within that quarter. Friends and relatives are seen to be very influential.

Another observation that can be made from the survey data, and Table 36, is that there is a good mixture of migrants from different regions within the subdivisions. While individual preference plays some part in the choice of location, it is significant that these rural migrants are drawn to these ruralized quarters because they offer an atmosphere and way of life similar to their rural origins.

Economic Factors

As previously mentioned, the choice of a particular residential location is a combination of both social and economic factors. This section will examine in detail the economic characteristics of the rural households surveyed and relate that to their choice of a residential location.

An overview of the clustering patterns of residential location in Taif and the monthly income of the head of household for all respondents (i.e. rural, urban, native and foreign) is provided in Table 37. There is a stistically significant relationship between housing types and monthly income (significant at the .0001 level). Several observations are noteworthy. For example, 50 percent of all respondents are within the low income category, and 66 percent of the respondents in the low income category reside in quarters of ruralized housing-types, the first four quarters listed in the table. Low income residents are also highly concentrated in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types namely, Sharqiah and Salamah. The majority of respondents in the quarters of traditional housing-types, however (35 percent), are classified in the middle income category. Middle income residents are also numerous in quarters of mixed ruralized-modern housing types (48 percent). The modern housing type quarters of Faiseliah, Khaldiah, and Shihar are inhabited mostly by higher income respondents (59 percent).

The monthly income of the sampled rural migrants is shown in Table 38. The distribution of income for the head of household among rural migrants in association with their present residential location is significant at the .01 level. When the frequencies in Tables 37 and 38 are compared, it becomes evident that the majority of the

TABLE 37

MONTHLY INCOME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY QUARTERS FOR ALL RESPONDENTS
(Percent)

Name of Quarter	Housing Types	Monthly Income*			Absolute
		Low	Middle	High	
		≤ 2999	3000-4999	≥5000	
S. Janubiah)		63.6	28.9	7.5	135
S. Shamaliah)	RHT	48.1	34.2	17.7	129
Qumriah)		70.0	30.0	0.0	20
Sharaqraq)		42.9	57.1	0.0	7
Sharqiah)	MRTHT	61.5	26.5	12.0	83
Salamah (		61.8	38.2	0.0	55
Qarwa)		50.0	30.0	20.0	40
Muashi)	NRMHT	18.4	65.8	15.8	38
Nuzha)		30.7	53.9	15.4	13
Sulaimaniah)	THT	37.5	62.5	0.0	8
Asfal)		31.1	50.1	18.8	16
Faisaliah)		5.9	35.2	58.9	17
Khaldiah)	MHT	0.0	25.0	75.0	4
Shihar)		7.7	38.5	53.8	13
Absolute		291	205	82	578
Percent		50.4	35.5	14.1	100

*Monthly income in Saudi Riyals ($1 = 3.33 S.R. at the time this survey was carried out, summer 1980.

Note: Chi Square = 181.9; Significance = .0001

Source: Field Survey by author, 1980, and SPSS Crosstabs.

TABLE 38

MONTHLY INCOME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD FOR STUDIED RURAL MIGRANTS
BY QUARTERS (Percent)

Name of Quarters[a]	Housing Types	Monthly Income			Absolute
		Low	Middle	High	
		≤2999	3000-4999	≥5000	
S. Janubiah)		62.2	31.5	6.3	95
S. Shamaliah) RHT		46.1	38.2	15.7	89
Qumriah)		55.5	44.5	2.0	9
Sharqraq)		60.0	40.0	0.0	5
Sharqiah) MRTHT		60.0	32.0	8.0	25
Salamah)		81.5	18.5	0.0	27
Qarwa)		53.3	26.7	20.0	15
Muashi) MRMHT		23.8	61.9	14.3	21
Nuzha)		33.3	44.4	22.3	9
Absolute		161	104	30	295
Percent		54.6	35.3	10.1	100

Note: Chi Square = 87.2; Significance = .01

[a]Monthly income in Saudi Riyals ($1 = 3.33 S.R. at the time this survey was carried out, summer 1980.

Source: Field Survey by author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

rural migrants (55 percent) are in the lower income category, 35 percent are considered to have middle income, and only 10 percent are found in the high income category.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these income and housing data. First, quarters of ruralized, mixed ruralized-traditional and mixed ruralized-modern housing types are most frequently selected by those with low or middle incomes. Conversely, quarters of traditional and modern housing types are most often inhabited by people in the middle to high income categories. It is clear at this point that the rural migrants are characterized by their low to middle income status and their residences belong for the most part in areas of ruralized, mixed ruralized-traditional and ruralized-modern housing types. It is worth noting there is no statistical significance in the variations in monthly income categories of the rural migrants and their regional origins (Table 39).

Closely related to the monthly incomes of the rural migrants is their occupational characteristics. The current residential locations of the migrants and their occupational status are depicted in Table 40. This relationship between location and occupational characteristics is significant at the .001 level. From Table 42, two major locational patterns can be discerned. Those migrants engaged in occupations classified in Chapter V as "informal" are most numerous in

TABLE 39

MONTHLY INCOME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY REGIONAL ORIGINS (Percent)

Regional Origin ID[a]	Monthly Income			Absolute
	Low	Middle	High	
	≤2999		≥5000	
1	60.8	33.3	5.9	87
2	62.8	25.7	11.5	35
3	64.3	28.6	7.2	28
4	69.3	30.2	0.0	13
5	43.3	45.0	11.7	60
6	47.5	39.0	13.5	59
7	36.4	36.4	27.2	11
Absolute	160	104	29	293
Percent	54.6	35.5	9.9	100

[a]Monthly income in Saudi Riyals ($1 = 3.33 S.R. at the time this survey was carried out, summer 1980.

Note: Chi Square = 43.5; Significance = 0.18

Source: Field Survey by author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

TABLE 40

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND OCCUPATION OF THE HEADS OF
STUDIED RURAL HOUSEHOLDS (Percent)

Name of Quarter[a]	Housing Types	Occupation				
		Govern- ment	Construc- tion	Trade	Informal	Absolute
S. Janubiah	RHT	32.3	7.3	14.6	45.8	96
S. Shamaliah		53.4	1.1	11.4	34.1	88
Qumriah		44.4	0.0	0.0	55.6	9
Sharaqraq		20.0	20.0	0.0	60.0	5
Sharqiah	MRTHT	66.7	3.7	7.4	22.2	27
Salamah		33.3	0.0	3.7	63.0	27
Qarwa	MRMHT	66.7	0.0	0.0	33.3	15
Muashi		42.8	4.8	28.6	23.8	21
Nuzha		88.9	0.0	0.0	11.1	9
Absolute		140	11	35	116	302
Percent		46.4	3.6	11.6	38.4	

[a]Quarters with less than one percent rural migrants are omitted
from table for insignificant number, but they are included in
total and statistical calculations.

Note: Chi Square = 61; Significance = .001

Source: Field survey by author, 1980; and SPSS Crosstabs.

the quarters of Shuhada Janubiah, Qumriah, Sharaqraq and Salamah.

Secondly, the rural migrants engaged in government jobs are in the

majority in the quarters of Shuhada Shamaliah, Sharqiah, Qarwa,

Muashi, and Nuzha. Ample variations between quarters exist. For

example, while 46 percent of the residents of Shuhada Janubiah are

from the "informal" category, 63 percent of the residents in Salamah

belong to this group. By the same token, the percentage of rural

migrants in Muashi who are government employees is 43 percent, while

in the quarter of Nuzha, the percentage of government employees is

89 percent.

From the previous analyses comparing the monthly income and

occupational status of the rural migrants and their residential loca-

tion, several important conclusions can be drawn.First, there is ample

evidence to support the hypothesis that the reasons for the observed

residential clustering patterns go beyond kinship relationships.

Secondly, the observed patterns indicate that the location of rural

households is not a random process. Third, the clusters reveal a

mixture of rural migrants from different regions within a given

quarter. Finally, residential patterns of the rural migrants in Taif

is partially a function of their economic status.

In sum, the choice of a residential location is a complex

process. The selection of an initial residence is a crucial component

in the adjustment process for the rural migrants. That choice, especially of an initial location, is often closely tied to the development of the city of Taif itself. Also involved in the decision to locate are social and economic factors. Although kinship relationships have been shown as being very influential in the decision-making process, these relationships are not the only determinants. Income level and occupational status also play a significant role as well. It is important to realize, however, that the two hypotheses have been supported by the findings in this section. The majority of rural migrants to Taif are found in quarters of ruralized housing-types and they are attracted, to a significant extent, to areas where their friends and relatives reside.

Rate and Frequency of Residential Mobility

One of the major objectives of this research is to examine the rural migrants' residential mobility within Taif itself. The analysis of the residential location of the rural households presented previously indicates that some definite variations in residential preferences have occurred. The question now concerns the rate and frequency of the residential mobility of these rural

households within the city itself.

To examine this topic more closely, the studied rural migrants in the sample are divided into two groups. Of those interviewed, 26 percent have never moved from their initial residences. This group is labeled the "non-mover" rural migrants; it includes those who have changed their residences within the city at least once, if not more. This second group consists of 74 percent of those rural migrants interviewed and is the group examined in detail below.

The total number of moves of all those who have moved at least once is 871. These moves include the initial move of these "movers" to Taif and subsequent intraurban moves as well. The number of moves per rural household ranges from a low of one move to a high of thirteen. For the purpose of this research, the number of moves are designated as being between one move to greater than or equal to five moves. This is done because the number of instances which exceed five times are very minimal (7 percent of all movers). The frequency of the number of changes in residence by the rural migrants exhibits several fluctuations (Figure 31). Of the rural migrants 29 percent have made two moves. Those who have made three moves constitute 14 percent of the total, and those who made five moves or more are 12 percent. Few of the migrants made only one move (11 percent), and even fewer have moved four times (7 percent). The mean of all moves

FIGURE 31

Rate of Change
in Residence by Rural Migrants
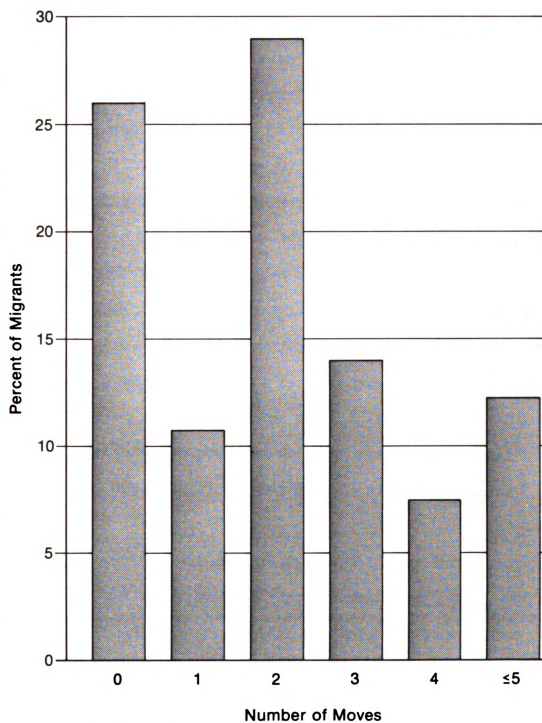
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

is 2.8 moves per household. (This figure does not include the initial move to Taif, in which case the overall mean would be 3.8 moves per household.)

When the number and frequency of residential movements are examined against the regional origins of the rural migrants, differences are apparent (Figure 32). For example, the majority of all movers from all regions have made at least two moves, with Region Seven exhibiting the highest percent (45 percent). Another observation that can be made is that when considering those migrants making three moves, the highest percentages are found in Regions Two and Four. When combining the total migrants making three or more moves, a definite split occurs. Migrants from Regions Two, Four, Five, and Seven are very mobile, while those migrants from Regions One, Three, Five, and Six are less mobile. When a test of association was applied, these differences in the number of moves in relation to regional origin was not found to be significant (Chi Square = 55.3, significance = .424).

The number and frequency of residential moves among the rural migrants is a reflection of their length of residence in Taif. In this regard, it was hypothesized that the longer the time rural migrants spend in the city, the greater the number of moves they would make. The average residential mobility rate for the rural

FIGURE 32

Rate of Change
in Residence by Regions
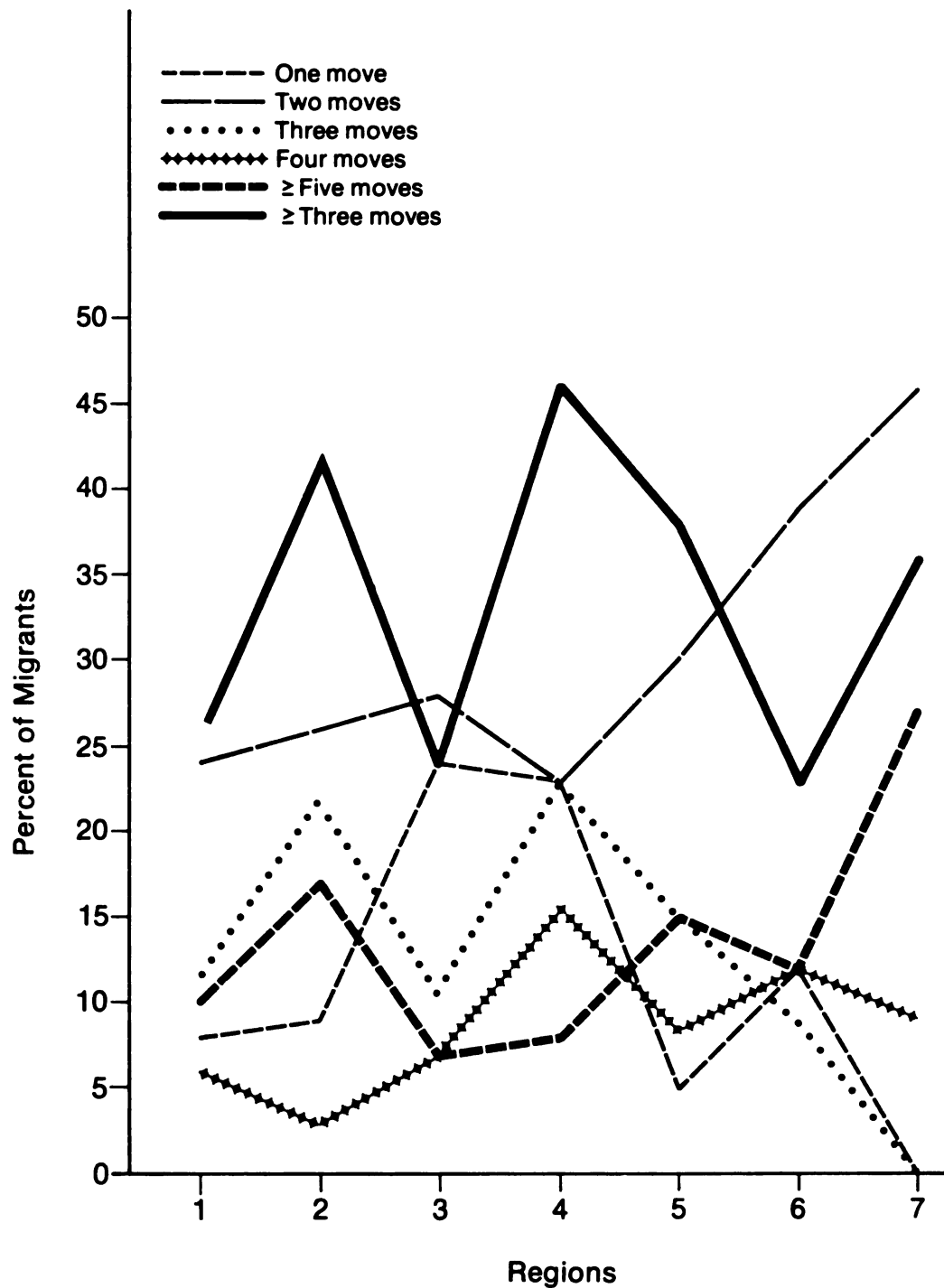
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

households in Taif is one move every 4.7 years. This finding is not surprising, as the movement of rural migrants within Taif is an essential part of their adjustment to an urban environment. To illustrate the rate of change in residence and the length of time the migrants have lived in the city, Figure 33 was constructed. It is evident from the figure that there are a number of fluctuations in number of moves according to the increase in time. This holds true for individual moves, as well as for when we combine the recorded frequencies of three moves or more and/or five moves or more. While the absolute frequencies may be less discernible when combining the frequencies, the overall trend of increased moves over increasing amounts of time is consistent.

A test of association reveals that there is a significant relationship between the rate of change and the number of years at the .04 level (Chi Square = 67.7). To further test this relationship, a simple bivariate regression analysis was applied. The result indicates that a positive correlation (correlation coefficient r = .54) between the number of moves and the length of residence within the city. The large value of the coefficient indicates a strong relationship. Moreover, this correlation indicates that 29 percent of the variation in the number of moves made by rural migrants can be explained by time within the city. To test whether the observed linear

FIGURE 33

Rate of Change in Residence
and Time Spent in Taif


Length of Time in Taif (in Years)
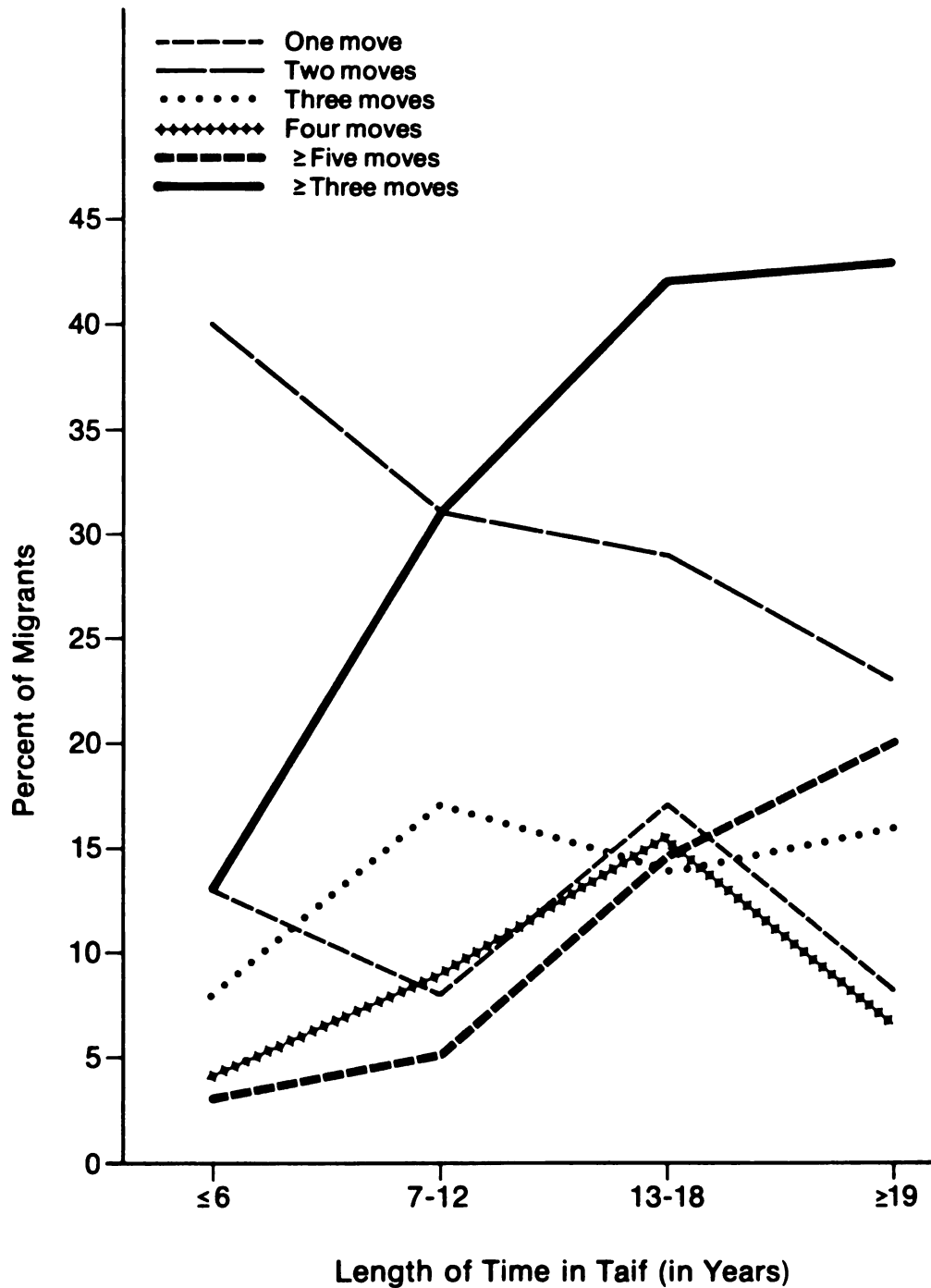
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

association is statistically significant, the F test was applied, and was found to be significant at the .001 level. A pictorial representation of the relationship between change in residence and length of time, with a 95 percent confidence interval, is shown in Figure 34.

From the previous discussion and analyses, the following conclusions are reached. First, the rural migrants in Taif may be divided into two distinct groups, "movers' and "non-movers," with the former comprising 74 percent of the total. Second, the rural movers changed their place of residence within the city at an average rate of 2.8 moves per household and at an average frequency of one move every 4.7 years. Third, the frequency of these residential movements is positively correlated with the length of residence and that this correlation is linearly significant. This finding supports the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between change in residence and length of time spent in Taif. Finally, as a result of the previous discussion, the residential mobility of the rural movers in Taif can be illustrated in terms of its spatial-temporal dimensions, as the model presented as Figure 35 demonstrates.

FIGURE 34

Change in Residence by Rural Migrants

Length of Time in Taif (in Years)

Number of Moves
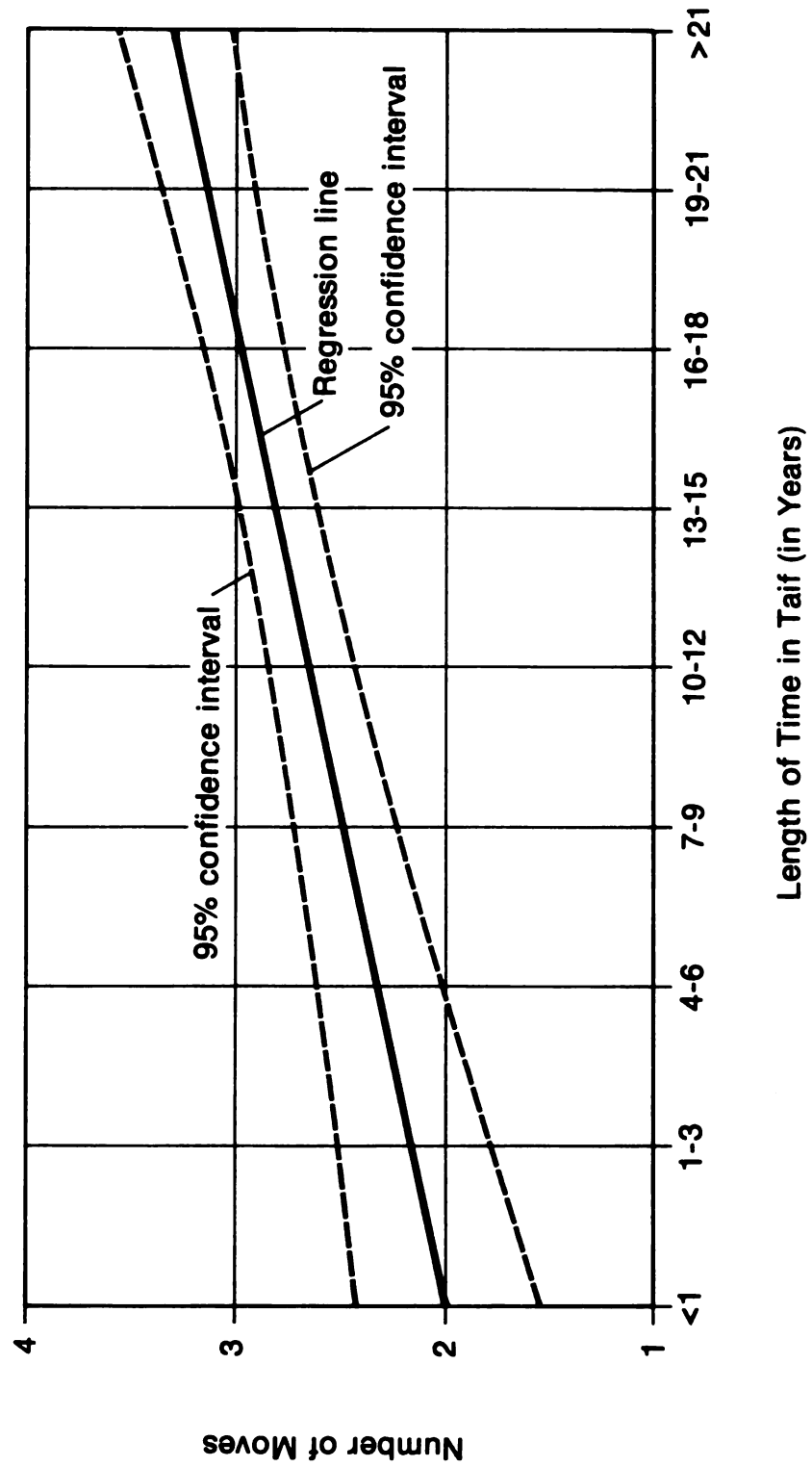
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

FIGURE 35

Residential Mobility for Movers among Rural Migrants in Taif
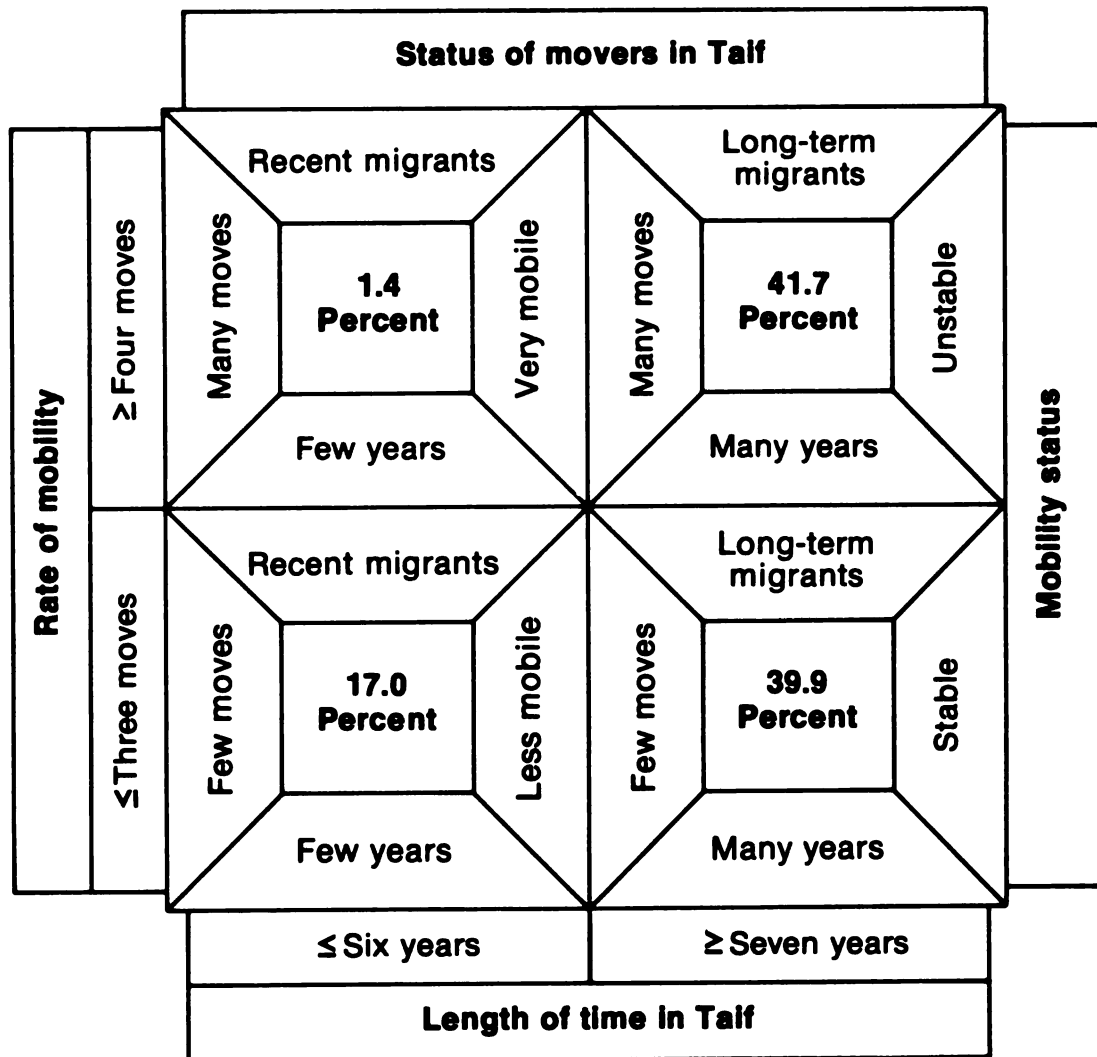
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

Factors Behind Residential Mobility

The previous analysis of the rate and frequency of residential mobility reveals that a considerable number of movements have occurred. The question that remains is: what are the major factors behind these intraurban moves? To fully answer this question a number of social and economic characteristics are subjected to statistical testing.

First, to distinguish between the sampled rural migrants (in terms of their regional origins), a stepwise discriminant analysis is applied. The rural migrants are examined against their social, economic and housing characteristics; these were the variables used in the discriminant analysis (Appendix C). The purpose of this analysis is to discover whether significant differences between the rural migrants (based on their regional origins) exist, whether these differences can be discerned, and if so, what are the discriminating variables. The result of the discriminant analysis reveals the following conclusions. (1) Only 36.15 percent of the cases, that is, rural migrant households, are correctly classified; the error rate is .638. That is, some of the rural migrants from a given region were in fact grouped with those of one or more other regions on the basis of the aforementioned socioeconomic and housing characteristics (Table 41). (2) This finding indicates that the ability to accurately

TABLE 41

CLASSIFICATION RESULTS OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Regional Origins ID. a	Number of Cases	Predicted Regional Membership						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	88	46.6	6.8	6.8	6.8	9.1	15.9	8.0
2	35	14.3	17.1	8.6	17.1	14.3	17.1	11.4
3	29	6.9	13.8	41.4	20.7	10.3	0.0	6.9
4	13	15.4	0.0	7.7	30.8	15.4	15.4	15.4
5	60	10.0	11.7	15.0	16.7	25.0	15.0	6.7
6	60	15.0	6.7	11.7	5.0	13.3	38.3	10.0
7	11	9.1	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	54.5
Ungrouped Cases	7	42.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	14.3	28.6

a - Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980, and SPSS Discriminant Program.

predict differences among migrants based on their region of origin

cannot be determined, due to the fact that these rural migrants

have basically homogeneous socioeconomic and housing characteristics

(Figure 36). (3) As Figure 36 reveals there is a considerable over-

lapping of cases from the different regions. This finding supports

the notion of homogeneity among the migrants. (4) As a result of

these findings, the decision is made that further analysis of resi-

dential mobility should consider the rural migrants in Taif as one

group.

A second statistical analysis, regression analysis, is also

applied to the relationship between the dependent variable (mobility

rate per household) and a number of independent variables (Table 42).

Based on the correlations shown in Table 42, four major conclusions

may be reached. First, although there is a relationship between the

dependent variable and each independent variable, the r values in

almost every case are very weak and not statistically significant

at the .05 or .01 levels. Secondly, there is a positive relationship

among most of the variables. However, there are a few with negative

correlation to the rate of mobility, these variables are the level of

education, marital status, distance from the center of the city, and

dwelling size. Third, the only correlation statistically significant

at the .01 level is distance from the city's center. This finding

FIGURE 36

A Scatter Plot of Cases By Regional Origins
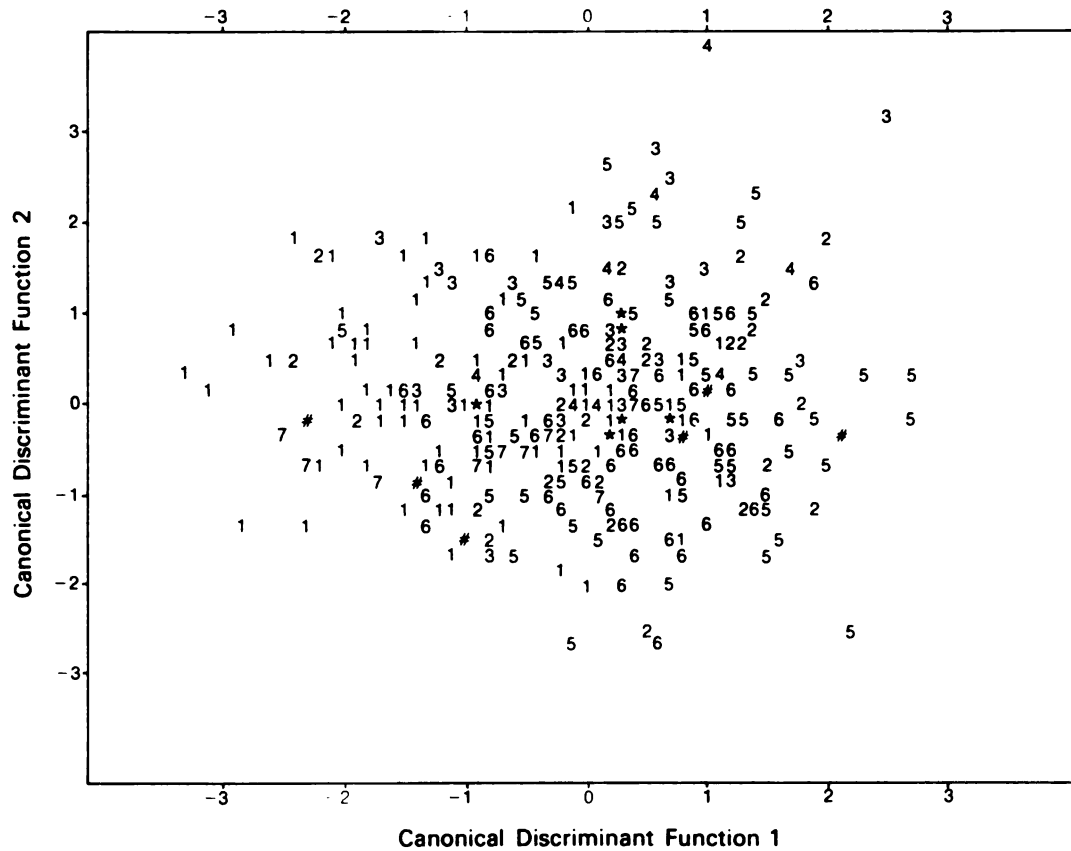
1–7 Represent cases from regions

*   Represents group centroids

Represents ungrouped cases

TABLE 42

SEECTED STATISTICS FROM REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Independent Variables	Coefficient of Correlation (r)	Coefficient of Determination (R^2)	Significance
Socioeconomic Variables			
Income	.067	.081	.272
Education	-.073	.128	.080
Occupation	.031	.114	.898
Age	.026	.202	.193
Family Size	.019	.114	.662
Marital Status	-.078	.113	.555
Location Variables			
An alley unit	.012	.085	.900
One street exposure	.071	.114	.944
Two street exposure	.012	.091	.865
Distance to major street	.058	.112	.581
Distance to major market	.021	.083	.520
Distance to city center	-.044	.205	.002
Housing Variables			
Dwelling Size	-.027	.204	.427
Dwelling Area	.028	.182	.837
Ruralized Dwelling	.072	.124	.180
Apartment	.113	.112	.985
Villa	.055	.085	.442
Home Ownership	.068	.201	.731

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980 and SPSS Regression Program.

supports the descriptive analysis above, that is, rural migrants tend to settle near the city periphery.

Based on the results obtained from regression analysis and according to the amount of variation explained by each independent variable, only those variables that explain 20 percent or more of the variation are considered for further treatment. Thus, the variables selected are: age, distance to the city's center, dwelling size and home ownership. This does not imply that remaining independent variables have no effect on the dependent variable's distribution; however, their effect seems limited, and thus any explanation may result in misinterpretation of the rural migrants' residential mobility patterns.

Using the four variables identified above would seem to be the most meaningful way to discover the major factors behind this mobility. Initially a crosstabulation of these variables with the rate of mobility is conducted. With regard to the various age groups and the rate of change in residence, the number of moves tends to increase with age (Figure 37). Fluctuations are apparent, however, and those between the ages of 25 and 34 years old have thus far only two moves. If we look at a combination of these that have three or more moves, the rate of mobility reaches its highest point among the migrants 35 to 44 years old. However, the relationship between age and mobility is found to be

FIGURE 37

Rate of Change
in Residence by Age Groups
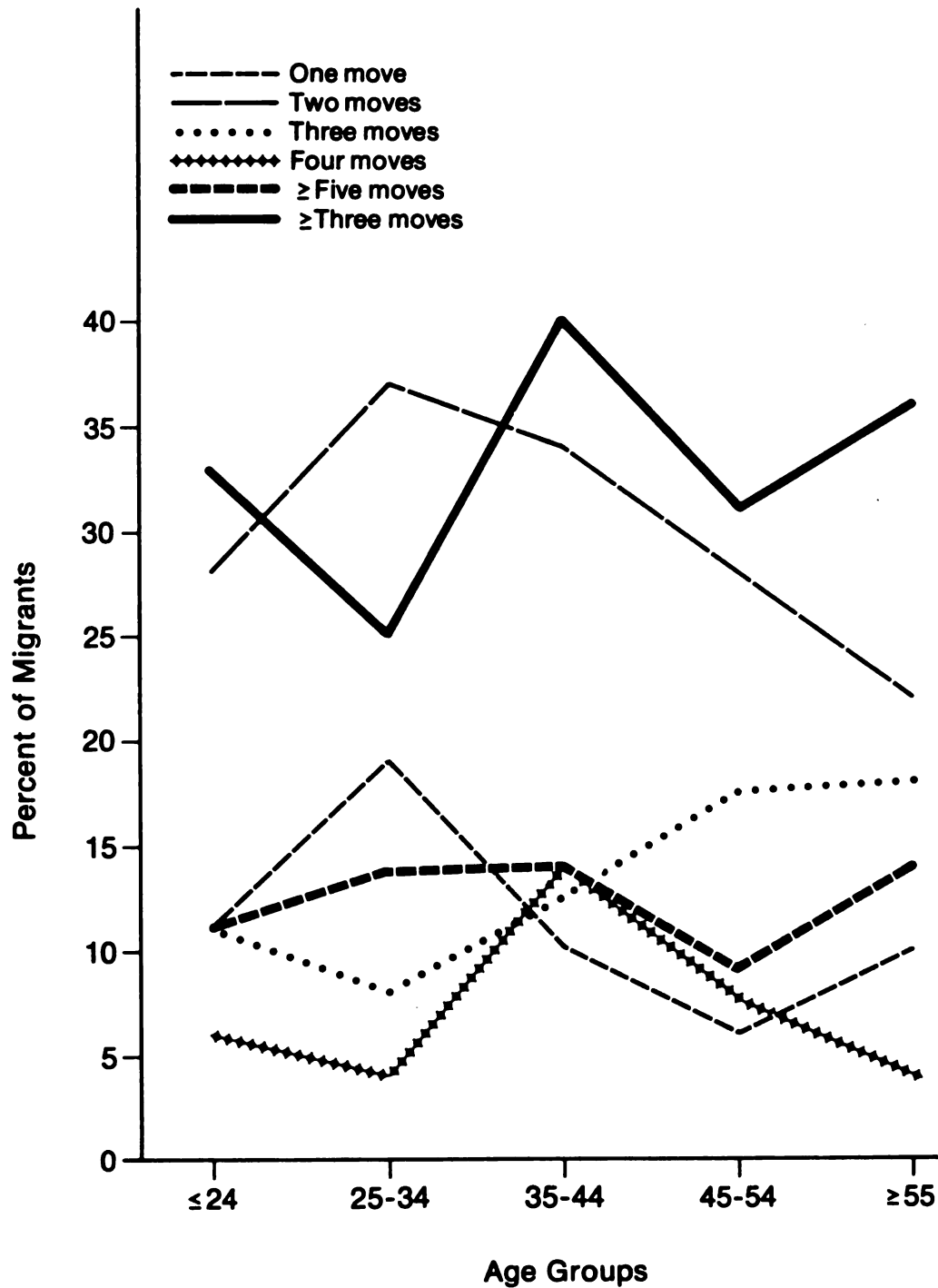
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

insignificant (Chi square = 27.7, significance = .274) which confirms the result of the correlation analysis, that is, the relationship between age and mobility exists, but is very weak.

It might be construed that the effect of age on mobility, however small, is an indication of the workings of the family life cycle, a theme which dominates much Western literature on mobility. However, in this case we are dealing with a specific group of migrants, namely rural migrants, on the one hand, and a strictly traditional Saudi Arabian society on the other. Although we cannot totally discount the idea of life cycle moves, particularly because of a lack of available literature from non-Western societies, the following two factors seem to have a bearing: 1) the increase in family size through reproduction as well as from family members who have migrated and 2) a related social factor may be important, that is, the desire to live close to friends and relatives.

In terms of distance, the evidence from the correlation analysis reveals there is a negative relationship between distance to the city's center and the rate of residential mobility. This relationship is significant at the .01 level. The majority of the rural migrants (83 percent) have moved to homes located at least 1000 meters from the city's center. This finding confirms an earlier observation made that rural migrants tend to move from their initial locations near the older and central part of Taif to areas of ruralized housing types;

these areas are usually distant from the center of the city. The
negative relationship also confirms the earlier discussion of resi-
dential location as expressed in terms of land values, social and
economic characteristics of the city's spatial organization, and
the varied housing types.

There is also a negative relationship between dwelling size
and rate of mobility. As Table 43 illustrates, the majority of rural
migrants (77 percent) who have changed their residences were those
moving from small (five rooms or less) dwellings. Nonetheless, this
relationship is found to be not statistically significant, which
suggests that variables other than dwelling size have a greater
effect on the rate of intraurban mobility among the rural migrants.

The final variable examined is home ownership. Although there
is a positive relationship between this variable and the rate of mobil-
ity, it is again not statistically significant at the .05 or .01 levels.
The majority of the rural migrants who moved to new locations were
renters (74 percent). It is important to note, however, that over
one half (54 percent) of these renters have been in Taif for 10 years
or less, a condition which would logically affect their home ownership
status.

The previous analysis has shown that the utilization of socio-
economic characteristics of the rural migrants and their housing

TABLE 43

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DWELLING SIZE AND RATE OF MOBILITY
FOR MOVERS AMONG RURAL MIGRANTS (Percent)

Number of Moves	DWELLING SIZE			Absolute	Percent
	Small $\leqslant$ 5 Rooms	Medium 6-11 Rooms	Large $\geqslant$ 12 Rooms		
1	13.9	17.7	0.0	32	14.3
2	40.7	37.8	28.6	89	39.7
3	19.7	20.0	57.2	43	19.2
4	8.7	13.3	0.0	23	10.3
5	18.0	11.2	14.2	37	16.5
Absolute	172	45	7	224	100
Percent	76.8	20.1	3.1	100	

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

characteristics are not good predictors of their residential mobility. Additional variables need to be considered. This failure in predicting the major factors behind residential mobility of the rural migrants in Taif is possibly because the decision to migrate is a very complex process. As the decision to move is a subjective matter, any successful attempt to explain intraurban mobility should utilize the reasons provided by the individual households under consideration. In conducting the interviews for this research the migrants surveyed were asked to identify those factors which influenced their decision to leave their previous locations and to select their present ones. A summary of this inquiry is provided in Table 44.

Table 44 is a matrix that summuarizes the movement factors associated with origins and destinations. We shall begin our discussion of the table by looking at the marginal frequencies. Row totals indicate the frequency of responses regarding origins. Dwelling size is the dominant factor (42 percent), followed by others, family size and high rent with 25, 13 and 12 percent of the responses, respectively. The column totals are factors involved in choosing destinations. Social ties was the most frequent response, followed by home ownership and dwelling size, which are represented by 22 and 20 percent respectively.

Aside from these marginal frequencies, the remaining cells of the table provide useful observations regarding the origin-destination

TABLE 44

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REASONS FOR LEAVING ORIGIN
AND REASONS FOR CHOOSING DESTINATION
(Multiple Responses) a

Reasons for Leaving Origin	Reasons for Choosing Destination							Total of Responses	Percent
	Large Size	Cheaper Rent	Near Work	Near School	Home Ownership	Social Ties b	Other Reasons		
Small Size	25.9	1.8	2.5	3.3	20.8	43.2	2.5	278	41.7
High Rent	16.9	8.5	0.0	5.6	21.2	46.5	2.8	71	10.7
Family Size	15.9	1.2	1.2	3.4	26.2	45.5	6.8	88	13.2
Not Familiar	10.5	2.6	0.0	2.6	26.3	55.3	2.6	38	5.7
Bad Location	21.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.1	47.8	4.4	23	3.5
Other	16.7	2.4	4.2	3.6	22.1	44.1	7.2	168	25.2
Total of Responses	137	17	15	23	149	298	29	666	
Percent	20.3	2.6	2.3	3.5	22.4	44.7	4.4		

[a]Total percents do not equal 100.00 due to rounding errors.
[b]Social ties are those related to relatives and friends.
Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980, and SPSS Multi-Response Program.

relationship. For instance, those movers who cited the small size of their dwelling units as a reason for leaving, the category of social ties was the most frequently chosen reason for selecting a particular destination (43 percent) followed by the desire for larger dwelling size and home ownership. For those who left their origins for any of the five remaining reasons, the plurality (44 to 48 percent) attributed the choice of destination to social ties, followed by home ownership (20 to 26 percent) and the need for larger dwelling size (10 to 21 percent).

These cross-tabulations in Table 44 provide important insights regarding the process of residential mobility among the rural migrants. The findings suggest that social ties are far more significant in the decision-making than any other factors, thus supporting the research hypothesis that the majority of the rural migrants are attracted to areas where friends and relatives are located. The second most frequently cited reason is home ownership, which has several ramifications. First, it indicates the importance attached to owning one's own house as well as potential problems associated with renting. Second, it reflects the desire to settle permanently in the city. Finally, it provides evidence of competition in the housing market. The importance of larger dwelling size indicates the continuing importance of large and extended family situations.

In summary, the major factors associated with the rural migrants'
intraurban mobility within Taif may be grouped into a series of
push factors associated with origins and pull factors associated
with destinations. The dominant push factors are small dwelling
size and family size, while the major pull factors are social ties,
home ownership, and larger dwelling size.

Thus far we have seen that as the factors behind the decision
to move are subjective in nature; quantitative analyses of the factors
have not been shown to be as effective and meaningful as qualitative
analysis based on the responses of the interviewed rural migrants.
Now that the primary factors behind residential mobility have been
identified, the spatial patterns observed in the intraurban mobility
of Taif's rural migrants will be investigated.

Patterns of Residential Mobility

The analysis of residential location presented earlier in this
chapter has revealed that rural migrants in Taif are most often found
in areas of ruralized housing types. The results of the survey also
show that considerable intraurban movements has taken place. In par-
ticular rural migrants tend to move outward from the traditional core
of the city. Since the factors influencing the decision to move have

been identified and discussed, we now turn to a discussion of where

these migrants come from, where they move to, and the kinds of pat-

terns they exhibit in their movement.

Two major hypotheses are examined in this section. The first

states that the majority of rural migrants in Taif tend to make intra-

community (within quarters) movements. The second hypothesis states

that any intercommunity movement made by rural migrants takes place

between quarters of similar housing types.

The evidence gathered (Table 45) indicates that most of the

moves made by rural migrants (54 percent) are essentially intercom-

munity types of movements. While this finding does not support our

hypothesis of intracommunity movements, it should be pointed out that

still a considerable amount (46 percent) of the total intraurban moves

are actually within quarter moves. Differences between those quarters

which have experienced intracommunity moves are not that large, and

in fact reflect dynamic changes within themselves, probably due to

social ties, changes in family housing needs, or simply for the sake

of property acquisition and disposal.

The movement of the rural households between quarters is an

important element of the residential mobility patterns. Figure 38

provides several interesting points, which when analyzed in conjunc-

tion with Table 45 yield some important observations. First, there

TABLE 45

INTRA-URBAN MOBILITY FOR MOVERS AMONG RURAL MIGRANTS

Name of Quarters	Within Quarters Moves (Perc.)[d]	Patterns of Residential Moves				Absolute[b]	Net Percent[c]
		Between Quarter Moves					
		Generated		Received			
		Row Perc.	Col. Perc.	Row Perc.	Col. Perc.		
S. Shamallah	49.4	28.5	16.6	71.5	41.4	137	+ 43.0
S. Janublah	53.9	38.7	20.4	61.3	32.1	124	+ 22.6
Qumriah	14.3	50.0	1.3	50.0	1.3	6	0.0
Sharaqraq	54.5	40.0	0.8	60.0	1.3	5	+ 20.0
Sharqiah	36.1	85.5	22.6	14.5	3.8	62	- 71.0
Salamah	69.8	37.5	2.6	62.5	4.2	16	+ 25.0
Qarwa	56.8	36.8	2.9	63.2	5.1	19	+ 26.4
Muashi	24.2	54.5	5.2	45.5	4.2	22	- 9.0
Nuzha	33.3	11.1	0.8	88.9	6.7	18	+ 77.8
Absolute	399	-	235	-	237	871	
Percent	45.8	-	26.9	-	27.3	100	

a - Only quarters recording the highest frequencies of residential moves.
b - This is the total of out and in moves from and to the respected quarter.
c - Net percent is obtained by subtracting percent of generated moves from received ones (row percents).
d - Percentages of within moves are based on the overall total of within and between quarters.

Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

Patterns of Residential Mobility
for Movers among Rural Migrants

FIGURE 38

N

Percent of Moves
between Quarters

≤20

21-49

≥50

Percent of Moves
within Quarters

≤35.9

36.0-53.9

≥54.0

0   500 meters

Modern Housing Types
Traditional Housing Types
Ruralized Housing Types
Mixed Ruralized-Traditional Housing Types
Mixed Ruralized-Modern Housing Types

Source: Field Study by the Author, 1980.
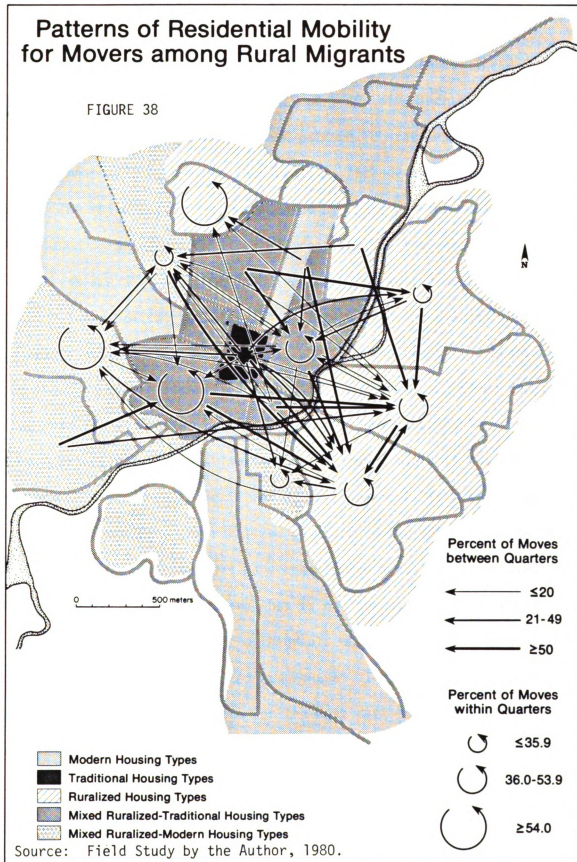
are quarters which have only generated outward movements. These
quarters are found in the traditional part of Taif, such as Sulai-
maniah, Fouq, and Asfal. The second pattern, characterized by the
large number of inward moves they receive, include Nuzha and Shara-
qraq. The third pattern is represented by those quarters which have
functioned as primary generators and receivers at the same time.
Such areas are Shuhada, Shamaliah, Janubiah, Qarwa and Muashi.

These spatial patterns can be interpreted in relation to the
generator as well as receiver areas. Most of the generating quarters
are those which are classified as having traditional and mixed rural-
ized-traditional housing types. As was mentioned previously, these
same quarters were the destinations of the rural migrants who arrived
in Taif long ago. The majority of outward movements from these quar-
ters have been toward the ruralized quarters to the east and north of
Taif. Few of these movements have been toward areas of mixed ruralized
modern housing types, a pattern that is not surprising since we are
dealing with a specific group of migrants who are attracted to those
areas which possess a ruralized atmosphere. Indeed, those quarters
experiencing inward moves were for the most part from quarters of
similar housing types.

In analyzing the receiving quarters, we find that Shuhada,
Shamaliah and Janubiah have received most of the outward-moves from

traditional and mixed ruralized-traditional quarters. This becomes clear when the densest concentrations of destinations shown in Figure 38 are examined. However, the findings also reveal that there are some areas of mixed ruralized-modern housing types that have received some, although few, outward moves.

Indications of movements between quarters of the same housing types also exist. For example, there is some reciprocal movement between Shuhada Shamaliah and Janubiah as well as between Qarwa and Muashi. Moves between Qarwa and Shuhada Janubiah are on a much smaller scale when compared to the interdistrict moves.

In terms of gain and loss of rural movers, there are some quarters which register an increased number of movers, and others which are experiencing a decrease. Generally speaking, the ruralized quarters are gaining population, while areas of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types, such as Sharqiah, are losing rural residents. The quarters of mixed ruralized-modern housing types, such as Muashi, are also experiencing a net deficit of rural migrants.

To discover the reasons behind these fluctuations, the quarters themselves need to be examined. The ruralized quarters are increasingly desirable for rural households because they are economically feasible as well as socially attractive. The traditional quarters are densely populated and basically economically

inaccessible to the rural migrants. The mixed ruralized-traditional quarters are composed of people from backgrounds dissimilar to the migrants and have higher land values than the ruralized quarters. And finally, the mixed ruralized-modern quarters experienced intense housing competition due to the influx of summer visitors, not to mention the large number of natives who reside in those quarters. In essence then, the ruralized quarters appear best-suited to the economic capabilities and desired atmosphere of the rural migrants.

In summary, the spatial processes of intraurban mobility among the rural migrants reveals that certain quarters are more desirable and attractive than others within the city. In general, the rural migrants are attracted to ruralized quarters. The spatial pattern of movements indicate both a directional and distance bias. Most of the moves are away from the traditional core of Taif and its surrounding quarters in favor of newly developed ruralized quarters in an easterly direction.

The previous discussion has also yielded the following three conclusions. First, the major spatial patterns of the rural migrants' intraurban mobility in Taif has taken place from the traditional and mixed ruralized-traditional quarters to ruralized and mixed ruralized-modern quarters. Second, few moves are observed between quarters of the same housing types and very few also take place between quarters

of ruralized, mixed ruralized-traditional and modern housing types.
Finally, the generally observed pattern of intraurban moves can be
characterized as being intercommunity between quarters of traditional
and mixed ruralized-traditional to quarters of ruralized and mixed
ruralized-modern housing types. These findings do not substantiate
the hypothesis that intercommunity movement is assumed to take place
between quarters of similar housing types. The above description and
analysis depicts the situation regarding the residential mobility of
rural migrants up to the present time. Next we want to investigate
possible future mobility patterns of these migrants.

Future Residential Mobility

The patterns and processes of existing intraurban mobility
of Taif's rural migrants has been spatially traced. Now that they
have spatially located and identified one additional facet of the
mobility process needs to be examined, namely, their anticipated
residential mobility. This topic is important inasmuch as it will
reveal the migrants' degree of satisfaction with their present loca-
tions. The major aim of this section is to identify potential movers
and discover those factors which will motivate them to relocate.

The household survey revealed that a large majority (72 percent) of the rural migrants do not plan to relocate within the next year. They have expressed satisfaction with the quarter they currently live in (98 percent) and their present dwellings (91 percent). The following characteristics describe these migrants that are planning to remain: the majority of them own their own homes (78 percent), they are generally low income families (56 percent), are illiterate (48 percent) and unskilled (59 percent). These characteristics tend to explain, in part, their satisfaction with their present locations, since most own their own homes, and due to their low economic and educational status, their motivation for better housing or neighborhoods understandably is quite low. Additionally, the majority of these migrants reside in ruralized quarters which satisfy their social needs.

Twenty-eight percent of the interviewed rural migrants plan to move in the future. Although not a large percentage, this group seems to have several characteristics which distinguish them from the satisfied non-movers. For instance, these movers are better educated (76 percent of which 34 percent have a high school education or higher), many are government employees (60 percent), and they have a higher income level (51 percent have a monthly income between 3000 to 4999 Saudi Reyals), than the non-movers. Most (56 percent) of these potential movers are apartment renters, 82 percent live in dwellings with five

rooms or less, and 74 percent have smaller families (six members or less).

This group of potential movers expresses dissatisfaction with their present location (54 percent) and/or their present quarters (76 percent). In order to more fully comprehend their motivation for further mobility, it is helpful to re-examine their history of intraurban mobility within Taif. From the data we learn that 76 percent of these migrants have been in Taif for more than seven years; furthermore, 34 percent have lived in Taif for nineteen years or more. Moreover, 44 percent of the migrants in this group have moved at least three times while in Taif compared to 18 percent who have not moved since their arrival in Taif. Thus, as a group the potential movers have a history of frequent moves. By virtue of their high rate of intraurban mobility, they can be termed "chronic movers," since they have a reputation for relocating.

The question that arises at this point is: "where are these chronic movers located at the present time?" The evidence gathered indicates that the majority currently reside in quarters of ruralized housing types (88 percent) and are in two quarters, Shuhada Shamaliah (51 percent) and Janubiah (49 percent). The remaining 12 percent live in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types in Sharqiah (70 percent) and in Salamah (30 percent).

The spatial distribution of these potential movers can be quite easily explained. First, the quarters of Shuhada Shamaliah and Janubiah are new areas, best suited to the needs of low income families with little or no formal education and with a strong rural orientation. Therefore, these chronic movers, described previously as educated, professional people, would find these quarters less suitable for long periods of time, and eventually hope to relocate to more prestigious dwellings. Second, the mixed ruralized traditional quarters are older and more densely populated, in addition to the fact that they contain a mixture of residents from different backgrounds. For those chronic movers who are experiencing changes in their social attitudes and economic status, the mixed ruralized traditional quarters are increasingly unsuitable.

In terms of their regional origins, the majority of these potential movers (Table 46) originated in Regions One and Five (26 and 24 percent respectively). However, some variations between regions are apparent. From the previous discussion of the rate and frequency of residential mobility, we recall that the migrants from Regions Four, Five and Seven are more mobile than those migrants from other regions. This finding can also be observed in Table 48, which shows that large percentages of the rural migrants from these regions are planning to move. These observations serve to support the idea

TABLE 46

FUTURE MOBILITY BY REGIONAL ORIGINS (Percent)

Regional Origins ID[a]	Expected Mobility		Row
	Row Percent	Column Percent	Total
1	23.9	25.9	88
2	26.5	11.1	34
3	27.6	9.9	29
4	40.2	7.4	13
5	31.7	23.5	60
6	20.0	14.8	60
7	54.5	7.4	11
Column Total	--	81	295
Percent	--	27.5	-

[a]Regions Eight and Nine are omitted for insignificant number.

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

that these future movers have an established history of residential mobility.

Now that the present location and some of the socioeconomic characteristics of these potential movers have been identified, the next question to examine is where they intend to relocate in the future. The migrants were asked this question, the results of which are shown in Table 4/. The majority of the future movers plan to relocate in Taif (79 percent), of which 49 percent are expected to move to a different quarter. The remainder plan to move out of Taif entirely. While some of these migrants (13 percent) indicated a willingness to return to their area of origin, 7 percent intend to move to another city. It is clear from Table 49 that rural migrants in Taif in most cases may be considered permanent migrants, as the majority of those migrants who plan to move intend to stay in Taif. This finding supports earlier discussion in which it was found that 82 percent of the migrants tended to settle permanently in Taif.

Having identified the future possible location of these movers, we now direct ourselves to a discussion of the reasons for this mobility. The reason elicited by the interviewed migrants are more likely to be associated with the positive characteristics of future destinations, rather than negative characteristics associated with Taif. The summary of reasons given for relocation plans is

TABLE 47

FUTURE DESTINATIONS

Destinations	Distribution of Migrants	
	Number	Percent
Same Quarter	30	36.6
To Another Quarter	35	42.7
Back to Origin	11	13.4
To Another City	6	7.3
Total	82	100

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980.

provided in Table 48. According to this table, two reasons seem to account for most of the relocation plans. The most frequent response is the presence of relatives (27 percent). The strength of such social ties is apparent for those who are relocating both within Taif and to other cities. This finding again supports the hypothesis regarding the effect of kinship on the relocation patterns of the rural migrants in Taif. Another important factor for those moving within the city as well as back to their origins is land ownership, given by 13 percent as their reason for relocating.

For those migrants planning to move within the same quarter, moving to a more modern housing unit is very important (43 percent). The most frequently selected destinations for these migrants are Shihar (73 percent), Nuzha (13 percent) and Qarwa (7 percent). For the majority of those planning to move to other cities, particularly Jeddah and Riyadh, the major motivating factor is job transfer.

Thus far we have learned that the majority of those migrants who plan to move in the future already have a history of frequent residence changes in Taif. Furthermore, most of them plan to relocate in the city itself, usually moving to more modern quarters. This finding is indicative of substantial urban experience as well as the social and economic changes they are encountering. In addition the social and spatial assimilation of the rural migrants can only be expected if

TABLE 48

REASONS FOR FUTURE MOBILITY

Reasons	Destinations				
	Same Quarter	Another Quarter	Back to Origin	Another City	
Have a New House	43.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	13
Have Land	16.6	5.7	36.4	0.0	11
Because of My Work	6.6	0.0	0.0	50.0	5
My Children's School	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
For My Relatives	20.0	37.2	18.1	16.6	22
I Like Moving There	0.0	8.6	0.0	0.0	3
Modern Quarter	0.0	42.8	0.0	0.0	15
Cannot Live here	0.0	0.0	45.5	0.0	5
Other	6.6	5.7	0.0	33.4	6
Absolute	30	35	11	6	82
Percent	36.6	42.7	13.4	7.3	100

Source: Field survey by author, 1980.

changes occur in their social and economic status. Indeed, those

migrants who were not intending to move stated that they planned to

remain because their present residence was cheaper. A substantial

number (20 percent) have made additions (usually vertical) to their

dwellings in order to accomodate large families and yet remain close

to their friends and relatives. Finally, the data reveal there is a

high priority placed upon home ownership. This condition may be a

result of high rent prices, as well as the social status associated

with owning a home. In fact, it may be that the large number of

mobile migrants is in part a function of this desire to own a home.

Much of the relocating activity may be for the sake of seeking out

a suitable dwelling or property to purchase. As stated previously

in the discussion of Taif's spatial expansion and development this

process has been tremendously accelerated by the long term interest-

free loans provided by the government.

Summary

Inasmuch as the process of rural migration to Taif is con-

sidered a continuous one, the initial location of the migrants upon

arriving in Taif as well as their subsequent movements are especially

crucial to this study. It was found that a majority of the rural

migrants are found in quarters of ruralized housing types. The exis-
tence of friends and relatives in certain quarters strongly influenced
the pattern of mobility among the migrants. The residential cluster-
ing of migrants of a particular region or origin was attributed to
the existence of close kinship ties. Economic status was also found
to be influential in the choice of residential location, but not as
important as in some western societies.

The great majority of rural migrants to Taif have changed
residences subsequent to their initial arrival in the city. Much of
this movement is attributed to increased urban experience in the city
itself, that is, the longer a migrant has been in Taif, the greater
the chance that he has changed residence at least once. An average
rate of 2.8 moves per household at a frequency of one move every 4.7
years was recorded.

In examining the major factors influencing residential mobil-
ity, it was found that there is no significant relationship between
region of origin and the rate of mobility. Age of the rural migrants
has very little effect on the rate of mobility. An expected negative
relationship was found to exist between the mobility rate and the
distance from the city's center, as well as between the rate of
mobility and dwelling size. While there did exist a relationship

between home ownership and the mobility rate, it was statistically insignificant. The overriding factor in residential decision-making among the rural migrants was social ties, followed by home ownership.

Most of the subsequent moves made by rural migrants take place between quarters, although a substantial number occur within quarters. Few moves are observed between quarters of the same housing types,

The majority of the rural migrants appear to be satisfied with their current location and do not plan to move again within the foreseeable future. Those who do plan to move have a history of frequent moves and those who have experienced changes in their own economic and social status. Again, social ties and home ownership are the overriding factors in the decision to relocate.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

The overriding objective of this study has been the tracing

of a particular group of migrants, namely rural migrants, from their

rural origins to their current place of residence within the city of

Taif. The migration process of this group is looked upon as a con-

tinuous spatial process, that is, it continues to operate within the

urban center for some time following the initial arrival of the

migrants. This research has analyzed both the process of rural

migration to Taif and subsequent residential moves made by the

rural migrants within the city.

To facilitate the analysis of the research and to fully

comprehend the spatial location and distribution of the rural

migrants in Taif, the spatial structure and historical expansion

of the city had to be examined. This task was carried out in a

pilot study during the summers of 1978 and 1979. As a result of

findings of this pilot study, the spatial expansion of Taif was

chronologically traced. Three significant periods were identified:

prior to 1945, from 1945 to 1964, and from 1965 to the present.
The first stage comprised the formation of the city of Taif and
also the enclosure of the city core by a wall which was indicative
of a period of practically no spatial expansion. Stage Two wit-
nessed the removal of the wall, but still a very limited expansion.
Stage Three has seen vast expansion and large spurts in the develop-
ment of the city of Taif.

The pilot study was also instrumental in outlining the resi-
dential structure of the city. Through careful analysis of housing
types, the city's residential quarters were classified into five
housing type groups: traditional, ruralized, modern, mixed ruralized-
traditional, and mixed ruralized-modern housing types.

In addition, an intensive field work was carried out in Taif
during four months of 1980. The main purpose of the field survey
was to obtain data concerning the process of movement; the character-
istics of migrants; the reasons for their migration and mobility.
Other information related to housing characteristics, locations and
accessibility, as well as other socioeconomic variables was also
collected. These field investigations and information were facili-
tated through a questionnaire developed and administered to a
sampled population of 700 heads of households chosen from random
selected quarters of the city.

In tracing the process of rural migration to Taif, it has been found that rural migrants are moving into the city every year and that extensive large-scale migration has taken place since the 1950s. A large percentage of the rural migrants (34 percent) have been in Taif for more than 21 years. The survey confirms that the majority of Taif's population is rural in origin; 53 percent of the interviewed households had heads of households who were rural migrants. The rate of rural influx into the city has been found to be steady for the twenty-year period between 1959 and 1979; furthermore, the influx shows little sign of abating.

A hypothesis stating that the majority of the rural migrants in Taif come from areas located to the south of Taif and the surrounding area was confirmed by this survey. It was found that 98 percent of the rural migrants interviewed originated in the area within the mountainous Saudi Arabian southwest. The major migration fields of Taif consist of the area surrounding the city itself, Bani Saad, Bani Al-Harith, Bani Malik-Thaqeef, Al-Baha, Aseer and Tihama. Variations in the volume of that migration from these areas exist, with the majority coming from Taif's immediate hinterland, Al-Baha and Aseer. These results reveal Taif's importance as a regional primate city within the mountainous range of Southwestern Saudi Arabia. The existence of the small number of migrants from other

parts of the country is because of their distance from Taif as well as the drawing power of other urban centers, which function as regional capitals and thus provide opportunities for the people in a particu- lar region.

The data reveal that rural migration to Taif is a direct move for more than two-thirds of the rural respondents. This finding is accounted for by the fact that urban centers in Saudi Arabia number very few, are distant, and are clustered in specific regions. This finding differs from what has been observed in other developing countries, especially in South America, where stepwise migration is common (Thomas and Mulvihill, 1980). Another significant finding is that the majority of rural migration to Taif is in the form of complete family migration (67 percent of the rural migrants).

The analysis of migration selectivity reveals that rual migra- tion to Taif is headed by males and that there is no variation in the sex differential among the migrants. This finding deviates from the previous studies dealing with advanced or Third World countries. In Saudi Arabia, religious restrictions as well as cultural traditions prohibit women from traveling alone. With regard to age of the rural migrant, the hypothesis that the majority of the rural migrants in Taif were 25 years of age or older at the time of migration was sup- ported. The majority of the rural migrants in Taif (52 percent) were

more than 24 years old when the migration occurred. It was also found

that the group 25 to 34 years was the most numerous (33 percent). As

far as the level of education is concerned, the hypothesis stating that

the majority of the rural migrants to Taif are illiterate has had to be

rejected. About 59 percent of the migrants are found to have had some

type of education. This finding differs from Malik's results when he

found the literacy rate among migrants to Riyadh from villages and the

desert were 27.6 and 23.6 percent, respectively (Malik, 1973). The

differences may be accounted for by the time difference between the two

studies. The data of Malik's study of Riyadh was collected in 1969,

while for this study during 1979 and 1980. During this ten-year period,

Saudi Arabia has witnessed tremendous social and economic changes in-

cluding drastically improving schools and providing adult-education

programs.

Differences among the rural migrants from the various regions

in terms of the literacy rate are pronounced. The highest rate of

literacy is found among migrants from Region Six, Aseer Region (68

percent). A statistically significant relationship was found to

exist between age and education level. Younger migrants were found

to be better educated than the older ones, which is again attribut-

able to the drastic improvements in the educational system.

The majority of the rural migrants in Taif are found to be

unskilled. This finding is similar to Malik's (1973) study on Riyadh,

as well as those of other Arab countries, including Egypt (Abu-Lughod, 1961), Iraq (Azeez, 1968) and Libya (Harrison, 1967). A statistically significant relationship exists between age and type of occupation. Migrants between the ages of 24 and 34 are found in government-related jobs, while those over 35 years are mainly engaged in informal jobs. Another significant relationship exists between occupation and education level, thos migrants with a higher education level are most often found in government jobs.

In order to identify the underlying causes of rural migration to Taif, factor analysis was applied. Seven major factors were extracted, all of which are interrelated. Several factors identified characteristics of the sending areas (origins) as well as the urban receiving centers. The importance of Family Attraction factor reveals that friends and relatives in the urban center are often incentives for the rural migrants' movement. A great number of the migrants who migrated to Taif prior to 1958 were affected by the massive drought which prevailed in Saudi Arabia in the 1950s and 1960s. Additional migration is due to large family size as well as the size of the originating village, factors which often push the migrant in search of better opportunity in the city. These reasons combined form the Family Size factor. The Stress factor is related to family problems and/or disputes among family members. The fifth factor

identified was labeled the Farming factor, which includes crop failure as well as land deterioration. The final two factors (Urban Attraction and Employment Opportunities) are associated with Taif itself. The availability of modern amenities in the urban center, as well as the increased availability of job opportunities, attracts many rural migrants to Taif.

The above findings regarding the attraction of rural migrants to urban centers are similar to others found in the literature on migration in certain Arab countries. For example, Phillips (1959) observed that in Iraq rural conditions act as a push factor and the nature of urban centers as a pull factor. Bharier (1968) found that in Iran a decline in agricultural productivity and the attraction of towns were the essential factors in the decision to migrate. The same was noted in Libya, where intense pressure on land availability influenced migration (Hartley, 1972). In Egypt, the rural migrants to Cairo were young people seeking a more modern lifestyle, better jobs, and advanced education (Abu-Lughod, 1961). Job opportunity as a major impetus for movement to urban areas was also found in Tehran (Bahrambeygui, 1972) and Baghdad (Azeez, 1968). In Riyadh, Malik (1973) observed that climatic conditions of the region and the availability of jobs and modern amenities in the city were the major causes of rural migration. Rural migration to Taif will likely continue for as long as these causes which generate mass movement prevail.

The spatial distribution and location of the rural migrants in Taif upon their initial arrival is found to have some distinct patterns. Nearly half (44 percent) of the rural migrants settled in the ruralized quarters while 32 percent settled in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditional housing types. Only 10 percent inhabited areas of mixed ruralized-modern housing types. The remainder are scattered throughout areas of the city. These findings about initial settlement correspond closely with the historical development of the city of Taif. The pioneer migrants, those having migrated twenty years ago or more, had to settle in quarters of mixed ruralized-traditonal housing types located at the outskirts of the old city. As the number of migrants continued to grow, new ruralized quarters were developed, including Shuhada Shamaliah and Janubiah which were developed to house the new migrants as well as those previously established migrants who found the ruralized dwellings better suited to their way of life.

At present a large majority (66 percent) of the rural migrants are found in ruralized quarters. This finding supports our hypothesis that the majority of rural migrants would reside in quarters of ruralized housing types.

Two major factors, social and economic, are found to account for the spatial location of the rural migrants in Taif. With regard

to the social factor, over 45 percent of the respondents were influenced in their residential location by friends and relatives. It was also found that there are variations in terms of residential location by regional origin, as evidenced by the clustering of migrants from one area in a certain quarter. This phenomenon explains the influence of kinship ties. Furthermore, even with a certain quarter or location the rural migrants in Taif exhibit considerable concentration by region of origin. These findings support the hypothesis that kinship relationships are instrumental in choosing residential location. There is also likely to be a mixture of migrants from different regions within the same quarters due to individual tastes and locational preferences. In general, however, rural migrants most often are drawn to those ruralized areas which appear to offer a way of life similar to their origins.

The relationship between the residential location of the rural migrants in Taif and their monthly income is found to be statistically significant. The majority of the rural migrants (55 percent) are found to be low income families ($\leqslant$ 2999 Saudi Riyals per month). Variations in terms of the monthly income of the rural migrants in relation to their origins were not statistically significant. There was a significant relationship between the location of the rural migrants and their occupation. These findings in regard to income and occupation illustrate the role of economic status

as a determinant of residential location and demonstrate that kinship relationships were not the only factor of importance.

The concentration of rural migrants in specific areas or quarters within the city is not peculiar to Taif. In other countries of the Middle East and Arab World such concentrations have also been observed. However, there are some differences between the patterns of residential location observed in this study and those observed elsewhere. For example, Harrison (1967) noted that the concentration of rural migrants in Tripoli, Libya was more pronounced in the old section of the city. In Cairo, the rural migrants were found on the outskirts of the city in the rural-urban fringe (Abu-Lughod, 1961). In Baghdad, they were found around the inner city (Lawless, 1972), and in Tehran, these rural migrants form shanty towns (Bahrambeygui, 1972). Finally in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the rural migrants, including those from the desert are clustered in the ruralized quarters (Malik, 1973).

The results of the patterns of intraurban residential mobility reveal that 72 percent of them have changed their residence at least once since they initially arrifed in Taif. Residence changes are made at an average rate of 2.8 moves per household and an average frequency of one move every 4.7 years. This finding does not deviate significantly from the average rate for household change in the United States, where most families move once every five years (Moore, 1972). The

frequency of these residential moves has been found to be positively correlated with the length of urban experience of the rural migrants; this correlation is statistically significant. These findings regarding intraurban mobility support the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between the number of changes in residence and the length of time spent living in Taif.

Statistical explanations for the factors behind residential mobility has revealed the following conclusions. First, using a stepwise discriminant analysis, the rural migrants were examined against their social, economic and housing characteristics. The results show the migrants to be basically homogeneous. Second, utilizing correlation regression analysis, the anticipated relationships between the residential mobility rate and selected socio-economic, locational and housing variables were not found to be significant, save for distance from the city center, which is significant at the .01 level. Most of the independent variables were positively correlated with the degree of mobility, except for level of education, marital status, distance from the city center and dwelling size, all of which had negative correlations.

The above results suggest that the utilization of the socioeconomic, locational and housing variables are not accurate predictors of the rural migrants' residential mobility within Taif and that

alternate explanations should be provided to explain their behavior. The rural migrants were asked to identify the factors which were important in their residential relocation. Three major factors were found to be associated with both the origin and destination of rural migrants within the city. They were social ties, home ownership, and dwelling size. These findings reveal that rural migrants are attracted to areas in which friends and relatives reside and that they are renters who most likely will continue their movement until they secure a home of their own, at which point they may become stabilized. Increased family size, whether due to reproduction or additional family members migrating, renders current dwellings too small and acts as a stimulus for mobility.

A similar study in intraurban migration was carried out by A. Al-Sheikh in Riyadh in 1977. He found that age, family size, income and home ownership are positively correlated with the mobility of the sampled intraurban movers. He also found that family size (in 33 percent of the cases) was the most frequently identified reason for mobility, followed by financial ability (Al-Sheikh, 1977). Although some similarities between the above findings and Al-Sheikh's are apparent, it should be emphasized that there is one significant difference, namely that Al-Sheikh based his study on intraurban movers, regardless of origin, whereas this study was concerned only with rural migrants.

The major spatial changes of the rural migrants intraurban mobility in Taif have taken place from the traditional and mixed ruralized-modern quarters. The generally observed pattern of these intraurban moves has been in the form of intercommunity movements (between quarters). This finding refutes the research hypothesis of intracommunity moves (within quarters) for rural migrants. More-over, this finding does not support the hypothesis that such inter-community movements are assumed to take place between quarters of similar housing types. What has been determined is that a direc-tional bias exists regarding the movement of rural migrants within the city. That is, rural migrants tend to move away from the central city toward the city's eastern portion where ruralized quarters are more common. Similar observations have been documented by Al-Sheikh regarding the residential mobility of the population of Riyadh where the northern half of Riyadh is preferred (Al-Sheikh, 1977). Again, it must be remembered that Al-Sheikh considered all movers in Riyadh and not strictly rural migrants.

Further residential mobility plans have been documented for 28 percent of the sampled migrants. It was shown that almost half (44 percent) of these potential movers have a history of frequent residence changes within Taif. Furthermore, 65 percent of the potential movers plan to relocate within Taif and to more modern quarters in particular.

This finding demonstrates substantial urban experience as well as evidence of social and economic changes the migrants are encountering. Their most frequent motivation for future residential relocation is social ties followed by home ownership considerations.

In summary this research on the migration and residential mobility of rural migrants to Taif suggests several conclusions. First, rural migration to Taif is increasing every year at a steady rate; it is also likely to continue into the future. Second, the majority of rural migrants to Taif intend to live in the city permanently. Third, vast amounts of rural migration to Taif is an alarming indicator of rural deterioration, and in particular, farming. This continuous increase in migration volume would yield a decrease in rural population, and of course, a proportionate increase in the city. This increase will create tremendous pressure on Taif itself in terms of the increasing demand for housing, employment, education, health services, and water and sewage facilities. Moreover, as most of these rural migrants are basically low income, unskilled workers, as shown by this study, the economic characteristics of Taif will experience drastic changes.

Applications of this Study

As mentioned above, vast rural migration to Taif and other
cities is having a significant effect on the rural areas of Saudi
Arabia. The effect is cyclical in nature. Because of the antiquated
farming methods and deterioration of the agricultural areas, rural
villages in Saudi Arabia are losing great numbers of inhabitants.
This migration, in turn, tends to further reduce the quality of agri-
cultural production due to a shortage of agricultural workes. Any
attempt at solving the problem of mass migration to Taif therefore,
must deal not only with the competition and related problems occurring
in Taif, but also with a revitalization of the agricultural areas.

In terms of the rural areas, the Southwestern region of Saudi
Arabia provides a potential agricultural advantage for the entire
country. Efforts should be directed toward more positive and sincere
agricultural development. Any action in this regard should deal with
the improved development of the village themselves, as well as better
roads and an improved marketing system for agricultural products,
which would benefit both the farmer and the consumer. Land reform
and development is another method of diverting rural migrants from
moving to the cities. Bringing modern amenities to the disposal of
these villages and these populations would help them establish contact
with the rest of the country and yet retain their rural homes. The

creation of new educational facilities would also serve to keep the young at home. Special training for farmers in modern agricultural techniques and technology would improve production immensel-. Further possibilities include the formation of farming "cooperatives," that is, to encourage cooperation between farmers and alleviate the production problems created by land fragmentation. These are just several of the ways that the rural areas could be improved in order to keep the agricultural lands by land fragmentation. These are just several of the ways that the rural areas could be improved in order to keep the agricultural lands productive, a goal that is to the benefit of the rural citizens as well as the country as a whole.

With regard to improving the urban center of Taif, the only way to meaningfully alleviate many of the problems of housing and water shortages and congested living areas is by means of spatial reorganization. Continuing division of land into miniscule portions and rampant vertical expansion of housing structures will result in irrevocable damage to the spatial arragement if the current patterns continue. While the rural migraints cannot be forced to return to their villages, the introduction of long term interest-free loans for the rural villages may encourage many to return to their homes. Additionally, the possibility exists for the development of small cities outside the urban area of Taif which would play host to

various industries; this is seen as a viable policy. It is imperative that Saudi Arabia take steps to halt the rapid expansion of Taif's urban area and resist the pattern of urban poverty evidenced by many Third World countries, in particular the shanty towns. It is essential, therefore, that alternatives be provided the rural dwellers in order to slow the rate of migration to urban areas. Improving the rural villages and the methods of agricultural production seem to be the most feasible way of doing this

Further research on rural migration should be directed to the above and to other aspects of these problems. Researchers should examine the spatial and social assimilation of the rural migrants within the urban center to determine what steps the city should be taking to assure the security and welfare of its migrants. Another study might examine the places of origin, that is, the villages themselves in an attempt to identify those factors which might be altered in order to slow the rate of migration. A question that needs to be resolved is what would make potential migrants stay?

This study has traced the movement of rural migrants to Taif in order to help assess and predict future problems regarding the development of Taif as well as understand the need for revitalization of the agricultural areas from which they come. This study is by no means a comprehensive analysis and assessment of the situation; the

author is hopeful that further research on the subject will be

initiated. Such research will be not only beneficial for Taif

and its surrounding areas, but may be useful in alleviating

similar expansion problems in the developing Third World countries.

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APPENDICES

THIS SURVEY IS CONCERNED WITH STUDY OF

RURAL MIGRANTS IN TAIF:

THEIR MIGRATION AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

University of Umm Alqura

PART ONE--PLACE OF BIRTH

1) WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

Taif City _____ Name of Quarter _____
Out of Taif _____ Name of City _____ Village _____ Area _____
Out of S.A. _____ Name of Country _____

2) WHERE WERE YOUR PARENTS BORN?

Taif City _____ Name of Quarter _____
Out of Taif _____ Name of City _____ Village _____ Area _____

PART TWO--SOCIAL STATUS

3) HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
Married
Single
Other

4) DO YOU LIVE WITH YOUR FAMILY?
Yes
NO

5) HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN THIS DWELLING? Total of _____

6) RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
His Family
Friends

7) AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
Less than 20 years
Between 20-24 years
Between 25-29 years
Between 30-34 years
Between 35-39 years
Between 40-44 years
Between 45-49 years
Between 50-54 years
Between 55-59 years
More than 60 years

PART THREE--LEVEL OF EDUCATION:

1) LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:

With no learning experience
With some limited experience
Elementary level
Intermediate level
Secondary level
University level
Other (specify)

PART FOUR--OCCUPATIONAL TYPES:

2) TYPE OF WORK OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:

Teacher
Mechanical
Civil Engineer
Government Employee (service)
Government Employee (Civil)
Carpenter
Construction Worker
Taxi Driver
Butcher
Grocer
Animal Trader
Wholesaler
Retailer
Student
Informal
Other (specify)

3) TIME REQUIRED BETWEEN HOUSE OF HEAD & HIS WORK:

Less than five minutes
Between 5 and 15 minutes
" 15 and 25 "
" 25 and 30 "
" 30 and 35 "
" 35 and 40 "
More than 40 minutes

4) MODE OF TRANSPORTATION

Walking
Private car
Public transportation
With friends
Other (specify)

الجزء الثالث - المستوى التعليمي

الجزء الرابع - المستوى الوظيفي

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PART FIVE - MIGRATION TO TAIF

1) HAVE YOU EVER LIVED IN A PLACE OTHER THAN TAIF OR YOUR VILLAGE?

YES ☐
NO ☐

2) IF YES, PLEASE GIVE:

Name of village _____
Name of area _____
Name of city _____
Name of area _____

3) PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING:

Number of families at your village:

Less than 30 households ☐
Between 30-59 ☐
60-89 ☐
90-119 ☐
120-149 ☐
150-179 ☐
180-209 ☐
More than 210 ☐

4) WHAT WERE YOUR REASONS FOR LEAVING YOUR VILLAGE?

Lack of work ☐
Lack of school ☐
Farming failure ☐
Family dispute ☐
Loss of parent ☐
Looking for better job and wages ☐
Too many members in family for holding ___
Do not have a farm ☐
Other reasons (specify) _____

5) HOW BIG WAS YOUR FAMILY AT YOUR VILLAGE BEFORE YOU MOVED?

Less than 3 persons ☐
Between 3-6 ☐
Between 7-10 ☐
Between 11-14 ☐
More than 15 persons ☐

6) HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN AWAY FROM YOUR VILLAGE?

Less than one year ☐
Between 1-3 years ☐
Between 4-6 years ☐
Between 7-9 years ☐

Between 10-12 years
13-15 "
16-18 "
19-21 "
More than 21 years

7) WHEN DID YOU MOVE TO TAIF?
Less than one year ago
Between 1-3 years ago
4-6 "
7-9 "
10-12 "
13-15 "
16-18 "
19-21 "
More than 21 years ago

8) WHY DID YOU SELECT TAIF AS YOUR DESTINATION?
For job opportunities
Because most of my relatives live in Taif
Because Taif is the closest urban place to my village
For transfer of job
For the availability of modern life amenities
For other reasons (Specify) _____

WHEN YOU MOVED TO TAIF WERE YOU:
Alone
With your family
With some members in the city

9) DO YOU STILL HAVE ANY CONTACT WITH YOUR VILLAGE?
Yes
No

10) IF YES, WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THIS CONTACT?
To visit my relatives
To work my farm
To attend my tribesmen meetings
Other (Specify) _____

11) HOW OFTEN DO YOU RETURN TO YOUR VILLAGE?
Once a week
Once a month
Once every three months
Once every six months
Once every nine months
Once a year
Other (specify) _____

12) HOW DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR LENGTH OF LIVING IN TAIF?
Temporary
Permanent

If temporary, do you consider going back to your village?

Yes ☐
Another place (specify) _____

PART SIX--RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY:

1) WHERE DID YOU LIVE THE FIRST TIME YOU MOVED TO TAIF?

At the same house as now ☐
Within the same quarter ☐
In another quarter (specify) _____

For how long did you stay at the first location?

Less than one year ☐
Between 1-3 years ☐
4-6 " ☐
7-9 " ☐
10-12 " ☐
More than 12 years ☐

2) HOW MANY TIMES DID YOU HAVE TO MOVE BEFORE YOU FINALLY SETTLED IN THIS BUILDING?

Never moved ☐
Once ☐
Twice ☐
Three times ☐
Four times ☐
Five times ☐
More than five ☐

3) PLEASE GIVE THE NAME(S) OF QUARTER(S) FOR EACH MOVE:

Name of Quarter for First Move _____
Name of Quarter for Second Move _____
Name of Quarter for Third Move _____
Name of Quarter for Fourth Move _____
Name of Quarter for Fifth Move _____

4) WHAT WERE YOUR REASONS FOR LEAVING YOUR PREVIOUS DWELLING(S):

Small area of dwelling(s) ☐
Looking for cheaper rent ☐
Increasing number in family members ☐
Not familiar with the city ☐
Neighbourhood(s) not good ☐
Other reasons (Specify) _____

5) WHAT WAS THE TENURE STATUS OF YOUR PREVIOUS DWELLINGS?

The majority were my own ☐
The majority were rented ☐

6) WHAT WERE YOUR REASON(S) FOR SELECTING THE PRESENT DWELLING?

- It is large enough for my family
- I like living in this neighborhood
- My relatives live in this neighborhood
- Most of my friends live in this neighborhood
- I have this house
- Rent here is cheaper
- It is close to my work
- It is close to my children's school
- I cannot afford living in others
- Other reason(s) (Specify)

7) HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE YOUR PRESENT DWELLING?

- Satisfactory
- Unsatisfactory

8) IF SATISFACTORY, WHAT ARE YOUR REASONS?

- Excellent location
- Excellent neighborhood
- Large space or area
- Open space around the house
- Houses around us have the same height
- Other reason(s) (Specify)

9) IF NOT SATISFACTORY, WHAT ARE YOUR REASONS?

- Small area or space
- Bad location
- Unsuitable neighborhood
- Houses are not the same in height
- Other reason(s) (Specify)

10) DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE TO ANOTHER LOCATION?

- Yes
- No

11) IF YES, WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE TO?

- Within the same quarter
- To another quarter (Specify)
- To my village
- In another city (Specify)

12) IF YOU PLAN TO MOVE WITHIN THE SAME QUARTER, WHY?

- I have a new house
- I have land
- My wind is there
- My children's school is there
- My relatives live there
- Other reason(s) (Specify)

13) IF YOU PLAN TO MOVE TO ANOTHER QUARTER, WHY?

I do not like the living in this quarter
Looking for better, more modern neighborhood
It is more desirable to live there
My work is there
Other reason(s) (Specify) _____

14) IF YOU PLAN TO MOVE TO ANOTHER CITY, WHY?

I do not like the living in Taif
I cannot afford living in Taif
My job will be moved there
Other reason(s) (Specify) _____

15) IF YOUR PRESENT DWELLING IS NOT SATISFACTORY, BUT YOU DO NOT PLAN TO MOVE, WHY?

I can not afford to move
Housing rent is cheaper here
My work is here
I plan to make an extension on my house
Other reason(s) (Specify) _____

16) IF YOU PLAN TO MAKE EXTENSIONS TO YOUR HOUSE, HOW?

Horizontal by adding new rooms
Vertical by adding more floors
Both, horizontal and vertical

17) HAVE YOU EVER MADE EXTENSIONS TO YOUR HOUSE?

Yes
No

18) HOW DO YOU LIKE LIVING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?

I like living here
I do not like living here
If you like living in this neighborhood, why?

Is it a modern neighborhood?
Is it quiet?
The neighbors are nice
Relatives are here
Friends are here
Lifestyle in this neighborhood is similar to that in my village
Other reasons (Specify) _____

19) IF YOU DO NOT LIKE LIVING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD, WHY?

It is old and unorganized
Living in this neighborhood is noisy
Neighbors are not nice

My relatives live in other neighborhoods
Lifestyle in this neighborhood is not suitable for me
Other reason(s) (Specify) _____

20) IF YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE ELSEWHERE, DO YOU THINK YOU WILL MOVE?

    Yes
    No

21) WHICH YOU TELL ME WHO HAD THE MOST EFFECT ON YOUR DECISION TO MOVE TO YOUR PRESENT LOCATION?

    No one, I decided to move by myself
    Some friends
    Some relatives
    Real estate
    Other reason(s) (Specify) _____

PART SEVEN: HOUSING INFORMATION:

(This information should be taken by interviewer)

1) Type of area _____

2) Name of quarter _____

3) Number of location of interview _____

4) Type of dwelling:
    Typical house
    Building
    Apartment
    Villa

5) SIZE OF DWELLING
    Three rooms
    Between 3-5 rooms
    "   6-8 "
    "   9-11 "
    More than 12 rooms

6) BUILDING MATERIAL
    Stone
    Mixed stone & mud
    Mud
    Cement bricks
    Reinforced concrete
    Other (Specify) _____

7) AGE OF DWELLING
    Less than one year
    Between 1-3 years
    "   4-6 "
    "   7-9 "
    "   10-12 "
    "   13-15 "
    More than 15 years

8) LOCATION OF DWELLING

☐ With one street exposure
☐ Corner
☐ Three street exposures
☐ Four street exposures
☐ Interior with an alley
☐

9) AREA OF DWELLING

☐ 9x9 meters
☐ 9x18 "
☐ 18x18 "
☐ 18x45 "
☐ 45x45 "
☐ 45x90 "
☐ 90x90 "
☐ 100x100 meters
☐ Other (Specify)

10) TYPE OF STREET:

☐ 6x6 meters
☐ 6x10 "
☐ 6x15 "
☐ 6x20 "
☐ 10x10 "
☐ 10x15 "
☐ 10x20 "
☐ 10x25 "
☐ 20x25 "
☐ Other (Specify)

11) LOCATION OF DWELLING TO NEAREST MAJOR STREET:

☐ Less than 100 meters
☐ Between 100-700 meters
☐ 400-600 "
☐ 700-900 "
☐ 1000-1200 "
☐ 1300-1500 "
☐ 1600-1800 "
☐ 1900-2100 "
☐ More than 2100 meters

12) LOCATION OF DWELLING TO MAJOR SHOPPING AREA

☐ Less than 700 meters
☐ Between 800-600 meters
☐ 700-1000 "
☐ 1100-1300 "
☐ 1500-1600 "
☐ 1700-2100 "
☐ More than 2100 meters

13) LOCATION OF DWELLING TO NEAREST ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Less than 300 meters
Between 300-600 meters
Between 730-1000 meters
Between 1100-1400 meters
More than 1400 meters

14) LOCATION OF DWELLING TO CITY CENTER

Less than 1000 meters
Between 1000-1400 meters
Between 1400-1700 meters
Between 1800-2000 meters
More than 2000 meters

15) DWELLING TENURE STATUS:

Owned
Rented

16) DOES THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD HAVE ANY OTHER DWELLINGS IN TAIF?

Yes
No

17) IF YES, WHAT IS IT USED FOR?

For summer rental
For yearly rental
For personal use only
For sale
Other reasons (Specify) _____

PART EIGHT--ECONOMIC STATUS:

1) PLEASE INDICATE YOUR MONTHLY INCOME AS BELOW:

Less than 1000 riyals
Between 1000-1999 "
            2000-2999 "
            3000-3999 "
            4000-4999 "
            5000-5999 "
More than 6000 riyals

2) WHAT KIND OF PROPERTY DID YOU LEAVE AT YOUR VILLAGE?

A farm
A house
Both
Nothing

3) IF YOU HAVE A FARM, DID YOU USE IT TO WORK IT BEFORE MOVING TO TAIF?

Yes
No

4) IF YOU HAVE A FARM, DO YOU WORK IT NOW?

Yes
No

حزء السكن الى المدرسة الابتدائية

اقل من ١٠٠ متر
من ٣٠٠ الى ٦٠٠ متر
من ٧٣٠ الى ١٠٠٠ متر
من ١١٠٠ الى ١٤٠٠ متر
الكبر (حدد)

حزء السكن بالنسبة لمركز المدينة

اقل من ١٠٠٠ متر
من ١٠٠٠ الى ١٤٠٠ متر
من ١٤٠٠ الى ١٧٠٠ متر
من ١٨٠٠ الى ٢٠٠٠ متر
الكبر (حدد)

من يملك السكن

مملوك
مستأجر

هل لدى رئيس الاسرة اي مسكن اخر بالطائف؟

نعم
لا

اذ كان الجواب نعم فما يستخدم هذا المسكن من الاغراض التالية :

للايجار الصيفي
للايجار السنوي
للاستخدام الشخصي فقط
للبيع
اسباب اخرى (حددها)

الجزء الثامن - الحالة الاقتصادية

ما مقدار دخلك الشهري وفقا لما هو موضح التالي :

اقل من ١٠٠٠ ريال
من ١٠٠٠ الى ١٩٩٩ ريال
من ٢٠٠٠ الى ٢٩٩٩ ريال
من ٣٠٠٠ الى ٣٩٩٩ ريال
اكثر من ٤٠٠٠ ريال

ماهي الممتلكات التي تركتها في قريتك؟

مزرعة
منزل
كليهما
لاشيء

APPENDIX B

VARIABLES LOADING ON THE SEVEN EXTRACTED FACTORS

FACTORS	VARIABLES	LOADINGS
I	Complete family migrated	.91
	Relatives are in Taif	.51
	Age of Head of Household	.38
	Village property	.47
	Taif is closer	.29
II	Years away from village	.85
	Years living in Taif	.87
	Occupation of Head of Household	.33
	Family size at village	.41
III	Village households	- .69
	Family size at village	- .66
	Too many members in the family	.44
	Relatives are in Taif	.35
IV	Family Disputes	.51
	Loss of parents	.56
	No schools at village	.47
	Years away from village	.31
V	Farming before migration	.88
	Farming after migration	.91
	Village property	.19
VI	Modern Amenities	.85
	Taif is closer	.57
	More opportunities	.72
VII	No jobs at village	- .58
	Better jobs in Taif	.49
	No schools at village	.37

Source: Field survey by author, 1980, and SPSS Factor Program.

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

STEP	VARIABLES	WILKS * LAMBDA	RAO'S V*	CHANGE IN V	SIG.
1	Distance to city center	.2867	554.6	554.6	.000
2	Distance to nearest market	.1994	668.2	113.6	.000
3	Dwelling area	.1938	690.6	22.3	.000
4	Alley resident	.1891	710.9	20.3	.000
5	Income	.1807	729.8	18.8	.000
6	Apartment	.1750	745.7	15.9	.000
7	Distance to major street	.1720	756.2	10.4	.005
8	Ruralized	.1686	763.5	7.3	.025
9	Three exposure house	.1664	769.2	5.7	.057
10	Dwelling size	.1632	776.4	7.1	.027
11	Year moved to Taif	.1607	782.7	6.2	.043
12	Education	.1586	787.3	4.6	.096
13	One exposure house	.1571	792.4	5.0	.080
14	Two exposure house	.1556	796.8	4.4	.110
15	Villa	.1551	799.8	2.9	.225
16	Duration of residence	.1547	801.0	1.2	.543
17	Rate of change of residence	.1541	802.5	1.4	.472
18	Size of household	.1540	802.9	.3	.831

* Significant

Source: Field Survey by Author, 1980; and SPSS Discriminant Program.