INTERNAL MIGRATION AND REGIONAL POLICY IN IRAQ

(TWO VOLUMES)

VOLUME I

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SUMMARY

This Thesis examines the character of internal migration in Iraq. In Part I and II the agricultural conditions and population movement are analysed for the regions and subregions of the country. The analysis suggests that the major factor leading to migration is the deterioration of the agricultural sector, and that the main migration problem areas are the flow irrigated Central and Southern Regions. Policies devised to deal with the agricultural sector seem to fail due to difficulties of implementation.

In the third and fourth Parts of this Thesis Case Studies of the Migrant Settlements in the Capital and of the Reverse Migration Project set up outside the Capital are examined. The objectives of this examination were primarily to gain greater understanding of the rural migration pattern to the Capital, the main recipient of rural migrants in the country, and to assess the effectiveness of the Reverse Migration Project. Both Case Studies' data uphold the characteristics of the migration pattern shown in the examination of the population movement in Part II of the Thesis and also support the suggestion that the deterioration of the agricultural sector is the main factor for rural migration in Iraq. Case Studies' data further support the single stage to the Capital pattern of migration suggested in the first two Parts

of the Thesis. Analysis of the Reverse Migration Project Case Study shows that while the experiment was basically successful, as far as keeping the relocated migrants in their new rural environments, administrative and bureaucratic problems are seriously threatening the future of the project.

A series of short, medium and long range measures to deal with the migration movement (as a direct option) and with the agricultural sector (as an indirect option) form the bases of the conclusions where the regional differentials for these suggested measures are emphasized.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Iraqi Dinar: The unit of currency in Iraq, equivalent to around two English pounds (£2) - November, 1977 exchange rate. Sometimes referred to in this Thesis as I.D. The Iraqi Dinar is further broken down into 1000 fils.

Donum: A measurement unit for land which equals 2,500 square metres (about 0.62 acres)

Mohafadat: The largest administrative unit in the country. Also referred to as subregion, Liwa or Province. Subdivided into Qadhas, and those are further subdivided into Nahyas. Currently the country is subdivided into eighteen Mohafadats. For the purpose of this research the pre-1958 subdivision of 14 Mohafadats were used for statistical reasons.

Arable land: The land that is suitable for agriculture or can be made suitable with minor adjustments.

Cultivated land: Land cropped during a period of a year including permanently cropped areas. Cultivated land equals agricultural holdings (farm land) minus fallow land.

Fallow system: The agricultural system predominant in the agricultural regions in Iraq whereby half the farm land is left idle on alternate years.

Fallow land: Farm land lying fallow within the rotation system.

Fellah:	The local name for peasants - plural fellaheen.
Sirkal:	Usually a prominent member of a group of fellaheen given the duty by the land owner (mostly the tribal chief) to act as his agent. In most cases the sirkal receives part of the land as his own to cultivate.
Miri Sirf land: (also referred to as Miri or State land)	Pure State lands with full legal ownership and usufructuary possession belonging to the State. This land may be exploited directly or indirectly at the State discretion.
Miri Tapu: (or Tapu leased land)	Lands held by private persons in permanent tenure from the State. Full legal ownership is held by the State but usufructuary possession is granted on registered tenure. The holder of the land is in reality the private owner of the land who may sell it, mortgage it, or will it to his heirs. The State, however, may subject the owner to certain restrictions (and in the pre-1958 periods to taxation).
Miri Lazma (or Lazma) land:	Full legal ownership is held by the State but the individuals or tribes cultivating the land pay the State a fee (taxes) for its cultivation. After ten years of consecutive use, the land may be registered in the name of the holder subject to restrictions over the transfer of title and continuity of proper cultivation.

Waqif land: Mortmain property which has been dedicated for pious or philanthropic purposes. The administration of Waqif land is entrusted by

1) The Government Awqaf administration for the benefits of religious institutions, or by
2) Private trustees who are appointed by religious courts.

Mulk land: Lands which are held in full private ownership whose owners have both the right of absolute ownership and the right of usufructuary possession.

C.S.O. Central Statistical Organisation of the Ministry of Planning, Baghdad.

State farms and Government farms: Both are agricultural farms owned and run by the State. The main difference between the two is that Government farms are separate entities or projects where no other components exist but the farm itself, while the State farm is usually part of larger resettlement or agricultural projects of which a part is allocated as a State farm. State farms are mostly used for experimental purposes and peasants' guidance exercises. Also while the output value in a State farm is distributed according to the productivity of the workers, Government farm employees get fixed wages or salaries.

INTRODUCTION

Iraq was primarily a rural agricultural country until the creation of the National Rule in Iraq. During the next thirty years the country was transformed so that by 1965 the majority of the population was urban. This transformation was only possible because there was a rapid rate of migration from rural to urban areas and a high rate of natural population increase. Migrants on this scale led to a number of problems including:

(1) Serious shortages of agricultural crops, mainly wheat, barley and rice. This led to the importation of huge quantities of food stuffs at high costs.

(2) As rural migrant household heads to urban centres are primarily in the most productive age groups, serious development problems arose in the rural areas.

(3) The continuous rural migration to the urban centres resulted in a constant total rural population over the last twenty years. This rural population was called upon to support a doubling of the urban population over the same period.

(4) The huge concentration of population in the Capital City in particular and other major centres in general far outstripped the capacity

of the services networks in the urban areas. This led to the creation of urban slums and social ghettos with consequent sanitary, health and social disorder.

Early Government efforts to limit migration concentrated upon preventing the migrant from leaving his rural home. There was no real effort to understand migration and to put forward effective remedies. After the 1968 Revolution new measures were introduced to deal with the problems of the agricultural sector. New legislation, planning machinery and new strategies were developed. Outstanding examples of the new strategies are the active involvement of the State in the agricultural production and the Reverse Migration strategy implemented in the prototype project of Shihamya. While all these new measures concentrated on the development of the agricultural sector, they seem to give migration control a secondary priority in their objectives. Even the Reverse Migration Project is viewed in some circles as having migration control as a secondary objective. The development strategists in Iraq feel that while migration is a major problem hindering the development of the agricultural sector, it could be dealt with through the comprehensive development of the agricultural sector. In recent years large numbers of migrants have continued to leave the rural areas, whilst Baghdad's

share has increased. The long range planning measures and strategies by definition can only take effect in the long run. The rural population needs a remedy now. Migration control policies of the short and medium range types are therefore urgently needed. Such policies have to be drawn with a clear understanding of both the subregional pattern of migration and the factors causing it. Generalised development policies which do not take subregional differentials into consideration are likely to be of limited success.

AIM AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study is basically designed to produce a set of controls to designate regional policy options for the regions in Iraq to deal with the rural-urban migration problem.

The elements of the agricultural sector which have led to the rural migration movement are studied in Part I of this Thesis. These are unsatisfactory land tenure, poor agricultural practices and inadequate agricultural planning. In Part II the population growth and internal migration pattern of the regions and subregions in the country are examined through the evaluation and analysis of available official statistical data.

A Case Study of rural migrants in the Capital forms Part III. Here the factors causing migration, the conditions of migrants in their new urban environments and the pattern of the migrant settlements in Baghdad are evaluated. A secondary but important objective was to examine the development of Government strategy to deal with the migrants' problem in Baghdad particularly, but also in Iraq in general.

In Part IV the Thesis examines in detail the Government's Reverse Migration Strategy through a Case Study of the Shihamya Project, with the emphasis on the feasibility of such projects and the effectiveness of the experiment.

Finally a set of policy indicators, based on the findings of the analysis, are deduced. Regional policy options are listed and these deal with the rural-urban migration problem in each region in the country on short term, medium term and long range bases.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

For the first time in the field of rural research in Iraq all the elements of the rural migration phenomenon have been drawn together. This is probably the most important single contribution made by this research.

All previous studies, and there has been a very limited number of them, concentrated on one or two elements of the migratory movement, and most of them looked at the population of the migrants' settlements without analysing the regional implications, or the factors which led to the migration in the first place. The agricultural situation in the country, despite being the main factor behind the migration movement, has never been analysed in a linked fashion with the migration movements, nor has there been an evaluation of the regional and subregional differentials of the migration movement both quantitatively and qualitatively; nor has there been an evaluation in the form of a Case Study analysis of a Government strategy for dealing directly with the rural migrants in towns; nor has there been an attempt to put together a comprehensive analysis of causes, conditions and measures for migration to produce a regional policy to deal with the migration problem.

The main contribution of this study to planning in Iraq is to propose a framework for future measures, on a regional basis, to deal with the migration problems. While every effort has been taken by the Author to assure the comprehensiveness of this research, it could also be used for future studies which could take the form of a broader examination of the factors analysed in this study. More detailed examination of the proposals outlined in Part V and of the elements examined in the two Case Studies could follow the pattern of research set by this Thesis.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

Like many research projects in the developing world there were the usual constraints and difficulties caused by lack of data, especially on land tenure and certain aspects of agriculture. Added to that was the time factor (the length of the Scholarship Grant). Other more specific limitations are pointed out in the context of the Analysis within the text of this research.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

AND

REGIONAL POLICY IN IRAQ

VOLUME I

PART I — IRAQ: THE COUNTRY, ITS AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE AND THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

PART II — POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN

PART III — BAGHDAD MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS - CASE STUDY NO. 1

PART I

IRAQ: THE COUNTRY

ITS AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE AND THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

1.1 THE COUNTRY

1.2 AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE IN IRAQ

1.3 AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS AND AGRICULTURAL PLANNING IN IRAQ

1.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF PART I

PART I

IRAQ:
THE COUNTRY, ITS LAND TENURE AND THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

1.1 THE COUNTRY

(a) Location:

The Republic of Iraq is situated in the south west of Asia, to the north east of the Arabs homeland, bounded on the north by Turkey, on the east by Iran, on the west by Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and on the south by the Arab Gulf, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Iraq lies between latitudes $29^{o}\ \bar{5}$ and $37^{o}\ \bar{22}$ north and between longitudes $38^{o}\ \bar{45}$ and $48^{o}\ \bar{45}$ east. (See Fig. 1, p.3)

(b) Area:

The area of Iraq covers 438,466 square kilometres.

(c) Relief and main physical divisions: (See Fig. 2, p.5)

(1) The Alluvial Plain:

It forms one fifth of Iraq's area, i.e. 93,000 sq. km. extended in a form of a rectangle, 650 km. long and 250 km. wide, between a point 80 km. north of Baghdad on the Tigris River to Ramadi on the Euphrates River, in the north, Iranian frontiers on the east and the Desert Plateau on the west.

Fig. No.1 IRAQ LOCATION AND MAIN ADMINISTRATIVE SUBDIVISIONS
(pre 1976 Subdivisions)

(2) The Desert Plateau:

It is situated in the west of the country and forms together with the northern pastures (Gezira) Zone about three-fifths of the area of Iraq, or 260,000 sq. km. Its altitude is about 100-1000 metres above sea level.

(3) The Mountain Region:

This region is situated in the north and north-east of Iraq and extends to its joint boundaries with Syria, Turkey and Iran in the west, north and east. This region's area is about 25,000 sq. km.

(4) Terrain Region:

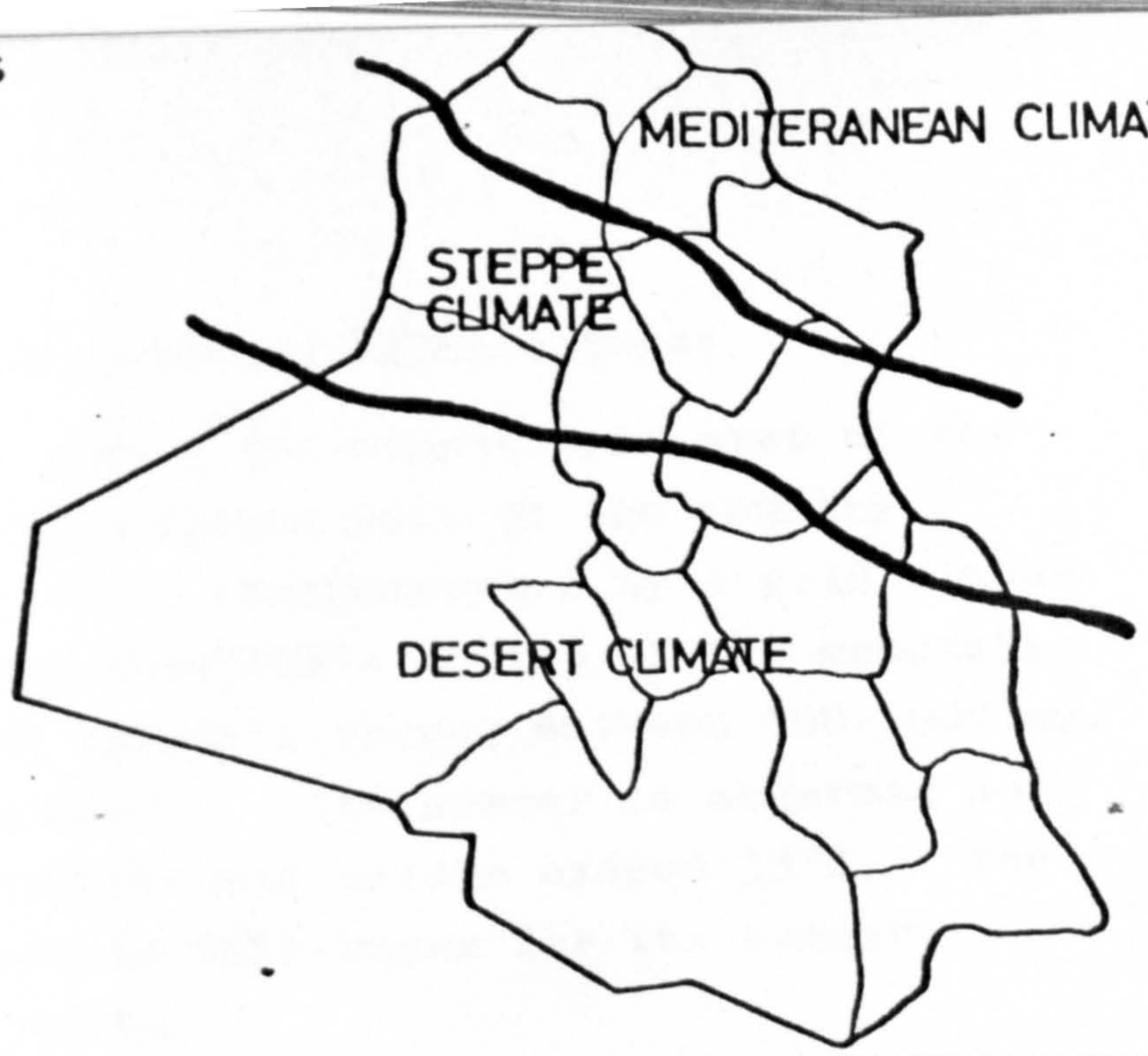
This is a transitional region from the lowlands in the south to the high mountains in the north and north-east. It covers about 60,000 sq. km. Its altitude varies between 200-1000 metres.

(d) Climatical Conditions:

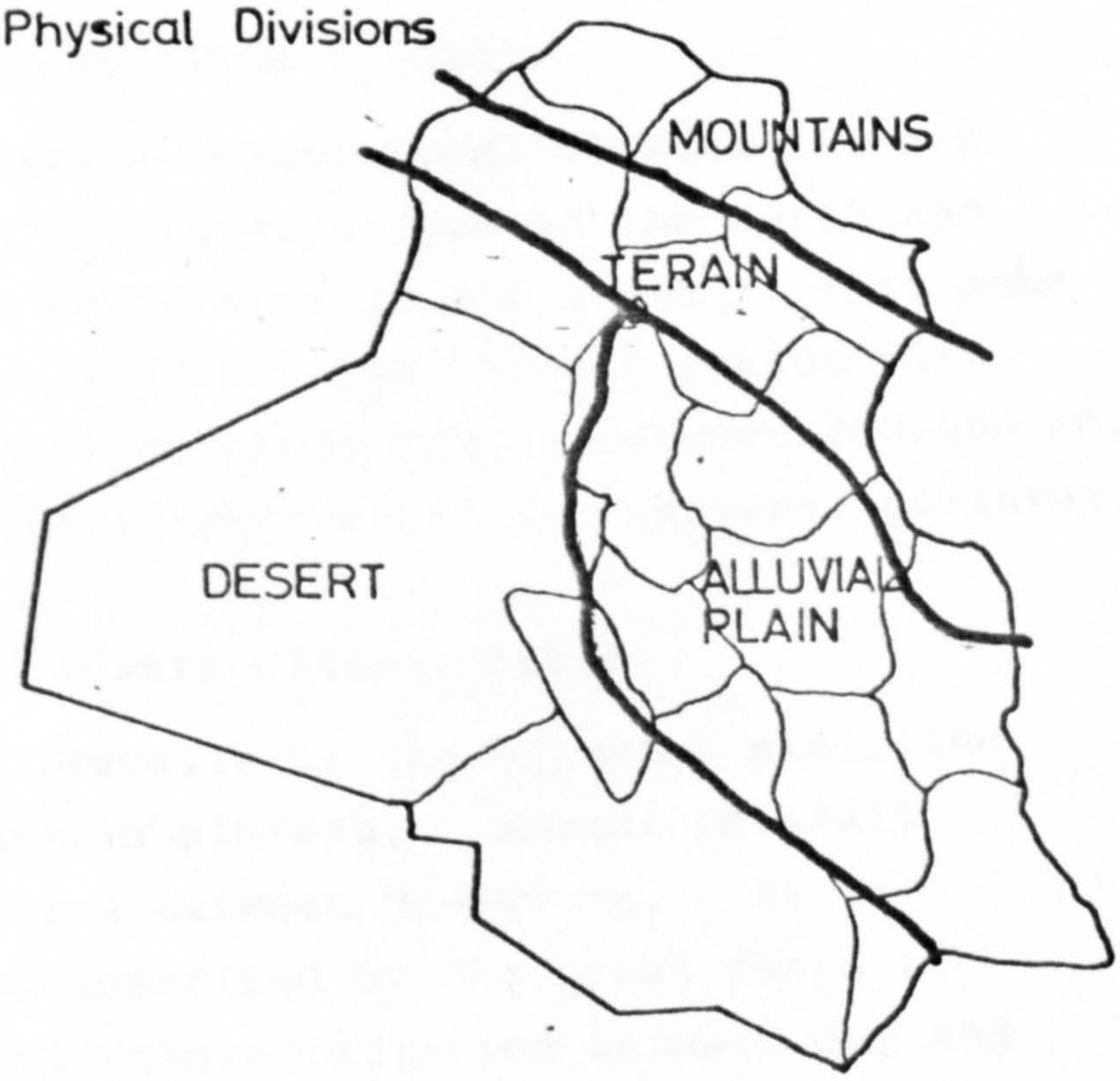
Iraq lies within the moderate northern region. Its climate is Continental and sub-tropical, with rainfall system similar to that of the Mediterranean zone. Rain falls mostly in the winter season, with some in the spring and autumn and none in the summer.

Iraq's climate can be divided into three types (according to the part of the country concerned), namely: (See Fig. 2, p.5.)

IRAQ: Climatic Regions



IRAQ: Relief and Main Physical Divisions



IRAQ - Natural Vegetation Regions

- Forests and Mountain Herbs Region
- Marshland Region
- Steppes Region
- River Banks Region
- Desert Region

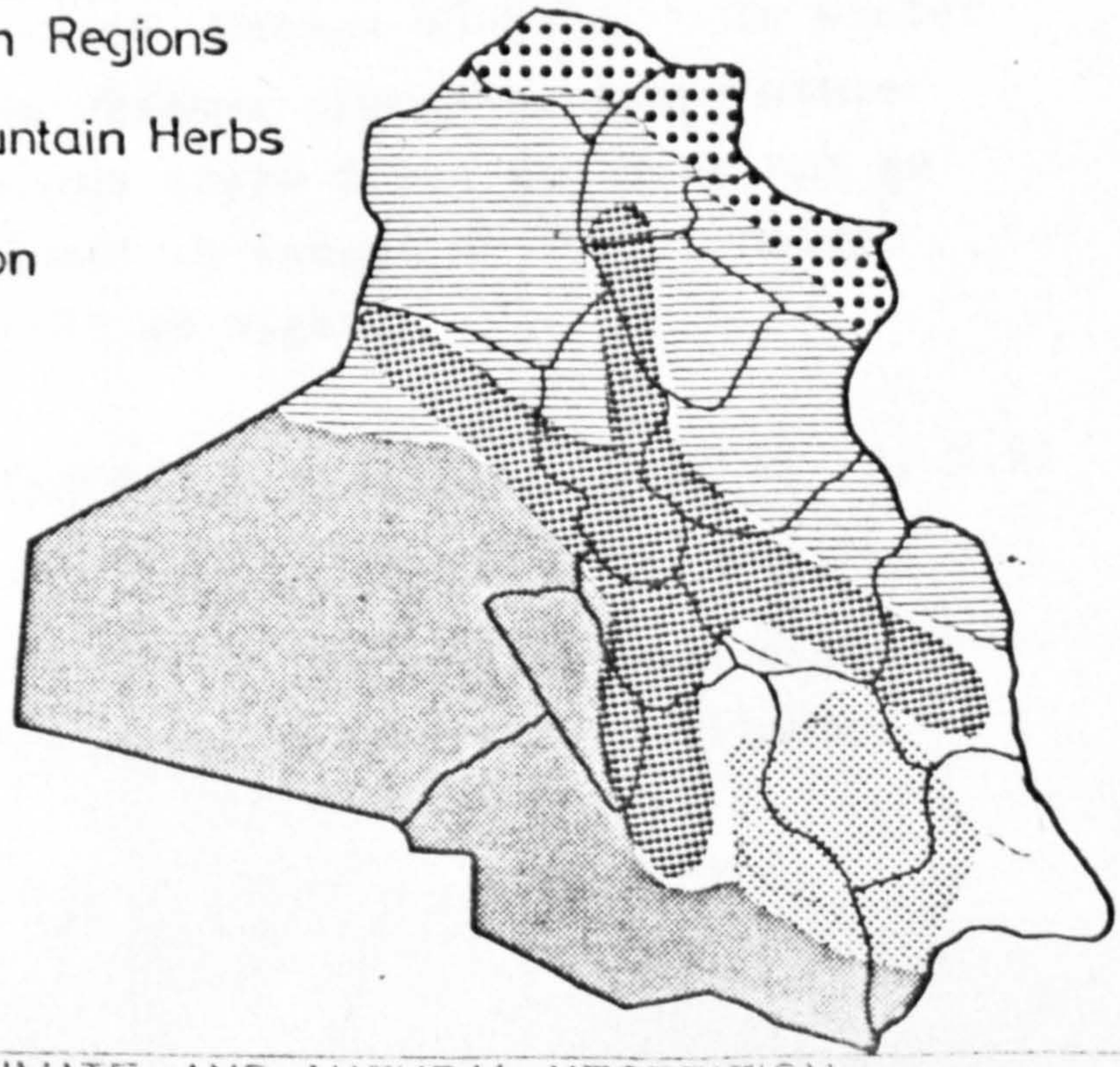


FIG 2 IRAQ RELIEF CLIMATE AND NATURAL VEGETATION

(1) Mediterranean Climate Zone:

It covers the mountainous area at the north-eastern part of the country, which is characterized by a cold winter when snow falls on top of the mountains and rainfall ranges between 400-1000 mm. annually. Its summer is moderate and temperatures seldom exceed 35°C. The area is well-known for its summer resorts.

(2) Steppes Climate Zone:

It has a transitional climate between the mountainous zone in the north and the hot desert in the south. This zone mostly covers the terrain region with annual rainfall ranges between 200-400 mm. which is sufficient for seasonal pastures.

(3) Hot Desert Climate Zone:

It prevails in the alluvial plain and western plateau. Annual rainfall ranges between 50-200 mm. It is characterized by the great range of temperature variation between day and night, summer and winter, the maximum of which reaches 45-50°C. In winter warm weather prevails, temperature remains above frost and does not go beneath it except on few occasions mostly at night.

(e) <u>Natural Vegetation Regions</u>: (See Fig. 2, p.5)

(1) Forests and mountain herbs region:

Situated in the mountainous region within the Mediterranean climate.

The most important plants are acorn, almonds, walnuts, pine, nuts and terebinth.

(2) Steppes region:

Most of its plants are herbs, some bulbs and thorny plants.

(3) River banks region:

It covers the river banks in different regions of Iraq where its vegetation is shrubs, herbs, willow, tamarisk, liquorice shrubs and camel thorn.

(4) Marshland region:

This region is situated in the south of the alluvial plain forming a triangle where Amara, Nasiriya and Qurna (in Basrah subregion) towns are situated on its poles. The important marshes in this region are Al-Hamar and Al-Huwaiza marshes. The natural vegetation is mainly reed and cane.

(5) The Desert region:

No appreciable amount of natural vegetation exists. Few natural vegetation plants could resist the extreme conditions of climate in the desert except those that have adapted themselves to its climate such as tamarisk, milfoil, zizyphus and other desert plants.

(f) <u>Population Characteristics</u>:

While a more detailed examination of the Nation's

population will be dealt with in the part of the Thesis dealing with population growth (Part II), in this introductory section only general social characteristics are outlined, namely:

(1) The Iraqi population is formed ethnically from the Arabs (the majority of the population at over 80% of the total), the Kurds (which is the second largest ethnic group at about 15%), and other small minorities such as Turkish, Armenians and Assyrians. The Kurds mostly live in the northern region, while Arabs are in the central and southern region with a sizeable presence in part of the northern region subregions of Ninevah/ Dhok (where they hold a majority proportion) and in Kirkuk (where they share with the Turkish and Kurdish origins the population of this sub-region).(1)

(2) Agriculture is the main occupation of the rural population where about 90% of the rural population are engaged. Overall figures show more than 50% of the National labour force are engaged in agriculture (1970's data).

(3) Typical of most developing countries the Iraqi population have a high proportion under the age of 15 which in the 1975 data is estimated at 47.9%

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(1) Ministry of Interiors, Directorate General of Civic Affairs, Baghdad, 1957 Census Data, "Sub regions Totals", Table No. 16.

(4) Illiteracy in the population is quite high, estimated in 1970 to be over 80% of the rural population and around 50-55% of the total population. The 1968 Revolution Government passed the compulsory education law in 1971 to combat this situation.

(5) The main religious belief is Islam which represents 96% of the population's faith, Christianity is the next belief and there are also Jews and a few other sects.

(g) <u>The Administrative Set-up</u>:

Until 1958, the country was governed by a monarch which was the form of Government since its establishment in 1921 after the end of the British mandate period, 1918-1921. In July 1958 a revolution occurred bringing on the Republic era to Iraq. Two more revolutions occurred in February 1963 and in July 1968, the latter of which produced the current Government led by the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The Governing system is central controlled by Ministries in the Capital. Local Governorates in the Mohafadets have some powers in relation to the administration of their subregions. In 1970 the new Mohafadet's law was passed giving the Mohafadet's Government more powers and jurisdictions in dealing with their local affairs. In 1972 the Kurdish Autonomous Zone was created giving the Kurdish subregions of

Sulimania, Arbil and Dhok (separated from Ninevah/ Dhok subregion) a form of autonomy with full local government jurisdictions.

The country, up to 1968, was divided into fourteen Mohafadets, which in turn sub-divided into seventy-six Qadahs and around 180 Nahyas. (See Fig. 1, p.3) Later in 1968 two more Mohafadets were created (Dhok in the north and Muthna in the south) and in 1976 a further two more Mohafadets were also established bringing the total number of Mohafadets to eighteen.

1.2 AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE IN IRAQ

To trace the conditions of agricultural land tenure in Iraq up to the present time it seems convenient to sub-divide land tenure history into six periods, namely:

(a) The prehistoric period up to the destruction of the Abasid Empire in 1258 A.D.:

The early dynasties in the southern plains of Iraq 3150 B.C. had a high degree of State control. The economic system in Iraq has been characterised by public ownership to the main factors of productions concentrated in the authority of the ancient clergymen - led by the God Kings of the Dynasty.(2)

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(2) Aziz Sabahi "6000 Years of Estate Ownership for Land" - Al Thawra Journal, Baghdad, 4th July, 1976, p.3.

The organisation of agriculture in the sedementary valley of Mesopotamia requires constant precautions to protect agricultural land from floods and to maintain an effective network of irrigation canals and regulators. This was only possible through a central control authority which owned the means and power to construct, maintain and administer such a system. A close link has been noted between a strong central government and an effective irrigation system. The core of the irrigation system was always close to the area in the country where the government seat is.

Thus in the prehistoric era it was between Nefer and Akad, then moved to Babylon. At the Persian era it was Cestesphon and at the time of the Abbasid era it was Baghdad. The dominant role of the State in the creation and operation of the irrigation system gave the State control over land ownership. The State, while allocating parcels of land to individuals for their use in exchange for services rendered to the Crown (or support to the ruling group), kept control of land ownership. For example, regulations and rules in the "Code of Hammurabi" (2124 to 2081) dealt extensively with the relationships between the people and the land. During the span of the Babylonian king rule, the crown, nobles and merchants owned large tracts of land. The Kassite Kings (1760-1185 B.C.) granted huge tracts of land to influential chiefs in return for their support. In

both epochs the slaves who comprised a large percentage of the population, were mainly responsible for cultivation of the privately-owned land of their masters.(3) Under similar motives the Islamic era "Caliphs" were also granting large tracts of land to tribal chiefs, military officers and civil officers in return for loyalty, support and services. According to Alfred Bonne, this created

> "... a feudal way of life and specially in the impoverishment of the agricultural population who experienced a state of extreme economic degradation which often reduced their position to that of forced labourers crushed by their debts." (4)

(b) <u>The period between 1258 and the end of the Ottoman Rule in Iraq in 1917</u>:

The destruction of the Abasid Empire by the Mogul in 1258 A.D. and the following period of continuous wars and conflicts resulted in the abandonment and neglect of the irrigation system and consequently to the deterioration of the flood control systems leaving the agricultural areas under continuing waves of devastating floods. Epidemics and depopulation of the countryside followed and at the early stages of the Ottoman rule in Iraq (1534-1917) agriculture was limited to areas around the major towns and cities in the country. The isolation of

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(3) Fuad Baali - "<u>Relationship of Man to the land in Iraq</u>", Rural Sociology, Vol. 31, No. 2., June, 1966, p.172.

(4) Alfred Bonne, "<u>State and Economics in the Middle East</u>", 2nd edition, London, Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, p.122.

different centres in the country and the deteriorated status of the rural agricultural areas that is relegated in these periods to mostly tribal grazing lands, had led to the emergence of a strong tribal rule in the countryside. The weakening of the central government, which was mainly occupied by sending as much taxes as possible to the seat of the Ottoman Empire at Istanbul, had greatly solidified the tight grip of the tribal rule in the rural parts of the country. Tribal conflicts over grazing in the rural lands was the main condition prevailing in the daily life in the rural areas, making established rural settlements a dangerous proposition and transforming the major pattern of human existence in the countryside to that of nomadic nature. F. Baali also suggested a similar situation in his article (Footnote 3, p.12) in that the main form of rural land tenure in Iraq in the Ottoman era was that of collective or tribal ownership of land. Bloody clashes occurred frequently between the Ottomans and the Iraqi tribes over the use and control of the agricultural land. Tribes roaming the countryside assigned to themselves large areas of rural land, the size of which depended on the relative strength and number of the tribes' population in comparison with other tribes, in which grazing and existence is exclusively kept to the tribal members. Tribal chiefs kept the role of organizing and governing the

way and extent of use of their tribes assigned area, locally called the "Deera". The chiefs also kept direct supervision and control over the water sources in the tribal "Deera", and designated different parts of it to different groups and factions within the tribe. With the tribes holding rural land under no legal justification, the actual legal ownership of the country rural areas stayed with the State. The control of the rural lands was contested between the central government and the tribes with the actual control shifting in favour of the stronger side in each confrontation during the Ottoman era. In 1857 the Ottoman Land Law was passed, in which the Government in its efforts to eliminate communal land ownership, allocated large tracts of land to tribal chiefs in an attempt to gain their support for the Ottoman Empire. This effort was a direct result of the desire of the Ottoman rulers in Iraq to achieve by granting land to the tribal chiefs what they could not achieve by force during several centuries of their domination of Iraq. The Ottoman 1857 Land Law, while keeping the legal ownership of agricultural land in the hands of the State, gave tribal chiefs the legal right to utilize the land in exchange for taxation, which was rarely paid until the end of the Ottoman era in 1917 with the British Occupation of Iraq during the First World War. The deterioration of the

agricultural situation in the country was so bad towards the end of the Ottoman rule that less than 4% of the country area was considered to be agriculturally usable and according to D. Warriner, three-quarters of the cultivated land in Iraq was first ploughed in 1918.(5)

(c) The British Mandate Period (1917-1920):

After their occupation of Iraq in 1917 and during the years of the Mandate, 1917-1920, the British pursued a land policy of two main objectives: firstly, to reinforce the tribal chiefs' control on land (in exchange for their co-operation with the Occupation Authorities); and, secondly, to enable British businesses to establish agricultural colonies of the same nature as those established elsewhere in the British Empire. Small agricultural holdings were not encouraged, and the Occupation Authorities did nothing to stop tribal chiefs from taking over the small agricultural holdings adjoining their lands. According to Miss G. Bell,(6) sub-division of large land estates under the control of tribal chiefs to small agricultural holdings will reduce the authority of these chiefs on their tribes and may

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(5) D. Warriner, "Land Reform and Development in the Middle East: A Case Study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq" First edition, London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957, p.116-117.

(6) G. Bell, "Chapters from Modern Iraq History", p.237. Source: A. Sabahi - op.cit., p.3.

eventually lead to the weakening of the tribal control on rural Iraq, a not favourable result in view of the expressed intention of those chiefs to co-operate with the Occupation Authorities and with the Government set-up during the Mandate Period.

(d) <u>The National Rule in Iraq, 1921 up to the 1958 Revolution</u>:

The new State of Iraq (1921) inherited the confused state of land ownership in which many of the records of land titles had been either destroyed or lost. To cope with this situation, The Government requested Sir Ernest Dowson, a British land expert, to study the problem.(7) Dowson reported that registration of titles to the land in Iraq had never been practicably or systematically attempted. Not only unreliability of the "Land Registry" records was involved but also there was the fact that the records were "commonly out of date, and/or incomplete, and/or conflicting, and/or unintelligible, and/or of questionable validity". Among his main recommendations was the establishment of a "land title" office using "well-defined rules for making and keeping the records to land titles".(8)

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(7) F. Baali, op.cit., p.173.

(8) Sir Ernest Dowson, "<u>An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions: Proposal for the Initiation of Reform</u>" - A Report submitted to the Iraqi Government, Letchworth, England, Garden City Press, 1931 - <u>Source: F. Baali</u>, op.cit., p.173

Based on his Report, the Government enacted the land settlement laws of 1932 and later of 1938, in which the Government were given the authority to register all properties and to settle disputes over the land questions. The direct result of the implementation of these two laws was the "practical" abolishment of tribal land communal ownership, registering the land previously only utilized under the supervision of tribal chiefs, into the names of these chiefs reducing the role of tribal members from shared owners to labourers in the feudal lords' land estates. The politically dominant position of the tribal chiefs, many of whom are members in the House of Representatives of the Country (the Senate), made it possible to pass three more laws dedicated to the reinforcing of the positions of the tribal chiefs as the sole owners of a huge part of the country's agricultural land which just before the July 1958 Revolution came to around 71.7% of the agricultural holdings in Iraq. These Laws were: Leased Land (Lazma) Law No. 51 in 1933, Rights and Duties of Cultivators Law No. 28 in 1933 and Tribes Cases and Miri Land Law No. 11 in 1940. The State-owned "Miri land" was a mere 14.57% of mainly desert or rocky soil which could not be utilized for agricultural purposes.(9) F. Baali in his article (10) summarized the pre-1958 Revolution main events as regards the subject of land tenure as follows:

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(9) A. Sabahi - op.cit., p.3.

(10) F. Baali - op.cit., p.173.

(1) For a long time, tribes exercised customary rights of collective ownership. The land holding entity was the tribe as a whole.

(2) Law No. 50 in 1932 (amended by Law No. 29 in 1938) stipulated that all people must register the titles or deeds to the land they possessed.

(3) The tribesmen were not fully informed with respect to this law, and their chieftains thus found an opportunity to register in their own names the tribal lands.

(4) The Government was aware of what was going on, but instead of compelling the Sheikhs (tribal chiefs) to register the lands in the names of the tribes, and in order to strengthen its own power, it encouraged them in their illegal procedures.

(5) As a result of this, relationships between the Sheikhs and the tribesmen became one between landlords and share tenants, and the power of the large landowners reached unprecendented heights.

The early Thirties witnessed this drastic change for the worse in the agricultural conditions and, with the now landless peasants, these years saw the start of rural-urban migration in its present form in Iraq. The formation of the National Police in 1930 and the National Draft Law of 1935 were two more accessory reasons to make the flight of the oppressed peasants

from the rural areas a more attractive alternative to their new status as landless share tenants in their own tribal land. By July 1958 the total agricultural holdings in Iraq was 23,327,262 donums and with the characteristics of the land tenure system heavily in favour of the tribal chiefs, the legally instated feudal lords showed land estates over 1,000 donums in size (which represents only 1.9% of the total number of agricultural holdings) covering around 68% of the country's agricultural land. If one adds the medium-sized agricultural holdings, which cover sizes between 100 and 1,000 donums and which are usually owned by less influential tribal officers (aides locally called "Sirkals") of the large land estate tribal chiefs, then 13.8% of landowners in the rural areas hold about 90% of the agricultural land in Iraq with the other 10% of the agricultural land distributed among 86.2% of the agricultural land holders. Furthermore, 4.4% of the agricultural land in Iraq is distributed to 75.6% of these land holders. Table No. 1, following, shows the number and size of agricultural holdings in Iraq just before the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958.(11)

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(11) F. Baali - Ibid., p.174. Compiled from "Results of the Agricultural and Livestock Census in Iraq for years 1950-59". Baghdad, Government Press 1961.

Table No. 1

NUMBER AND AREA OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN IRAQ CLASSIFIED BY SIZE (JULY 1958)

Size of holdings in Donums	Holdings		Amount of Land(Donums)		Average size of holding Donums
	Number	% of holdings total	Area	% of total area	
Less than 1.0	22801	13.5%	8524	-	0.4
1.0 - 3.9	35157	20.9%	64531	0.3%	1.8
4.0 - 19.9	45539	27.0%	429910	1.8%	9.4
20.0 - 39.9	18891	11.2%	527474	2.3%	27.9
40.0 - 59.9	10802	6.4%	521806	2.2%	48.3
60.0 - 99.9	11612	6.9%	894707	3.8%	77.1
100.0-199.9	11464	6.8%	1575884	6.8%	137.5
200.0-399.9	5459	3.2%	1479198	6.3%	271.0
400.0-599.9	1693	1.9%	812922	3.5%	480.2
600.0-999.9	1510	0.9%	1156735	5.0%	766.0
1000.0-1999.9	1395	0.8%	2012643	8.6%	1442.8
2000.0-3999.9	1066	0.6%	2999040	12.9%	2813.4
4000.0-9999.9	682	0.4%	4078593	17.5%	5980.3
10000.0-19999.9	181	0.1%	2457408	10.5%	13576.8
20000.0-49999.9	70	-	2096872	9.0%	29955.3
50000.0-99999.9	19	-	1334102	5.7%	70215.9
100000.0 and over	5	-	876913	3.8%	175382.6
ALL HOLDINGS IRAQ	168346	100.0%	23327262	100.0%	138.6

According to A. Sabahi, the 1958 land classification of the 32,154,813 donums, Iraq's land classified as agricultural is as follows:(12)

		Donums	%
(1)	Agricultural Holdings:		
	Tapu Leased Land	12,481,588	38.82
	Lazma Land	10,587,676	32.92
	Absolute Ownership (Sirf Land)	257,998	0.80
	Total	23,327,262	72.54
(2)	Government Land: (Miri Land)	4,684,537	14.57
(3)	Waqif Land: (Religious & family)	439,075	1.37
(4)	Unsettled Land:	3,703,939	11.52

Thus Tapu leased lands and Lazma land which are lands given to the tribal chiefs under the land settlement laws of the 1930's represents 71.7% of the total agricultural land in the country and almost 100% of the entire agricultural holdings in the country leaving nothing to the tribesmen. So, while the State technically owns the whole (almost) of the agricultural lands, in reality and under the 1930's land settlement laws it is "given" to individuals for utilization as rightful owners. Only if it is required by that owner to "adjust" the land deed, then part of it ($\frac{2}{3}$ in Lazma and $\frac{1}{3}$ in Tapu lease) will be registered as absolute private ownership. The change will relieve the land holder from paying taxes to the Government, but with the tribal chiefs through their strong political position paying no taxes

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(12) A. Sabahi - op.cit., p.3.

in any case, nobody thought about this and they all continue to utilize the land as "absolute private property".

If the subregional pattern of agricultural holdings is analysed, it is quite evident that the southern region and some of the central region subregions have a high average size agricultural holding signifying the predominance of land feudal lords estates. Wasit with 946.8 donum per agricultural holding, Mysan with 319.2 and Thiqar with 278.3 are the three highest subregions in the Nation. Table No. 2, following, shows the subregional figures for agricultural holdings.(13)

The tenure classes, according to F. Baali, consist of two small categories of farm operators (owners and managers) and a large one of peasants (locally called "Fellaheen").(14) The landowners include:

(a) the sheikhs (tribal chiefs), or owners of large estates, whose number is very small, especially before 1959; and
(b) the small landowners.

The latter category increased significantly after the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law. The other category of farm operators consist of the "Sirkals", tribal chief aides and deputies. Their number is rather limited due, according to F. Baali, to the nature of their work.

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(13) F. Baali - op.cit., p.175

(14) F. Baali - Ibid., p.175

Table No. 2

AREA, NUMBER AND AVERAGE SIZE OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BY SUBREGIONS (JULY 1958)

Region/Subregion	Area of holdings (in donums)	Number of holdings	Average size (in donums)
Ninevah/Dhok	5,292,535	31,247	169.4
Arbil	1,969,753	7,640	257.4
Sulimania	1,143,838	16,831	68.0
Kirkuk	2,863,495	11,112	257.7
Northern Region	11,269,621	66,830	168.6
Diala	2,517,223	15,034	167.4
Anbar	487,840	9,819	49.7
Baghdad	1,447,998	6,661	217.4
Wasit	2,297,775	2,427	946.8
Babylon	1,426,357	15,302	93.2
Kerbela	217,534	4,721	46.1
Central Region	8,394,727	53,964	155.6
Qadisya/Muthna	2,198,625	24,700	89.0
Mysan	94,480	296	319.2
Thiqar	1,091,660	3,922	278.3
Basrah	278,149	18,634	14.9
Southern Region	3,662,914	47,552	77.0
IRAQ TOTAL	23,327,262	168,346	138.6

The peasants constitute two principal types, share croppers and farm wage workers. The results of "The Agricultural and Livestock Census in Iraq for the year 1958-1959" put the number of share croppers at 314,082 of which 53% (or 166,348) was in the southern region, 17% (or 52,220) was in the northern region and 30% (or 95,514) was in the central region. The number of farm wage workers totalled 210,201, with the majority, 112,052 (53%) in the northern region, 63,239 (30%) in the southern region and 34,910 (17%) in the central region. It seems that the nature of agriculture and land tenure system dictates the ratios of these types of peasant categories. In the southern region where the feudal system is very well established and agriculture depends on river water irrigation mostly, share cropping is predominant. While at the northern region where they depend on rain for their agriculture labour is needed only at intervals during the agricultural season and thus labourers are mostly used. The central region has a mixed pattern but mostly resembles the southern region pattern.

Characteristics of the Share Tenancy System before the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958

In an effort to organize the work relation between landlords and their peasants, the Government passed Law No. 28 in 1933 "Governing the Rights and Duties

of Cultivators" to be an integral part of the land settlement law No. 50 of 1932. The political dominance of the tribal chiefs in the Iraqi Senate made this law a major tool in reinforcing the authority and control of those tribal chiefs as landlords over the landless peasants working on their land estates. The landlords were given sweeping rights over the peasants because "the suggestions, recommendations, and decisions concerning cultivation and employment were determined by these landlords".(15) According to this law, the rights and duties of the landlord were to determine which land was suitable for cultivation, to give the fellah (peasant) the seeds needed and the right to use the irrigation facilities, and also to "discuss" with him the methods of farming to be used. This actually represents legalisation of the role of the feudal lords over the peasant who, before the 1932 land settlement law, were equal partners in the tribal lands making collective decisions regarding all these matters, given in the new law of "Rights and Duties" solely to the landlord. The law listed the "rights and duties" of the fellah as to sow and harvest, to care for the crops and to "accept suggestions" from the landlord or his agent. This very clearly points out the tremendous bias the law

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(15) F. Baali - Ibid., p.176.

has towards the landlords and the clearly expressed intention of abolishing any influence the peasants may have in the agricultural process. The rights and duties of the "Sirkal", (usually respectable members of the tribe acting in most cases as agents for the landlord - also in most cases assigned by him), defined by the law as "a person who organises tribesmen on a share tenancy basis", were to carry out the arrangements made between the landlord and the peasant, and to direct the latter and co-operate with him in protecting the crops. Taxation for the Government share was established in Law No. 73 of 1936 as 10% of produce in the south and centre (irrigation zone) and 5% in the north (rain fed zone). In the majority of cases these taxes were never collected and, on the limited occasions when they were, most of it came out of the peasants' share. The mere fact that the landlord supplies the seeds, irrigation water, maintenance of canals and machinery, and conducts the marketing and collecting process, means that he can impose any cost he desires to offset any extra expenses he may be obliged to pay, such as taxes, by transferring it to the peasants' share. Virtually no peasant in the whole rural area of Iraq is educated enough to check the account books of his landlord; even if there were one, he would not dare to do that in fear of eviction by the landlord, and after the passing of the Rights and Duties Law in 1933 by the Government Authorities.

According to the law (No. 28 of 1933), after paying the agricultural expenses (to be determined by the landlord) and the Sirkal's share (also to be determined by the landlord being in his employ), the remainder of the produce (value or quantity) was to be divided equally. According to F. Baali,(16) three-fifths or two-thirds of the produce, depending upon the extent to which irrigation water or water pumps were supplied to the peasant, will go to the landlord. An example of a sharing process of rice produce was given by A. B. Al Hilali.(17) The example concerns an area in Mysan which was famous as being one of the richest rice paddies in the province. The season's produce of rice in 1944 was 736 tons distributed as follows:-

	Tons
Sheikh's employees, cost of seeds and court staff (25%)	177
Sirkal's share (12%)	85
Government Tax (20%)	150
Total to be deducted before sharing	412
Remainder to be shared	324
To be divided:	
$\frac{1}{3}$ for the Fallaheen (peasants)	108
$\frac{2}{3}$ for the landlord	216

So actually the peasants' share is just under 1/6th of the total produced.

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(16) F. Baali - Ibid ., p.177

(17) A. B. Al Hilali - "Migration of Rural Folks to Towns In Iraq", Baghdad, Al Najah Press, 1st ed. 1958, p.58.

The IBRD Mission Report on the "Economic Development of Iraq"[18] showed that "when land is pump-irrigated, the fellah's share is generally only two-sevenths or three-sevenths of the crop". He still has to pay further expenses imposed by the landlord and, in the event of crop loss, the peasants in most cases (especially in subregions like Wasit, Mysan and Thiqar where the influential landlords predominated), are often responsible for larger shares of the loss. Protection and security of the crop was also considered to be the responsibility of the peasant (according to the law), which, judging by the strengthened power of the landlords in the rural areas, is quite unfair. The peasants have to buy rifles, supplied in most cases by the landlords, at prices they set. The peasant had also to contribute (as the case quoted by A. B. Al Hilali above) to the landlord's expenses of wages to his secretary, servants and guards. Such circumstances reduced the already meagre total income of the peasant and many of them were in debt. In order to get a loan, the peasants had to go either to the landlord or his agent. If they both refused, the only source left was a moneylender (in nearby villages or towns), since the agricultural bank could give a loan only upon security by a mortgage

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(18) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, "The Economic Development of Iraq", Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952, p.143.

which was impossible. The law gave the landlords a very powerful means of keeping the peasants on the land by forbidding them to leave the land if in debt to landlords. In Article 15 of this Law it states that landlords have the right to keep peasants on the land as long as they were indebted.

> "Such peonage or debt-bondage reduced them to a state of virtual serfdom and to the position of serf-tenants." (19)

Moneylenders and landlords whilst lending to the peasants and claiming that they receive no interest on the loans (which is forbidden both religiously and by law) actually receive a large interest in the form of a share from the peasants harvest. Some call it a "present" and may go to considerable lengths to try and keep it as such. Baali reported that this share is seldom below one-third of the harvest. There were also no rights for the peasants to form a trade union to protect their interests. The peasant was reduced under these circumstances to the position of wage labourer for whom wages were paid in terms of crops he produced of which a very small proportion actually reached the peasant. Decisions, according to the law and also by virtue of the immense power of the landlords, regarding which land was to be planted, the quantity and quality of seed to be sown, the time of sowing, the methods of ploughing and watering and many related matters, were made by the big landlords or their agents.

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(19) F. Baali - op.cit., p.177.

Under this system, and because of his small share, the fellah was obliged to use the labour of his wife and children.(20)

Conflicts between landlords on the control of water and ownership of agricultural land put an additional burden on the peasants who, during these conflicts, were drafted to fight bloody clashes against rival landlords. These conflicts represent no real interest for peasants on either side of the warring factions; actually the only losses on each side were the peasants who got killed fighting for the interests of their captors. Conflicts between the peasants and their landlords in many cases took the form of a rebellion with the Government usually intervening in favour of the landlord. If these conflicts were of any advantage, they helped to breakdown the tribal solidarity, undermined the social role of the landlords as tribal chiefs and helped many peasants to make up their minds regarding an escape from their pitiful situation.

A series of land settlement laws were also enacted by the Government in an effort to deal with the peasants' unrest and discontent with the deterioration of living conditions in the rural areas. Again, under the political influence of the large land estate owners, most of whom were members of the Senate, all these laws were heavily in favour of the

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(20) F. Baali - Ibid., p.178.

landlords and gave more power and authority to them, while putting more restrictions and pressure on the already hopelessly depressed peasants. Mysan (Amara) Resettlement Laws of 1952 (No. 42) and of 1955 (No. 53) and Thiqar (Nasirya) Resettlement Laws of 1952 (No. 40) and of 1954 (No. 27) are but few examples of these attempts. The Government also in an effort to deal with the peasants' migrant waves that started to pour into the Capital initiated agricultural settlement projects like Dujaila (1945) and Greater Mussayab project (1952). Dujaila met with initial success in the period between 1945 and 1952 then with the failure of its co-operative society in 1952 the project went into the normal governmental neglect pattern of projects having difficulties and was all but abandoned in the period just after the 1958 Revolution. The Greater Mussayab project which started in 1952 also went through various stages of neglect, the last in 1964 when R. A. Fernea reported that

> "A 1964 visit to Mussayab resettlement project revealed long sections of canals and drains clogged with mud and water weeds, while Government housing, built for the new settlers at considerable expense, stood largely empty. A few sections of this costly project were under cultivation but other areas were unfarmed and used for grazing flocks of goats and sheep. A number of tracts of land were completely bare and bright with salt crystals, indicating salination of the soil." (22)

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(22) R. A. Fernea - "Land Reform and Ecology in Post-Revolutionary Iraq", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 17, No. 3, (1968-1969), p.359.

The proximity to Baghdad and the continuing interest of the UNDP kept the project going until the post-1968 Revolution Government in Iraq took a renewed interest in the project and helped to restore it. The projects embarked on by the pre-1958 Government were fought continuously by the influence of the landlords who saw in the success of such projects a direct threat to their very existence and through their political influence made sure that they all failed and were abandoned leaving the conditions of the peasants just before the 1958 Revolution in a tremendous state of poverty and despair.

The Government, under pressure owing to the continuing volumes of rural-urban migration - both from the landlords who saw in the situation of their peasants' migration a serious threat to their interests and also from the urban municipal authorities when the migration started to put pressure on their services budget, asked the advice of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1952) and the British land expert, Lord J. A. Salter (1955). The IBRD Report of which the principal task was "the overall economic development of the country", concentrated on the agricultural situation stating that

> "...any development programme for Iraq must obviously put primary emphasis on agriculture." (23)

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(23) IBRD - op.cit., p. 4.

On the issue of land tenure the IBRD Report suggested that a class of independent small holders needed to be created. It recommended resettlement projects similar to those later recommended by Lord Salter. It also advocated the distribution of land to individual families in 60 acre plots (100 donums). The bank experts also warned against the dangers of permitting a class of minor non-cultivating landlords to develop. Lord Salter in 1955 suggested the improvement of the conditions of landless cultivators and raising agricultural production by developing government-owned land into large scale resettlement projects. The peasants in these projects would be either small owners or tenants of the State. He also emphasized the necessity of supplying the land with irrigation and drainage facilities.(24) Both reports clearly rank possession of land by individual families as being of primary social and economic importance, while implicitly granting that the Government was unable to consider programmes based on the distribution of existing estates. Both reports met with considerable concern in the Government circles but did nothing to motivate the Government to do something about the peasants' conditions in the rural areas. The political pressure of the landlords and their numerous representatives in the Senate prevented any

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(24) J. A. Salter - "The Development of Iraq: A Plan for Action", London, Caxton, Report submitted to the Iraqi Development Board, 1955, p.55.

such action. The Government in its ordeal of being pressured by a decline in agricultural output, making Iraq for the first time in its modern history a grain importer, and with continuous rural migration from the countryside on one hand and the political strength of the landlords resisting any legislation to alter the land tenure system on the other, embarked in the early Fifties on a huge programme of dam and reservoir construction. This, it was believed by frustrated Government technicians, would eventually lead to improvement of the agricultural sector which might consequently improve the peasants' conditions. Doreen Warriner, the British economist, a year before the 1958 Revolution came solidly against this policy.(25) In her argument, increasing the agricultural production and raising the per capita income of the landless cultivator could not be accomplished, she said, simply by spending money on dams, irrigation systems and similar forms of infrastructure. The problem, she explained, was fundamentally social, not technical, in nature and stemmed from "a social vacuum" which existed as a result of the lack of a "new economic class to rival the power of the landowner". As long as these landowners, who controlled almost nine-tenths of the arable land in southern Iraq, also controlled or greatly influenced the Government, no significant

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(25) D. Warriner - op.cit., p.174.

improvement in the condition of the cultivator could be expected. Without giving the cultivators some share of the land, she stated, other attempts to improve the situation would at best be piecemeal in effect.

Thus the peasant, having to face the tyranny and oppression of his landlord, the continuing decline of soil productivity due to mounting soil salinity, natural disasters (such as floods - especially in 1954), and the deliberate neglect of the authorities, took the only option left for him in migrating to towns escaping famine and the brutal rule of his landlords.

(e) The Post-1958 Revolution Period (1958-1970):

(1) The first five year period (1958-1963) of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958

(i) Enactment and major provisions:

Enacted in September, 1958 (just two months after the July, 1958 Revolution) "Law No. 30 for the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law." The long-awaited law for land reform in the agricultural sector curbed the limits of land ownership to 1,000 donums in the land irrigated by gravity or by pumps and to 2,000 donums for agricultural land in the rain-fed zone. Excess land will be exappropriated by the Agrarian Reform Authority and be distributed to landless peasants. The land parcels to be distributed to peasants are

to be 30-60 donums in the gravity irrigated and pump irrigated zone and 60-120 donums in the rain-fed zone. The other major characteristics of this Law are:-

(1) Landlords who have land in excess of the legal limits may choose their remaining share before expropriation of the amount exceeding the limit. The Government will pay compensation for the expropriated land, pumps and agricultural facilities.

(2) Peasants receiving an Agrarian Reform land have to pay its estimated value to the Agrarian Reform Authority. Most peasants as a result either declined to accept land or became in debt to the Government.

(3) The Agrarian Reform Law revoked the Law No. 28 of 1933 (concerning the rights and duties of cultivators) and outlined the following as the duties and rights of landowners and peasants:

(a) Landowner's duties:
Responsibility for managing the land, for providing peasants with arable lands, seeds and irrigation facilities.

(b) Peasant's duties:
To use the best possible agricultural methods, to reap, to collect, to move the crops to threshing floors, and to prepare the crops for the market.
Peasants shall not be expelled from the land against their will, and they will have the right to form unions to defend their interests.

(c) Peasants share of the crops in irrigated land 50%, and in rain-fed zone 40% (later in 1963 adjusted to 53% and 43% respectively).

(4) The Law also reserved the production share acquired by landowners in their agricultural land (that may exceed its legal limit).

(5) Conflicts arising from the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law will be referred to the Land Resettlement Committees in each subregion.

(6) The Law period is five years in which it is supposed to have attained its objective.

(7) The Law also specified that peasants receiving Agrarian Reform Land will have to organize agricultural co-operatives; also it gave the right to landowners who do not own above the legal limit of agricultural land to join the co-operative. The co-operative's main duties are to organize production, supply the members with materials and equipment (and loans) for the agricultural work, and to market the output.

(ii) The experience of the first Agrarian Reform Law:

Before the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law it was suggested by all experts who had studied the Iraqi agricultural scene that a land tenure reform

is the major step to solve the deteriorating situation of peasants in the rural areas. According to R. A. Fernea[26] the experts' assumption was that,

> "...once given his own land, the Iraqi cultivator would take up his shovel and spade with the industry and attitude of any proper English or American freeholder. This belief in the almost mystical efficacy of land ownership was shared by most reformers in Iraq."

The peasants had awaited agrarian reform for decades. The Law however brought him more insecurity than success. For before the Law they were dependent on their landlords to get water, seeds, irrigation facilities, marketing and finally income but they were called upon now to do all these without any preparation. The landlords who had been partners (admittedly unequal) in the agricultural process were now turned into adversaries.

The Government gave no support to the peasants other than giving them parcels of land, leaving them at the mercy of the landlords who saw in them, and in their proposed peasants' union, a dangerous enemy to their own existence. Many of the landlords fled the countryside when the law was announced well before the Government expropriation could set under way. In areas where the abuses of the landlords had been most severe a number of very large estates were totally abandoned and some of the landlords were,

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(26) R. A. Fernea - op.cit., p.357.

according to Fernea, killed before they could escape. The peasants were asked to pay for the land they received from the Agrarian Reform Authorities or accept the price in debt to be paid from future production. The landlords, returning after the initial impact of the Law had passed, seized the opportunity offered to them by the Law to select their share from their land before the expropriation took place and picked the best part, normally the part which controlled the irrigation water network intake. This was a serious deficiency in the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958. Some enraged landlords even destroyed the irrigation network in the part they picked to be given to the Government so that it would be useless for distribution to the peasants. The duties of the landlords in the Law applies only to those landlords who have peasants working for them in their shares below the legal limits, and does not apply to the peasants acquiring lands under the Agrarian Reform Law. The absence of governmental protection to the peasant, in that the new situation has encouraged the powerful landlords to intimidate the peasants receiving land under the new Law, made life even worse than before the 1958 Revolution. The peasants were left alone to face the landlords who controlled the water network, have the power and the resources and, even within the new

revolutionary system, maintain - through the corruption of some of the Agrarian Reform Authorities - a strong influence. The land resettlement authorities which were entrusted with solving conflicts arising from the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law were no strangers to the landlords. Most of these local resettlement committees have close relations with the local landlords through decades of enactment of land resettlement laws which almost all ended up in favour of the tribal chiefs. The political instability and conflicts which faced the first few years of the Revolutionary Regime in Iraq kept the Government completely occupied, not able to give any support to the peasants. The compensation to landlords, which is another setback in the 1958 Law, discouraged the Agrarian Reform Ministry from an accelerated expropriation action. Thus, the land expropriated in the first five years (1958-1963) of the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law (which originally was planned to be the period to complete all the expropriation process) showed only 36.5% of the total expropriated till the end of 1975 covering only 20.3% of beneficiaries of the same period (see Table 3, p.43). The amount of land expropriated in the first five years totals 1,269,459 donums (Table No. 1, Appendix No. 1, p.X-2) against 13,842,928 donums agricultural holdings over the 2,000 donums limit of the Law or a mere 9.1% of

it (see Table No. 1, p.20). Even the distribution of the Government land (where no expropriation was required) was far short of its 100% target set by the Law. Showing only 21.1% (see Table No. 3, p.43) of the total Government land distributed over the 1959-1975 period which represents only 12.1% of total Government agricultural land (see p.21). In terms of the number of peasants benefiting from the Law, the figures are even worse. The first five years showed 35,417 beneficiaries (Table No. 1, Appendix No. 1, p.X-2) - only 20.3% of the total beneficiaries for the period 1959-1975 (Table No. 3, p. 43) and a mere 2.5% of the total landless peasants estimated in 1958 to be around 1,424 million.(27)

The experience in the first five years of the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law represented a saddening failure of the land reform policy of the new Government and dealt a severe blow to the aspirations of the peasants, creating serious consequences in the stability of the rural population. The deterioration of the peasants' conditions in the rural areas reached, in the first years after the Revolution its lowest level in the history of modern Iraq. To make things worse, the southern region agricultural areas were hit in 1960 with an epidemic of equine fever which destroyed thousands of horses, a key animal in the Iraqi peasants' daily work.

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(27) Dr. M. Abbed & others - "Development of Human Resources in Iraqi Rural Areas", Committee Report, Proceedings of the Conference on Utilizing Scientific Methods in Development of Agriculture in Iraq, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Baghdad, May 1975,p.5.

In addition the years 1959 and 1960 were drought years. Altogether, social disorder, rural-urban migration and natural calamities combined to produce some of the lowest harvests in the recent history of the southern region. Iraq was obliged to spend part of its oil revenues to import staple foods, an annual expenditure which averaged $26,320,000 for grain alone during the years 1959-1961.(28)

(2) The second five year period (1964-1969) of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958

(Up to the enactment of the 1970 New Agrarian Reform Law):

In the second five year period, 1964-1969, conditions of the agrarian reform became even worse than the first five year period (Table No. 3, p.43). Distribution of expropriated land fell to 20% of the total distributed in 1959-1975 period (against 36.5% in the first five years), Miri land distribution fell to 17.4% and the total beneficiaries of the second five years were the lowest of the three five year periods with only 13.7%.

The agricultural co-operative movement which was launched by the Government in November 1963 was thought to be the factor which would revitalize the land reform programme and the only way to halt Iraq's falling production. However, this had very limited

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(28) R. A. Fernea - op.cit., p.359.

Table No. 3

PERCENTAGES OF LAND DISTRIBUTION AND BENEFICIARIES
AUGUST 1958 - DECEMBER 1975

Periods	Miri (State) land	Expropriated land	Total	Beneficiaries
1958 - 1963	21.1%	36.5%	29.8%	20.3%
1964 - 1969	17.4%	20.0%	18.9%	13.7%
1970 - 1975	61.5%	43.4%	51.3%	66.1%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source:
Table No.1, Appendix No.1, p.X-2

success due to lack of trained personnel, conflicts between Government departments, failure to give proper attention to improving marketing procedures and most important of all the failure to enlist the co-operation and support of the peasants from the earliest planning stage.(29)

Towards the end of the second five year period a push for collectivization of land, "somewhat on the Soviet model" was voiced within and outside the Ministry of Agrarian Reform circles. According to R. A. Fernea,

> "...this push was more due to the failures of the current agrarian reform practices than a reflection of Marxist Orthodoxy." (30)

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(29) R. A. Fernea - Ibid., p.360

(30) R. A. Fernea - Ibid., p.360

The failure of the agrarian reform programme in reality lies in two main groups of reasons. The first is the law itself with the numerous loopholes which the landlords used to dismantle the effectiveness of the law and the second is the poor administration system which was called upon to implement it. The reform of the Agrarian Reform Law was the first objective of the new Government of the 1968 July Revolution. In May 1970 the new Agrarian Reform Law No. 117 for the year 1970 was enacted and almost immediately the changes in the agricultural land tenure started to happen.

(f) <u>The Period between 1970 - the Enactment of the New Agrarian Reform Law - and up to the present time</u>:

The new Law concentrated on eliminating the short-comings of the previous Agrarian Reform Law of 1958. The main differences between the two laws are (in the land tenure field):

(1) The new Law eliminated the right of the landlords to select their share, and gave that right to the Agrarian Reform Authority.

(2) Recognizing that the main problems of land tenure are in the southern and central regions where flow irrigated land is, the new Law brought down the upper limits of ownership in this land from its 1958 Law level of 1,000 donums to between 300 to 600 donums depending on the degree of fertility and to 40

donums for gravity irrigated land cultivating tobacco in the northern region.

(3) While the previous law gave only two limits of agricultural holdings depending on the type of irrigation (2,000 donums in rain-fed zones and 1,000 donums in flow irrigated zones), the new Law introduced location of land, type of irrigation, type of crop cultivated and fertility of land as the four factors to decide the ownership upper limit. The upper limits thus were considerably reduced depending on these deciding factors down to as low as 40 donums.

(4) The new Law abolished the compensation paid for land over the legal limit to be paid to the landlords under the old law. The land actually belonged to the State and it was the previous land resettlement laws and corrupted administrations which gave the landlords an owner's rights on the land.

(5) The new Law also eliminated the role of the land resettlement authorities by revoking the law that established these authorities. Conflicts and legal matters are to be solved by the expanded Agrarian Reform Authorities created by the new Law.

(6) Initiated in the new Law was the principle of collectivization while the old law was limited to individual agricultural land distribution. That was an important principle which later constituted the base

of the new collective farming policy adopted by the Government.

(7) The new Law eliminated the payment of land value to the Agrarian Reform Authorities of peasants receiving agricultural land and replaced it with sharing in the agricultural output for five years following the granting of the land beyond which it became the peasant's property.

(8) The new Law made it compulsory for peasants receiving agricultural land to join an agricultural co-operative. It also entrusted the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform with the organisation and supervision of collective farms and the agricultural co-operatives.

(9) The new Law considered excess land over the legal limit expropriated as of the enactment of the law and to be assumed rented to the landlords until such time the official expropriation process takes place. It also considered that any agricultural land which, at the time of the enactment of the Law, was Tapu leased or Lazma land (see p.21) and which was left for two consecutive agricultural seasons without utilization for an acceptable cause, should be repossessed and recorded as Miri land.

(10) The Law also included orchards and fruit plantation lands in its limits and passed regulations covering the rights and duties of peasants working in these areas. This was left out from the previous law.

(11) The new Law also included stiff penalty clauses of fines and imprisonment for landlords and peasants violating the regulations and content of the Law.

No question about it, the 1970 new Agrarian Raform Law came almost complete to deal with all the pitfalls of the previous laws. The performance of the enactment of the Law is quite obvious in the figures in Table No. 3, p.43 with implementation figures surpassing in almost all categories of expropriations and distribution what was accomplished in the total of the previous two periods. This is especially true in the distribution aspect where around two-thirds of the peasants were receiving land in the last period. By the end of 1975 only 8.5 million donums (31) (holdings over 100 donums in size) were still in the hands of the landlords against an estimated 21.4 million at the end of 1969 (Table No. 1, p.20 and Table No. 1, Appendix No. 1, p.X-2). Under the articles of the new Law, landlords' holdings in excess of the legal limit were considered expropriated from the day the Law was enacted (May 1970) and they were liable for rent to be paid to the Agrarian Reform Authorities covering the period until the expropriation process was completed. This move reversed the attitude of

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(31) Dr. A. H. Al-Atia & others - Committee Report on "Current Agricultural Production Practices and Advantages of large scale production", Proceedings of the Conference on utilizing scientific methods in development of agriculture in Iraq, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Baghdad, May 1975, p.2.

the landlords for while under the old law they used their influence to delay the expropriation process, under the new Law they adopted the exact opposite attitude by pushing the Agrarian Reform Authorities to complete the expropriation as soon as possible to evade paying excessive rents if the process was delayed. Thus technically speaking the new Law expropriated the agricultural holdings in excess of the legal limit since the day it was enacted. The process of distributing land to the peasants was greatly accelerated with peasants receiving land under the new Law not being charged anything for the land value which under the old law prevented most peasants from receiving agrarian reform land since they could not afford it. The abolishing of compensation for landlords was another major step in facilitating the expropriation process. The agricultural co-operatives which became compulsory under the new Law grew from its 1968 total of 433 co-operatives with 58,000 members cultivating 3.5 million donums to 1,377 co-operatives in 1975 with 217,000 members cultivating around 13,363 million donums of agricultural land. The effectiveness of the new Agrarian Reform Law was also expressed in the considerable expansion in the State farms, Government farms and collective farming that the new Law introduced as part of its context. Collective land ownership was first introduced by the new Law and now is considered as the main method

of agricultural land utilization for the future. This concept became the established policy of the Government when the Baath Party Eighth Congress in January 1974 set the development policies for the country in all the sectors of the National Development Strategies. On the agricultural sector situation the Eighth Conference Report stated:(32)

> "There remains the fact that the arable land is still not enough for the farmers. In spite of the new agricultural reform law and the reduction of the maximum ownership a large number of farmers (peasants) are still landless and obliged to labour for wages with the small or medium size owners, or migrate to cities. This number will increase with the natural population increase and the spread of farm mechanisation. Larger numbers of landless will find themselves working for wages on the land or going to cities. Exploit relationships will develop and new kinds of contradictions will appear.
>
> The division of land into even smaller pieces, in spite of its democratic and progressive purport, will have negative results on general development and productivity. We have seen how the old Agricultural Reform Law did not lead to the development of agricultural production, but on the contrary led to its decline.
>
> The Revolution has made important progress along the way to establishing co-operatives, collective and State farms. Still this sector has not yet become the leader of agricultural production. We can see that the past phase succeeded in preparing the Iraqi countryside, where forty percent of the population live, for socialism. During the next five years, it is inevitable that the development of State farms first, the collectives and finally co-operative farms will lead agricultural production in no uncertain fashion."

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(32) The Arab Baath Socialist Party - "Revolutionary Iraq 1968-1973 - The Political Report adopted by the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Iraq", Baghdad, January 1974, p.142-143.

Adopted by the Government to be the code of development strategies in all sectors, the Report clearly established the priorities in the form and pattern of land tenure to dominate the agricultural sector for the future in Iraq. The Government, led by the Baath Party, clearly identified that land reform alone is not the key to improvement of the conditions of the agricultural sector. The peasant till now has not developed mentally or technically to create an appreciable change in his standards of living or improvement in his agricultural production. Despite the fact that the agrarian reform in Iraq since the 1958 Revolution had accomplished its major political objective in eradicating the feudal system, still the fragmentation of land ownership and poor management had led to considerable drop in productivity and neglect of agricultural land. Agricultural co-operatives that in 1975 covered over 58% of the agricultural land in Iraq could not replace the feudal system and performed not more than service co-operatives which contribute nothing to the means of production or the pattern of land utilization. Thus the individualism of the small peasant beneficiary of the Agrarian Reform Law, was further emphasized and accentuated under the Agrarian Reform system. Until the introduction of collective ownership in the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law,

individual farming was the predominant pattern of agricultural utilization. Until now the pattern slightly changed with only 4.6% of the agricultural land in Iraq (1.05 million donums of the currently estimated 22.913* million donums agricultural land) under collective farming. In May 1975, five years after the enactment of the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law private utilization of agricultural land in Iraq is still the absolute predominant pattern in Iraq. Table No. 4, following, illustrates this point.(33)

If the Government is to implement the adopted strategy of collective farming, State farms and co-operative utilization with emphasis on large-scale production, the current land reform law is only a preliminary step in that direction. The current total (estimated at about 200,000) of peasants who benefitted from the entire implementation of the land reform proposals since 1958 is only less than 30% of the estimated three-quarters of a million (34) landless peasants in Iraq in 1973. The continuous deterioration of land fertility, agricultural production and peasant output put under serious doubts of the effectiveness of land reform in its

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* The estimated agricultural land size in Iraq in May 1975. Compared to the 1958-1959 figure of 23,327,262 (Table No. 1, p.20), it includes both the land lost due to salinity and that added by utilization of State land.

(33) Dr. A. H. Al Atia & others - op.cit., p.4.

(34) Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Baghdad - "1973 Annual Abstracts of Statistic", Table No. 36, p.86.

Table No. 4

COLLECTIVE UTILIZATION vs. INDIVIDUAL UTILIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN IRAQ (MAY 1975)

	Donums (million)	% of total
(1) Collective Utilization		
Government farms	0.309	1.3%
State farms	0.112	0.5%
Collective farms	0.629	2.8%
Total - Collective	1.05	4.6%
(2) Individual Utilization		
Co-operative Sector:		
(a) Within Agrarian Reform land (1242 co-ops/ 199,000 peasants)	12.50	54.6%
(b) Outside Agrarian Reform land (135 co-ops/ 18,000 peasants)	0.863	3.8%
Total - Co-operative	13.363	58.4%
Private Sector: (outside the Co-ops.)		
Small size holdings (up to 100 donums)	2.5	10.9%
Medium size holdings	6.0	26.2%
TOTAL	22.913	100.0%

Source: Dr. A. H. Al Atia & Others - op.cit., p.4.

traditional approach of land distribution. According to the Agricultural Census of 1971; the 22.9 million donums of agricultural holdings in Iraq is broken up in terms of land tenure as follows:(35)

	Million donums
Mulk land (absolute private below the 1970 Law legal limit)	1.67
Tapu land	3.03
Lazma land	3.76
Owned through Agricultural Reform Laws	3.59
Rented from Agricultural Reform Agencies	5.51
Rented from Waquf	3.41
Operated on squatter basis	1.10
Managed by other forms	0.85
	22.9

Under the new 1976 Land Tenure Law all above categories with the exception of the (Mulk) private ownership, the 3.59 million donums private ownership under the Agrarian Reform Law and the 3.41 Waquf land, is considered Government property.(36) Thus the total agricultural holdings under the Government

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(35) Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Baghdad - "1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics", Table No.28, p.75

(36) Law No. 53 for the Year 1976 - "Unification of State Lands Classification" - Article No. 1 - Based on the Revolutionary Command Council Decision in its Meeting on 12th May, 1976.

control is 14.23 million donums. If it is to be distributed to landless peasants (currently around 600,000 peasants), the peasant share will be around 24.0 donums annually. On the prevailing agricultural fallow system the peasant will be able to cultivate 12 donums annually (on the average). This land, under the continual soil deterioration (especially in the flow irrigation zone) is hardly enough to sustain an acceptable level of living. Here we are assuming that all the 14.23 million donums of agricultural land will be distributed, but if the current policy of the Government of State farms and Government farms takes priority, then the 12 donums per peasant will be considerably reduced leaving the only alternative for farming outside the State and Government farms as the collective farms.

1.3 AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS AND AGRICULTURAL PLANNING IN IRAQ

In the previous section the land tenure system in the rural areas were discussed in detail tracing the historic factors and legislation affecting land tenure until the present time. In this section the other part of the agricultural process is discussed, i.e. the process of cultivation, methods and characteristics of output. The concluding part of this section discusses agricultural planning machinery and legislation.

1.3.1 Regions of Agriculture in Iraq:

Of the 100 million donums area of Iraq (excluding the desert, national sea water limit and the neutral zone), agricultural experts put current arable land in Iraq at 48 million donums, less than 50% of which is utilized at around 23 million donums (see Table No. 4, p.52). Under the fallow system, which is the normal system of cultivation in Iraq, only half of this last total is cultivated for both the winter and summer seasons. Due to the salinity problem in Iraq, which is so acute that annually it changes agricultural land in excess of 100,000 donums (in the Central and Southern Regions) to salin soils unsuitable for any kind of cultivation, the total cultivated land in Iraq is shrinking annually.(37)

Agricultural land in Iraq is either rain-fed (Northern region) or flow irrigated (Southern and Central regions). The rain-fed zone is mostly above the 400 mm. annual rainfall line. The flow irrigated zone is either gravity flow which covers around half the Central and Southern regions' agricultural land or the pump irrigated zone concentrated in the Central and Southern regions' agricultural land around the river banks. Currently there are limited attempts in the Northern region (rain-fed) and in the desert zone to use underground water to irrigate agricultural areas. While these attempts are still limited in scale and effectiveness, there is evidence that, given the current scarcity of water reserves in these areas, it may have future potential. In

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(37) Dr. A. H. Al Atia & others - op.cit., p.15.

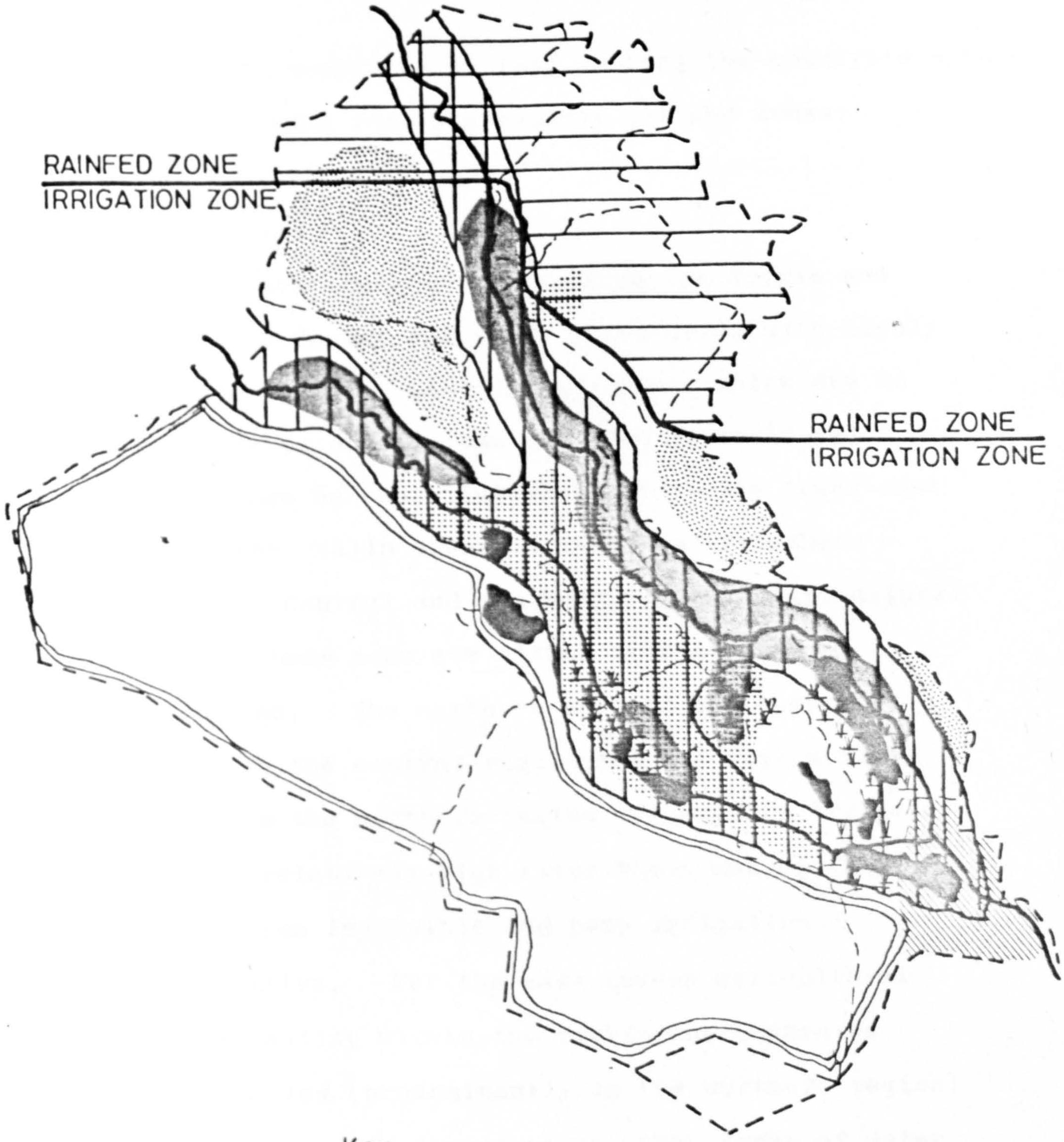

Fig. No 3 AGRICULTURAL ZONES IN IRAQ

terms of cultivatability of land in Iraq the country's area can be sub-divided into six broadly defined zones:·

(See Fig. 3, p.56)

(1) Flood Zone:

This covers the area surrounding the Tigris and Euphrates Basins and their tributaries with highly fertile soils. Land in this zone, which due to salinity is outside the utilized agricultural areas, can be reclaimed with relatively lower cost than other salin areas in the flow irrigation areas. Central and southern regions' agricultural land in this zone are either flow or pump irrigated. The northern part of the Euphrates Basin in the central region and the Tigris river basin in the northern region are hard to irrigate due to relatively high river banks making flow irrigation impossible and pump irrigation prohibitive. For the same reason agricultural areas falling within the Tigris and Euphrates tributaries' (predominantly in the northern region) basins are also dependent on other forms of water supply mostly rain-fed.

(2) Delta Zone and Swamp Zone:

Both are located in the southern region with similar characteristics of low productivity and high water table level. Underground water is so high that in most of these two zones it covers the surface area. Both zones are hardly suitable for extensive agri-culture and projects for reclamation had proven

fruitless and prohibitive in both zones. In the Delta Zone a thin agricultural strip lines the Shatt-al-Arab river on both sides to an extent of a few kilometres at its widest. Only palm trees, noted for resisting salinity, are cultivated on that strip. At the Swamp Zone, due to limited agricultural potential, the rural population in these areas either grow rice, with very low productivity, or mainly depend on animal raising (mostly water buffalo) for their livelihood.

(3) <u>The Desert Area</u>:

This is the largest zone in the country covering in excess of 66.8 million donums or 38.1% of the country's total National area. With its sandy soil, it has no agricultural potential other than the limited areas around the scattered oasis in its zone. Mostly deserted but for the Bedouin tribes who in the recent years amount to a negligible percentage of the National population.

(4) <u>Gezira Zones</u>:

These are areas characterized by the absence of surface water of any form such as rivers or lakes or canals, but due to rainfall and suitable soil for vegetation have been transformed to huge pastures for nomads and rural population alike. Mostly concentrated in the northern region in the sub-region of Ninevah/Dhok between the northern sections of the Tigris and the Euphrates. During

good rainy seasons it even could be used for cultivation of grain crops. The other two parts of the Gezira type zones are on the Persian border in the central sub-regions of Diala and Wasit, and the southern sub-region of Mysan. Again, like the Desert Zone, it has limited agricultural potential mainly due to lack of irrigation water. The various Iraqi Governments have considered numerous proposals for large scale agricultural utilization but all proved to be either too expensive or too ineffective to be implemented. Underground water has been discovered in parts of the Gezira Zone and is mainly used for animal grazing purposes.

(5) <u>The Rain-fed Zone</u>:

Composed of the majority of the northern region land north of the 400 mm. annual rainfall line, it represents the most important part of the Iraqi agricultural areas with its superior soil conditions compared to the central and southern regions. Soils in the northern region are by and large non-salin with low underground water level and a high proportion of organic content in the top soil. Simple surface bleaching of the northern region soil cleans away the limited amounts of salinity which under increasing rainfall goes downward leaving the upper soil free for good agricultural utilization. These factors account for the fact that this region

is the main producer of agricultural crops in the country. The only problem in the northern region is the slim potential for flow irrigation on a large scale basis in the region. The IBRD Report suggested that both soil conditions and topo-graphical limitation hinders the prospect of flow irrigation for the region. Per unit land crop productivity will be much higher if flow irrigation is secured for the region.(38) Yet the erosion prone shallow depth nature of the northern region soils, together with the topography of the agricultural areas in the north and the extremely high depth of river banks, makes that proposition an impractical prospect. Only summer crops, being on a very limited scale in the north mainly in mountain valleys, uses the small creeks and springs for irrigation purposes. Thus the main setback of the northern region agriculture is that productivity is linked to the amount of rainfall in the winter season there. Experts estimate its total productive area at about 17 million donums, or over one-third of the Nation's arable land while the other 31 million is suitable for flow irrigation. In limited parts of the northern region, such as Arbil sub-region and north of Ninevah/Dhok sub-region, studies showed possibilities of utilizing underground water.

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(38) IBRD Report - op.cit., p.12.

1.3.2 Availability of Irrigation Water and the Practice of the Fallow System:

In general irrigation water in Iraq is not sufficient for the full utilization of agricultural land in Iraq. Even on the long established practice of the fallow system, flow irrigation and pump irrigation in the central and southern regions of Iraq will be far from sufficient. Currently, in 1976, it is estimated that water in the Tigris basin is sufficient to irrigate only 7.5 million donums, while the Euphrates basin river water is sufficient for only 3.5 million donums.(39) This is computed on the basis of the present multicrop cultivation of the agricultural land in the flow irrigation zone (the Southern Region and the Central Region). Compared to the estimated 31 million donums of arable land in the country outside the northern region rain-fed zone, it means that around two-thirds of the central and southern region agricultural land will not have irrigation water if, say, full agricultural utilization is attempted. Together with severe problems of land salinity, the fallow system became the only solution for the agricultural system in Iraq. According to the Director of the State Organisation of Land Reclamation and Soils, 60-70% of the irrigated lands in the central and southern regions of Iraq are

> "...Severely hit by moderate to high salinity or water-logging problems. This problem becomes worse as agricultural land located further away from river banks down to the swamp areas in the southern region. In most cases the agricultural utilization of such soils are not economical."(40)

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(39) Dr. A. H. Al Atia - op.cit., p.17.

(40) M. Al Kubaisi - "Salinity in Iraqi Soils", Thawra Al-Zeraia Journal, No. 14, Baghdad, August 1975, p.18.

The semi-dry climate of the southern and central regions in Iraq, together with the sedimentary nature of these regions' soils with a high water table and low natural gradient of land, creates an ideal atmosphere for salinity to rise to the surface of the soil. The fact that irrigation in Iraq has for centuries, and even today, been without drainage systems has led to deep salinization of soil beyond the reach of immediate reclamation efforts. The fallow system succeeded in slowing the salinity process but could not prevent the deterioration of soil productivity over the years. Agricultural methods in Iraq have not changed for centuries. Until 1968 only a negligible fraction of the country's agricultural land had some kind of drainage system and even these limited systems have suffered from poor maintenance and slow implementation process. Even the large land estate owners before the Agrarian Reform Act could not face the expense of creating drainage systems for these lands. The agricultural land fragmentation under the Agrarian Reform Law was a major obstacle for any large scale drainage scheme. Soil reclamation and salinity prevention was left for centuries in the hands of the poor illiterate peasants to deal with it. Flooding of salin lands in an effort to bleach it was the major technique used by most peasants. This method in addition to its ineffectiveness against the deep salinity of the central and southern region soils led in most cases to destruction of irrigation networks and had severe consequences on the chemical and physical characteristics of soils.(41)

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(41) M. Al Kubaisi - Ibid., p.19.

The fallow system is considered by many experts in Iraq as the main hindering factor for agricultural development in the country.(42) Half the cultivatable land is to be utilized for winter crops leaving the other half idle to be planted next year. Summer crops usually occupy 10-20% of the total cultivatable land, depending on the amount of irrigation water available and the type of crops. It is believed by generations of peasants across the country (and by the responsible authorities too) that the fallow system preserves the soil fertility, convenient for the Iraqi conditions of lack of control over irrigation water in its proper timing for the agricultural cycle, prevents the salinity of cultivated land, and keeps a low level for the underground water. On the other hand, it has been proven conclusively that the fallow system application has no appreciable effect on any of the above-mentioned factors.(43) The continuous use of the fallow system in Iraq (currently and in the foreseeable future) is basically attributed to two major conditions predominant in the agricultural situation in the country. The first is the limited amount of irrigation water available for agricultural purposes, and the second the necessity to reduce the utilization of the weakening agricultural soil fertility which is continuously being reduced under the mounting salinity problem. The current combined flow of both the Tigris and Euphrates of 76 million cubic metres of water is only enough to cultivate 17 million donums of agricultural land at one crop annually (semi-intensive cultivation). It is estimated

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(42) Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar and Dr. A. Al Minufi - "Evaluation of Economic Development in Iraq 1950-1970" Part 2, p.99, Ministry of Planning, Baghdad 1972.

(43) Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar and Dr. A. Al-Minufi - Ibid., p.100.

that by the end of the current economic plan, 1976-1980, around 4 million donums of agricultural land will have a complete irrigation/drainage system which will allow its full utilization at a semi-intensive pattern and thus removing it from the fallow system land. This will mean adding 8 million donums of agricultural land to the current total of around 12 million donums annually cultivated. Actually the necessity to reduce the utilisation level of the agricultural soils to face the increase in soil salinity will not be required if a complete drainage network is established in the agricultural areas under cultivation.

1.3.3 Characteristics of Agricultural Production in Iraq:

The most outstanding characteristics of the agricultural sector in Iraq is the immense dependence on natural conditions in the production process in the sector. The inherited weakness of the agricultural sector is lacking in infrastructure elements such as reservoirs, dams, and modern irrigation facilities and road networks (to name a few) together with the serious degree of ignorance and illiteracy of peasants, this has led to the extreme dependence on the winter season as the main agricultural production season of the year. Even in the supposedly flow irrigated zones of the central and southern regions, scarcity of irrigation water limits the area devoted to summer crops to only one-quarter of that allocated to winter crops.(44) In the Nation as a whole,

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(44) IBRD Report - op.cit., p.4.

the winter crops between 1961 and 1973 averaged around 88% of the annual cultivated land in the country.(45) · Summer crops (mainly rice and cotton) seldom occupy more than 1 million donums of the Nation's 12 million cultivated each year. The limited number of crops produced in the agricultural sector, mostly those traditionally known for generations, by peasants, is the other characteristic of the agricultural sector in Iraq. The ignorance of the peasants (over 80% illiteracy in total population in rural areas and over 90% in female population - 1970) makes them refuse to accept new crops which may be more profitable to the peasant and to the country. Sometimes even religious myths and legends prevent peasants from changing agricultural traditions. Wheat, barley and rice have always been linked to God given riches and may not be tampered with as the only types of crops to be cultivated. In the 1950-1973 period wheat and barley occupied more than 80% of the annual cultivated areas in the country.(46) Between 1961 and 1973 the area cultivated by wheat averaged 53.88% of the Nation's annual cultivated land. Barley was second with 32.5% (for winter crops), rice and cotton (summer crops) covered 6% for the same period. The average annual wheat cultivated land as a percentage of the total cultivated land in Iraq had increased from its 49.92% in 1961 to 54.76% in 1973 marking an increase in the concentration on few crops in the agricultural sector. It is quite obvious

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(45) Dr. A. H. Al Atia - op.cit., p.23.

(46) Dr. A. M. Al Dahiri - "Development of Agricultural Production in Iraq and its impact on National Development" Al Thawra Al Ziraia Journal, No.19, Baghdad, January 1976, p.19.

Table No. 5

VALUE PER DONUM OF CROPS CULTIVATED ANNUALLY IN IRAQ FOR THE PERIOD 1961-1973 (47)

Crops	Area Cultivated (million donums)	% of land	Value of Produce (million dinars)	Output/ I.D.per donum
Grains (Wheat, Barley and Rice)	13.83	90.3	84.37	6.0
Industrial Crops	0.38	2.6	8.60	22.15
Vegetables	0.74	5.1	30.04	40.26
Fruits (excl.dates)	0.20	2.0	13.25	65.51

that a concentration of wheat and barley, only two crops of the 44 crops normally cultivated in the country annually, occupies almost nine-tenths of the agricultural land in Iraq (using the 1961-1973 average annual cultivation). A comparison between the output in Iraqi dinars for each donum of cultivated land will illustrate the extent of the economic losses sustained due to the concentration on these two crops, as shown in Table No. 5 above, (value figures for 1975).

Although these figures do not reflect the added value of each product, the variance of cost of production is low, thus leaving the difference in production value per unit of

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(47) A. Sabahi - "Structure of Agricultural Production in Iraq and the Role of Mass Production in its Development" Proceedings of the Conference on Utilizing Scientific Methods in the Development of Agriculture in Iraq, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Baghdad, May 1975, p.18.

land to be the same as shown in the Table. The concentration on wheat and barley in the winter season, which is predominantly rain-fed type of irrigation (in the northern region), results in considerable economic loss in years of poor or low rainfall. Not only the productivity per unit of cultivated land drops considerably in such seasons (as will be discussed in the section dealing with crop productivity) but also is the loss of cultivated land in comparison to harvested land. Taking the last three winter seasons', 1970-1973, data for rainfall and area harvested to area cultivated in Iraq, this point of lost cultivated land is clearly shown. For while 1971/72 was a good rain year with both wheat and barley showing 100% harvested to cultivated land ratio, the 1970/71 and 1972/73 seasons, which were low rainfall years, showed an average of 48% and 77% respectively.(48) Since over 85% of the National annual cultivated land is occupied by these two crops, the economic loss for low rainfall is considerable.

Two other negative characteristics of the agricultural cultivation pattern in Iraq are the insignificant proportion of the annual cultivated land in the country allocated for cash crops for the industrial sector and for vegetables (see Table No. 5, p.66). Both these characteristics have seriously reduced the peasants' income, and have caused the country in recent years to import heavily in terms of industrial crops and vegetables. The huge expansion of

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(48) Ministry of Planning - C.S.O. Baghdad - 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Table No. 1/7, p.23, Table No. 3/7, p.67.

the industrial sector has put heavy demands for special crops like maize, oilseeds and other industrial crops on the agricultural sector.

The Iraqi peasant has no experience in cultivating crops such as maize, sesame, sugar cane and similar industrially useful crops. The main objective of agricultural production in Iraq has been for centuries, direct consumption. Experimental Government projects, such as Shihamya met considerable difficulties in getting the local peasants to cultivate industrial cash crops. Deep-rooted peasants' cultural aspirations and generations of consumption crops cultivation made it extremely difficult, and, in most cases, disasterous experiments. Thus the peasants' output stayed linked to the weather conditions, mostly traditional and above all very low in terms of cash return. Even the introduction of specially treated wheat seeds has led to the disasterous mercury poisoning of 1971 caused by ignorant peasants eating the treated wheat. The sugar cane cultivation introduced in Iraq as late as 1969 has shown continuous deterioration in its output per donum cultivated for the period 1969-1975, (despite the tripling of the cultivated area over the period), as follows:(49)

Year	Donum area Cultivated	Ton/Donum Output
1968/69	5,540	0
1969/70	5,540	16.2
1970/71	12,788	11.3
1971/72	15,442	7.2
1972/73	9,700	7.8
1973/74	11,200	8.7
1974/75	15,358	6.8

(49) Ibid. - Table No. 3/13, p.78.

The low percentage of vegetable cultivation is mostly due to the low social status of vegetable growers in the peasants' society. The peasants look with considerable degradation at the vegetable growers and consider it to be a low social level to be in their group. This actually dates back to the early stages of ruralization of the Bedouin tribes, when cultivation is looked on to be a "service" to urbanites which the Bedouins look down on; later, the vegetable growers, being forced to be closer to town centres, due to the necessity of transporting their produce in a short period of time (dictated by hot weather and poor transportation means), were classified by the peasants as part of the urban services population and not as part of the peasants society. Although such ways of thinking are fading gradually, the situation of vegetable cultivation does not improve. Infrastructure such as roads and transport facilities are still very weak in the rural areas to encourage any large scale vegetable cultivation. Weather conditions, especially in summer - the usual vegetable season, is too harsh to allow long distance hauling of vegetable products. Vegetable cultivation remained mostly in the major towns hinterland and still assumes a degree of social degradation by the predominantly tribal peasants.

1.3.4 Regional Pattern of Crops Production

Before discussing the productivity issue in the agricultural sector (Section 1.3.5), the pattern of agricultural crop cultivation in the Nation needs to be

investigated on regional and subregional levels. Agricultural land utilization, proportion of winter crops and summer crops of the total cultivated land, and distribution of major crop production are the major aspects of discussion in this section. The southern region, which is the poorest of the Nation's regions in terms of its agricultural production and land utilization, will be discussed looking into change over time period (1938-1971) of its agricultural production pattern.

In examining the pattern of seasonal cultivation in the three regions of Iraq (North, Central and Southern) (Table No. 2, Appendix No. 1, p.X-3) predominance of the winter season cultivation is obvious in all the three regions. With the northern region being the highest in rainfall, which is the main reason for the predominance of the winter crop cultivation, naturally it showed the largest share of winter crops cultivated land at 65.2% of the Nation's total winter crop cultivated land. Also with the country's winter crop cultivation representing the highest proportion (88%) of the Nation's annual cultivated land, it follows that the northern region claims the highest proportion of the Nation's annual cultivated land at around 60%, almost double the region's share of the Nation's agricultural population which is 32.7%. (The agricultural population in Iraq is estimated at about 90% of the rural population - see p.132). At the other extreme is the southern region with 28.9% of

the Nation's agricultural population showing only 13.3% of the Nation's total annual cultivated land. The central region, showing a less drastic agricultural land utilization pattern with 26.7% of the Nation's annual cultivated land against its 38.4% share of the Nation's agricultural population. These figures establish the northern region (the rain-fed zone) as the main agricultural crop production sector of the Nation, and also suggests some serious imbalance of population versus agricultural production in the southern region especially, and also in the central region.

Another serious and alarming picture of the agricultural situation in the central and southern regions will emerge if recent figures for annual cultivated area in these two regions are compared to those reported by the IBRD Report in 1951 for the same regions. According to the Report, the combined central and southern regions' annual cultivated area in 1951 was 7.6 million donums while the northern region had only 3.5 million donums.(50) In the 1971-1972 figures (Table No. 6, following) the former regions showed 5.037 million donums against the northern region's 7.529 million. This comparison will show that during the twenty year period separating the two sets of figures the irrigation zone lost its position as the main cultivated region in Iraq and under the worsening salinity problem of its soil the irrigation zone lost around 2.5 million donums of its agricultural land, an average

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(50) IBRD - ibid., p.137.

Table No. 6

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR CROPS AREAS CULTIVATED IN IRAQ (1971/72 Season)

Regions	Total Cultivated Land		Winter Crops						Summer Crops						Other Crops	
			Wheat			Barley			Cotton			Rice				
	Million Donums	% of Iraq	Land Cult. Million Donums	% of Iraq	KG per Donum output	Land Cult. Million Donums	% of Iraq	KG per Donum output	Land Cult. Million Donums	% of Iraq	KG per Donum output	Land Cult. Million Donums	% of Iraq	KG per Donum output	Land Cult. Million Donums	% of Iraq
Northern Region	7.529	60%	5.717	75%	302	1.396	48%	300	.068	46%	469	.015	4%	853	.333	22%
% of Region			76%			19%			1%			2%			4%	
Central Region	3.361	27%	1.640	21%	476	1.188	41%	379	.077	52%	242	.249	66%	701	.207	14%
% of Region			49%			35%			2%			7%			6%	
Southern Region	1.677	13%	.301	4%	390	.318	11%	347	.002	2%	153	.112	30%	605	.944	64%
% of Region			18%			19%			1%			7%			56%	
Iraq's	12.567	100%	7.658	100%	343	2.902	100%	388	.147	100%	346	.376	100%	712	1.484	100%
% of Iraq			61%			23%			1%			3%			12%	

Source: Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Baghdad - 1973 Annual Abstract of Statistics Tables No. 38, p.92; No. 42, p.96; No. 45, p.99 and No. 48, p.104.

annual loss of over 100,000 donums which is supported by the opinion expressed by the Iraqi Drainage Expert (see p.61). During the same time the northern region cultivated area, mostly free from salinity, has more than doubled its cultivated area total. Evidence from Dr. M. M. Aziz research at Durham University (1964)(51) suggests that most of this 2.5 million donums lost by the irrigation zone actually comes from the southern region.

A further comparison between the IBRD 1951 figures and the 1971 agricultural census figures shows an increased dependence of the agricultural production in Iraq on the winter season. The IBRD Report showed that 81.5% of the annual cultivated land in 1951 was winter crops, against 19.5% for summer. The 1971 figures (Table No. 2, Appendix No. 1, p.X-3) show an 88% - 12% breakdown. This further suggests the deterioration of the share of the irrigation zone which is responsible for 83.6% of the summer crops in the 1971-72 figures (Table No. 6, p. 72).

The northern region also shows a high agricultural land population ratio with 9.8 donums agricultural land per capita agricultural population, almost double the National average of 5.8 (see Table No. 2, Appendix No.1, p.X-3). The southern region was worse with 3 donums per capita agricultural population and the central region with 4.6. This is basically due to the concentration of

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(51) Dr. M. M. Aziz - "Geographical Aspects of Rural Migration from Amara Province, Iraq, 1955-1964" Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University, April 1968, p.238.

the cultivated land in the north and the constant deterioration of the agricultural land available for cultivation in the central and southern regions.

The agricultural crop distribution (Table No. 6, p.72) shows the northern region as the main source of grains in the country with 75% of the Nation's wheat cultivated area and 48% of the Nation's barley cultivated area in this region. Cotton, which traditionally has been the central and southern regions summer crop speciality has shown a significant 46% of the Nation's cultivated area of this crop in the northern region. The southern region has the worst proportion of the Nation's regions in wheat, barley and cotton. It has 64% of the Nation's minor crops, mostly summer vegetables, but its area is a very small proportion (less than 8%) of the Nation's annual cultivated land. Wheat and barley which occupy 84% of the Nation's annual cultivated land, kept their predominance in the northern region (95%) and the central region (84%) but were second to the miscellaneous category in the southern region. The significance of this is that the southern region pattern of agriculture seems to suggest a subsistence type of agriculture with 56% of the region's cultivated land occupied by non-exportable crops such as summer vegetables. The area allocated for vegetables is far too small to make use of the high monetary output value per donum to offset the lack of exportable crops. This fact reflects very badly on the income pattern in the region and increases the regional disparity of levels of income between the southern region peasants and other regions.

The deteriorated condition of agriculture in the southern region could be better illustrated by looking at historic data of agricultural production for periods dating back to the late 1930's. Mysan alone in 1938 cultivated around 162,000 donums of rice which increased to 200,000 in 1941 [52] while the whole cultivated area of rice crop in the entire southern region (Qadisya/Muthna, Mysan, Thiqar and Basrah) in the 1971/72 season was a mere 112,000 donums (see Table No. 6, p.72); later in 1955 the southern region's rice producing sub-regions of Mysan, Thiqar and Qadisya/Muthna cultivated around 237,250 donums of the national rice cultivated area with Mysan alone reporting 152,000 donums of rice cultivation. The 1960 figures showed the same declining pattern of 1942-55 period with only 177,000 donums of rice cultivated area in the southern region but still the region's share of the total national rice cultivated area was over 50% and it represents a large total (in absolute terms) compared to the 1971 total of 112,000 donums rice cultivation in the whole of the southern region. Actually more recent figures showed a severe drop of rice cultivation in the country with 1973, 1974 and 1975 figures showing 255,840, 125,660 and 125,610 donums respectively.[53] These latter figures represent an alarming indication of the seriousness of the deterioration of agricultural

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(52) Dr. M. M. Aziz - ibid., p.233-234, fig.38.

(53) Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Baghdad, "1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics" Table No.3/9, p.73.

production in the southern region which in 1975 cultivated only 86,000 donums of rice (70% of the National total). Actually the southern region always (with few exceptions including the 1971-72 season) cultivates more than half of the Nation's rice areas. The central region (notably Kerbela) comes second in rice production. In the twenty year period, 1955-1975, rice cultivation in the southern region dropped by over 70% with a similar drop in the national total.

The barley cultivated area in the southern region has also suffered a serious drop in the 1955-75 period. In 1955 Mysan and Thiqar alone reported 760,000 donums of barley cultivated area, while the 1975 total for the entire southern region was just around 380,000 donums (54) a drop of around 50% over the period. If data for the other two southern subregions (Qadisya/Muthna and Basra) for 1955 is added to the 1955 figure the drop will be even more serious.

Data on wheat production for the southern region in 1955 cannot be obtained, but Dr. M. M. Aziz reported Mysan's cultivated area of wheat in 1955 to be over 120,000 donums (55) while 1975 figures for this southern sub-region showed only 94,300 donums, a drop of over 30%. In 1974 Mysan's total was 81,450 (about 33% less than 1955).

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(54) Ibid., Table 3/1, p.61.

(55) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., fig.38, p.233-234.

The deterioration of the agricultural situation in the southern and central regions in comparison to the northern region represents a very serious problem (in the national context) if considered in terms of crop productivity per unit land (harvested) figures for the three regions. The major crop output figures for the 1969-73 agricultural season suggests that the irrigation zone (the central and southern regions) are as much as three times higher than the northern region rain-fed zone output. This is especially true of wheat and barley, the two crops which represent over 85% of the Nation's annual cultivated land. Only in seasons of very good rainfall (such as 1971-72) does the northern region's wheat and barley output per unit harvested land come nearer to the high output figures of the central and southern regions, as shown in Table No. 7, following.

The significance of this productivity differential in these two major crops in Iraq's regions could be viewed as follows:

(1) While in the last 20-25 years the southern and central regions, through soil salinity and water-logging, have lost their position as the major agricultural regions in Iraq, the northern region has doubled its cultivated land area.

(2) In view of the production figures for the two major crops in Iraq, the loss to the National agricultural sector output was much higher than if the lost agricultural land was in the northern

Table No. 7

WHEAT AND BARLEY OUTPUT IN KG. PER DONUM HARVESTED LAND FOR THE REGIONS IN IRAQ (1969-73)

(1)	WHEAT:			
Region	Output in Kg. per Donum Harvested Land (Annual)			
	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Northern	124.1	143.2	302.2	118.2
Central	335.9	332.7	463.4	358.6
Southern	305.2	243.8	459.3	336.6
IRAQ	175.7	216.8	342.8	206.9

(2)	BARLEY:			
Region	Output in Kg. per Donum Harvested Land (Annual)			
	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Northern	141.1	143.5	299.7	127.9
Central	335.9	303.6	366.5	320.7
Southern	331.6	266.1	387.2	301.5
IRAQ	253.5	272.9	337.5	248.8

Source: Ministry of Planning - C.S.O. Baghdad - "1973 Annual Abstract of Statistics", Tables No.32, p.80 and No. 38, p.92.

region and that the increase of the northern cultivated area by over a double will not make up for the entire loss of total agricultural production in the Nation.

(3) With the northern region agricultural area's soil and topographical conditions not lending itself to be flow-irrigated on a large scale (see p.60), the problem of the agricultural sector in Iraq can only be improved if large scale land reclamation projects and drainage projects could be established in the southern and central regions. While such projects cannot be effective in less than 5-10 years, the prospect for the agricultural sector to improve significantly in the near future is slim.

(4) The effect of rainfall amount on crop productivity could also be seen from the previous Tables. Improvement of up to 70-80% on the output per unit harvested land could be seen in good rain seasons (like 1971/72).

1.3.5 Agricultural Productivity:

The agricultural sector is studied in this section in two different but closely related contexts, namely, the crop output per unit of land and the contribution of the agricultural sector to the gross domestic product of Iraq.

While the first context reveals the pattern of peasants' productivity over a given period of time, the second will show the overall impact on the National economy of the agricultural sector productivity. Wheat and barley (for the winter season crops) and rice and cotton (for the summer crops) will be analysed on a basis of output per donum of land for the period 1950-75,(Table No.8, p.81). The area annually cultivated by these crops is in excess of 94% of the total cultivated land in the Nation each year. (See Table No. 6, p.72).

In Table No. 8, following, both wheat and barley (the two crops which occupy over 84% of the National annual cultivated land) show an overall drop of productivity in kilograms per donum cultivated land of 10% and 14% respectively. While the land allocated for each of these crops increased by 40% and 2% respectively. This clearly suggests a significant drop in the output of cultivation of these two major crops despite an increase in the area allocated for them. Rice and cotton on the other hand showed an improved output per unit land with rice increasing in its output per donum cultivated land by 20% despite a drop in the area cultivated by 14%. Cotton showed the best performance with almost double the productivity of the base period (1950-54) against a drop of 20% in area allocated to its cultivation. This data clearly illustrates the dilemma of the agricultural sector in Iraq. For while crops showing a declining productivity per unit land cultivated showed more land allocated to those crops over

Table No. 8

AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT PATTERN FOR WHEAT AND BARLEY (WINTER CROPS) AND RICE AND COTTON (SUMMER CROPS) FOR THE PERIOD 1950-1975
(IN KG. PER DONUM CULTIVATED AREA)

Crops and area cultivated in millions donums	Output in KG per Donum					Average Output Kg/Dnm 1950-75	Average (1950-1975)		Area cult. as % of average annual area cult. in the country
							Change % in output over base year 1950	Change % in cult.area over base year 1950	
	(1) 1950-1954	(1) 1955-1959	(1) (1960-1964	(1) 1965-1969	(2) 1970-1975				
Winter Crops									
Wheat	158	134	128	139	150	142	-10%	+40%	50.4%
(Area)	(4.311)	(5.770)	(6.032)	(7.506)	(6.626)	(6.049)			
Barley	233	193	190	201	180	199	-14%	+2%	34.0%
(Area)	(3.997)	(4.689)	(4.468)	(4.632)	(2.595)	(4.076)			
Summer Crops									
Rice	368	389	349	492	606	441	+20%	-14%	3.3%
(Area)	(.454)	(.390)	(.353)	(.520)	(.245)	(.392)			
Cotton	94	141	183	222	319	192	+104%	-20%	1.5%
(Area)	(.218)	(.219)	(.133)	(.169)	(.131)	(.174)			

Sources: Computed from:

(1) Dr. A. M. Al Dahiri - op.cit., Tables 1 and 3, p.19-20

(2) Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Tables No. 3/7, p.67 and No. 3/9, p.73.

Table No. 9

COMPARISON OF PRODUCTIVITY OF MAJOR CROPS IN IRAQ AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD (1962-1966)

Year	Wheat (Kg/Dnm)				Barley (Kg/Dnm)				Rice (Kg/Dnm)			Cotton (Kg/Dnm)		
	Iraq	Yugo-slavia	USA	Egypt	Iraq	Yugo-slavia	USA	Egypt	Iraq	USA	Egypt	Iraq	USA	Egypt
1962	170	413	420	653	238	338	470	665	313	1045	1460	118	220	313
1963	73	483	423	660	163	375	470	663	333	1110	1378	123	215	318
1964	125	440	433	690	143	363	505	690	495	1148	1260	125	248	338
1965	148	515	448	693	185	420	578	615	428	1193	1020	125	250	300
1966	120	628	443	670	178	453	518	600	550	1213	1030	128	233	255
Average 1962-66	127	496	434	673	181	390	508	647	424	1142	1230	124	239	305

Source: computed from:
Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar, and Dr. A. Minoufi, op.cit., Table No. 7, p.17.

the 1950-75 period, other crops showing improved productivity got less land allocated for their cultivation over the period. Actually the predominance of wheat and barley with their declining productivity and increased share of the annual cultivated land will result in a constantly declining overall agricultural sector productivity and thus further deterioration of the peasants living standards.

Crop productivity in Iraq is considerably less than the productivity of some crops in other countries inside and outside the Middle East (see Table No. 9, p.82). In the 1962-66 data for productivity of wheat, barley, rice and cotton crops output per donum of cultivated land in the three countries chosen for comparison are several times higher than the Iraqi respective figures.

If average 1962-66 productivity figures in Table No. 9, p.82 are to be written, assuming Iraqi figures as 100, the following table will emerge:

	Wheat	Barley	Rice	Cotton
Iraq	100	100	100	100
Yugoslavia	391	217	-	-
U.S.A.	342	282	269	193
Egypt	530	360	290	246

The seriousness of the situation of the Iraqi agricultural sector productivity is clearly visible with Egypt having approximately the same problems of salinity, peasants' ignorance and shortage of irrigation water and producing several times the corresponding Iraqi crop per unit area output. Actually Egypt has a far greater shortage of agricultural

land and also has several times less land per agricultural labour.

The inevitable result of the low productivity in the agricultural sector, which is getting lower as time progresses, with the continuous decline in the total agricultural land available for cultivation through salinity and mishandling, is that the contribution of the Iraqi agricultural sector to the National economy is also getting lower every year. In Table No. 10, p.85 and Fig. 4, p.86 the agricultural sector contribution to the GDP* dropped from 36.9% in 1953 down to 17.2% in 1974, a drop of over 50% over the base year 1953. While the other major sectors of the economy increased their contribution such as manufacturing industries sector (from 10.2% in 1953 to 13.4% in 1974), wholesale and trade sector (9.2% to 10.5%) and services sector (8.7% to 13.6%). It is interesting to note that after any major change introduced by the Government, supposedly to improve the situation in the agricultural sector, the immediate result in almost all cases is a further more serious drop in the performance of the sector. In 1959, following the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law, the agricultural sector dropped to 25.7% of the GDP in 1959 from its 1958 level of 30%. In 1970, following the enactment of the new Agrarian Reform Law of 1970, it dropped by a higher margin to 21.6% from its 1969 level of 28.1%. Similarly were the effects of

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* Oil sector is removed from total GDP to facilitate comparison between production sectors and due to the fact that oil represents 33% of the GDP.

TABLE NO. 10(A) VALUES AND PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AND OTHER SELECTED ECONOMIC SECTORS TO THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCTS (AT CONSTANT PRICES) (1953-74)(EXCL. OIL SECTOR)

	Agriculture		Manuf. Indust.		Wholsal and Retail		Services		Defence and Pub. Admin.		* Other Sectors		GDP Mill. ID(excl. oil)	GDP Mill. ID(incl oil)	Oil Sector Millions I.D.	% of GDP (incl. oil)
	Millions I.D.	%	Millions I.D.	%	Millions I.D.	%	Millions I.D.	%	Millions I.D.	%	Millions I.D.	%				
(1)1953	85.22	36.9	23.53	10.2	21.28	9.2	20.06	8.7	21.80	9.4	59.38	25.7	231.27	384.92	153.65	39.9
1954	106.43	37.7	27.49	9.7	25.98	9.2	24.18	8.6	26.13	9.3	72.25	25.6	282.46	470.31	187.85	39.9
1955	74.66	29.0	30.76	11.9	24.55	9.5	24.30	9.4	27.82	10.8	75.74	29.4	257.83	442.01	184.18	41.7
1956	98.71	32.3	35.47	11.6	29.76	9.7	27.46	9.0	31.10	10.2	83.30	27.3	305.80	474.44	168.64	35.5
1957	121.93	35.2	38.52	11.1	32.43	9.4	29.50	8.5	35.04	10.1	88.98	25.7	346.40	470.01	123.61	26.3
1958	99.63	30.0	39.52	11.9	29.56	8.9	31.84	9.6	40.35	12.2	91.29	27.5	332.19	520.62	188.43	39.2
1959	85.42	25.7	46.70	14.0	27.32	8.2	34.72	10.4	47.55	14.3	91.22	27.4	332.93	530.85	197.92	37.3
1960	102.13	27.4	56.78	15.2	33.98	9.1	39.78	10.7	47.72	12.8	92.56	24.8	372.95	590.14	217.19	36.8
1961	125.25	28.8	63.71	14.7	39.16	9.0	44.29	10.2	55.09	12.7	107.22	24.3	434.72	658.52	223.80	34.0
1962	148.24	31.3	68.72	14.5	40.72	8.6	49.12	10.4	63.10	13.3	103.37	21.9	473.27	695.27	222.00	31.9
1963	111.64	25.5	65.58	15.0	36.67	8.4	50.97	11.7	68.85	15.8	103.37	23.7	437.28	684.98	247.70	36.2
1964	148.10	30.0	63.40	12.8	44.50	9.0	51.40	10.4	81.20	16.4	105.70	21.4	494.30	761.20	266.90	35.1
1965	169.13	29.7	68.38	12.0	52.65	9.3	51.37	9.0	101.72	17.9	125.73	22.2	568.98	863.80	294.82	34.1
1966	172.73	29.3	71.90	12.2	56.43	9.6	51.33	8.7	104.17	17.7	132.99	22.6	589.55	888.21	298.66	33.6
1967	167.03	29.3	76.43	13.4	52.07	9.2	51.44	9.0	97.18	17.1	125.17	22.0	569.32	812.79	243.47	30.0
1968	182.26	28.8	83.65	13.2	57.68	9.1	57.98	9.2	111.51	17.6	139.98	22.1	633.06	947.09	314.06	33.2
1969	186.87	28.1	89.08	13.4	60.62	9.1	59.98	9.0	121.28	18.2	148.08	22.3	665.91	980.14	314.23	32.1
1970	171.8	21.6	107.7	13.5	86.7	10.9	84.32	10.6	117.26	14.7	228.74	28.7	796.52	1134.34	337.82	29.8
(2)1971	179.7	22.1	122.5	15.1	87.3	10.7	91.5	11.2	131.30	16.1	201.70	24.8	814.00	1191.90	377.90	31.7
(2)1972	228.6	25.3	132.6	14.7	90.1	10.0	109.0	12.1	135.60	15.0	208.40	23.1	904.30	1230.50	326.20	26.5
(2)1973	180.5	19.8	143.5	15.7	96.5	10.6	115.4	12.7	154.10	16.9	221.90	24.3	911.90	1360.00	448.10	33.0
(2)1974	196.9	17.2	153.7	13.4	120.7	10.5	155.8	13.6	234.60	20.5	283.30	24.8	1145.00	1583.10	438.10	27.7

Sources: (1) 1953-1969 Data - Ministry of Planning, Economics Department, "Economic Indicators for the Development of the Iraqi Economy", Baghdad, May 1972, Table 11, p.51.

(2) 1970 Data - Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, 1974 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Table No. 199, p. 280, - Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Table No. 6/7, p. 161.

*Includes: Transport and Communications, Building and Construction, Electricity, Water and Gas, Banking, Insurance and State Agents, and Home Ownership sec. tuc.

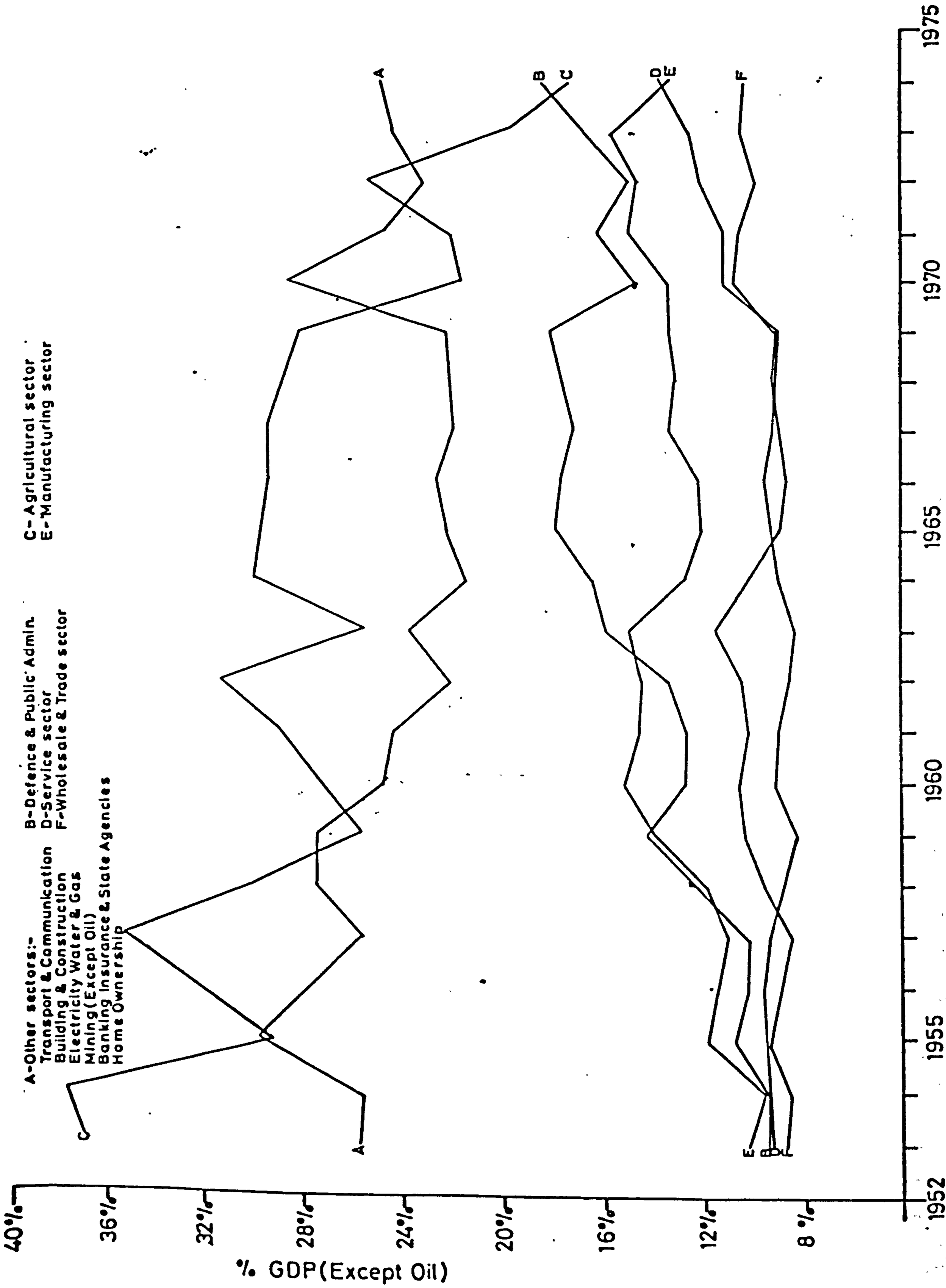

Fig No.4 AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AND SELECTED SECTORS AS A PERCENTAGE OF IRAQ G.D.P (EXCEPT OIL SECTOR) 1953-1974

(Source : Table No 10A p)

major political changes in the country. The 1958 Revolution was accompanied with a drop in the agricultural sector share of the GDP to 30%, from its 1957 level of 35.2%; the 1963 Revolution has also slowed the agricultural sector share of the GDP dropping from its 1962 level of 31.3% down to 25.5% in 1963. It is ironic that two-thirds of the drop shown by the share of the agricultural sector between 1953 and 1974 happened in the 1958-1974 period in which practically all the measures designed by the Government to "improve" the situation in the agricultural sector were implemented. What makes the drop in the performance of the agricultural sector even more serious is the increased proportion of the Nation's labour force engaged in agriculture in the same period. Between 1960 and 1970 the agricultural sector claimed an increase in its share of the National labour force from 54.3% to 58% (56) while at the same time the sector's share of the GDP dropped from 27.4% down to 21.6%. This surely suggests a significant drop in the per labourer contribution to the National output of the agricultural sector. Not only was the agricultural sector share of the GDP continuously dropping in the 1953-74 period, but also the agricultural sector growth in its absolute value was the lowest of the major sectors of the economy and also far less than the annual growth rate of the GDP (see Table 10B, following). The agricultural sector showed an overall annual growth rate for the 1953-74 period of 4.1% against 9.3% for the

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(56) A. Mohamed, "Internal Migration in Iraq, Causes and Remedies", Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, Oct. 1971,p.8.

Table No. 10B

ANNUAL COMPOUND GROWTH RATE FOR THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, SELECTED ECONOMIC SECTORS AND THE GDP (IN CONSTANT PRICES) 1953-74

	1953-58	1958-63	1963-70	1970-74	1953-74
Agricultural Sector	+ 3.2	+ 2.3	+ 6.4	+ 3.5	+ 4.1
Manufacturing Sector	+10.9	+10.7	+ 7.3	+ 9.3	+ 9.3
Wholesale and Trade Sector	+ 6.8	+ 4.4	+13.1	+ 8.6	+ 8.6
Services Sector	+ 9.7	+ 9.9	+ 7.5	+16.6	+10.3
Public Administration and Defence Sector	+13.1	+11.3	+ 7.9	+18.9	+12.0
GDP	+ 7.5	+ 5.7	+ 8.9	+ 9.5	+ 7.9

Source: Computed from Table No. 10A, p. 85.

manufacturing industries sector, 10.3% for services sector, 8.6% for wholesale and trade sector, 12% for defence and public administration and 7.9% for the GDP. Its worst period of growth was the post 1958 Revolution period (1958-63) when the agricultural sector showed only 2.3% annual growth rate. Following a brief improvement in the 1963-70 period with 6.8% annual growth rate, the sector dropped again in the 1970-74 period down to 3.5% which seems to suggest the hypothesis made before regarding the reaction in the agricultural sector to measures designed to improve the situation in the sector.

The overall result of the deterioration of the performance of the agricultural sector is that the per capita share of major crops in the country has almost unanimously dropped in the 1950-74 period. Wheat dropped from 124 kg./capita in the 1950-74 period, to 103 in the 1970-74 period. Barley showed a worse situation dropping from 165 kg. per capita to 46 kg. per capita and rice dropped from 28.1 to 16.7 in the same period.(57) The country was forced in recent years to import large quantities of grains to meet the food demand of the Nation. Iraq as close as 1950-1958 was a major grain exporter in the Middle East, with exports in 1958 exceeding 10.8 million Iraqi dinars. Following the 1958 Revolution and the deterioration of the agricultural sector, the country's grain import bill grew to 79.20 million Iraqi dinars in 1974 and 56 million Iraqi dinars in 1975.(58) Actually if one includes the fruits, vegetables, tea and sugar and fodder grains, the import totals will show a huge total unmatched in Iraq's history. In 1973 the total food imported was 56.61 million Iraqi dinars (21% of the total national imports cost). In 1974 the total food import jumped to 184.34 millions (26.4% of the total national imports cost) and in 1975 136.61 million dinars (22.3% of the total national import cost).

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(57) Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar and Dr. A. Minoufi - op.cit., p.44.

(58) Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Baghdad, "1973, 1974 and 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics - Export and Import Sections"

1.3.6 Planning for the Agricultural Sector in Iraq:

Until the creation in May 1970 of the "Agricultural Supreme Council" in Iraq, Government planning activities were limited to implementation of projects in the agricultural sector in various forms of irrigation systems, dam construction, drainage networks, land reclamation and the like. These projects were suggested by various Government agencies responsible for land reclamation, irrigation, public works, health and education, etc. and were all assembled in a general governmental annual plan for budgeting purposes for the next year implementation.

Until 1958, there was no one ministry specialising in the agricultural sector. After the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform the Ministry of Agrarian Reform, Ministry of Agriculture and, a few years later, the Ministry of Irrigation were created. After the 1968 Revolution the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Agrarian Reform were combined together to form the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

It is possible to identify the following periods between 1950 and 1974 as the main periods for agricultural planning in Iraq (see Table No. 11, p.95).

1.3.6.1 The Development Board Period 1951-1959:

Before 1950 there were no designated economic development programmes for the country mainly due to lack of available funds for this purpose. In 1950,

following the agreement with the oil companies in Iraq, the Government share of oil returns was increased significantly almost to double the 1949 level; the Government established the Development Board in 1950 to "Draw economic and financial plans to develop the the Iraqi resources and improve the standard of living of the Nation".(59) The Board was also entrusted with the implementation of these plans and to act as a co-ordinator between various Government Ministries. The Government enthusiasm for the Development Board creation was so great that all the oil return was allocated for the Board's projects. In 1952, following the increase of the oil returns, the Government decided to reduce the Board's allocation to 70% of the oil returns total. In 1953 the Ministry of Development was created to act as the executive arm of the Development Board and practically replaced the Development Board Secretariate's function. The Ministry of Development was entrusted with implementing the development plan and for that purpose it was divided into four "Technical Sections" with the following responsibilities:

The First Technical Section:

Irrigation works, drainage works and flood control.

The Second Technical Section:

Roads and bridges, construction and improvement of existing road network, public buildings construction and limited income housing.

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(59) Dr. J. Hashim - "Comments on Planning and the Plan in Iraq 1951-1972", Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, 1973, p.4.

The Third Technical Section:

Industrial projects, mining projects and power projects.

The Fourth Technical Section:

Agricultural and forestry projects.

The principle of "Central planning and central implementation" was the motto of the Development Board's operation. Plans were prepared by the Development Board Organisation and passed to the Ministry of Development for implementation. Plans at this period were merely the collection of other Ministries' requests for projects in their own fields of responsibilities; then the lists of required projects were passed to the Plan Preparation Section where approval was made based on availability of allocations. The total values of required projects per sector of the development plan is the amount to be allocated for this sector. There was no development strategy, national or local priorities and the plans were seriously lacking comprehensiveness in their approach to the development of the country. The development plans were merely "Investment Programmes" with little or no supporting economic planning justification for their allocations. Furthermore, the lack of basic studies such as the capabilities of different economic sectors to absorb the planned investments and the availability of a competent organisation to implement projects caused the Development Board's investment programmes to have a very low rate of implementation. This low rate of implementation later

proved to be a characteristic of the "plans" prepared for the development in Iraq for the entire period. In his evaluation of the pattern of development planning for the Development Board period, Dr. Jawad Hashim, ex-Minister of Planning in Iraq criticised the Development Board for

> "...concentrating on projects with extensive construction nature, neglecting the balance between cost of these projects and their returns especially in the agricultural sector and following a conservative policy that prevented projects of the nature that might create social or political change in the country". (60)

In the agricultural sector the Development Board's progress between 1951 and 1959 concentrated on the construction of dams and reservoirs with 90% of the total allocation of the agricultural sector, with only 10% remaining for agricultural services, guidance and improving the agricultural production techniques (see Table No. 12, p. 96). Although drainage systems were part of this large allocation, in reality these had a very low proportion of the allocation, most of which went to dams and reservoir construction. While the IBRD mission report in Spring 1951 emphasized the need for large scale irrigation control facilities and reservoir construction(61), the response of the Development Board was on the exaggeration side. This policy of over-emphasis on large scale irrigation

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(60) Committee for Agricultural Planning in Iraq - Report submitted to the 1975 Conference on Utilising Scientific Methods in Development of Agriculture in Iraq, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Baghdad, May 1975, p.16.

(61) IBRD - op.cit., p.8.

projects was later criticized by the Lord Salter Report to the Iraqi Government (1955).(62) He noted the fact that increasing agricultural productivity is the base for improving the Nation's standard of living and that while extensive irrigation projects are important, it would take years before these generated an appreciable return on the agricultural output in the country. Absence of any member with an agricultural economy background on the Development Board and the presence of only an irrigation specialist to represent the agricultural sector interest may be blamed for the pattern of development policy adopted by the Board. Although the agricultural sector received during the Development Board period its largest share of the total allocation of any plan in the 1951-74 period (see Table No. 11, following), the unfortunate neglect of drainage schemes and land reclamation projects, coupled with low allocation for the agricultural services sector (see Table No. 12, p. 96), aided in the reduction in the rate of growth of this sector during the 1951-1959 period (see Table No. 10B, p.88). Actually during the 1953-1959 period the agricultural sector reported the second worst rate of growth in its total output in the entire period of 1953-1974, and also reported a drop in its contribution to the GDP by more than 30% of its 1953 level down to 25.7% in 1959 (see Table No. 10A, p.85). While the real reason for the continuing

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(62) Committee for Agricultural Planning, op.cit., p.17. (See also p.33 in this Thesis).

TABLE NO. 11 PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ALLOCATIONS AND EXPENDITURES FOR EACH ECONOMIC SECTOR OF ECONOMIC PLANS 1951-1974

	Agricultural Sector			Industrial Sector			Transport and Communications Sect.			Buildings and Services Sector			Total for Plan		
	% of Alloc.	% of Exp.	Exp* Ratio to Alloc.	% of Alloc.	% of Exp.	Exp* Ratio to Alloc.	% of Alloc.	% of Exp.	Exp* Ratio to Alloc.	% of Alloc.	% of Exp.	Exp* Ratio to Alloc.	% of Alloc.	% of Exp.	Exp* Ratio to Alloc.
1951-1954 (1st Dev. Project)	44%	48%	50%	16%	6%	18%	25%	25%	46%	15%	21%	64%	100%	100%	46%
1955-1959 (2nd Dev. Project)	35%	30%	44%	15%	16%	57%	31%	28%	47%	19%	26%	75%	100%	100%	53%
Total 1st Dev.Period 1951-1959	37%	33%	45%	15%	14%	49%	30%	27%	47%	18%	26%	74%	100%	100%	51%
1959-1961 (1st Temp. Ec.Plan)	15%	20%	45%	10%	12%	36%	27%	21%	25%	48%	47%	31%	100%	100%	32%
1962-1965 (Detailed Ec.Plan)	20%	9%	19%	28%	19%	31%	25%	28%	48%	27%	44%	74%	100%	100%	45%
1965-1969 (Five Year Economic Plan)	27%	20%	38%	33%	36%	60%	19%	21%	59%	21%	23%	58%	100%	100%	53%
Total 2nd Period Economic Plans	22%	16%	34%	25%	26%	47%	23%	24%	45%	30%	34%	52%	100%	100%	45%
1970-1974 (National Dev.Plan)	27%	22%	47%	30%	37%	69%	23%	23%	57%	20%	18%	53%	100%	100%	56%
Total 1951-1974	26%	22%	42%	26%	29%	58%	24%	24%	50%	24%	25%	53%	100%	100%	51%

*Expenditures to allocation ratio is considered as "The Implementation Rate" or "Implementation Efficiency".

Source: Committee for Agricultural Planning Report - op.cit. - p.11-12, p.22-23, p.32, p.35, p.41, p.43, p.68 and p.95.

Table No. 12

DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOCATIONS IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN THE ECONOMIC PLANS 1951-1974

Economic Plan Period	Reservoirs/Irrigation and Drainage Network		Agricultural Services, Guidance and Administration		All Agricultural Sector	
	% of Sect. Alloc.	Exp. to Alloc. %	% of Sect. Alloc.	Exp. to Alloc. %	Total Alloc.	Exp. to Alloc. %
1951-1954	83%	50%	17%	46%	100%	50%
1955-1959	92%	44%	8%	50%	100%	44%
Total 1951-59	90%	45%	10%	48%	100%	45%
1959-1961	78%	48%	22%	37%	100%	45%
1962-1965	73%	17%	27%	26%	100%	19%
1965-1969	52%	41%	48%	35%	100%	38%
Total 1959-1969	63%	34%	37%	33%	100%	34%
1970-1974	41%	62%	59%	35%	100%	47%
Total 1951-1974	59%	46%	41%	36%	100%	42%

Source: Same Sources as Table No. 11, p.95

decline in the agricultural sector performance cannot entirely be attributed to the development policy of the Development Board alone, certainly this policy did not contribute much to halt this deterioration and in many aspects acted as an auxiliary factor for its continuation. While it may be argued that with the pre-1958 Agrarian Reform Law agricultural practices conditions may have hindered the flow of agricultural services to peasants, the lack of serious efforts in the drainage network establishment and land reclamation projects let the continuous deterioration of the soil conditions continue thus aggravating the situation even further.

1.3.6.2 The Post-1958 Revolution Period (1959-1969):

In this period significant changes took place on the organisation of planning functions and policies. These included:

(a) On the organisation and planning machinery structure and functions side:

(1) Abolition of the Development Board and the Ministry of Development.

(2) The creation of the Ministry of Planning in May 1959 and entrusted with "Preparation of the detailed economic plan, budgeting for major projects, follow-up of the implementation of the plan and reporting to the Economic Board".

(3) Creation of the "Economic Board" which is charged with implementing through detailed planning the economic policies set by the Council of Ministers, to alter if necessary the Economic Plan prepared by the Ministry of Planning and supervise the implementation of the said plan.

(4) The Council of Ministers was the top economic policy preparation body in the country in this period. It was charged with defining the bases of the economic policy of the Government, approving the Economic Plan and issuing juridictions for its implementation and approving the investment allocations for the major plan projects and the total plan allocation which is to be 50% of the oil returns.

(5) Creation of the Ministries of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform (following the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law) for the first time in Iraq history.

(6) The Ministry of Planning included in its newly created structure the "Agricultural Department" to prepare the plan agricultural component, and to plan the development of the agricultural production and agricultural system in the country. It was also entrusted with the task of following up implementation of agricultural projects included in the plan by the Ministries of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

(b) On the side of planning policies and investment pattern in this period:

(1) Reduction of the plan allocations from 70% of oil returns in the Development Board period, to 50%. The justification given was the inability of Government machinery to absorb the allocated investment and to improve the rate of implementation of plan projects.

(2) Introduction of the principle of "Central planning and follow-up and decentralized implementation" which is a basic departure from the Development Board era of centralized planning and implementation. This helped the planning organisation considerably by allowing it to concentrate on the planning task.

(3) One of the most controversial aspects of this period planning policy was the relegation of the Agricultural Sector from being the most important sector in terms of plan allocation down to the least important sector (Table No. 11, p.95). The Buildings and Services Sector was the main sector during the first economic plan period (1959-1961) claiming 48% of the plan allocation. This was a result of the vast housing projects implemented by the new Revolutionary Government in the early years after the 1958 Revolution to attract popularity and to deal (as it was thought to be!) with the migrants

squatting in major cities, notably the Capital. Industrialization was also emphasised in this period picking up 25% of the overall allocation of the 1959-1969 period. The major criticism of this policy was the fact that agrarian reform being the major accomplishment of the new regime had little or no backing from the new economic planning policy that placed little value on the agricultural investment. In the first half of this period the agricultural sector output declined to its lowest level ever (1958-1963) with an annual growth rate of only 2.3% per annum. (Table No. 10B, p.88).

The Agricultural Sector planning of this period was further characterized by continuing the reduced emphasis put by the planning policy makers on the agricultural services and continual neglect for drainage and land reclamation schemes. (See Table No. 12, p.96). Although it showed an improved share of the total Agricultural Sector allocation, the share of the Agricultural Services Sector continued to be a meagre proportion. It was not until the third economic plan period, 1965-1969, that it showed a significant improvement up to 48% of the total Agricultural Sector allocations. In the first economic plan of this period (1959-1961) it showed only 22% of the Agricultural Sector allocation, which is a serious blow to the implementation process of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law. The nature of the conditions facing the

early years of the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law (see p.37) necessitated a strong Governmental backing to the peasants receiving agrarian reform land. The agricultural services sector which was supposed to supply the peasants with machinery, seeds, fertilizers and facilitate the crop marketing was kept at its low level before the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law. In the opinion of the Committee for Agricultural Planning,(63) this trend in the agricultural planning for this period "helped in the deterioration of the agricultural production for many years to come". Not only the proportion for agricultural services in this period kept its low level of the previous (before 1959) period, but it also showed a significant decline in the efficiency of implementation dropping its expenditure to allocation percentage from 48% for 1951-1959 period to 33% for the 1959-1965 period. (Table No. 11, p.95).

Another deficiency that hindered the improvement of the agricultural sector in this period was the multiplicity of organisations in charge of planning and implementation created after the 1958 Revolution (a deficiency suffered by all sections of the economy). For while the central control policy of the Development Board period showed 51% implementation rate for its programmes (all sectors) in the 1951-1959 period, the

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(63) Committee for Agricultural Planning - op.cit., p.33.

new multiple organisation planning machinery showed an alarming 32% in its first period of operation (1959-1961), improved later to 45% and 53% with an overall performance rate of 45%. Actually all sectors of the economy showed a decline in their overall rate of implementation in the newly created form of planning organisation. The agricultural planning functions not clearly defined between five organisations (i.e. Council of Ministers, Economic Planning Board, Ministry of Planning - Agricultural Department, Ministry of Agrarian Reform and Ministry of Agriculture) showed the worst overall implementation rate with only 34%. It also showed a declining rate of implementation over the three economic plans implemented in this period with 45%, 19% and 38% respectively. (See Table No. 11, p.95).

The Agricultural Sector Ministers (Agriculture Minister and Agrarian Reform Minister) were never members of the Development Board or the Economic Planning Board (later renamed in 1966 "Planning Board"). Until after the 1968 July Revolution when in August 1969 both the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform (combined after 1968) and the new Minister of Irrigation (Ministry also created after 1968) were added to the Planning Board. Actually the 1965-1969 plan which was revised after the 1968 Revolution showed the reinstatement of the Agricultural Sector as a major development sector ranking second to the

Industrial Sector in terms of its total allocations. The sector allocations in the last year, 1969, of the plan (1965-1969) was the highest of any sector with a record over 80% implementation rate.(64) Also in June 1969 the Agricultural Department in the Ministry of Planning was reorganised and its functions were redefined to improve its efficiency as a departure from the long-established role of being a "Project listing" organisation for other Ministries to a "Planning Organisation" for the Agricultural Sector. It was also subdivided into three sections, namely, irrigation and drainage section, rural development and agricultural services section and, finally, agricultural production and animal production section. While these steps have certainly improved the functioning of the main planning organisation for the Agricultural Sector, other deficiencies within the organisation and in other parts of the Government machine caused the continuation of the poor showing of the Agricultural Sector over both periods 1951-59 and 1959-1969. Among these deficiencies are: (65)

(1) Absence of any representative of the Agricultural Sector (until 1969) in the Development Board, Economic Planning Board and the Planning Board.

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(64) Committee for Agricultural Planning - ibid., p.54.

(65) Committee on Agricultural Planning - ibid., p.64.

(2) Lack of qualified personnel in most organisations dealing with planning in the agricultural sector (and most other sectors for that matter).

(3) Absence of effective planning organisations in the Ministries charged with the implementation of plan projects. This factor seriously hinders the co-ordination between the Ministry of Planning offices in charge of planning and other implementing ministries and significantly reduces the feedback and follow-up process that is essential for future planning.

(4) Adoption of expenditure ratio to allocation as a measure of implementation efficiency, a very dubious measure of efficiency at any level of implementation.

(5) Lack of clarity of the long term strategy of the agricultural sector which resulted in lack of continuity and co-ordination between past, present and future planning efforts in the sector.

(6) The central planning organsiation represented by the Ministry of Planning decided at the beginning of the economic planning period prematurely at the annual growth rate of the agricultural sector (7.5%) before a thorough investigation regarding the potential and capabilities of the sector to grow. The numerous administrative deficiencies and the lack of co-ordination between different Government agencies in charge of implementation, together with the strong control exercised by the Ministry of Finance on expenditure pattern, made the target growth rate impossible to achieve.

(7) There was no planning co-ordination between different related sectors of the economy and the agricultural sector, notably the industrial sector. This proved to be a serious factor leading to the growth of the other sectors of the economy taking advantage of the slow expenditure usage by the agricultural sector thus showing a much higher implementation rate than the agricultural sector during the planning periods. (Table No. 11, p.95).

Finally, while the last economic development plan, 1965-69 was by far the best performer of all the programmes and plans since 1951 in other sectors like the Industrial Sector (60% implementation rate), Transport (50%), Buildings and Services (58%), the Agricultural Sector showed a low implementation rate of 38%. Excluding the 1962-1965 plan this rate is the lowest since planning started in 1951, yet the 1965-69 plan showed a considerable improvement in the Agricultural Services allocation with 48% of the sectors' allocation, the highest in the 1951-1969 period (Table No. 12, p.96). The Agricultural Sector's share of the GDP was stable during the 1965-1969 plan period suggesting a degree of stability and lack of decline. (Table No. 10A, p.85). This plan was also accredited with being the first plan to advocate the expansion of agricultural co-operatives and the increase of agricultural production for agricultural projects. In a way it has paved the way for the first comprehensive national development principle in the 1970-74 plan and the basic changes

occurring in the Agricultural Sector planning after the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law and the creation of the "Supreme Agricultural Council", the main planning organisation for the Agricultural Sector in Iraq now.

1.3.6.3 The National Development Plan (April 1970 - March 1975):

Basic changes in the planning policy and planning machinery:

(A) Planning Policy:

(1) Adoption of the comprehensive planning approach (rather than the economic development approach) in the plan preparation and allocation taking into consideration for the first time a balanced growth policy on all sectors of the plan.

(2) Introduction of more control over development of the private sector of the economy, especially in the Agricultural Sector where still most of the agricultural production is done by the private sector.

(B) Planning Machinery:

(1) Creation of the regional planning organisation in the Ministry of Planning (October 1971), to "create balanced growth in the country's regions, to eliminate social and economical differentials, to reduce the harmful effects of uncontrolled migration, to distribute services and to create a balanced industrial distribution".(66)

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(66) The Planning Board - Meeting No. 15, Decision No. 10, Baghdad, Oct. 9, 1971.

(2) Creation of the "long range planning organisation" to "attain continuity in planning activities for periods of 15-20 years", and to enable the population to visualize policy decisions that may not meet their immediate aspirations".(67)

(3) Creation in each Ministry, subregional administration and government central establishments an organisation for planning follow-up. This follow-up organisation has the task of monitoring plans projects implementation, making backup studies and collecting data and information for feedback purposes. These follow-up organisations are under the jurisdiction of the central follow-up organisation at the Ministry of Planning, which supplies the branch follow-up units with technicians and qualified personnel.

(4) The creation of the "Supreme Agricultural Council" in May 1970 concurrently with the enactment of the May 1970 Agrarian Reform Law. The Council, originally to be headed by the President of the Republic, was a major step in giving the Agricultural Sector its own separated central planning organisation to concentrate on planning development in this sector. The Council is formed of:

(a) President of the Council:
Originally it was, according to the law of the Council (No. 116 for the year 1970), the President of the Republic, but later a Council President with a Deputy President was appointed.

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(67) Ibid.

(b) Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

(c) Minister of Irrigation.

(d) President of the General Union of Peasants' Societies. (Peasants Union)

(e) Five experts in agricultural economics, irrigation and drainage, agrarian reform and agriculture.

The internal organsiation of the Council was to be formed of five specialised bureaux as follows:

(a) Irrigation and Drainage Affairs Bureau.

(b) Agricultural Affairs Bureau (later sub-divided into:
  (i) Agricultural products Section
  (ii) Animal Products Section)

(c) Agricultural Economics Bureau.

(d) Agricultural Co-operatives and Agrarian Reform Bureau.

(e) Agricultural Mechanisation Bureau.

Later in 1974 a seventh bureau was added, the Follow-up Affairs Bureau, to maintain and supervise the implementation of the development plan projects. The Planning Board gave the Council[68] "all the powers" to implement projects and works listed in the development plan and the subsequent annual investment programmes drawn from the plan for projects in the Ministries of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, and irrigation with the exclusion of:

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(68) Planning Board - Meeting No. 9, Decision No. (1), Baghdad, 21 July 1970.

(a) Approval of the long range agricultural plan.

(b) Approval of the annual investment programmes drawn from the plan.

(c) Cancellation, addition, change of geographic location of any project listed in the national development plan.

(d) Increasing the allocation of the Agricultural Sector in the plan.

(e) Deciding on the compensation or arbitration requested by contractors.

The Council was charged with the following tasks according to its law:

(a) Preparing the agricultural policy and its objectives within the general objectives of the National Development Plan (1970-1974) or any subsequent plan thereafter.

(b) Preparation of complete and detailed plan for agricultural development and its subsequent annual investment programmes within the framework of the National Plan and detailing the tasks of Ministries of the Agricultural Sector and methods of its implementation within the said plan.

(c) Supervision and follow-up activities for projects and investment programmes and taking the necessary steps for the smooth operation of implementation of these projects and programmes.

(d) Directing the agricultural activities of the private sector within the policy framework and general objectives of the National Plan.

(e) Undertaking any measures the Council deems necessary to improve and protect the agricultural production.

(f) To co-ordinate the requirements and activities of Government Agencies and departments and organisations related to the agricultural sector.

The creation of the Supreme Agricultural Council was a major step in the development of a sound organisation to promote and co-ordinate agricultural planning in Iraq. The Agricultural Sector, which in the 1951-1959 and 1959-1969 planning periods had no representatives in the upper hierarchy of the planning machinery in the country and had to wait until 1969 to have a representative on the Planning Board, having in 1970 its own planning system with all the necessary jurisdiction for its operation. The effectiveness of the new organisation was clearly shown in the relatively high implementation rate of the Agricultural Sector (47%), in the 1970-1974 Plan, the highest since the 1955-59 plan. The Agricultural Sector regained its rank as a major development sector as close second to the Industrial Sector in the plan with 27% of the plan allocation (against 30% for the Industrial Sector). Agricultural services allocation reached an all-time high of the Agricultural Sector allocations with 59% in the 1970-1974 plan period. (Tables No. 11, p.95 and No. 12, p.96).

The Agricultural Department in the Ministry of Planning which was responsible, before the establishment of the Supreme Agricultural Council, for planning in the Agricultural Sector was charged with the task of conducting research projects and evaluation studies of different aspects of agricultural planning in the development plan. According to the Report of the Committee for Agricultural Planning(69) the creation of the Supreme Agricultural Council was done despite the disapproval raised by the Ministry of Planning. It led to:

(a) Multiplicity in the establishments charged with planning and follow-up in the Agricultural Sector.

(b) Confusion in the organisations and agencies in the Agricultural Sector.

(c) Non-constructive sensitivity between the newly created Council organisations and other established planning agencies in the agricultural section of the Ministry of Planning.

(d) It dealt a serious blow to the adopted concept of central planning and central follow-up.

(e) It removed a vital part of the tasks of the development planning machinery in the country (i.e. Ministry of Planning) making it difficult to co-ordinate planning activities between the Agricultural Sector and other sectors in the Development Plan.

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(69) Committee for Agricultural Planning - op. cit., p.86.

What seems to support the argument put forth by the Committee for Agricultural Planning in its Report above is the poor performance of the Agricultural Sector output in the 1970-1975 period. The sector's share of the GDP suffered a continuous decline from its 28.1% share in 1969 down to 23.5% in 1970 and then to 17.3% in 1975. (Table No. 10A, p.85). It also reflected one of the worst annual growth rates in the recent history of the Agricultural Sector with 3.5% (Table No. 10B, p.88) against an adopted 7% target by the 1970-1974 plan. The political leadership in an effort to bypass the bottlenecks of administrative bureaucracy passed in 1973 a law No. 157 for "Major Development Projects" giving administration of certain large-scale projects (under construction) an autonomous status with widespread jurisdiction in terms of employment, finance, implementation, contracting and priorities in supply of building materials and supply of equipment. Most of these projects are in the Agricultural Sector. This fact is a testimony by the Government for the poor effectiveness of the traditional organisations that led the development planning in the Nation's economic sectors in general and in the Agricultural Sector in particular. Production figures of various crops during the plan period continued to show a declining value (Table No. 8, p.81) and so does the per capita share of these crops (see p. 89).

1.3.7 Future Trends in Agricultural Planning In Iraq:

In a document titled "Suggested Trends for the Agricultural Development Plan 1976-1980"(70) the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform planning officers suggested the following major characteristics to be adopted for the next National Development Plan 1976-1980 in the Agricultural Sector:

(1) Giving priority to develop the agricultural resources.

(2) Emphasis should be placed on the role of the public sector in the agricultural development.

(3) Strengthening the "collectivization" trend in the agricultural utilization in the Agricultural Sector.

(4) Creating a balance between mechanization and the labour-force in the sector.

(5) Creating a balance between the economic objectives and the social objectives in the Agricultural Development Plan.

(6) Creating a balance between horizontal expansion (agricultural land) and improving vertical expansion (agricultural production) in relation to development of land resources and irrigation water quantities and utilization.

(7) Designating the role of the private sector in the agricultural development process.

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(70) Dr. Z. Al - Dhagstani and Dr. M. Al-Sequti - "Suggested Trends for the Agricultural Development Plan - 1976-1980", Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Baghdad, May 1975, p.9.

(8) Emphasis should be placed on the economic feasibility of agricultural development projects.

(9) Emphasis should be placed on the role of economic incentives in increasing the level of efficiency and accelerating the rate of agricultural development.

(10) Emphasis should be placed on the role of applied research in the agricultural development.

(11) The 1976-1980 Agricultural Development Plan should be built as part of the long term strategy for agricultural development.

In these stated objectives three main characteristics for future agricultural planning are predominant, namely:

(1) Collectivization as an alternative to the current agricultural production practice.

(2) Concern for preservation of soil fertility and irrigation water utilization.

(3) The need for long term planning in which the 1976-1980 plan acts as the first step.

The collectivization principle strategy stated in the political report of the Eighth Regional Conference of Arab Baath Socialist Party[71] is the established policy of the Government now and for the feasible future. State farms, Government farms and collective farms are the three main forms of future agricultural practice in Iraq. The passing of the 1976 Unification of State Lands Classification, No.53 for year 1976 (see p.53) is the first major step in establishing the collective farming policy.

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(71) The Arab Baath Socialist Party, Baghdad - op.cit., p.143.

1.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF PART I

1.4.1 Agricultural Land Tenure

(1) Historically (before the first 1958 Agrarian Reform Law) the land tenure structure in the agricultural sector has been extremely in favour of feudal landlords. Land settlement laws passed by pro-landlord Governments made the tribal chiefs the sole owners of the previously communal land of the tribes notably in the southern and central regions rural areas. Tribal members were reduced from land partners of the tribal land to farmhands operating on a share cropping bas is. The majority of share croppers in the country (53% in the southern region and 30% in the central region) were in the southern and central regions. Duties and obligations of peasants were also controlled by laws passed by the pre-1958 Government heavily in favour of the tribal chiefs (the main landlords) which most of them were members of the State Senate. In the northern region peasants were wage farmers on the feudal lords' lands where cost of cultivation is greatly reduced by virtue of being rain-fed zones. The southern and central region peasants, where the largest land estates exist, were subjected to the most unfair practices of income sharing on agricultural lands.

(2) The failure of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958 was a most serious blow to the rural peasants whereupon conditions became even worse than the pre-1958 conditions. For the failure of the Agrarian Reform

Agencies to replace the landlords' role to the peasants as suppliers of water, seeds, machinery and equipment, also as the marketing agency and later the share divider, put the peasants in a very awkward position. Because he had no experience of running the land on his own, this, coupled with the increasing harrassment of the still very much powerful tribal chiefs landlords seeing the emancipated peasants without Government support as easy victims, pushed them even harder, capitalising on the huge disappointment of the peasants in the long-awaited Reform Law.

Absence of Government concern in the post-1958 Agrarian Reform Law period was even more clear in the lack of investment in the agricultural services sector (which would have supplied the peasants with the elements previously supplied by the landlord).

(3) Although the 1970 new Agrarian Reform Law has abolished the feudal system, the size of available agricultural land together with the political ideologies of the new regime in Iraq had made it impractical to use the traditional approach of land reform of distributing agricultural land parcels to individual peasants. Collective farming was adopted by the new Government in Iraq having third priority to State and Government farms. The new Government in Iraq realised through experience of various previous Governments

on the issue of land tenure that it is the agricultural land deterioration, especially in the southern and central regions, more than the state of land tenure which is the major factor behind the continuous deterioration of the agricultural sector. This convinction is supported by the agricultural pattern in the northern region. For while this region had (like the rest of the country) the feudal system as the predominant form of land tenure, agricultural land utilisation has actually improved over the previous periods and migration of rural peasants compared to the southern and central regions is minimal. Although economically the northern peasant was also considered in the lower income group (nationally), expansion of agricultural land and the rain water irrigation together with the traditional fallow system had kept the soil's fertility in the region reasonably fertile for cultivation. Absence of drainage networks in the northern region have much less drastic effect than its effect in the flow irrigated zone of central and southern Iraq. The peasant in the new Government strategy is also the aim of extensive educational programmes both politically and socially. The Government policy in the present time concentrates on the State ownership of agricultural land where peasants operate as State employees in collective farms, but their income is linked to productivity rather than straight wages income.

1.4.2 Agricultural Conditions and Agricultural Planning in Iraq:

(A) The Agricultural Conditions:

(1) While the crops productivity per unit of agricultural land is much higher in the central and southern regions than the northern region for the major winter crops (wheat and barley) - which represent 80-90% of the annually cultivated land in the Nation - the northern region contains around two-thirds of the Nation's annual cultivated land and over 88% of the winter crops cultivation. This is mainly due to two major factors - the dependence of agriculture in Iraq on the winter rain as the main irrigation means and the poor soil conditions in the southern and central regions. The northern region, which is predominantly a rain-fed zone, has much superior soil quality compared to the salin, water-logged soils of the central and southern regions. Land in the southern region and central region, which are the main components of the flow-irrigated zone in Iraq, is shrinking at the rate of 100,000 donums annually due to salinity and water logging. Of the 31 million donums of arable land in the flow zone (central and southern regions) only 5 million are utilized, leaving a potential of possible utilization of over 26 million donums which represent around 73.2% of the unutilized land in the country.

(2) Thus the agricultural situation in the country could be summarised as follows: While the high

productivity of agricultural products is in the southern and central regions, the size of the utilised agricultural land is extremely low and diminishing annually under salinity and water logging factors. The good soils in the northern region are extremely dependent (almost entirely) on rain thus its yield in good rain years (like 1971/72 season) comes closer to the flow zone production rate, but in most years when rain is not enough the productivity of the northern region (which represents two-thirds of the utilised agricultural land in Iraq) is in most major crops less than half the flow regions' productivity. Theoretically speaking, within the next fifty years, assuming no drainage networks or land reclamation projects are undertaken, the southern and central regions will have no agricultural land to cultivate. This annual loss of soil was responsible over the 1951-1971 period for the transformation of 2.5 million donums of agricultural land in the southern region and the central region to salin soils unfit for agricultural production. At the same time the northern region's agricultural area more than doubled from its 1951 level of 3.5 million donums to the 1971 level of 7.529 millions, to meet the huge deficit in the agricultural total production created by the southern and central regions' loss of their fertile lands. The southern region with 28.9% of the

Nation's agricultural population, and the central region with 38.4%, have between them less than 36% of the utilised agricultural land annually. This will come to 3 donums and 4.6 donums of agricultural land per person of the agricultural population in these two regions against 9.8 for the northern region and 5.8 for the National Average. In a sense this large difference between the northern region and the southern and central regions more than make up for the difference in the agricultural productivity in favour of the north.

(3) On the issue of irrigation water the current estimate of the Tigris and Euphrates irrigation water capacity suggests that it is sufficient to more than double the currently cultivated 5 million donums in the southern and central regions but this means full cultivation of the two regions' agricultural holdings of 9.5 million donums annually which with the prevailing absence of drainage networks in the overall majority of agricultural lands in Iraq cause the soil salinity problem to become more serious and greatly shortens the life of the current usable land in these two regions. This conclusion severely critises the pre-1970 economic plans which concentrated on constructing irrigation dams and reservoirs neglecting the important issue of drainage networks and land reclamation projects which consequently

led to the current situation where we have double the water we need for the fallow system, while if the drainage networks were built all over the country, say in the early Fifties, (when planning for development had started), the current poor position in the high productivity flow area would have been completely reversed.

Thus one may conclude that the agricultural sector's deterioration shown in its declining proportion of the Nation's GDP is mainly attributed to the decline of the agricultural areas in the southern and central regions and with the fact that over 72% of the two regions' agricultural lands could be made usable by land reclamation projects, together with the necessity of establishing (rapidly) drainage systems for the remaining usable part to halt further deterioration of agricultural land, it is possible to greatly improve the agricultural sector in the rural areas, thus maybe holding off the continuous outmigration process in these areas. Certainly the obvious conclusion of relating the rural migration pattern in Iraq to the agricultural deterioration of the central and southern region is easily made. Both regions are the responsible source of over 80% of the migrants to the Capital and the continual deterioration of agricultural situations in the rural areas of these two regions may be the obvious reason.

(B) Planning for the Agricultural Sector:

On the subject of agricultural planning, two elements are to be discussed, namely, the role agricultural planning played in the past in increasing or decreasing the deterioration of agricultural conditions in the country, and secondly the form of future planning mostly suitable for the agricultural sector.

(1) Agricultural planning in Iraq had, until the current 1970-75 plan, failed to put any significant emphasis on the eradication of the salinity problem of the major problem regions in Iraq, i.e. the flow irrigated central and southern regions. All through the 1950-1969 period major emphasis was put on large-scale irrigation schemes and reservoirs construction with minor emphasis given to land reclamation and drainage schemes. Agricultural services, guidance and agricultural production development sector were also a neglected part of the pre-1970 planning efforts in the agricultural sector. The lack of Government planning agencies concern in the agricultural services sector after the passing of the first Agrarian Reform Law of 1958 was a major factor in the failure of that law. The current result of these pre-1970 plans is quite evident in poor soil fertility, shrinking agricultural land in the flow zone, extremely low agricultural output in the

agricultural sector and illiterate, inefficient and (most serious of all) unstable rural peasants continuously migrating towards major towns in the country.

(2) Future planning in the agricultural sector should put major emphasis on development of soil resources, through comprehensive (and immediate) land reclamation and drainage projects, development of manpower through concentrated efforts to educate and train peasants and to introduce new patterns of agricultural practices. Collectivization and large scale agricultural production, although had been historically practiced by tribal ownership of land (before the feudal system took over and reduced the land partnership of peasants to a tenancy system), is the main agricultural policy of the current political system in Iraq. While the agricultural production pattern could be based on individual utilisation or communal utilisation, the main element of any possible successful policy is actually agricultural land development and manpower development. For while it is significant to utilise the economic advantage of large scale cultivation, without halting of the soil salinity problem and without drastically altering the efficiency of the peasant, no advantage of any system of production could be accomplished. A living example of this is the failure of many

model projects to accomplish their minimum expected returns because they failed in dealing with the soil conditions and with manpower efficiency level. Adding to these two major factors the inherited poor Governmental administration efficiency, which in quite a number of cases, surpasses the soil and manpower problems in its serious effect on the failure of agricultural projects. Since the Government strategy is to be carried out by the public sector the efficiency of the Governmental administration is a very important element in the process.

PART II

POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN

2.1 IRAQ POPULATION (1867-1975) AND PROJECTIONS

2.2 REGIONAL AND SUBREGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN: DATA SECTION

2.3 POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN: DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

2.4 THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION PATTERN

2.5 PROJECTIONS OF MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD UP TO 1990

PART II

POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN

In this part of the Thesis the population characteristics of the Nation will be examined as an introduction to the analysis of the regional, subregional and subadministrative units levels of internal migration. The sequence of discussion on the population composition and growth will be at national, regional and subregional levels.

2.1 IRAQ POPULATION (1867-1975) AND PROJECTIONS

In Table No. 13, p.136 the population of the country is listed for the period 1867-1965. Estimation of the central statistical organisation demographic advisor, Dr. M. M. Imam, of the Iraq population in 1975 is also included in this Table. The 1980-2000 Iraq population projections have been prepared by Koza Ueda, the UN demographic expert to the CSO (see details of references for Table No. 13, p.137). Data of Table No. 13 is plotted in Fig. 5, p.138 to illustrate the rate of change in the Nation's population components. To contrast the population growth and composition of Iraq against other developing countries, Table No. 14, p.144 shows a comparative data set against neighbouring Syria, Iran and Turkey.

Dr. M. M. Imam's estimate for the 1975 population has been adopted by the CSO as the most accurate available for current population figures in 1975 and published in the latest CSO's 1975 Annual Abstracts of Statistics. Dr. Imam's

estimates were adopted after his 1970 population estimates proved to be very close to the data of the 1970 house count population data (not published by CSO). As an example of the degree that Dr. Imam's estimate came close to the CSO's house count figures, consider the following table:*

	Dr. Imam's Estimates (1970)	CSO House Count (1970)
	(Pop. figures in 000)	
Iraq's Population	9440	9206
Baghdad Subregion	2689	2471
Sulimania Subregion	472	459
Basrah Subregion	797	753
Thiqar Subregion	524	542

For the purpose of data analysis in this Thesis Dr. Imam's figures for 1975 are to be used as 1975 population data for Iraq. Before examining the characteristics of Iraq's population as shown in the data, it is necessary to clarify three concepts of significant importance to the population growth and movement of population in the country in general and in the regional and subregional levels in particular, namely:

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* Dr. Imam's 1975 population estimate proved also to be very accurate when part of the data for the official 1977 Census Data was published further supporting the validity of its use in this Thesis. He estimated the Capital's subregion 1975 population at 3.5 million which the 1977 Census Data confirmed as a good estimate. The Nation's 1977 population of 12.174 millions is very close to the 1975 figure of 11.124 if used as a base with an annual growth rate of say 3.3%

(A) The definition of urban and rural places in the country.

(B) The natural growth characteristics of the urban, rural and total population.

(C) The relationship between the rural population and the agricultural population in Iraq. In this context a hypothesis is examined suggesting that both terms are interchangeable in the Iraqi situation.

(A) Definition of rural and urban population in Iraq:

(1) Rural Population:

According to the Directorate General of Civic Affairs (the agency responsible for the 1947-1965 Census) the rural population is that part of the population which is:

(a) residing outside the official municipal limits of municipalities in Iraq; or

(b) residing outside the built-up area boundaries of an administrative centre (Nahia, Qadha, Mohafadat)

(This covers only limited cases where the site of the municipal area is not yet delineated).

(2) Urban Population:

(a) residing within the official municipal limits of municipalities in Iraq; or

(b) residing within the built-up area boundaries of an administrative centre (Nahia, Qadha, Mohafadat).

Municipalities in Iraq may be formed by a ministerial decree for settlements over 1000 population, except if it is an administrative centre (Nahia, Qadha or Mohafadat) then it is eligible for a municipality status whatever the size of the population is.

Thus the rural population in Iraq comprises those living outside municipal limits (a built-up area boundary) of established municipalities in the country, usually in settlements (villages) not more than 1000 population in size, the majority of which are agricultural settlements. In 1975 (72) these settlements were reported to be 9,782 villages with a total population of 4,016,677 representing the total rural population in the country, the size breakdown of these villages being as follows:

Village Population	No. of villages	% of No.	Total Population	% of Pop.
Less than 250	4,559	46.6%	684,385	17.0%
251 - 500	3,038	31.1%	1,080,610	26.9%
Over 500	2,185	22.3%	2,251,682	56.1%
	9,782	100.0%	4,016,677	100.0%

(72) Ministry of Planning - Educational and Sociological Dept., Services Planning Section, "Analysis of Health Services Pattern in the Rural Areas", Study No. 4, Baghdad, July 1974, p.4.

(B) Natural Growth Characteristics of the Urban, Rural and National Total Population:

The rural component of the Nation's population has always shown a much higher fertility rate than the urban component. This is mainly due to the high illiteracy level and social traditions and religious beliefs in the rural population which are very strong in the tribal rural society in Iraq. In the 1957 Census data the predominantly rural subregion of Mysan showed a fertility ratio of 837.3, against Baghdad's 788 and the Nation's 888. (Fertility ratio = number of children age 0-5 years divided by female total age 15-50).(73) In the rural areas in Iraq the poor health conditions push the mortality rate much higher than the urban sector, and consequently higher than the total national mortality rate. It is practically impossible to get backdated data on mortality in Iraq in general and in the rural sector in particular, but the 1973-1975 Central Statistical Organisation Vital Rates Survey,(74) which is by far the most reliable vital rates survey in the Nation's history, gave the following as the mortality general rates for the country's population:

National Urban Population	9.1 per 1000 pop.
National Rural Population	12.8 per 1000 pop.
National Total Population	10.6 per 1000 pop.

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(73) Dr. M. M. Aziz, op.cit., p.279

(74) Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation - "Results of the Vital Rates Survey 1974-1975", Baghdad, July 1976, p.11-13.

Yet this high mortality rate for the rural population does not offset the effect of the high fertility rate of the rural population, thus resulting in the natural growth rate for the rural sector being higher than the urban and total population. The CSO Survey gave the following figures for birth rates and natural growth rates:

	Birth Rate per 000 pop.	Natural Growth Rate per 000 pop.
Urban Population	39.6	30.5
Rural Population	47.0	34.3
Total Population	42.6	32.0

The fertility rate was given by the CSO Survey (Fertility Rate = number of children born in previous year to the Survey divided by number of females aged 15-50) as 220.2 for rural population, 177.6 for urban population and 194.7 for Iraq's total. The pattern has not changed between 1957 and 1975 with the rural population showing higher natural growth rates than the urban population. This data regarding the natural growth rate differentials between the urban and rural components of the Nation's population, with the natural growth rate of the rural sector showing higher values, suggests that the poor level of the overall growth rate of the rural population (Table No. 13, p.136) could only be attributed to the rural migration pattern in the country. This view is also shared

by other research in the demographic field in Iraq, notably by Dr. H. Al Saadi in his paper to the Cairo Demographic Centre,(75) where he mentioned that:

> "Although natural increase has been the chief factor of growth in Iraq (1947-1965) the differences in the growth rates of the Mohafadhas for the two periods (1947-1957 and 1957-1965) were mainly due to migration between them".

This also suggests a more or less uniform natural growth rate for population all over the country. Thus in the absence of any significant international migration, variation of population growth rates for various parts of the country above or below the national population growth rate (which is actually the natural growth rate) could only be attributed to positive (gaining) or negative (losing) net migration.

(C) Rural and Agricultural Population:

A basic hypothesis in this context has to be examined. The hypothesis is that in Iraq, rural population mainly means agricultural population and rural migration mostly refers to movement of peasants, farmers or that part of the population which is engaged in agriculture.

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(75) Dr. H. Al Saadi - "Population Redistribution and Internal Migration in Iraq 1947-1965", Cairo Demographic Centre, Cairo 1973, p.36.

To support this hypothesis the Ministry of Planning in Iraq in its Report on "General Economic Evaluation for the Agricultural Sector in Iraq"(76) suggested the following percentages for agricultural population from total rural population in Iraq:

Year	% Agricultural Population from total Rural Population
1960	89.9%
1961	90.0%
1962	90.0%
1963	90.0%
1964	90.0%
1965	90.0%
1966	89.9%
1967	90.0%

Agricultural population is defined by Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar and Dr. A. Menoufi(77) as "rural population engaged or dependent on agriculture". They also gave similar conclusions to the previous reference (i.e. Ministry of Planning above) in suggesting that 10% is the ratio from rural population that are engaged in "occupations other than agriculture".(78)

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(76) J. Awni and F. Thiab - "General Economic Evaluation for the Agricultural Sector in Iraq", the Economic Section, Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, May 1971, Table 2, p.4.

(77) Dr. J. Hashim, Dr. H. Omar and Dr. A. Menoufi - op.cit., p.69.

(78) Ibid., p.14.

They also suggested the following as the percentage of the rural population National total as agricultural population:

Year	% Agricultural Population from Total Rural Population
1953	89.9%
1957	89.9%
1961	89.9%
1965	89.9%
1969	90.0%

The proving of this hypothesis is of significant importance in tracing the motives behind the rural-urban migration movements. Deterioration of the agricultural output and massive rural migration are interrelated and both are two faces of the same problem. Policies and actions influencing one of them will eventually lead to changes in the other, for ever since Iraqi Independence in 1920 until now Governments at various stages have tried to influence the migration pattern from the rural areas using agricultural oriented measures as the main tools for the required change in laws and regulations affecting land tenure. Agricultural output, irrigation systems and agricultural development have led invariably to direct effects on the pattern of rural-urban migration, an outstanding example being the failure of the post-1958 Revolution Agrarian Reform Law (See Part I, p.37). Natural

disasters that destroyed the agricultural seasons or floods that swept the agricultural fields have led to massive movements of the rural population to the urban areas. Obvious examples are the 1954 floods and the early 70's Euphrates River drought. In the section dealing with the subregions' population composition and growth describing a subregion as being predominantly rural is another way of saying its predominant population occupation is agricultural. By the same argument urban majority in a subregion would suggest that agriculture is not the primary occupation for the majority of the subregion's population. This explains why major industrial subregions in Iraq such as Basrah, Baghdad and Kirkuk are mainly urban subregions while rural subregions in the southern and central regions are basically agricultural areas where rural migration to urban centres is at its peak, as will be shown later.

Iraq Population Growth Characteristics (1867-1965) and Projections to the year 2000

(Tables No. 13, p.136, No. 14, p.144 and Fig.5, p.138)

(1) Iraq's population underwent an interesting change from nomadic to rural to urban over the last hundred years. The nomadic population seemed to deteriorate from its 1867 level of 35% down to 0% (or close to 0%) in 1957. On the other hand the

Table No. 13

IRAQ POPULATION COMPOSITION 1867-1965, ESTIMATES 1975 AND 1980, AND PROJECTIONS TO 2000

Figures in brackets are annual compound growth rates

Year (**)	Total Pop. in 000	Nomadic Total in 000	Nomadic % of Iraq	Rural Total in 000	Rural % of Iraq	Urban Total in 000	Urban % of Iraq
1867(1)	1280 (+1.6%)	445	35%	525 (+2.7%)	41%	310 (+1.4%)	24%
1890(1)	1826 (+1.4%)	433	24%	963 (+2.2%)	52%	430 (+1.4%)	24%
1905(1)	2250 (+1.5%)	393	18%	1324 (+2.2%)	58%	533 (+1.7%)	24%
1930(1)	3288 (+2.3%)	234	7%	2246 (+2.2%)	68%	808 (+3.0%)	25%
1947(2)	4826 (+2.7%)	250*	5%	3243 (+2.4%)	67%	1333 (+5.1%)	28%
1957(2)	6299 (+3.1%)	0	0	4107 (-0.5%)	65%	2192 (+8.2%)	35%
1965(2)	8047 (+3.3%)	0	0	3935 (0%)	49%	4112 (+5.6%)	51%
1975(3)	11124 (+3.5%)	0	0	4040 (0%)	36%	7084 (+5.2%)	64%
1980(4)	13214	0	0	4094	31%	9120	69%
1990(5)	19320-20730 Range	0	0	-	25-28%	-	72-75%
2000(5)	23000-25000 Range	0	0	-	20-30%	-	70-80%

* Ministry of Interiors, D.G. of Civic Affairs Estimate

(**) Source: see following page

(**) Table No. 13 computed from:

(1) M. S. Hassan "Economic Development in Iraq" Asrya Press, Beirut 1965, Table No. 4, p.54.

(2) Census data 1947, 1957 and 1965. Republished by the Central Statistical Organisation, Ministry of Planning, Baghdad in the "Annual Abstract of Statistics", for years 1960-75.

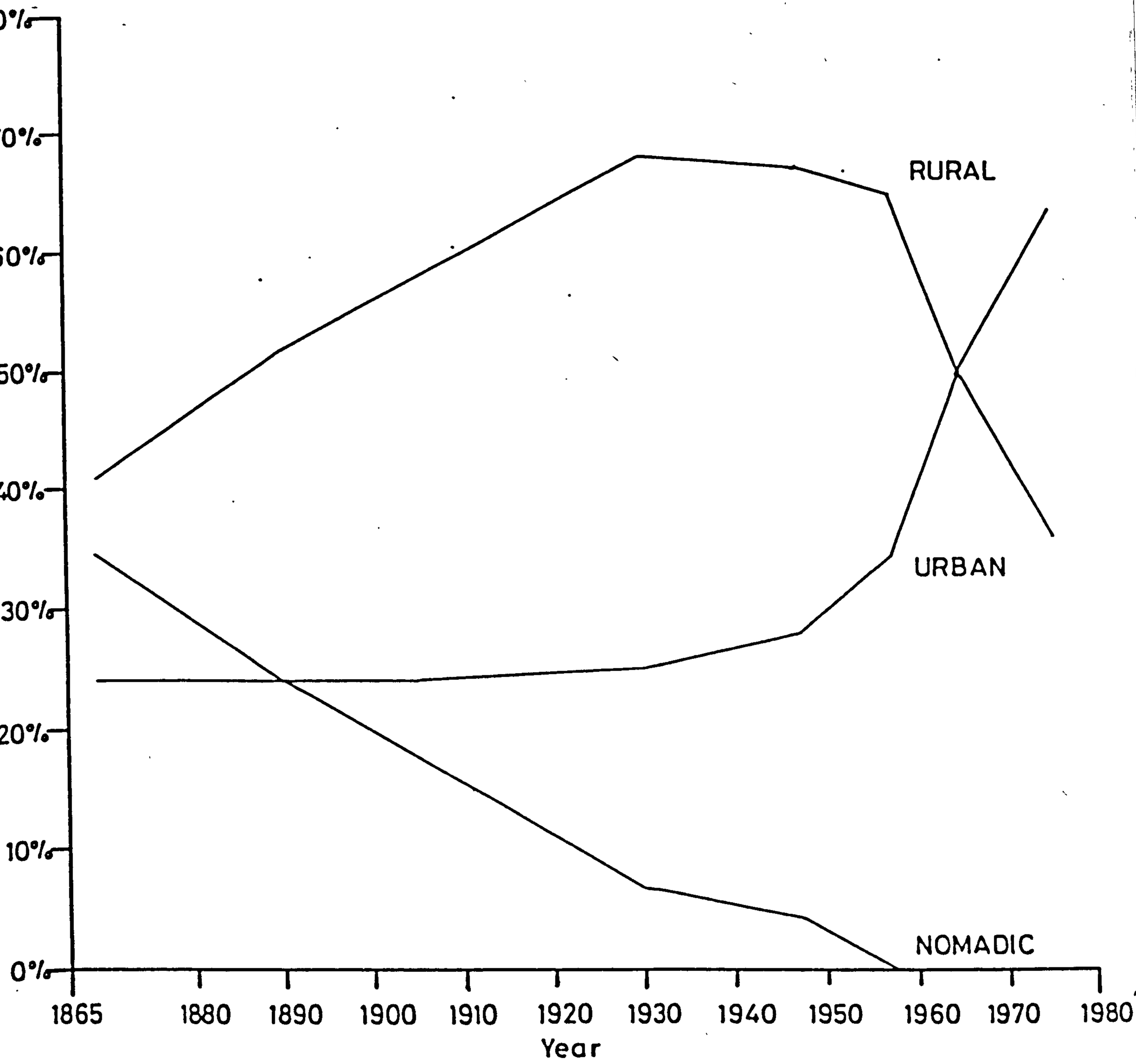
(3) Dr. M. M. Al Emam, Estimates published in the "1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics", Ministry of Planning, C.S.O, Baghdad, Table 2/1, p.34.

(4) K. Ueda, UN Demographer, UNOTC Report No. UEDA/TG/70, dated 28 July 1970, "Report on Revised Estimates of Population by Urban and Rural for Iraq for 1957-1980", Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, Table 10, p.14.

(5) S.S Shafi - "Urban Planning in Iraq- Problems and Prospects", UNDP Advisor to Iraq on Urban Planning, Report submitted to Baghdad Municipality, March 1972, Table No. 5, p.25.

rural population increased in the same period. The urban population percentage remained reasonably stable, 24% in 1869, 1890, 1905, 25% in 1930, 28% in 1947 and 35% in 1957; the latter year was the first instance when rural population started a significant decline. The real change seems to have started in 1930 when the rural population started to drop.

The 1867-1957 period can be divided into three periods:



YEAR	TOTAL POP. (000's)	NOMADIC (%)	RURAL (%)	URBAN (%)
1867	1280	35	41	24
1890	1826	24	52	24
1905	2250	18	58	24
1930	3288	7	68	25
1947	4826	5	67	28
1957	6299	0	65	35
1965	8047	0	49	51
1975	11142	0	36	64

(Source: Table No.13 p.136)

Fig No.5 IRAQ: POPULATION COMPOSTION 1867-1975

(a) First Period 1867-1930:

Where in the face of concentrated governmental efforts to settle the nomads into agricultural land for political and administrative control by central government, the nomadic population share continued to drop and the rural population share continued to increase. At 1930 the highest ever rural population share of the national total was recorded at 68%. Urban population share in this period showed an almost steady percentage of around 24%.

(b) Second Period 1930-1947:

Where the start of the urbanisation process in Iraq seems to take place. Nomadic population in the national totals seems to keep sliding, reaching its lowest in 1947 with 5%, while rural population share showed a drop of just around 1%. Actually if one considers the fact that the rural population received the settled nomads in the same period its 1% decline is actually underestimated. This period signals the start of the rural-urban migration era that continues very strongly to current days. Government policies and actions in this period counts considerably in the creation of the pattern of growth and movement in these two periods.

(c) Third Period 1947-1957:

In this period the migration waves of rural population started to take huge proportions of the national internal migration scene. In this period the nomadic component of the national population almost but vanished and the rural population slumped to its worse ever percentage in the 1867-1957 period down to 65% of the national total, while at the same time the urban population share reached its peak for the period with 35%. The annual growth rate of the rural population showed the effect of the internal migration towards towns with 2.4% per annum against +5.1% for the urban population and 2.7% for the national total. Factors like the 1954 Tigris flood, deterioration of living conditions in the rural areas, feudal lords oppression and land salinity are among major factors causing the significant change in this period pattern of rural-urban migration. (See Part I, p.35).

The fact that data seems to suggest that 1930 is the real start of rural-urban migration is further supported by the growth rates (Annual Compound) shown by the rural-urban component for the rest of the 1867-1957 period. For since the 1867-1890 period, the rural population annual compound rate of growth has till

1930 shown a significant margin over the urban population growth rate. This margin started to drop in 1890-1905 and 1905-1930 period. At the 1930-1947 period for the first time it fell below the urban population figure. In 1930-1947 period the urban growth rate of 3% higher than the national growth rate of 2.3% seems to suggest an internal (positive) migration component, while the rural population growth rate of 2.2% suggests a slight (negative) internal migration rate.

(2) The modern era of 1957-1975 showed a continuous rise of the rural-urban migration volumes to an alarming scale of unprecedented dimensions. The rural population rate of growth dropped to a negative minus 0.5% per annum in the 1957-1965 period then to 0% in the 1965-1975 period. It is further estimated that it will continue to show no growth till the 1980's. Meanwhile the urban sector of the nation's population jumped from its +3% in the 1930-1947 period (the start of the rural-urban migration period) to +5.1% in the 1947-1957 period and then to +8.2% in the peak migration period of 1957-1965. For the 1965-1975 period it was estimated that there was a slight drop in the urban sector growth rate mainly due to the fact that the post 1958 Revolution period conditions in the rural areas (see Part I, p.42) made the migration pattern of the 1957-1965 period exceptional.

The rural-urban migration rates continued to rise in this period. The figures in Table No. 13 p.136 suggest that practically all the increase in the rural population due to natural growth is absorbed in the migration to towns pattern of this period. The rural proportion of the total Nation's population dropped in the 1965 data figures to less than half the Nation's population for the first time in the one hundred years period, 1867-1965, signifying a basic change in the Nation's characteristics from a rural to an urban society. The consequent result in the drop of agricultural production and deterioration of urban standards of living are but two of the eminent dangers of this serious loss of population process in the rural areas in Iraq.

(3) The demographer's projections to the year 2000 suggest further deterioration of the rural proportion of the Nation's population to go as low as 20% at the end of the period, with the more optimistic forecast putting the figure at 30%. With a deterioration of that scale and with the possibility of continuation of the current trend in deterioration in the agricultural output (See Part I, p.79) the prospect for the future is dim indeed and warrants immediate action from the policy-makers. Certainly the current urban infrastructure development trend in Iraq cannot

cope with the possibility of having to accommodate 80% of the Nation's population and neither is it possible for the remaining 20% in the rural areas to produce enough to feed the whole of the Nation.

(4) In Table No. 14, following, comparative data is shown for Iraq and four of its neighbouring developing countries namely Iran, Turkey and Syria. The data for the 1960-1970 period covers rural, urban and total population and rate of growth for the four nations. Although all of the four countries show similar characteristics of deterioration in the rural component share of the national population, Iraq stands out as being in the worst condition in terms of the amount and rate of this deterioration. Between 1960-1970 Iraqi urban population grew at around 20 times faster than its rural population with 6.2% for the urban population rate of growth per annum against 0.3% per annum for the rural component. Turkey came next with around 11 times (6.7% against 0.6%); Syria and Iran showed similar ratios of 2.4 times and 2.42 times respectively. Iraq was also the most urbanised in both 1960 and 1970 figures with 43.6% and 57.8% respectively.

Table No. 14

COMPARATIVE DATA ON GROWTH RATE (ANNUAL COMPOUND) FOR TOTAL AND URBAN POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITY (PER SQ. KM.) IN IRAQ AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES (1970)

Country	*1960			*1970			Annual Growth Rate 1960 - 1970		
	Pop. Rural in 000	Pop. Urban in 000	Total Pop. in 000	Pop. Rural in 000	Pop. Urban in 000	Total Pop. in 000	Rural	Urban	Total
IRAN	14275	7445	21720	17360	11896	29256	+1.98%	+4.8%	+3.0%
%		34.3%			40.7%				
Density 1970					(17)				
SYRIA	2880	1685	4565	3562	2741	6303	+2.1%	+5.0%	+3.3%
%		36.9%			43.5%				
Density 1970					(33)				
TURKEY	20547	7208	27755	21881	13786	35667	+0.6%	+6.7%	+2.5%
%		26.0%			38.7%				
Density 1970					(45)				
IRAQ	3885	3000	6885	3988	5452	9440	+0.3%	+6.2%	3.2%
%		43.6%			57.8%				
Density 1970					(22)				

* Population figures from the U.N. Demographic Year Books 1960, 1970 and 1972.

2.2 REGIONAL AND SUBREGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN: DATA SECTION

As we have discussed in the previous section (p.131) population growth of regions and subregions in Iraq is attributed to the migration pattern to and from the region or subregion concerned. In this section data for internal migration patterns will be evaluated in conjunction with population growth data for the Nation's regions and subregions.

2.2.1 Characteristics of Data:

2.2.1.1 Population Growth Data:

The Nation's regional population composition and growth for the period 1867-1975 were computed in Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p. X-5. On the other hand various administrative changes and inaccuracy of pre-1947 data made it impossible to trace the subregional population breakdown for periods before 1947. According to Dr. M. S. Hassan[79] the subregions forming Iraq's Northern, Central and Southern Regions are:

(a) Northern Region: Ninevah/Dhok
Sulimania
Arbil
Kirkuk

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(79) M. S. Hassan, op.cit., p.38.

Note: The Author's own experience in regional planning research in Iraq supports the breakdown suggested by Dr. Hassan. This regional breakdown is also confirmed by the Ministry of Planning, Economic Dept. Publication, "Economic Indicators for the Development of the Iraqi Economy", May 1972, Table No. 5, p.44.

(b) Central Region: Diala
Anbar
Baghdad
Wasit
Babylon
Kerbela

(c) Southern Region: Qadisya/Muthna
Mysan
Thiqar
Basrah

Data sources on the regional and subregional level are mentioned in the appropriate tables in Appendix No. I - for the regional population data in Table No.3 (Appendix No. 1, p. X-5), and for the subregional level in Table No. 7 (Appendix No. I, p. X-9). While the data for the period up to 1930 was mostly estimated on the regional level, data for the period 1947-1965 was Census Data, and the 1975-1980 data was from Ministry of Planning estimates.

2.2.1.2 Internal Migration Data (Regional and subregional level):

The tools for these analyses are the birth place/ residence place or registration place. Tables compiled from the 1947, 1957 and 1965 Cenus data and the 1974 sample matrix of birth place/residence place supplied to the Author by the Central Statistical Organisation (C.S.O.) of the Ministry of Planning. The C.S.O. 1974 matrix was modified by the author to produce 1975 data (see Appendix No. 1, p. X-14). Thus the migration

pattern analysis data used is as follows:

(A) The 1947, 1957 and 1965 Census Data:

(Place of Birth/Place of Residence Tables):

The 1947-1965 Census tables on place of birth and place of residence (registration) were first used for migration research in Iraq by the Department of Regional Planning at the Ministry of Municipalities in Iraq.(80) For the purpose of this Thesis, the Author used these tables after introducing a few numerical adjustments in the 1957 data based on the original census tables published by the Iraqi Government.(81) These admustments are marked with (+) in Table No. 10 - Table type (A) (Appendix No. II, p.X-20). The main reason for these admustments is to eliminate the discrepancies between the tables as reported by the Ministry of Municipalities and the original version of the census data. The differences are minute in value but necessary to be rectified for this Thesis purpose. Tables No. 1 (for the 1947 Census data), No. 10 (for the 1957 Census data) and No. 19 (for the 1965 Census data), all type (A) tables

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(80) Ministry of Municipalities, Directorate General of Planning and Engineering, Department of Regional Planning, "Internal Migration in Iraq 1947-1965 - Trends and Values", Baghdad, Nov. 1973, p.204.

(81) Ministry of Interiors, op.cit., Table 15(b)

(Appendix No. II, pp. X-19 to X-21), are the tables used for the analysis as basic tables. The figures in all these 1947, 1957 and 1965 Census data tables are for those who reported their place of birth, thus the total population registered in subregions or their smaller administrative units is less than the final total of registered population reported by the census data (the latter being used in Tables No. 4 and No. 7 - Appendix No. I, p.X-6 and p. X-9), the difference being for that part of the registered population not reporting their place of birth or those who were born outside Iraq. In 1957 this difference varied from a minimum 0.21% in the subregion of Thiqar to a maximum of 6.2% in the subregion of Kerbela which is the major religious centre in Iraq where a considerable number of foreign nationals settle in attending religious institutions. For the ten subregions of which data of this kind was obtained by the Author (including Baghdad) the figure was 1.71% (of which 0.26% did not report their place of birth and 1.45% were of foreign nationality). This percentage difference is not significant enough to cause statistical discrepancies, thus unless specified, the figures in this section will refer to <u>registered population of subregions or sub-administrative units as those reporting their place of birth</u>.

Another observation on the Census tables is the over-reporting of Kerbela subregion in the 1947 Census data (Table No. 1, type (A), Appendix No. II, p.X-19). This is due to the addition of around 50,000 Bedouin population, estimated by the Directorate of Civic Affairs to be in the desert section of this subregion in 1947. The 1957 Census made an accurate numeration of the Bedouin population in the country and no estimate was entered in the subregional population figures for that Census.

Finally on the quality of the Census data due to the Kurdish conflict in the early sixties, the 1965 data in some parts of the northern region was an estimate and the Author will point that out in the proper areas where it happens.

(B) <u>The 1975 Data</u>:

As discussed in Appendix No. I, pX-14 data supplied by the CSO in their vital rates survey (1973-4) and the follow-up component of this survey in March 1975 could be used with a reasonable degree of confidence for the purposes of the migration pattern analysis for this Thesis. As it is going to be utilized in this section mainly to indicate changes in the 1947-1965 migration pattern for regional and subregional levels, special emphasis will be put on those subregions

showing significant changes in their migration pattern characteristics.

2.2.1.3 Internal Migration Data (Sub-administrative level - Qadhas) (1965):

In the 1965 census year the national administrative structure was formed from 14 subregions (mohafadats or liwas), 76 Qadhas and 180 Nahias (see p.10). For the purpose of this Thesis Baghdad, the capital subregion, has been allocated a special section for its migration pattern leaving only 13 subregions, 69 Qadhas and 165 Nahias (Fig. No. 6, p.152). The 1965 data is compiled from the D.G. of Planning and Engineering Report (see Footnote 80, p.147) which is based on migration data down to the Qadha level. The analysis in this section is basically concerned with movement within the 13 subregions and comparing this movement to that going out of the subregion, notably to Baghdad. The units for the analysis will be the Qadha, the subregion and then the region. The movement from each of the 69 Qadhas was computed by the Author from the birth place/residence place matrix (unpublished) on Qadhas level which was the base of the D.G. of Planning and Engineering Report. Movement from the Qadhas (also called subadministrative units) is classified into:

Movement Type (I)	Movement towards the subregion's centre
Movement Type (II)	Movement towards other parts of the subregion
Movement Type (III)	Movement going outside the subregion's boundaries, but still within the region's boundaries
Movement Type (IV)	Movement towards other regions
Movement Type (V)	Movement towards the Capital

The 1965 Census data, especially in the Northern Region movements, has fallen under the impact of the Kurdish political turbulence in the early 1960's. This tends to create a "special" condition that makes conclusions derived from the movement pattern particular to this condition.* Although this is in many parts of the northern Kurdish subregion (also in some parts of the south such as Thiqar and Basrah and centres such as Diala which has a Kurdish minority), its impact on the rest of the Nation's subregions is limited. The main impact of the Kurdish problem in the 1965 data was making the already highly confined movement of the Kurdish population more confined and restricted to their own subregions. Such change is predictable in impact and will be noted during the course of the analysis. It has, on the other hand, made little effect on the pattern of movement, degree of attractiveness

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* Some Northern Region subadministrative units were estimated (by the Census Authorities) in 1965 and are noted as (*) in the subadministrative tables (Appendix No. II, pp. X-56 to X-59).

SUBADMINISTRATIVE UNITS NAMES:

NORTHERN REGION

1 MOSUL (SRC)
2 Shura
3 Sinjar
4 Sheikhan
5 Telefar
6 Hather
7 DHOK (SRC)
8 Amadia
9 Zhako
10 Akra
11 SULIMANIA (SRC)
12 Halabcha
13 Shahrabaz
14 Beshdar
15 Rania
16 Benjuin
17 ARBIL (SRC)
18 Makhmoor
19 Rawanduz
20 Zebar
21 Qoisanjak
22 Shaklawa
23 KIRKUK (SRC)
24 Kifri
25 Chamchamal
26 Tuz
27 Haweja

CENTRAL REGION

28 BAQUBA (SRC)
29 Khalis
30 Khanaqin
31 Mendely
32 Moqdadia
33 RAMADI (SRC)
34 Faloja
35 Anna
36 Haditha
37 Rutba
38 KUT (SRC)
39 Haai
40 Badra
41 Suwaira
42 Namania
43 HILLA (SRC)
44 Hashimia
45 Hindia
46 Mussayab
47 KERBALA (SRC)
48 Nejef
49 Kufa

SOUTHERN REGION

50 DIWANIA (SRC)
51 Afaq
52 Abu Sukhair
53 Shamia
54 SAMAWA (SRC)
55 Salman
56 AMARA (SRC)
57 Ali Gharbi
58 Qalat Salih
59 Meymona
60 NASIRIYAH (SRC)
61 Refai
62 Suq Al Shiukh
63 Shatra
64 Chebayesh
65 BASRAH (SRC)
66 Qurna
67 Abu Khaseeb
68 Fao
69 Zubair

SRC Subregions Center
— — Subregional Boundries
——— Subadministrative Units (Qadha's) Boundries

Fig. No.6 -Subadministrative Units (Qadhas) Iraq (1965)

and volume of movement in other parts of the Nation. These observations, coupled with the fact that only the 1965 data offers subadministrative units' movement, made the selection of the 1965 data for this kind of analysis mandatory.

The analysis for this section will be carried out using migration percentage tables for Qadhas in each subregion, then summaries of subregional and regional movements will be analysed also.

2.2.2 Internal Migration Tables, Analysis Forms (Description) and Definitions of special terms:

2.2.2.1 The Regional Level:

For the regional level migration pattern analysis only tables type (C) (Appendix No. II, pp. X-27 to X-30) were used, all derived out of the basic birth place/ residence (registration) place tables type (A) (Appendix No. II, pp. X-19 to X-22) No. 1 (for 1947 Census data), No. 10 (for 1957 census data), No. 19 (for 1965 Census data) and No. 28 (for the 1975 C.S.O. Vital Rates Survey data). Tables type (C) for the regional level analysis are No. 3 (for the 1947 Census data), No. 12 (for 1957 Census data), No. 21 (for the 1965 Census data) and No. 30 (for the 1975 data). In these tables, type (c), regional registered population as a percentage of national population, movement within the region (inter region migration),

movement to the Capital and movement to the other regions are computed for the purpose of the analysis. The regional movement patterns were also drawn for the four sets of data in Fig. Nos.7, 8, 9 & 10, pp.159-162.

The analysis forms (Appendix No. II, pp. X-73 to X-106), both for the regional and subregional level, were designed to focus on the main criteria of the internal migration pattern on both levels.

2.2.2.2 <u>The Subregional Level</u>:

Five Types of tables were used, namely, Types B,D,E,F and G. These include 28 tables for the four sets of data between 1947 and 1975, with seven tables for each set, as follows:

(1) Tables Type (B):
(Appendix No. II, pp. X-23 to X-26)

They include Tables No. 2 (for 1947 Census data), No. 11 (for 1957 Census data), No. 20 (for 1965 Census data) and No. 29 (for the 1975 data).

These (B) type tables show the distribution of the outmigrants from subregions by percentages of total outmigrants going to receiving (destination) subregions. Percentages under 5% of the subregion's outmigrants are ignored, thus concentrating the analysis on relevant type movements.

(2) Tables Type (D):
(Appendix No. II, pp. X-31 to X-42)

They include Tables No. 4, 5 and 6 (for 1947 Census data), Nos. 13, 14 and 15 (for 1957 Census data), Nos. 22, 23 and 24 (for 1965 Census data) and Nos. 31, 32 and 33 (for the 1975 data).

These (D) type tables show the share of the subregions in the three regions in the country of the inter region migrants of their regions. A column showing the subregions share of their regions total registered population for the purpose of comparison between their population share and inter region migrants share.

(3) Tables Type (E):
(Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-46)

They include Tables No. 7 (for the 1947 Census data), No. 16 (for the 1957 Census data), No. 25 (for the 1965 Census data) and No. 34 (for the 1975 data).

These tables show the characteristics of the in migration for the subregions. Total in migration volumes for the subregion, its share of the national total in migration, its share of the national population total and the in migration volume total compared to the registered population of the subregion by showing it as the number of in migrants per 1000 registered population in the subregion.

(4) Tables Type (F):
(Appendix No. II, pp. X-47 to X-50)

They include Tables No. 8 (for 1947 Census data), No. 17 (for the 1957 census data), No. 26 (for the 1965 Census data) and No. 35 (for the 1975 data).

These type (F) tables are the same as type (E), but for the out migration characteristics rather than in migration characteristics as in type (E).

(5) Tables Type (G):
(Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54)

They include Tables No. 9 (for the 1947 Census data), No. 18 (for the 1957 Census data), No. 27 (for the 1965 Census data) and No. 36 (for the 1975 data).

Combining Table type (E) (in migration) with Tables type (F) (out migration), the net migration figures for subregions will be computed as tabulated type (G).

2.2.2.3 <u>The Subadministrative Level</u>:

Two types of tables are used in the subadministrative level migration pattern analysis:

(1) The basic tables (Nos. 37-40, Northern Region subregions)(Appendix No. II, pp. X-56 to X-59), Nos. 42-46 (Central Region subregions) (Appendix No. II, pp. X-60 to X-64) and Nos. 48-51 (Southern Region subregions)(Appendix No.II, pp. X-65 to X-68).

(2) The regional summary table (No. 53) (Appendix No. II, p. X-69), in which migrants leaving subadministrative units are totalled within the three regions for the five kinds of subadministrative migration movements.

2.2.2.4 <u>The Analysis Forms</u>:

To facilitate the migration pattern analysis forms were devised by the Author to include selected indices for the regional and subregional pattern of migration for the 1947, 1957, 1965 and 1975 data sets (Appendix No. II, pp. X-73 to X-106). Observations were also noted on each of these forms for the region's and subregions' movement.

2.2.2.5 <u>Definitions of special terms used in the Analysis</u>:

(1) Proximity factor type of movement:

Migration to bordering subregions from the subregion under discussion. This movement pattern does not cover movements from subregion to the Capital or to major attraction poles in the north (Kirkuk) or the south (Basrah). Thus such movement signifies physical proximity influence on the destination selection for subregions out migrants.

(2) Inter region migration:

Migrants leaving subregions within the region concerned to destination within the region itself.

(3) Fair share:

A subregion fair share of total in or out migrants (or population increase, etc.) is taken as being equal to the subregion share of the population within the regional or national context. (For example, a subregion which claims 5% of the national population should attract a fair share of the total national in migration or produce a fair share of the total national out migration of 5%).

(4) Major contributing or receipient subregion:

If the amount of out migrants from a subregion going to a destination exceeds 10% of the subregion out migrants, it is considered as a major contributor to the destination subregion and in this case the destination subregion is considered a major recipient.

2.3 POPULATION GROWTH AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERN: DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

2.3.1 The Overall Regional Internal Migration Pattern (1947-1975):

Before getting into the detailed examination of the population growth and the internal migration pattern of the Nation's regions, it is beneficial to outline the general pattern as shown in Figures No. 7, 8, 9 and 10, following, These Figures are the diagramatic representation of the inter-regional movement for the four sets of data analysed in this Thesis, namely, 1947, 1957, 1965 and 1975 (see Tables No. 3, 12, 21 and 30, all Tables type (C) in Appendix No. II, pp. X-27 to X-30). The main characteristics

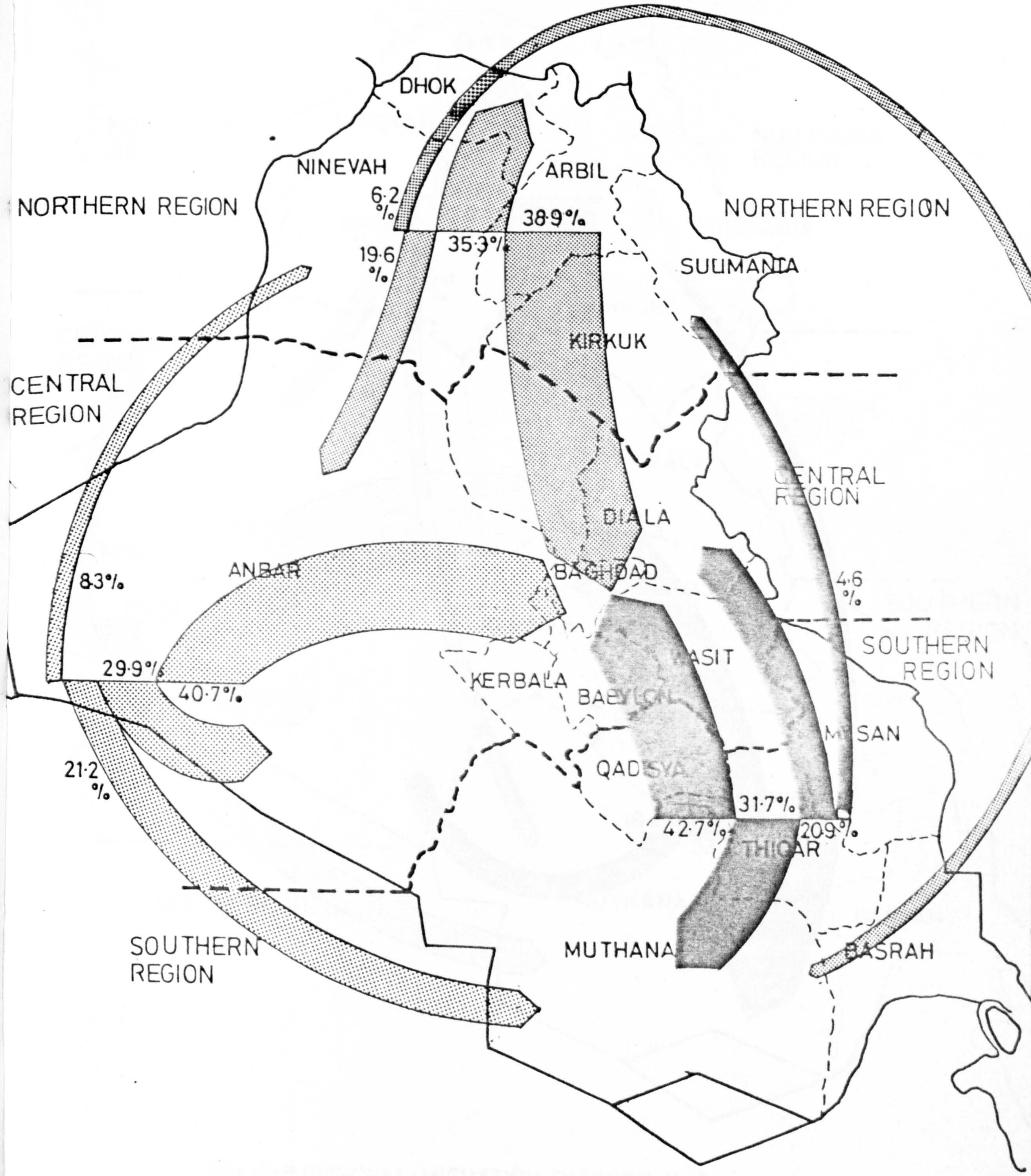

Fig No.7 REGIONAL MIGRATION PATTERN 1947
(Based on table 3 Table Type C, Appendix No II pX-27)

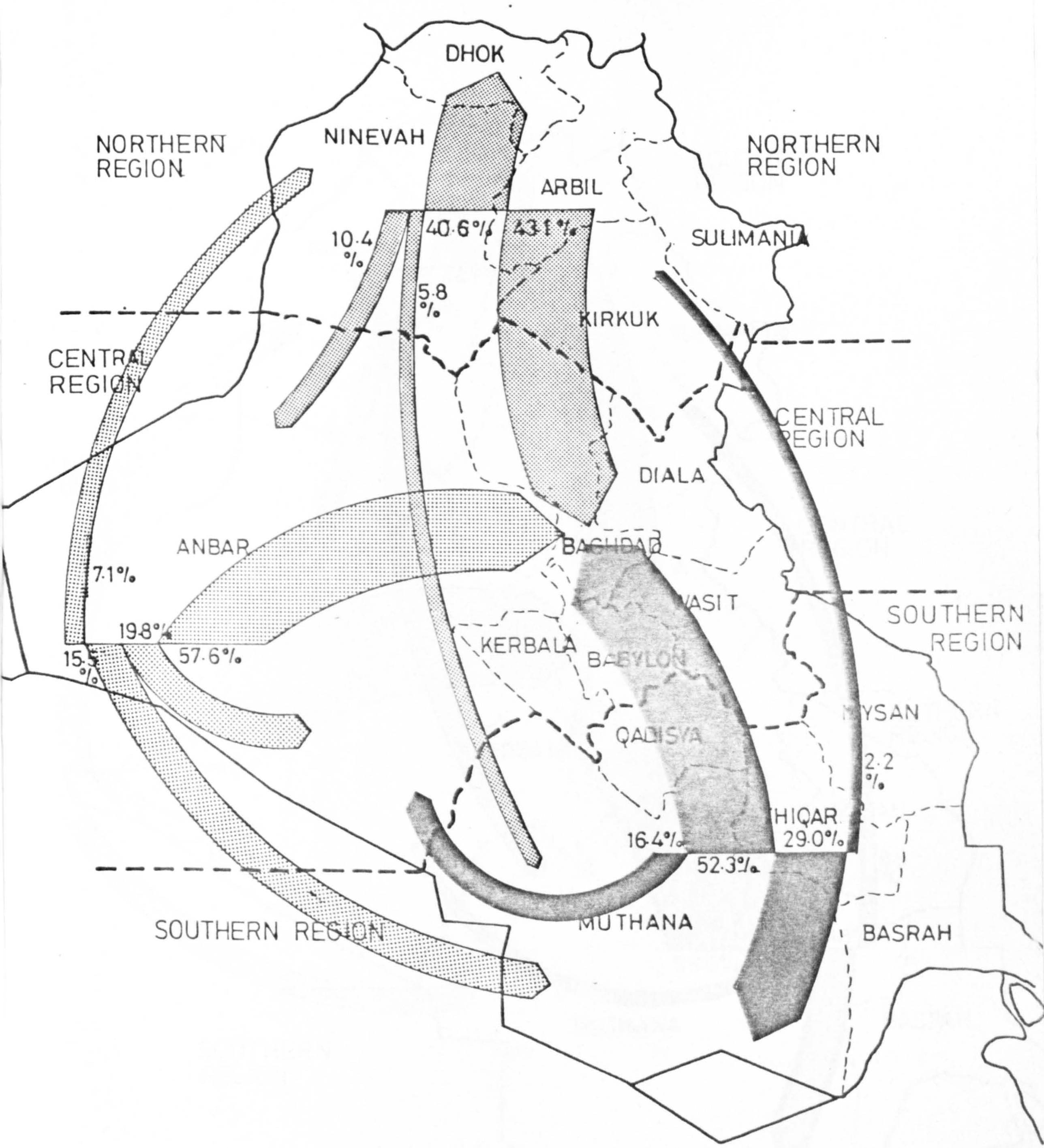

Fig No 8 REGIONAL MIGRATION PATTERN 1957
(Based on table 12 Table Type C Appendix No. II p. X-28)

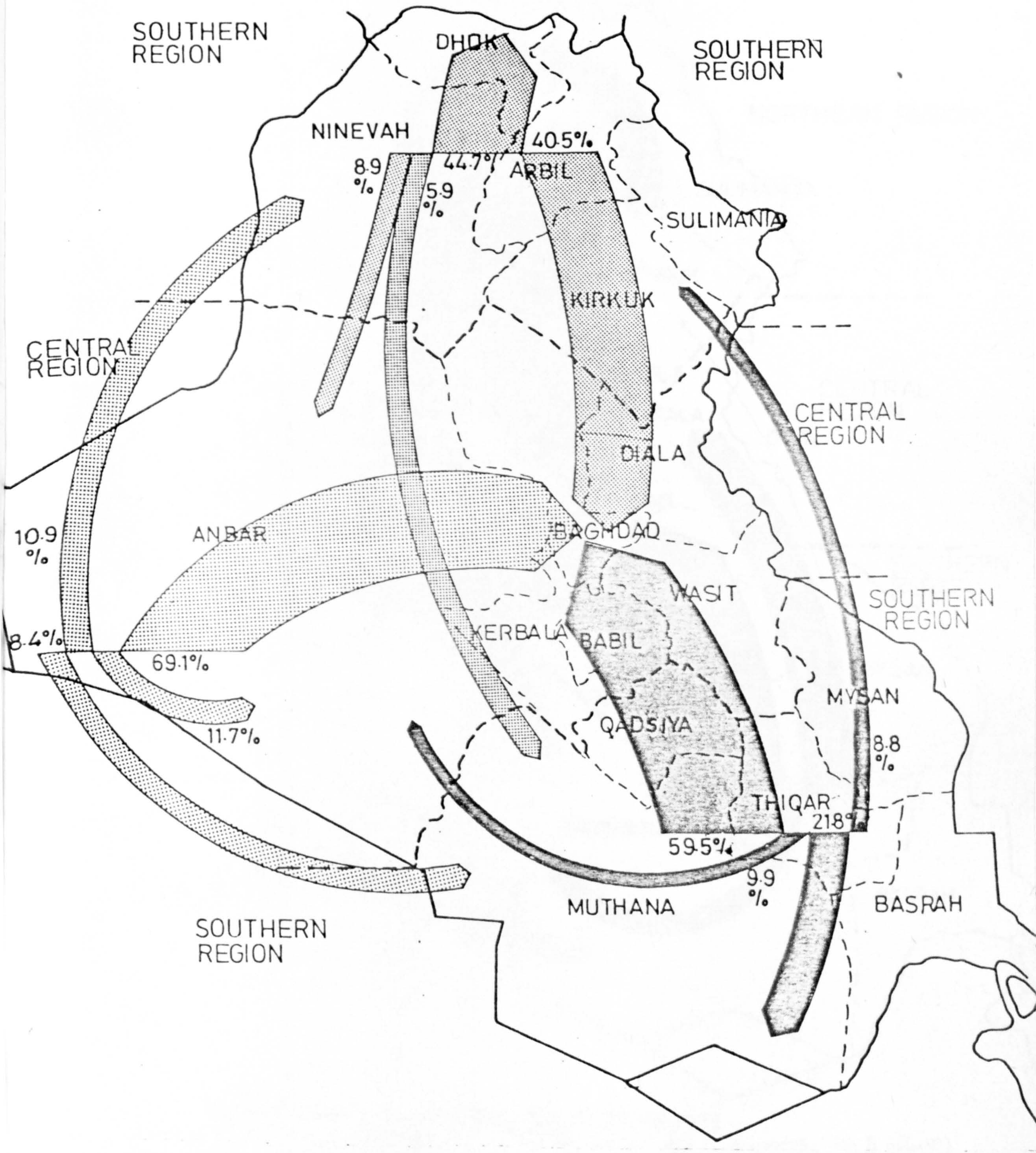

Fig No.9 REGION MIGRATION PATTERN 1965
(Based on table 21 Table Type C, Appendix No II p^{X}-29)

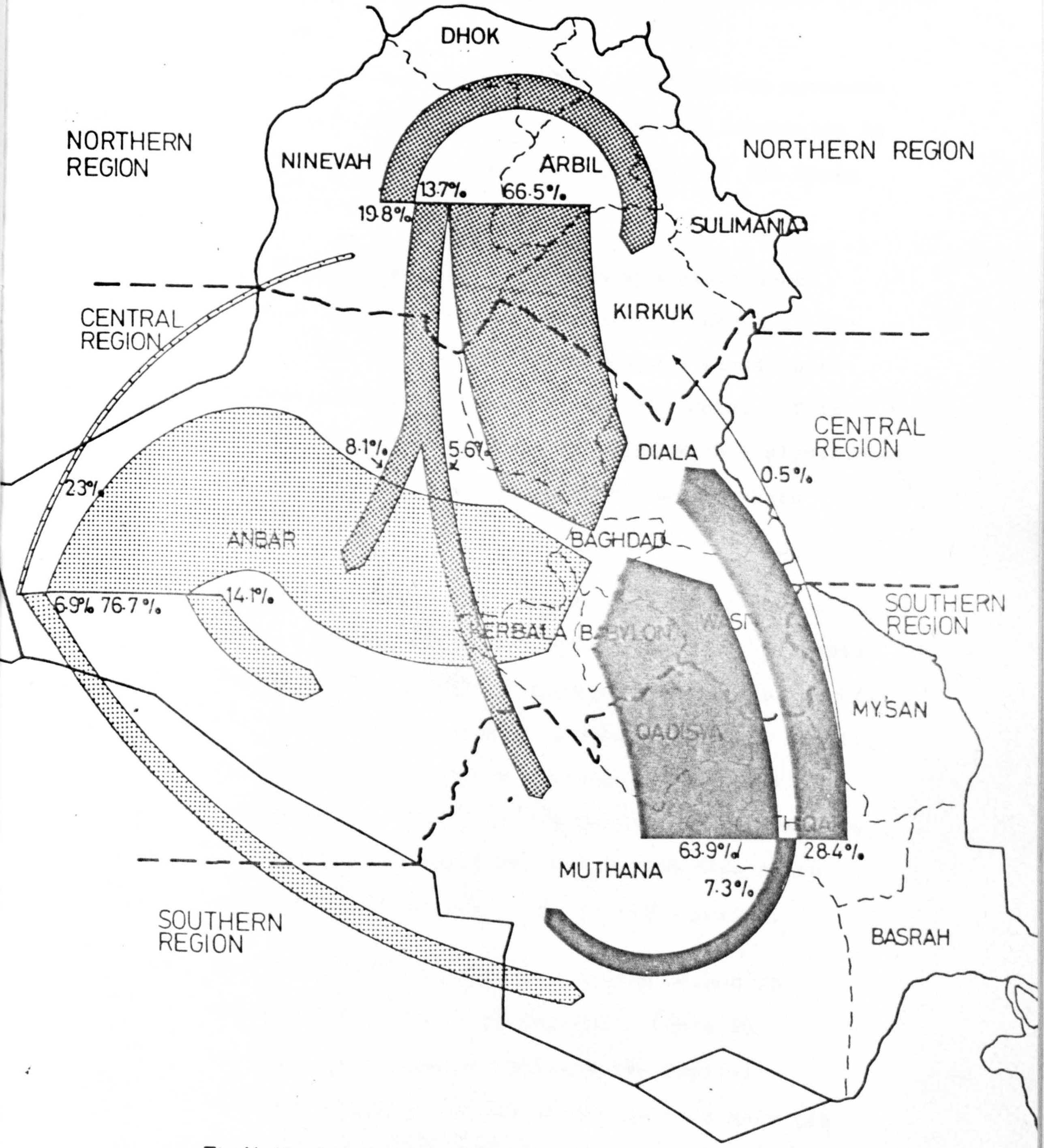

Fig No.10 REGIONAL MIGRATION PATTERN 1975
(Based on Table No.30, Table Type C, Appendix No.II pX-30)

of the regional internal migration pattern as shown in these Figures, are:

(1) The obvious major destination of migration movement is to the Capital. This movement is increasing in proportion of the total out migrants of the three regions over the period 1947-1975.

(2) The Northern Region which showed a significant part of its migrants staying in the region in the 1947, 1957 and 1965 pattern showed a significant drop of this proportion in the 1975 data. This characteristic is also accompanied with a significant increase in the Capital share of the Northern Region out migrants.

(3) Both the Southern Region and the Central Region show a very small proportion of these out migrants going to the Northern Region with the exception of the 1965 data (as will be discussed in more detail in the Regional Pattern Section in this Part of the Thesis). The Northern Region out migrants to the Central and Southern Regions had also shown a declining trend over the 1947-1975 period.

(4) Movement within the Central Region seemed to increase after the 1965 Census. (This is movement to subregions outside the Capital). Also the Southern Region seemed to send more (in the 1965-1975 data sets) to the Central Region. This may suggest an increase in the attractiveness

of central subregions, like Kerbela and Babylon, where considerable economic investment poured into these two subregions in the late sixties.

2.3.2 The Central Region:

Population growth and migration pattern in the region will be discussed excluding the Capital subregion migration pattern which will be the subject of a separate section of this Thesis.

I The Overall Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern: Main Characteristics:

(See analysis forms No. Regional II, Subregional II-1, II-2, II-3, II-4 and II-5, Appendix No. II, pp. X-84 to X-95)

(1) Shows the fastest growing population in the Nation's regions:

Fastest growing region in the Nation with a +3.9% annual growth rate for the 1947-1975 period. It also showed a 12 fold increase in its regional population over the 1867-1975 period against the Nation's less than 9 times increase, Northern Region's slightly over 10 times and the Southern Region's just over 4.6 times (Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p.X-5). The Central Region claimed progressively increasing shares of the national population increase in the periods 1947-1957, 1957-1965 and 1965-1975, with an overall 1947-1975 period share of 62.4% (against 21.9% for the

Northern Region's share and 15.9% for the Southern Region's share). Unlike the other two regions' share, the Central Region's share of the national population increase over the three periods has always been considerably higher than the fair share of the region. The 1957-1965 period showed the highest change in the Central Region's share of the national population increase up to 63.3% from the 1947-1957 level of 52%. (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). The region also showed the highest urban and total population growth over the 1947-1975 period of the Nation's regions. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). One major reason for this phenomenal growth in the Central Region is the growth of the Capital subregion which accounts for over two-thirds of the region's population growth. In the 1975 data it is estimated that the Capital subregion represents around one-third of the Nation's population and 42% of its urban population. It is also projected that by 1980 the Capital subregion will have around 34.9% of the Nation's population and around half its urban population over the 1947-1975 period. (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). The Capital subregion's share of the national population increase (at 43.0%) is almost five times its next rival's share, Basrah with 9.2%. (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). Having

the Capital within its regional boundaries has also helped the Central Region to show an urban population majority in the region as early as the 1957-1965 period which witnessed the urban population in the region increase by around 93% for the 1965 figure over the 1957 figure, the highest change of any region in the country. (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). Naturally most of that change had been in the Capital subregion which in the same period showed the highest population growth rate in the Nation. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). Actually the Central Region had always over the 1867-1975 period shown the majority of the urban population in the Nation to be within its regional boundaries (Table No. 3, Appendix No. 1, p. X-5).

(2) Migration pattern in the Central Region shows a positive net migration condition (the only one of the Nation's regions):

The migration pattern to and from the Central Region explains to a large extent the phenomenal growth in the region's population discussed above. Over the 1947-1975 study period it has always shown considerably higher than its fair share of the national total in-migration. This share has shown a continuous rise to reach a remarkable 90% in the 1975 data, of which around three-quarters of it is claimed by the Capital (Tables Type G and E, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54 and pp. X-43 to X-46). The region's huge share of the

national total in migration is coupled with a relatively low share of the national total out migration (Tables Type F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-47 to X-50) to give the region a very high positive net migration compared to the other two regions in the Nation, as shown in the following summary table:

	Population	Share of National - In migration	Out Migration	Net Migration per 000 pop.
Northern Region	26.7%	11.05%	17.9%	- 28
Central Region	46.7%	73.2%	39.9%	+ 76
Southern Region	26.6%	15.4%	42.3%	-116

(figures are average 1947-1975 period)

The strong predominance of the Capital over the Central Region's subregions out migrants destinations makes the 39% share of national out migrants of less significance as an index of losing population as most of these out migrants are going to the Capital within the Central Region anyway. The Capital's share of the Central Region's total subregions out-migrants rose to 69.1% in 1965 and 76.6% in 1975 respectively. These represent 46.3% and 44.4% of the national total migration to the Capital. Thus the seemingly positive net migration and remarkable population growth in the region actually is the result of including the Capital subregion growth within the region. The picture of the Central

Region's migration pattern (and the resulting population growth) could be better described if the level of analysis is brought down to the subregional level. On that level until as late as 1965 Census data all Central Region subregions outside the Capital, with the exception of Kerbela (which represents in 1965 18.6% of the region's population outside the Capital), showed a severe out migration problem with constantly deteriorating shares of both the national and regional population totals (Subregional Analysis Froms Nos. II-1 to II-5, Appendix No. II, pp. X-86 to X-95). The poor attractiveness of most of the Central Region subregions resulted in a low inter-region migration (migrants going to the Capital are excluded) as a proportion of total subregions out migrants, the lowest of the Nation's regions (Table Type C, Appendix No. II, pp. X-27 to X-30). The Central Region migration pattern also showed weak linkages with the Southern and Northern regions with a declining proportion of the region's out migrants going to destinations in these two regions. The 1975 data showed less than 10% of the total region's out migrants going to the Northern and Southern Regions combined (Table No. 28, Type A, Appendix No. II, p.X-22). This further emphasized the extreme predominance the Capital subregion assumes over the destination of the Central Region's subregions out migrants.

Finally the overall migration pattern and population growth in the Central Region showed in the 1965-1975 period the possible emergence of two of the region's subregions, namely Kerbela and Babylon, as potential growth poles to relieve some of the population pressure of the Capital subregion. This will be elaborated on in the subregional migration and population growth in the next section.

II The Subregional Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern for the Central Region (1947-1975):

The population growth analysis is based on Tables No. 4, 5, 6 and 7 (Appendix No. I, pp. X-6 to X-9) and the internal migration pattern is based on Analysis Forms No. II-1 to II-5, Appendix No. II, pp. X-86 to X-95). The following main characteristics of the Central Region's subregional population growth and internal migration pattern could be outlined. For a more detailed analysis of the subregional internal migration pattern the Analysis Forms mentioned above could be referred to. The Central Region's subregional population growth and internal migration pattern could be subdivided into three parts, namely: the Capital subregion internal migration pattern (which will be dealt with in a separate section of this Thesis); the subregions which show a declining population state with a severe negative migration pattern - these include Anbar, Diala and Wasit subregions; and the subregions

which show a potential for a future growth pole in the Central Region, which includes Kerbela and Babylon subregions.

(a) Anbar, Wasit and Diala Subregions:

All the three subregions show population growth rates considerably below the national population growth rate (natural growth rate), suggesting negative migration, and very low rural population growth rates (in most periods a negative growth rate) over the 1947-1975 study period. (Table No. 5, Appendix I, p.X-7). The three sub-regions show a declining population growth rate over the 1947-1975 (all lower than national growth rates) period, suggesting a deteriorating state of negative migration with the majority of migrants going to the Capital at an increasing proportion of the three subregions' total out migration. The Capital share of these three subregions' out migrants totals reached an all time high in the 1975 data with 96.8% (Diala), 95.5% (Anbar) and 86.8% for Wasit, all among the highest figures in the Nation's subregions for that year (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7 and Tables Type B, Appendix No. II, pp. X-23 to X-26). All three subregions show an increasing share of the national total out migrants in the 1947, 1957, 1965 and 1975 data, and a declining share of the national total in migration thus resulting in a deteriorating negative net

migration figure for the study period (Tables Type E, F and G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-54). The three subregions' share of the national population increase, over the 1947-1975 period showed a declining trend in most cases below their fair share (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). One possible explanation for the poor state of population growth in these subregions in the Central Region is that all three subregions are the most rural subregions in the region with both Diala and Wasit keeping their rural character up to the 1975 data (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). Internally within the region all the three subregions showed a declining share of the Central Region's inter-regional migration (Tables Type D, Appendix No. II, pp. X-31 to X-42).

(b) Kerbela Subregion and Babylon Subregion: Their population growth pattern (Table No.5, Appendix No. I, p.X-7), especially starting from the 1957-1975 period, suggests an improvement in their population growth. The Babylon (1965) and Kerbela (1975 data) internal migration pattern started to show significant improvement in net migration figures changing into positive values. (Tables No. 27 and No. 36, Tables Type G,

Appendix No. II, p. X-53 and p. X-54). Both subregions showed a significant drop in their share of the national total of out migrants in the 1965 data with a further drop in the 1975 data (Tables Type F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-47 to X-50). Both subregions showed an improvement in their share of the inter-region migration totals over the 1947-1975 period, with Babylon's 1965-1975 change being the most remarkable (Table Type D, Appendix No. II, pp. X-31 to X-42). Kerbela's population growth rate in the 1957-1965 and 1965-1975 periods equalled the national capital growth rate. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). Both regions showed close to (Babylon) or more than (Kerbela) their fair share of national population increase. In this context these two subregions were unique in the Central Region growth pattern (excluding the Capital) (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). Both subregions showed significant drop in their rate of out migration over the 1947-1975 period suggesting less population migrating from the two subregions. (Tables Type F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-47 to X-50). The rapid increase in their urban population proportion of the total subregional population, together with rural population growth rates much higher than those of many of the Nation's subregions, suggests that

these two subregions are losing less of their rural population than the other subregions, while attracting migrants from other subregions. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). These characteristics suggest good potential for both subregions to be possible growth poles in the Central Region to help in relieving the population growth pressure on the national capital. A possible explanation for such remarkable subregional growth in these two subregions is the extensive industrial investment poured into these subregions in the 1965-1969 and 1970-1975 economic development plans by the central government.

III Subadministrative Level Movements in the Central Region (1965):

(Tables No. 42-46 and Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, pp. X-60 to X-64 and X-69)

All subadministrative units in the Central Region subregions (with the exception of one, Kufa, of Kerbela subregion) (No. 49 in Fig. No. 6, p.152) show the Capital subregion as the main receipient of their out migrants. The percentage share of the Capital subregion from the central subregions' 21 out of 22 subadministrative units' out migrants varied from a minimum of 36.9% to a maximum of 92.4%. Subregional centres show a range of 55.3% to 83.8% for the Capital's share. This is expected in view of the predominance of the capital subregion over the Central Region migration pattern. Within the

Central region movement was very low in all subadministrative units with a maximum of around 42% and a minimum as low as 4.2%

There is a tendency to have a higher capital share of the individual units as these units get closer to the Capital (see Fig. No. 6, p.152). In units directly adjacent to the Capital such as Faloja (in Anbar subregion) (No. 34 in Fig. No. 6, p.152), Baquba (Diala Centre) (No. 28) and Suwaira (in Wasit subregion) (No. 41) they show capital shares of 92.4%, 80.6% and 85% respectively, while subadministrative units 36, 35 and 40 which are further from the Capital showed 36.9%, 44% and 62.1% respectively. The pattern of movement in the Central Region suggests quite strongly a single stage migration, from the subadministrative unit straight to the Capital. Kufa's behaviour (No.49, above) is due to direct links with neighbouring Nejef (which even shares its municipal limits). The share of the central subregions centres varies from a low of 2.4% of the total subadministrative units out migrants (in Anbar) to a maximum of 12.9% (in Diala), which is quite low and further suggests strong evidence of the single stage (to the Capital) migration pattern in the Central Region. This pattern is also shown in the overall total pattern (Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, p.X-69). The Central Region's subadministrative units' migration pattern showed the highest capital oriented proportion of the Nation's

regions at 66.6% with the weakest centres of subregions share at 6.9%.

IV <u>The Central Region Migration Pattern: Summary</u>:

(a) Main Characteristics:

(1) Single stage migration to the Capital is the predominant characteristic of migration in <u>all</u> the region's subregions.

(2) The Capital's share of the Central Region migration which currently (1975) stands at around 70% may be increased in the future in line with the 1947-1975 pattern. The region's share of the capital migration is around 40-45% and the trend is to keep this range for the future.

(3) Only recently (after 1965) evidence of possible growth poles in Kerbela (mostly) and Babylon to be potentially encouraged in the Central Region to relieve the pressure on the Capital.

(4) Migration in the region seems to be linked with natural or administrative factors affecting the agricultural situation in the region. Floods (1954), river drought (1971) and the agrarian reform failure (1958) are examples of this criterion.

(b) Future Pattern:

(1) Crisis level migration had been the pattern of three of the region's six subregions (Wasit, Anbar and Diala). Trends for the present and past suggest a worsening pattern in the future.

(2) Increasing role of the Capital is expected unless concentrated efforts in the agricultural sector are employed to retard the migration pattern.

(3) Potential to improve the status of Kerbela and Babylon as industrial centres (which started with the 1965-1969 and 1970-1975 industrial investments in these two subregions) to relieve the pressure of the Capital seems to suggest possible future success in this aim.

2.3.3 The Southern Region:

I The Overall Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern: Main Characteristics:

(1) The Southern Region in Iraq shows the worst population growth and internal migration conditions of the regions in the country:

In population terms it dropped from being the Nation's largest region in 1867 to being the Nation's smallest in 1965. Its rural population total dropped in number from 1,340 million in 1957 down to 1,146 in 1975 and with the trend suggesting further drops in the future. Its total population of 1,812 million in 1957 increased to 2,427 million in 1975 at a growth rate of only 1.6% per annum compared to the national 3% suggesting a severe migration problem. (Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p.X-5).

It shows a continually deteriorating large negative net migration figure which over the 1947-1975 period dropped from minus 52 to four times as low, minus 215, the worst in the Nation's regions and around five times the Northern Region's negative net migration figure of minus 45 at 1975 (Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54). Its worst population growth period was 1957-1965 which showed plus 1.5% per annum against plus 4.3% for the Central Region and plus 2.6% for the Northern Region. At the same period its rural population showed the worst growth rate of the Nation's regions' rural population growth rates for the 1947-1975 period with minus 1.3%. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). The predominantly rural characteristics of the Southern Region, which had led the Nation's regions in the rural proportion of its population since 1905, reaching as high as 82% in 1930, and which had turned urban in character only in the 1975 data, might be the major factor for such a poor state of population growth. (Table No. 3, Appendix No.I p. X-5). Its share of the national total out migration increased from 41.1% in 1947 to 46.6% in 1975, with its share of the national total in migration decreasing from 22% in 1947 to a staggering 6.9% in 1975. With a population share

of the national total in 1947 of 29.8% and in 1975 of 21.8% one could easily deduct that the region has considerably more than its fair share of the loss of population problem of the Nation's regions (Tables Type E and F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-50). Compared to the other Nation's regions (Table on p.167), it shows the worst conditions of internal migration. Actually the Southern Region's population, which at one point in time (1867) was predominantly nomadic in nature, started to show the effect of rural migration as early as 1930, the date upon which most people seem to agree as being the real start of rural-urban migration in the country (Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p.X-5). The Mysan subregion alone in the Southern Region was responsible for around 28.5% of the Nation's total out migrants in 1957, almost six times this subregion's share of the Nation's population. This same subregion had shown an astonishing minus 676 per 1000 population negative net migration in 1975, a figure which suggests that over two-thirds of this subregion's population had left in different periods up to 1975. (Table No. 17, Table Type F and Table No. 36, Table Type G, Appendix No. II, p. X-48 and p. X-54). Obviously with such deteriorating state of population growth the attractiveness of this

region in terms of its share of the national population increase is considerably less than its fair share showing just around 15.9% for the period 1947-1975. Actually the region's share of the national population increase dropped from 26.3% in the 1947-1957 period to just around 12% in the 1965-1975 period, with the 1957-1965 period showing the worst drop in this declining trend at 14% (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8).

(2) Migration pattern mainly to the Capital:
In the 1975 data the Southern Region sends around double its fair share of the national total migrants to the Capital (Table No. 30, Table Type C, Appendix No. II, p. X-30). Over the 1947-1975 period it sent around 11,451 migrants per annum to the Capital of the total annual migration to the Capital of 26,583, which is just over 43% (Northern Region sent 3,116 or 11.7% and the Central Region sent 12,016 or 45.2%). With the Southern Region population representing an average of only 26.6% of the Nation's population over the period 1947-1975 (the Northern Region 26.7% and the Central Region 46.7%) (see Table on p.167) the Southern Region represents the major contributor to the Capital's in migration problem (Table No. 15, p. 220). The strong attraction of the

Capital on the Southern Region out migrants had resulted in low inter-region migration in the region going down in the 1975 data to around 7.3% of the total out migrants in the region from its 1947 level of 31.7%. (Table No. 30 and Table No. 3, Tables Type C, Appendix No. II, p. X-30 and p. X-27). Most of this inter-region migration was to Basrah, the main attractive Southern Region subregion and the only one with a positive net migration. Actually the Capital's share of the Southern Region's out migrants rose from 42.7% in 1947 to 52.3%, 59.5% and 63.9% in the 1957, 1965 and 1975 data respectively while the inter-region migration total dropped continuously from the 1947 level of 31.7% to 29%, 21.8% and 7.3% for the same dates (Tables Type C, Appendix II, pp. X-27 to X-30). Obviously it follows that the remainder of the Southern Region out migrants going to the Northern Region and Central Region represents a small proportion of the region's out migrants. There are only two exceptions to this latter statement; the 1965 Northern Region share of the Southern Region out migrants at 8.8% and the 1975 Central Region share at 28.4%. Possible explanations are: the Kurdish conflict of the early 60's causing Kurdish minorities in the rest of the

country to go to their Northern Region homeland (See Regional Analysis Form No. III, Appendix No. II, pp. X-97 to X-98), and in the case of the 1975 Central Region share the emergence of new attraction poles in Babylon and Kerbela in the Central Region which received most of the Central Region share (Table No. 28, Table Type A, Appendix No. II, p. X-22).

(3) Basrah subregion shows potential for future growth pole in the Region:

As will be elaborated in the subregional section, Basrah shows the only positive net migration in the region. It has always maintained a population growth rate above the national population growth rate and a high proportion of the region's inter migration total. However, recent data suggests a weakening of the role of Basrah as a major destination for the Region's out migrants, but such a trend could be controlled as the Basrah subregion has the natural potential of socio-economic factors to be a future attractive subregion in the Southern Region for relieving the Capital of a major part of the southern migrants. The social factor shown is a similarity of the southern population with Basrah's population being part of the same tribal descent, and the economic factor shown is in the huge proportion of industrial investment poured into Basrah at the present time, mostly in the

petro-chemical industries and aluminium and steel factories already under construction in the subregion.

II The Subregional Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern for the Southern Region (1947-1975):

The population growth pattern is based on the data in Tables No. 4, 5, 6 and 7, Appendix No. I, pp. X-6 to X-9), and the internal migration pattern is based on the Analysis Forms No. III-1 to III-4, Appendix No. II, pp. X-99 to X-106). The following main characteristics of the Southern Region's subregional population growth and internal migration could be outlined. For more detailed analyses of the internal migration pattern the analysis forms could be referred to.

The Region's subregional population growth and internal migration could be broken into two main parts, namely:

(1) the subregions showing poor population growth characteristics and a deteriorated net internal migration (negative), which includes three of the four Southern Region's subregions, i.e. Mysan, Thiqar and Qadisya/Muthna; and

(2) the subregion of Basrah which shows a positive net migration and good population growth condition.

Due to the differences in the internal migration pattern characteristics of the first group it is necessary for them to have separate discussion sections as follows:

(a) Mysan Subregion:

This is the worst subregion not only in the Southern Region but in the Nation in all categories of negative net migration, poor population growth and excessive out migration. Its population growth rate over the 1947-1975 period was only plus o.6%, around one-fifth of the national figure and its rural population actually declined in numbers showing a minus 1% growth rate, both these rates being the worst in the Nation (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p.X-7). By itself, Mysan was responsible for around one-third of the Nation's total out migrants (28.5%) in 1957, averaging for the 1947-1975 period around 22.6%, while for the same period its intake of the national in migration averaged 1.38%, again both these figures being the worst in the Nation. The subregion net migration, an extremely low negative figure, showed a worsening trend over the 1947-1975 period reaching a huge minus 676 in the 1975 data (Tables Type E, F and G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-54).

The poor conditions in this subregion are considered by all migration studies in the

country as the main centre for rural migration to the Capital. Actually over the 1947-1975 period it led the Nation's subregions in sending 5,818 migrants per annum to the Capital (21.9% of the national total), double its nearest rival, and its contribution to the capital in migration total represents an average of 28.4% of the Capital's total in migrants for the period's four sets of data (Table No. 15, p.220). Mysan, which has always maintained a high rural proportion of its total population, stayed rural in character up to the 1975 data when it was second only to its fellow southern subregion of Thiqar in the proportion of rural population in the subregion (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). This may be a major element in the poor state of out migration it exhibited over the period.

(b) Thiqar Subregion:

This has a similar worsening migration condition to that of Mysan and Qadisya/Muthna, yet different in that it sent the majority of its out migrants in 1947 and 1957 to Basrah instead of to the Capital. The Capital's share showed a rising value over the 1947-1975 period with a subsequent decline in Basrah's share over the same period with the 1965 data showing a reversal in the old pattern with the Capital's share surpassing

Basrah's share by 36.7% to 29.7% (Tables Type B, Appendix No. II, pp. X-23 to X-26). The 1975 data showed the subregion's migration pattern to be more in line with the overall Southern Region pattern, with the Capital share of 75.3% of the subregion's out migrants against a small 9.2% share for Basrah (Table No. 29, Table Type B, Appendix No. II, p.X-26). While the poor transportation network in the Nation as a whole in the pre-1957 period and the proximity of Basrah to Thiqar subregion might be the major reasons for the early predominance of Basrah over the subregion's out migrants, the decline of Basrah's attractiveness in comparison to the Capital in more recent times with the improvement in the transportation network (Thiqar centre was linked to the Capital in the early 60's with a modern road) could be the changing factors. Its population pattern showed a similar pattern to that of Mysan with severe rural migration shown in the extremely low growth rate (plus 0.2%) for the 1947-1975 period with the 1957-1965 period showing the worst rate in the 1947-1975 period at minus 0.6% (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7). Its share of the national population declined from 7.7% in 1947 to 7.3%, 6.2% and 4.9% in the 1957, 1965 and

1975 data respectively (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I p. X-8). Like Mysan it had a very high rural majority over the 1947-1975 period with the 1975 rural figure of 63.6% being the highest in the Nation (Tables No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). Obviously its share of the national population increase over the 1947-1975 period of study showed considerably less than its fair share and it also showed an excessive share of the national total out migration, a very small share of the national total in migration and a declining negative net migration figure, in most cases second only to Mysan in being worst in the Nation (Tables Type E. F. and G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-54).

(c) Qadisya/Muthna Subregion:

Again the pattern of population growth and internal migration shows similar poor characteristics to that of Mysan and Thiqar with its declining share of the national population, higher shares of national out migration and lower shares of national in migration, (Tables Type E and F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-50), a severe rural migration shown in the extremely low growth rates (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p. X-7), and a deteriorating negative net migration (Tables Type G, Appendix II, pp. X-51 to X-54).

At one time (1957 data) it was the largest in the Southern Region but its population declined rapidly by around 60% of its 1957 share of the national population to 5.1% in the 1975 data (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6). Its migration pattern shows a remarkable characteristic of strong proximity type movements over the 1947-1975 period. It sends significant proportions of its out migrants to neighbouring Babylon, Kerbela and Wasit (Central Region). In the 1975 data the Capital's share, which was rising from 21% in 1947 to 34.8% and 49.9% in 1957 and 1965, dropped to 26.6% in the 1975 data (Tables Type B, Appendix No. II, pp. X-25 - X-26). While its 1975 behaviour could be attributed to the severe Euphrates river drought in the 1970-1973 period due to the illegal seizure of the river water by neighbouring Syria, the fact remains that this subregion's migration pattern has a significant proximity type movement shown in the 1947-1975 data. As the river water shortage problem has been resolved since then, one would expect that the Capital's share of this subregion's migrants would tend to go back to its 1947-1965 trend and increase over the future periods to similar levels shown by the rest of the Southern Region subregions.

(d) Basrah Subregion:

This is the only subregion in the Southern Region to show a positive net migration figure and an increasing share of the national population (Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54 and Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p.X-6). Its population growth rate, second only to the Capital and Kerbela (Central Region), is the best in the Southern Region by a large margin (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p.X-7). Within the Southern Region it claimed the majority of the inter regional migrants, reaching 83.3% in the 1975 data from the 1947 level of 79.4% (Tables Type D, Appendix No. II, p.X-31 to X-42). Its share of the national population increase over the 1947-1975 period was slightly higher than its fair share at 9.2% (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). Having the position as being the Nation's only harbour with vast oil producing fields coupled with the massive industrial investments mainlyin the petro-chemical field this subregion's future suggests a good possibility as the Southern Region's potential growth pole. It is vital to promote this potential if the pressures of in migration on the Capital are to be reduced. Compared to its population share the Southern Region is the major contributor to the Capital migration problem and any part of

these migrants picked by a growing Basrah will help in reducing the problems of the population concentration in the Capital. Promotion of such a potential needs to be immediate, especially as Basrah attractiveness (nationally) seems to have lost significantly to the Capital in the 1965-1975 data periods. Its intake of the national total in migration dropped in 1965 to 7.2% against the 1957 level of 12.6%, while its share of the national total out migration increased to 3% against the 1957 level of 2.4%. Its net migration figure of plus 130 in the 1957 data dropped to plus 60 in 1965. In 1975 this trend of Basrah losing some of its national attraction continued with 4.8% for its share of national total in migration, 3% for out migration and a further drop of its net migration figure to plus 24. (Tables Type E, F, and G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-54). While it continued to show a positive condition of migration and a population growth above the national average, the 1965-1975 data sets for Basrah suggest a loss in its usually strong status as a nationally attractive subregion. Thus it is vital, from the standpoint of relieving the Capital population problem, to employ measures to restore Basrah's position as the future growth pole in the Southern Region.

III Subadministrative Level Movements in the Southern Region (1965):

Like the Central Region's subregions the Southern subregions are main contributors to the Capital in terms of their out migrants destination. The presence of Basrah, the highly attractive Southern Region's centre has caused a severe cut in the Capital's share of the Southern Region subadministrative units out migrants in 1965. Although only eight out of the Southern Region's 20 subadministrative units reported Baghdad as the main destination of their out migrants, they represent 57.7% of the region's population (Tables 48-51, Appendix No.II, pp. X-65 to X-68). Movement within the Southern Region (mainly to Basrah) received significant percentage of most of the subadministrative units in the region.

According to the subadministrative movement pattern, the Southern Region's subregions can be grouped into two groups, namely:

(1) This group includes Mysan, which shows strong predominance in the Capital oriented out migration movement.

(2) This group includes Qadisya/Muthna, Thiqar and Basrah, which although having the Capital as the main destination of their overall subregional out migrants total, they still reflect in the majority of their subadministrative units a strong within the region or subregion movement.

(1) Group 1 - Mysan:
(Table 49, Appendix No. II, p. X-66)

Of the subregion's subadministrative units' out migrants 69.5% go to the Capital, 2.5% go to the subregion's centre, 6.5% goes to other administrative units (other than the subregion's centre) within the subregion and 11.8% go to other parts of the Southern Region (mostly to Basrah). The subregion's subadministrative units bordering Basrah, like Qalat Salih (No.58 in Fig. No. 6, p.152) and Meymona (No. 59), send a large proportion of their out migrants to the Southern Region, mostly to Basrah. Actually, Meymona has the unique pattern in the subregion's movement of out migrants in sending the highest share of its out migrants to Basrah (46.S%). But the fact that this subadministrative unit represents only 5.7% of the subregion's population had reduced the impact of this unique pattern on the overall character of the out migration pattern in the subregion. The general trend in the out migration movement in this subregion suggests strongly a single stage - straight to the capital pattern of migration.

(2) Group 2 - Qadisya/Muthna, Thiqar and Basrah:
(Tables 48, 50 and 51, Appendix No. II, p.X-65, X-67 and X-68)

In terms of out migrants leaving these subregions' territorial boundaries two of these subregions

send the majority of their out migrants to the Capital. Qadisya/Muthna sends 49.9% of its out migrants leaving the subregion to the Capital and Basrah sends 48.5%; Thiqar sends 36.7%, a very close second to the 39.3% share going to the region (mostly Basrah). The pattern of movement changes significantly when all the out migrants leaving subadministrative units in these subregions are considered. The Capital in the latter case receives less share of the total movement than it had when only movement out of the subregional boundaries is considered. Basrah showed the most change with the Capital share falling from 48.5% to 19.2% due to the strong attraction of the subregion's centre of Basrah which claimed the highest share of 36.8%. Thiqar shows a similar characteristic but not due to the impact of its subregional centre (which claimed just 8.1% of the out-migrants from all subadministrative units), but rather due to the effect of neighbouring Basrah that caused the "within the region" type of movement to get the highest share of 33%. The Capital share of Thiqar's total subadministrative out migrants dropped to 30.8%, still second to the region's share. In Qadisya/Muthna the Capital share dropped to 33.6%, still the highest but less predominant than its 49.9% shown before. The

The small share of the subregional centre in both Thiqar (8.1%) and Qadisya/Muthna (19.1%) compared to the Capital's share suggests a single stage migration to the Capital. This pattern is repeated in the majority of the eleven subadministrative units forming these two subregions. In Basrah the pattern is different with the highly attractive centre claiming the majority of out migrants of all its subadministrative units. The Capital share is only significant from the subregion's centre out migrants suggesting a good possibility of two stage migration to the Capital for out migrants in this subregion. Technically speaking, Basrah's subadministrative units' out migrants to the centre of their subregion are not considered to be migrants in the first stage of this two stage migration suggested here, since in this case they will be moving within <u>their</u> place or origin. This possibility of two stage migration in the Basrah subregion is further supported by the fact that the subregion's centre itself sends the majority of its out migrants (39.3%) to the Capital (in the second stage of the migration movement).

IV <u>The Southern Region Migration Pattern: Summary</u>:

(a) Main Characteristics:

(1) The worst condition of migration in the country exists in the region with increasing deterioration over the study period.

(2) Most of the region's migration is single stage to the Capital, with weakening two stage or inter region destination type of migration.

(3) Capital share of the region's migrants increasing over the period, with the region's share, similar to the Central Region, around 40-45% of the national total migration to the Capital.

(4) Basrah is the only potential for growth pole in the region. It does however show signs of deteriorated attractiveness in the most recent data (1975), but still represents the only possibility in the region.

(5) Like the Central Region, the agricultural sector conditions and factors influencing these conditions seem to be linked to the migration pattern in the region.

(b) Future Pattern:

(1) Unless immediate and short range policies and measures are taken the Southern Region migration pattern will get much worse than its present extremely grievous condition.

(2) Basrah losing its attractiveness in the face of more attractiveness for the Capital and the new Central Region growth poles may also present a serious problem for the future of the migration pattern in the region.

2.3.4 The Northern Region:

To be able to understand the characteristics of population movement in the Northern Region one must keep in mind the ethnic breakdown of the Northern subregions' population.(82) In 1957 (latest obtainable data on ethnic groupings) Ninevah/Dhok subregion had a majority Arabic population at 56.2%, with around 30.8% Kurdish minority. Sulimania and Arbil subregions are 98.5% and 89.2% respectively Kurdish and the Kirkuk subregion has a mix of Kurdish (48.9%), Arabic (28.6%) and Turkish (21.7%) stock in its population. Outside the Northern Region the whole of the Nation is Arabic with small, mostly less than 1%, (negligible percentages) minorities of Kurdish population scattered in a few subregions in the other parts of the nation. Baghdad is the most hetrogenous with 96.4% Arabic, 1.2% Kurdish and 2.4% other languages.

I The Overall Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern: Main Characteristics:

(See Analysis Forms No. Regional I and Subregional No. I-1, I-2, I-2 and I-4, Appendix No. II, pp.X-73 to X-82)

(1) Stable population:

The stable population is shown through the limited change in the Region's share of the national population over more than a century of population data in the country (1867-1975).

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(82) Ibid., Table No. 16.

The Northern Region population in 1867 was 20.7% of the national population and changed to 24.5% in 1975 which is a very small change compared to the change in the Southern Region which fell from 40.9% in 1867 to 21.8% in 1975, and the Central Region which showed an increase from its 1867 level of 38.4% to 53.7% in 1975. (Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p. X-5). The stability of the Northern Region population was also shown by the low share of the region of the national total out migration, the low share of the national total immigration and the net migration per 1000 population figure. Against the region's share of national population of 28.5% to 24.5% between 1947-1975, the region's share of national out migration varied between 16.8% in 1947 to 13.2% in 1975, both almost half of its fair share. The region's share of the total national in migration showed an even more drastic picture of under representation. The regions share of in migrants (national total) varied between 11.4% to 3.5% between 1947 and 1975 data (Tables Type F and E, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-50). The other two regions, the Central and Southern Regions, both showed considerably more than their fair share of the national total in migration (for the Central) and the national total out migration (for the Southern Region). This regional population

low mobility in the Northern Region is further supported by the relatively low net migration figure for the region varying between minus 16 and minus 45 between 1947 and 1975, both figures being a fraction (in the absolute value of the figure) of the corresponding Central Region (positive) and Southern Region (negative) net migration figure for the same period (Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54). The Northern Region's stable population assumption was also supported by the growth rate of the region's population. At plus 2.5% for the 1947-1975 period it has the closest regional population growth rate of the Nation's regions to the national figure of plus 3% for the same period. The Central Region at plus 3.9% and the Southern Region figure of plus 1.5% are considerably further from the national growth rate figure above. (Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p.X-7). This is also shown by the region's share of the national population increase between 1947 and 1975. The Northern Region claimed 21.5%, the Central Region 62.4% and the Southern Region 15.9%. The Northern Region with an average share of the national population for the 1947-1975 period at around 26.4% is the closest to the region's fair share of national population

increase of the other two regions with the Central Region at 47.8% of the national population and the Southern Region at 25.8%. (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8).

(2) Ethnically controlled self-confined migration pattern:

The Northern Region migration pattern, under the influence of strong social barriers separating the majority of its population from the rest of the Nation, is showing mostly within the region (self-contained) and subregions with similar ethnic structure exchanging most of their out migrants (ethnic controlled). If the region's three types of ethnic population subregions' movements are compared to the rest of the Nation's regions, these two aspects of the region's migration characteristics will be quite clear, as shown in the following table for 1947 and 1965 Census data:

			Northern Region			Central Region	Southern Region
			Arabic Zone*	Kurdish Zone*	Mixed Zone*		
(a)	% of out migrants staying within region	1947	20.8%	60.2%	35.2%	29.9%	31.7%
		1965	27.8%	72.4%	26.7%	11.7%	21.8%
(b)	% of out migrants going to the Capital	1947	52.6%	24.8%	29.5%	40.7%	42.7%
		1965	62.0%	16.0%	40.2%	69.1%	59.5%
(c)	Main recipient subregions (total % of out migrants)	1947	Capital 52.6%	Kirkuk 36.0%	Capital 29.5%	Capital 40.7%	Capital 42.7%
		1965	62.0%	49.9%	40.2%	69.1%	59.5%

* Arabic Zone = Ninevah/Dhok subregions; Kurdish Zone = Sulimania and Arbil subregions; Mixed Zone = Kirkuk subregion

Source: Tables Type A, B and C, Appendix No. II, pp. X-19 to X-30

The Kurdish Zone (the zone which is the most ethnically different from the rest of the Nation) keeps the majority of its out migrants within the Northern Region and shows the least interest in out of the region destinations, including the Capital. The zone sends the majority of its migrants to Kirkuk, the Northern Region major growth centre (up to 1965) while almost all other regions and subregions in the country have the national Capital as the major recipient of their out migrants. These two characteristics were also shown in the subadministrative 1965 data analysis and summary table No. 53, (Appendix No. II, p. X-69). Such self-confined movement was also noticed in the migration pattern of the Puno Region population of the highland area in Peru. Simmons suggested that the

> "...cultural isolation of groups such as the Puno Indians will begin to break down and may depend heavily on the future patterns of economic and cultural penetrations into the region from outside." (83)

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(83) Alan B. Simmons, "Opportunity Space, Migration and Economic Development: A critical assessment of Research on Migrants' Characteristics and their Impact on Rural and Urban Communities" in A. G. Gilbert's (ed.) "Development Planning and Spatial Structure" John Wiley, London, 1976, Chapter 3, p. 65.

He also suggested that heterogenity of migrant streams to cities of multi-ethnic societies will become greater over time as "communication and information networks expand". The significant increase in the proportion of northern migrants going to the Capital shown in the 1975 data is an indication that a similar pattern of change might be imminent in the region.

(3) Northern migration (compared to Central and Southern migration patterns) shows little interest in the Capital:

Between 1947 and 1975 the Northern Region migrants to the Capital averaged 14.85% of the total Capital's share of the national in migration. The Central Region at 43.38% and the Southern Region at 41.75% represent by far the real contributions to the Capital migration volumes (Tables Type C, Appendix No. II, pp.X-27 to X-30) The actual number of migrants coming to the Capital from the three regions also shows the same pattern with the Northern Region sending in 3,116 migrants per annum for the period 1947-1975 against the Central Region's 12,016 and the Southern Region's 11,451 (Table No. 15, p. 220) Despite a significant improvement in the Capital's share of the Northern Region's migrants suggested by the 1975 data, the fact remains that the Northern Region is the region being

the least attracted to the Capital. Keeping in mind that the majority of these 3,116 migrants per annum (in Table 15, p.220) come from the Arabic zone (1,411 from Ninevah/Dhok) and the Mixed zone (1,221 from Kirkuk), the ethnic factor as a deterrent in attracting northern migrants to the Capital becomes a significant assertion.

(4) Main attraction centres in the Northern Region are Kirkuk (1947-1965) and Arbil (1975):

Kirkuk subregion is the main industrial and a major agricultural centre in the Northern Region. Together with its proximity to the Capital and its mixed population characteristics, it appealed to the northern migrants, claiming over half of the Northern Region's inter regional migrants by 1965. It also showed an increasing positive net migration figure over the 1947-1975 period (see Analysis Form No. Subregional I-4, Appendix No. II, pp. X-81 to X-82). The creation of the autonomous Kurdish Zone in 1972 and the ending of the Kurdish conflict in 1971 deprived Kirkuk of one of its main assets as being a safe place of the Northern Region in which to live during the Kurdish conflict years. The establishment of Arbil as the capital of the Kurdish Autonomous Zone gave that subregion a major boost in its regional attractiveness. In the 1975 data it

replaced Kirkuk as the main recipient of the Northern Region's inter regional migrants and it showed a remarkable change in its normally negative net migration figure, becoming the best positive net migration figure in the region (see Analysis Form No. Subregional I-3, Appendix No. II, pp. X-79 to X-80). While it may be argued that the abrupt political settlement of the Kurdish conflict and the mass movements within the region that followed the settlement could give the new Kurdish capital subregion (Arbil) a short-lived superiority over the long established industrial centre of Kirkuk, two factors may contribute to the continuation of the prevailing 1975 pattern. The first is the huge investment programme laid down by the central government to be spent in the Kurdish Zone, particularly in the creation of the administrative and political machine of the Kurdish capital at Arbil, as part of the settlement agreement. The second is the nature of the migrants in the north who are ethnically motivated and could find in the Kurdish capital the ideal destination in contrast to the mixed ethnic characteristic of the Kirkuk subregion, the safety of which during the conflict years was the prime reason for it being selected as their migration destination.

Future potentials may see both Arbil and Kirkuk showing the leading role in the Northern Region attractiveness race.

(5) The overall form of the migration pattern in the Northern Region suggests a two-stage migration to the Capital:

Suggested in the region due to the significant subregional centre's share of the subadministrative migration in the region compared to other regions in the country (Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-69). The Arabic Zone suggests a single stage migration from the Arabic parts (with a high capital orientated migrants proportion) and a possible two stage migration from the non-Arabic parts of the subregion. The two-stage migration seems to be utilized by the non-Arabic migrants to the Capital as an "adaptation" stage for these migrants coming in from their strongly enclosed ethnic village with the final destination at the employment centre of the national capital. With the Mixed Zone at Kirkuk subregion claiming the majority of inter region migrants (up to 1965) this may be suggested as the main position for the first stage migration movement from which the migrant may move to the Capital. Arbil, the Kurdish newly created capital, claiming the majority of the 1975 inter regional migrants, may replace Kirkuk, as the first stage migration position before going to the capital, in the future.

(6) The Northern Region migration pattern has always shown weak linkages with the Central and Southern Regions (see Tables Type C, Appendix No. II, pp. X-27 to X-30). This fact further supports the self-confined movement in the Northern Region.

(7) The 1965 data showed a severe change in the characteristics of the population composition in the region (Table No. 3, Appendix No. I, p. X-5). This is probably due to the significant increase in the region's migration movement in the region in the early sixties under the impact of the Kurdish conflict that erupted during that time. The region's urban population component, which during the 1867-1957 period changed only slightly from 20% to 28%, jumped to 43% in 1965 showing an increase of over 85% in the population number, the highest change in the region's history. Its 1957 in migration and out migration figures at 39 and 63 per 1000 population increased significantly to 82 and 110 per 1000 population in 1965. (Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54). These 1965 figures are the highest of the region's figures during the 1947-1975 period. The Kurdish conflict, mostly felt by the northern villages and rural settlements, drove the population to urban areas which were more safe than their rural homeland. In a way the

significant increase in the movement of population in the Northern Region shown in the 1965 data gave the subadministrative analysis of this section of the Thesis a large sum of migrants totals which may suggest a more representative size of population movements. This may also tend to counterbalance the "special" condition tag given to the 1965 Northern Region population census data by the C.S.O. (see p. 149).

II The Subregional Population Growth and Internal Migration Pattern for the Northern Region (1947-1975):

The population growth pattern is based on Tables No. 4, 5, 6 and 7, Appendix No. I, pp. X-6 to X-9), and the internal migration pattern is based on the Analysis Forms Nos. I-1 to I-4, Appendix No. II, pp. X-75 to X-82). The following main characteristics of the Northern Region's subregional population growth and internal migration could be outlined. For more detailed analysis of the migration pattern the analysis forms could be referred to.

(a) The Arabic Zone (Ninevah/Dhok Subregion):

(1) This zone shows the worst negative migration condition in the region (Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54), resulting in a continuous decline in the subregion's share of the national and regional population. Its severe migration problem affected its rural sector mostly showing a very low growth

rate, the worst in the region for the 1947-1975 period, with both the 1957-1965 and 1965-1975 periods showing a declining total rural population (Tables No. 5 and No. 7, Appendix No. I, p.X-7 and p.X-9).

(2) The poor migration pattern in the subregion has also resulted in the subregion's share of the national population total increase being significantly less than its fair share suggesting a very low attractiveness in the subregion (Table No. 6, Appendix No. I, p. X-8). Conditions of significant rural depopulation during 1957-1975 in the subregion (the worst of the Northern subregions) could be linked to the fact that this subregion is the main agricultural area in the Northern region (Table No. 2, Appendix No. I, p. X-3), with its traditional poor agricultural conditions, and there is the weak ethnic factor which tends to limit the migration movement in the Northern Region, as the majority of its population is Arabic. This weak effect of the ethnic factor is also shown in the pattern of migration from this subregion with two-thirds of its migrants

going to the Capital (1947-1975) and a small proportion going to the Kurdish and Mixed Zones in the Northern Region Tables Types A and B, Appendix No. II, p. X-19 to X-26). Almost half of the actual number of Northern Region migrants going to the capital in the period 1947-1975 come from this subregion (Table No. 15, p. 220).

(b) The Kurdish Zone (Arbil Subregion and Sulimania Subregion):

(1) Both subregions show a stable population condition with annual growth rates very close to the national population annual growth rate, keeping a stable share of the national population (Table No. 5 and No. 4 Appendix No. I, p. X-7 & X-6). The pattern of stability is also shown in the low population mobility suggested by low shares of the national total in migrants and out migrants, both much lower than their fair share (Tables Type E and F, Appendix No. II, pp. X-43 to X-50). Being predominantly Kurdish, the ethnic factor influence is quite obvious in the low mobility, low interest in sending migrants to the Capital and the high proportion of the subregion's out

migrants staying in the Northern Region (Tables Type B, Appendix No. II, pp. X-23 to X-26). (See also summary table in this section, p.198.) Both subregions' rural population, compared to the rest of the Nation, show a relatively high growth rate with both subregions showing rural majority up to the 1975 data (Tables No. 5 and No. 7, Appendix No. I, p. X-7 and X-9). Both subregions are less important in the total northern agricultural production area, compared to Ninevah/Dhok and Kirkuk, (Table No. 2, Appendix No. I, p. X-3) which may suggest less problems in the rural sector that motivate the normal migration pattern.

(2) Arbil's establishment as the capital of the Kurdish Autonomous Zone in the early seventies (1972), following the settlement of the Kurdish conflict, resulted in striking changes in the attractiveness of this subregion within the Northern Region. It replaced Kirkuk as the most attractive subregion in the Northern Region showing considerable improvement in its net migration figure and its share of the inter regional migration total in 1975 (Tables

Type G and D, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54 and pp. X-31 to X-42).

(c) The Mixed Zone (Kirkuk Subregion):

(1) This reached its peak attractiveness in the 1965 data during the years of the Kurdish conflict, being the closest Northern subregion to the Capital and thus the safest place to be in. Traditionally it has been the most attractive subregion in the Northern Region with a considerable concentration of both industrial and agricultural employment. Together with its mixed ethnic population characteristics which are ideal for migrants from the different ethnic grouping in the Northern Region, it claimed up to 1965 considerably higher than its fair share of the region's inter regional migrants (Tables Type D, Appendix No. II, pp. X-31 to X-42) with strong ties with all subregions in the region (Table Type B, Appendix No. II, pp. X-23 to X-26). Its net migration figure, the best in the Northern Region, has always been positive continually increasing over the period 1947-1965 (Tables Type G, Appendix No.II,

pp. X-51 to X-54). The political changes in 1972, following the creation of the Kurdish Autonomous Zone, deprived Kirkuk of its attractive position in the Northern Region in favour of Arbil. The Subregional migration pattern showed a severe deterioration in the 1975 data, with negative net migration, a low share of the inter regional migrants and the worst growth rate of both its total and urban population in the period 1965-1975 (Tables Type G and D, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54 and pp. X-31 to X-42, and Table No. 5, Appendix No. I, p.X-7).

(2) Although it showed a decline in its share of the national population over the period (1947-1975) with a projection to 1980 of a continuation of that decline (Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6), this subregion still represents a potential growth pole in the Northern Region. Despite the recent concentration of government investments in the Kurdish Zone, the fact remains that the natural resources in the Kirkuk area, such as the oil producing fields, will continue to supply the subregion with a unique potential for employment growth and attractiveness. Its decline in its share

of the national population total is not unusual since most of the Nation's subregions are showing the same characteristic to a much more serious degree than Kirkuk. Probably it will share with Arbil the future northern inter region migrants, losing its previous monopoly over these migrants.

III Subadministrative Units Migration Pattern Analysis (1965):

(a) The Arabic Zone (Ninevah/Dhok Subregion); (Table No. 37 and Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-56 and P. X-69)

The subregion's centre subadministrative unit (which represents 43.7% of the subregion's population) is the only Qadha in this region which favours the Capital as its out migrants destination. The remaining nine Qadhas have seven of them favouring the subregion's centre. The remaining two favour the subregion's Qadhas outside the centre and the others favour the Northern Region outside the subregion's boundaries. The last four Qadhas in Table No. 37, above, which are the predominantly Kurdish units in the subregion, are solely in favour of the subregion's centre with the Capital as a weak second choice. In general (Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-69) the subregion showed reasonable self confinement with

43.1% of its Qadhas out migrants staying within the subregion (24.5% of them going to the subregion's centre and 18.6% to other parts of of the subregion). Actually 58.3% of the subregion's Qadhas out migrants stay in the Northern Region (including the subregion's share of 43.1%). The Capital on the other hand, although claiming 62% of the migrants leaving the subregion's territory, showed only 35.3% of the total movement out of the subregion's Qadhas. To summarize, Ninevah/Dhok subadministrative units movement pattern seems to fall into the northern pattern (self confined) if the total movement from subadministrative units is considered, and to fall into the national pattern (Capital oriented) if only the movement leaving the subregion's territory is considered. This mixed pattern seems to be the direct result of the heterogenity of the subregion's population when, during the turbulent years of the early sixties, the Kurdish Qadhas in the subregion caused the total movement pattern to have a self confined nature.

Indication of two stage migration is suggested with the subregional centre receiving 35.3% of the total out migrants of the subregion's Qadhas and sending 69.4% of the total subregion's

out migration to the Capital. Although such indication loses its significance on a two-stage migration indicator when one realises the fact that the subregion's centre, accounting for 43.7% of the subregion's population, is a predominantly Arabic area and the two stage migration seems to favour the ethnic groups (see following section (b), Kurdish subregion movements), it may be assumed that the high contribution of the subregion's centre to the Capital is actually Arabic migrant movement directly to the Capital rather than Kurdish migrants moving to the Capital after their first move from their Kurdish Qadhas to the subregion's centre.

(b) The Kurdish Zone (Sulimania Subregion and Arbil Subregion):
(Tables No. 38, 39 and 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-57, X-58 and X-69)

All the twelve subadministrative units in the two subregions (six each) showed a significantly low out migrants percentage to the Capital. Only 8.2% of the total migrants leaving Sulimania's Qadhas and 10.4% of Arbil's go to the Capital. On the other hand, both exhibit a highly self confined type of movement characteristic of the Kurdish Zone with 86.6% of Sulimania's total Qadhas out

migrants and 81.1% of Arbil's staying within the Northern Region (including 38.1% of Sulimania's and 47.5% of Arbil's staying within their respective subregional territories). Evidence of two stage migration in these two Kurdish Zones with regard to the capital bound migrants is shown in the relatively high percentage of the subregion's contribution to the capital migration that is coming from the subregion's centres. Of the 7,123 migrants going to the Capital from the Sulimania subregion 5,358 of them (or 75.2%) are from the subregion's centre. In Arbil the percentage is 41.1%. This, coupled with the high percentage of the two subregions' out migrants from their Qadhas heading to the centres of both subregions, makes a good case for a two stage migration trend in the capital bound migration from these two subregions.

In Sulimania the subregion's centre subadministrative unit's share of the subregion's subadministrative units out migrants varied between 41.2% and 84.1%. Arbil showed a similar pattern, varying between 37.8% and 58.5%, making a good case for the two stage migration to the Capital if one considers the relatively high proportion of both subregions centre out migrants going to the Capital. Two

stage migration for the Kurdish Zone has another form, that is of using Kirkuk's subregional centre as the first stage migration position in addition to the two Kurdish subregional centres above, as will be discussed in the next section (Kirkuk subregion). In general (Table 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-69) the Kurdish Zone subadministrative unit migration pattern supports the Northern Region's self-confined ethnic controlled movement (with 62.5% of the zone's migrants staying in the Northern Region, mostly at Kirkuk), and the low attractiveness of the Capital to the Kurdish migrants (with 9.2% of the zone's migrants going to the Capital, the least in the Nation).

(c) The Mixed Zone (Kirkuk Subregion):
(Table No. 40 and Table No. 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-59 and X-69)

The centre of the subregion receives the largest share of the subregion's subadministrative units, varying in value between 31.5% and 84.4% with an overall share of 42.4% of the subregion total out migrants from subadministrative units (Table 53, Appendix No. II, p.X-69). Indication of a two stage migration is suggested by the share of the subregion's centre subadministrative unit of 76.5% of the total subregion's subadministrative units migration to the Capital. The Capital's

share of the out migrants from other subadministrative units in the subregion varies between a maximum of 14.4% to a minimum of 2% against 51.1% shown by the subregion's centre subadministrative unit. Kirkuk's position in this context is unique in the Northern Region since data of the 1965 subregional migration analysis suggests that this subregion's share of the inter region migrants is a remarkable 51.6% (Table No.22, Table Type D, Appendix No. II, p.X-37), so it may be reasonable to assume that it acts as a first stage migration position for the northern migrants on their way to the Capital. As most of the subregion's share of the inter regional migrants come from the Kurdish Zone (Sulimania subregion and Arbil subregion) (Table No. 19, Table Type A, Appendix No. II, p. X-21), then it is also reasonable to assume that Kirkuk's role as a first stage migration position applies mostly to the Kurdish Zone migrants. This assumption is further supported by the significant 41.8% share of the Kurdish Zone's total subadministrative units migrants staying within the Northern Region going to destinations outside their subregion's territorial boundaries (Table 53, Appendix No. II, p. X-69).

IV The Northern Region Migration Pattern: Summary:

(a) Main Characteristics:

(1) Self-confined in general with migration mostly between its subregions, mainly due to the ethnic barriers between the predominantly non-Arabic population in the region and the majority Arabic population in the rest of the Nation. The degree of self-confinement of the migration pattern in the north is more obvious in the Kurdish Zone (Sulimania and Arbil Subregions) than in the Arabic Zone (Ninevah/Dhok Subregion), with the Mixed Zone (Kirkuk Subregion) showing an intermediate pattern.

(2) Two stage migration to destinations outside the region (mostly to the Capital) is suggested by the Northern Region migration pattern, with the subregional centres acting as a middle stage. This pattern is more clear in the Kurdish Zone and Mixed Zone than in the Arabic Zone.

(3) Northern Region migration to the Capital over the analysis period averaged 13.15% of the national total migration to the Capital. Most subadministrative units in the region showed little or no interest in sending migrants to the Capital. The majority of the Capital destined northern migrants came from the Arabic Zone. The latter observation strengthened the ethnic controlled assumption regarding the region's migration pattern.

(4) Kirkuk and Arbil are the main potential growth poles in the Northern Region. Arbil emerged as the capital of the Autonomous Kurdish Zone, created by the 1972 agreement which ended the Kurdish conflict, thus gaining enough momentum to replace the traditionally attractive Kirkuk as the main northern attractive centre. While Sulimania showed more stability in the later parts of the 1947-1975 period, the Arabic Zone (Ninevah/Dhok) continued to show a negative migration pattern worsening over the period.

(5) Socio-political factors are the main factors for migration pattern changes in the Northern Region.

(b) Future Pattern:

(1) Arbil could be the most attractive subregion in the north as the capital and seat of the provincial Kurdish administration in the north.

(2) Ethnic barriers could be weakened in future pushing more northern migrants across the region's boundaries mostly to the Capital, which in the latest set of data (1975) showed a remarkable change in its share of most northern subregion migrants.

(3) The stability of the northern population under factors of ethnic barriers and reasonable agricultural conditions may

be a short-lived concept in the future, mostly due to changes outside the region (wealth differential) and inside the region (breaking of the ethnic barriers through education and improved communication). The meagre share of the region of the Capital's total migration may be altered in the future and migration will take on a new crisis type dimension which is now existing in the Central and Southern Regions.

2.4 THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION PATTERN

A Summary of the Regional and Subregional Units' Share of the Capital In Migrants (1947-1975):

This section will act as a brief introduction to the next part of this Thesis which looks in detail at the Capital migration problem together with a case study of its migrant settlements.

In the previous section (i.e. 2.3) a detailed analysis of migratory movement, over the period of 1947-1975, between regions, subregions and subadministrative units (for 1965 only) have been discussed. To illustrate the predominant role of the Capital as a migrant magnet Table 15, following, has been prepared. This table shows both the share of each region and subregion of the Capital's total in migrants, together with the region's or subregion's

TABLE NO: 15 PERCENTAGE OF IN-MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD, PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL POPULATION, AND RANK OF SUBREGION/REGION POPULATION TOTALS 1947-1975

Subregions/Regions	1947			1957			1965			1975			No. of[1] Migrants per year 1947-75
	% Mig.[1] to Baghdad	% of[2] Nat. Pop.	Rank Size	% Mig.[1] to Baghdad	% of[2] Nat. Pop.	Rank Size	% Mig.[1] to Baghdad	% of[2] Nat. Pop.	Rank Size	% Mig.[1] to Baghdad	% of[2] Nat. Pop.	Rank Size	
Ninevah/Dhok	9.9%	12.4%	(2)	9.2%	12.1%	(2)	11.8%	11.2%	(2)	6.1%	9.7%	(2)	1411
Sulimania	1.6%	4.8%	(12)	1.2%	4.9%	(9)	1.3%	5.0%	(8)	1.5%	5.0%	(7)	381
Arbil	1.1%	5.1%	(11)	1.0%	4.4%	(11)	1.4%	4.5%	(9)	0.7%	4.5%	(8)	153
Kirkuk	3.3%	6.0%	(7)	2.4%	6.2%	(6)	2.6%	6.0%	(6)	4.3%	5.4%	(4)	1221
Northern Regional Total	15.9%	28.3%	(3)	13.8%	27.5%	(3)	17.1%	26.5%	(2)	12.6%	24.5%	(2)	3116
Diala	10.8%	5.8%	(8)	10.3%	5.3%	(8)	9.3%	5.0%	(8)	14.3%	4.5%	(8)	4022
Anbar	8.3%	3.9%	(13)	6.1%	4.0%	(12)	14.9%	3.9%	(13)	9.4%	3.5%	(9)	2564
Wasit	9.0%	4.8%	(12)	12.3%	4.8%	(10)	11.1%	4.2%	(11)	8.0%	3.5%	(9)	2090
Babil	9.0%	5.6%	(9)	7.1%	5.7%	(7)	5.8%	5.7%	(7)	5.5%	5.4%	(4)	1270
Kerbela	4.6%	5.4%	(10)	5.4%	3.3%	(13)	5.2%	4.3%	(12)	7.2%	5.3%	(5)	2070
Central Region Total	41.6%	42.1%	(1)	41.2%	43.5%	(1)	46.3%	47.7%	(1)	44.4%	53.7%	(1)	12016
Qadisya/Muthna	3.1%	8.0%	(3)	4.6%	8.4%	(4)	6.2%	6.9%	(4)	6.0%	5.1%	(6)	1766
Mysan	32.8%	6.5%	(6)	34.2%	5.3%	(8)	22.7%	4.4%	(10)	23.8%	3.3%	(10)	5818
Thiqar	2.9%	7.9%	(4)	3.6%	7.4%	(5)	5.2%	6.3%	(5)	9.6%	5.0%	(7)	2965
Basrah	3.7%	7.5%	(5)	2.5%	8.0%	(3)	2.5%	8.4%	(3)	3.5%	8.6%	(3)	902
Southern Region Total	42.5%	29.8%	(2)	45.0%	29.0%	(2)	36.6%	25.8%	(3)	42.9%	21.8%	(3)	11451
% of National Inmigration to Baghdad	41.2%			52.8%			58.6%			69.4%			26583

Data Sources: (1) Tables Type A, Appendix No. II, pp. X-19 to X-22

(2) Table No. 4, Appendix No. I, p. X-6

share of the national population. It also rank sized the subregions and regions according to their share of the national population totals. Also as part of this section a map is prepared showing the 69 subadministrative units in the 1965 census data according to their percentage contribution (from their total out migrants) to the Capital in migration totals (Figure No. 11, p. 227).

Observations: (on Table No. 15, p.220)

(1) It is quite obvious from the data of Table No. 15, p.220, that the Southern Region and Central Region are the main sources of the Capital migrants. Between them they are responsible for a major part of the national Capital migrants ranging from the 1947 figure of 84.1% to the 1975 figure of 87.3% (with an overall, 1947-1975, annual number of migrants from both regions around 23,467 migrants of the total annual figure of 26,583). The Northern Region with its self-confined movement shown in Section 2.3 analysis (p. 198) is responsible for the remainder which is considerably below its "fair" share according to the region's population share of the national total.

(2) If the "fair" share principle is utilized in judging the relative importance of the three regions as contributors to the Capital in migration then the Southern Region will be,

by a large margin, the major source of migrants to the Capital. If the percentage of the total national migrants to the Capital from each region is taken as a ratio to the percentage of the national population in the region (in Table No. 15, p.220), then the following table will emerge:

	1947	1957	1965	1975
Northern Region	0.56	0.50	0.65	0.51
Central Region	0.99	0.95	0.97	0.83
Southern Region	1.43	1.55	1.42	1.98

The above table suggests that while the Northern Region sends considerably less than its "fair" share to the Capital by as much as 50%, the Central Region sends slightly less than its "fair" share. It is the Southern Region which sends considerably more than its "fair" share reaching almost double that share in the 1975 figures. The 1975 indication is that while both the Central Region and the Northern Region kept a more or less stable pattern (with the exception of the 1965 Northern Region figure) the Southern Region showed a significant rise over its 1965 level and indications are that it will continue to do so in the future.

(3) On the subregional level an interesting pattern emerges illustrating the significant role played

by the southern subregion of Mysan in the migration to the Capital pattern. For while the Southern Region, as has been shown above, has the highest contribution to the Capital migration total, of the other two regions in Iraq, the southern subregions outside Mysan are not abnormally significant in their contribution to the Capital migration. It was the huge migrant total sent by Mysan to the Capital in the 1947-1975 period which tipped the balance in the Southern Region to reflect a high degree of regional contribution to the Capital's in migration totals. Mysan's contribution reached more than one third of the Capital in migration total in 1957. This southern subregion which leads the Nation's subregions in its poor net migration figure (see Tables Type G, Appendix No. II, pp. X-51 to X-54) sent to the Capital in 1947, 1957, 1965 and 1975 ratios of 5.1, 6.5, 5.2 and 7.2 times its "fair" share of in migrants to the Capital (with an annual number of migrants for the 1947-1975 period at around 5,818, double its nearest competitor). No other subregion in the nation comes close to this subregion's role in the in migration problem of the Capital and many researchers, including the Author, feel that the policies to be developed to deal

with the migration to the Capital problem should have as a main target a solution to Mysan's out migration problem.*

(4) In the Central Region, subregions which showed an improvement in their attraction, like Babylon, had reflected a declining "fair" share of migrants to the Capital. Other subregions which have shown constant deterioration of their attratability show a considerable increase in their share of the Capital's migrant totals. Wasit, Anbar and Diala are examples of this latter type. In the 1975 data, Diala was second only to Mysan in sending over 3.2 times its fair share of migrants to the Capital. Wasit sent 2.3 times its fair share in 1975 and Anbar sent 2.7 times. Kerbela shows a middle case between Babylon and these three subregions (Wasit, Arbil and Anbar) in sending 1.4 times its fair share.

(5) In the Northern Region most data for the 1947-1975 period for all subregions show figures considerably less than subregions fair share of Capital's in migrants. The Kurdish Zone figures are much less than the non-Kurdish zones in this respect.

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* See Part III, p.311: Dr. Aziz, Miss Farman and Doxiadis Studies

(6) It is interesting to note that there is an apparent correlation between the amount each subregion contributes to the Capital and the rank size of that subregion. It seems that if a subregion shows an increase in the ratio of its contribution to the national Capital's in migration to its fair share, it will show a declining rank size and vice versa. The Northern Region's subregions that showed a constant decline of that ratio showed an improvement in their rank (for example, Sulimania, Arbil and Kirkuk). In the Southern Region Mysan slid from 6th in 1947 to 10th in 1975, Thiqar from 3rd to 6th and Qadisya/Muthna from 4th to 7th, and Basrah remained constant being the third in rank in the 1957, 1965 and 1975 data. Similar findings can be spotted in the Central Region's data. This correlation supports the assumption that the Capital's increasing migration intake will lead to loss of population of contributing subregions, and with the Capital's share of the Nation's total in migration shooting up to 69.2% in the 1975 data, despite the Government's apparent efforts to control it, this suggests the desperate need for action to deal with the situation.

(7) In Figure No. 11, following, the clarity of the national migration to the Capital pattern is reflected. The north has less interest in the Capital, while the south and centre are the main contributors to the migration intake of the Capital. The analysis on the subadministrative units level migration adequately analysed the pattern shown by this map.

2.5 PROJECTIONS OF MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD UP TO 1990

Based on the Ministry of Planning - Regional Planning Unit Projections, it is estimated that the rate of annual migration to Baghdad is going to be increasing in absolute terms from the current (1976) figure of around 33,000 per annum to 36,000 by 1980 and to around 43,000 per annum in 1990. In their publication "Migration to Baghdad 1947-1973" (84) - a report published in December 1974, the Regional Planning Unit of the Ministry of Planning gave the following table as their estimate for the annual net in migration to Baghdad from 1976 to 1990:

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(84) Ministry of Planning, Regional Planning Unit, "Migration to Baghdad, 1947-1973", Baghdad, December 1974, Table No. 8, p.33.

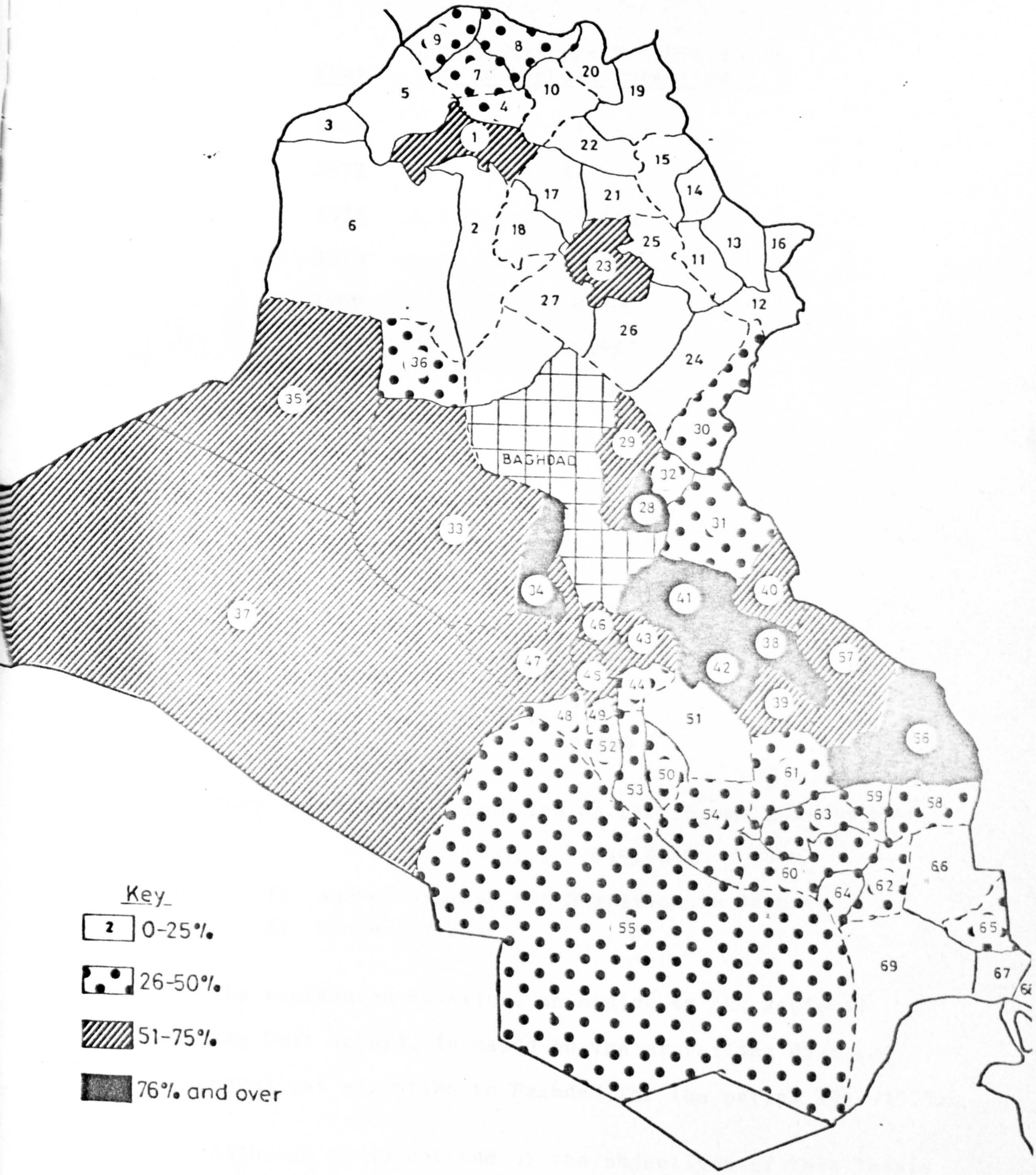


Fig No 11 1965 MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OUT MIGRATION

Year	Annual Average Net Migration to Baghdad Subregion
1976	33,717
1977	34,365
1978	35,103
1979	35,582
1980	36,309
1981	36,957
1982	37,605
1983	38,253
1984	38,903
1985	39,549
1986	40,177
1987	40,845
1988	41,493
1989	42,141
1990	42,789

They based their assumption on the regression equation:

$$Y = -15531.1 + 648.015X$$

where: Y: Annual Average Net Migration to Baghdad
X: Number of Years

The regression equation, according to the Regional Planning Unit Report, is based on the prevailing data for the annual net migration to Baghdad for the period 1947-1973.

Although it is not one of the objectives of this Thesis to estimate the number of migrants going to come into Baghdad in the foreseeable future as much as it is to analyse the motives and investigate the means of having a national/ regional policy to deal with it, the following points need

to be considered if the Regional Planning Unit table given above is to be of any analytical value:

(1) The period 1947-1973, as has been explained in this Thesis, is composed of three completely different stages of population growth, Government strategies and political regimes. A straight line trend in such a case will be highly approximate and only indicative.

(2) In the absence of an established Government policy with regard to population control and migratory movement, the using of past trend analysis has no significant output other than being a mathematical approximation of variations of a set of values over a period of time. The projections on this basis are highly doubtful. One major factor which contributes to a large extent to the doubtfulness of this projection is the fact that both sides of the period, i.e. 1947 and 1973, are, statistically speaking, rather inaccurate. The 1947 Census was run largely by an inefficient organisation and produced in most parts of Iraq very approximate and, in a large number of cases, erroneous figures. The 1973 data, drawn from the 1970 house count tables, and the 1965 Cenus data are both good, though still unofficial, estimates for a great part of the Nation's subregions (notably in the north).

PART III

BAGHDAD MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS - CASE STUDY NO. 1

3.1 BAGHDAD GROWTH AND PREDOMINANCE

3.2 SETTLEMENTS OF MIGRANTS IN BAGHDAD

3.3 THE BAGHDAD MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS SURVEY

3.4 MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD -
A CASE STUDY OF MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS:
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

PART III

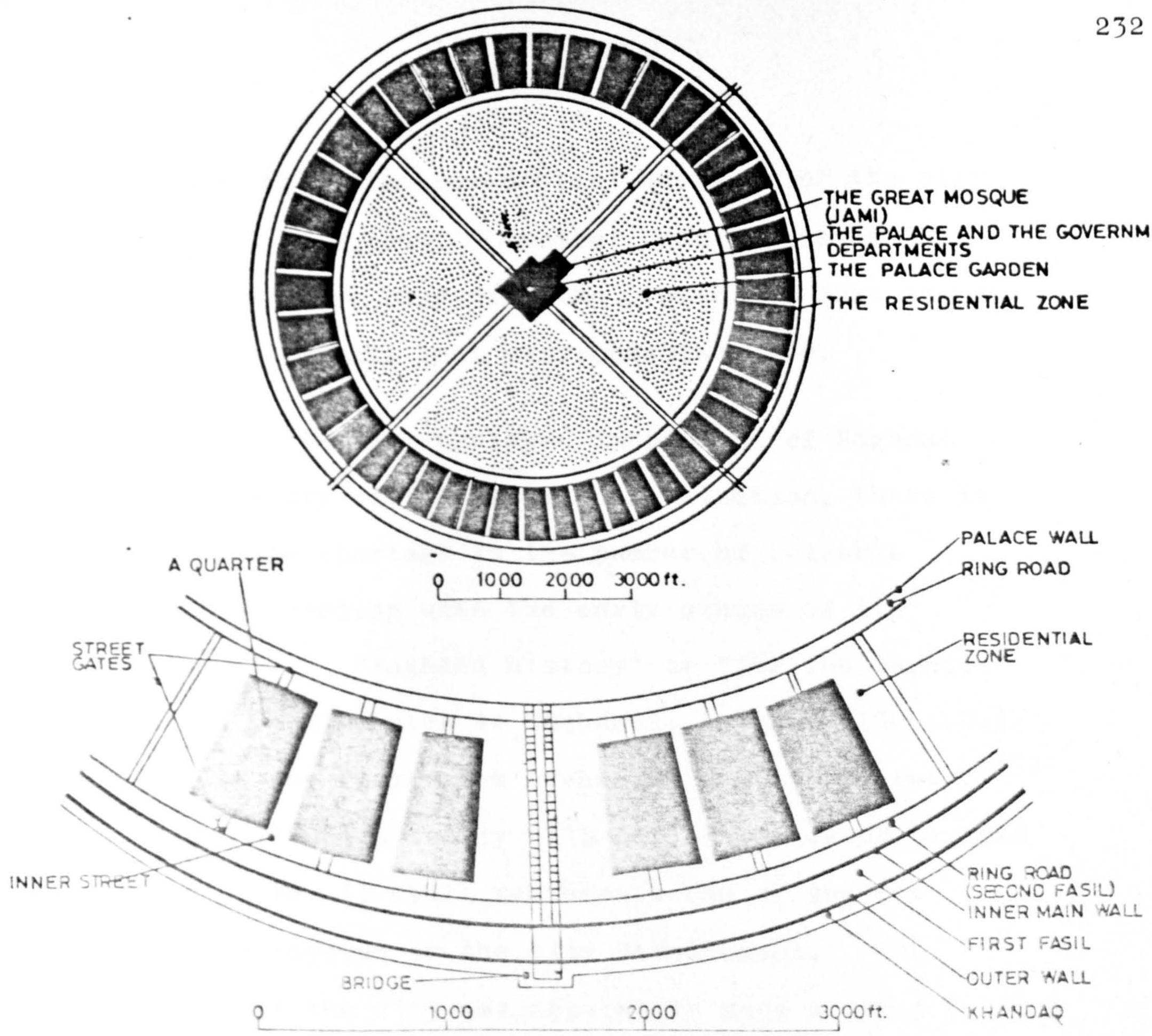
BAGHDAD MIGRANTS' SETTLEMENTS STUDY

3.1 BAGHDAD GROWTH AND PREDOMINANCE

Baghdad is the centre of administrative, commercial, political and social activities in Iraq. It is located at the crossing point of the major north-south and east-west transport routes in Iraq. It had a 1975 population of 3.05 million, the largest city in the Arab peninsula. Not only is it the largest city in the country but traditionally it has been the Capital ever since its establishment over 12 centuries ago. Its circle of influence extends past the limits of its immediate Central Region administrative units to cover (in some aspects) the whole nation. (Figure No. 1, p. 3.)

3.1.1 The City in History

Historically the city was built on a preconceived plan unlike the so-called garrison towns built during the early stages of the Islamic conquest of the Persian Empire of which Iraq was its southern region. It was laid out in the form of a circle about 30 kilometres in diameter consisting of three concentric walls (Figure No. 12, following). The Abasid Caliph Al Mansour built the city in the year 762 A.D. He had his palace and main government buildings in the centre of the city, together with the Great Mosque, surrounded by the first wall and separated from the



Source :- Adel A. Ismail: "Origin, Ideology and Physical Patterns of Arab Urbanisation" -Ph.D Thesis - Faculty of Architecture, University of Karlsrune (T.H) W. Germany 1969 - FIG 39 Page 103

Fig. No.12 THE LAYOUT OF BAGHDAD CITY AT THE TIME OF ITS ESTABUSHMENT IN 760 A.D

ring containing the residential quarters of the city population by a road. Another road separates the residential zone ring from the protective moat and the external high wall that surrounds the city.

Despite the distinguished importance of Baghdad in the history of the Islamic Civilization, there is a noticeable shortage in the number of reliable references dealing with the early stages of its development. "Baghdad History" or "Tarikhe Baghdad" (Arabic) by Al Khatib Al Baghdadi, (around 1130 A.D.) is really the first book preserved in its entirety.(85) Although it deals mostly with personalities of Baghdad at that time, it still represents one of the few available records on the city development. The location of the city was apparently made after a careful study of factors such as proximity to historic capitals of Ancient Mesopotamia, i.e. Opis of the Akhadians, Seleucia of the Seleucus and Etesithon of the Sassanians. The site was also amidst a fertile plain, a thickly cultivated area with numerous canals useful for irrigation, communication and defence. The round city of the Kaliph Al Mansour was called "Madinat Al-Salam" (City of Peace). The original city had hardly any great structures of luxury or even places of recreation. The Khuld Palace of the Kaliph and the residences of his sons were all built outside the round city. This suggests that the Kaliph Palace in the

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(85) S.S. Shafi - "Urban Planning In Iraq, Problems and Prospects", op. cit., p.126.

centre of the round city was basically the Kaliph Office of State. This is also supported by the fact that the palace joins other government offices and official buildings in the centre of the city. The palaces outside the walls of the round city were constructed in the latter stages of the city's development and represents the earliest stages of the non-planned development of the city. The design of the Capital was established according to a carefully thought-out layout with the limited purpose of establishing a well-protected capital for the state.(86) The city was well-fortified by a wide and deep ditch surrounding it which, together with the existing network of canals and the two surrounding walls, supplied the city with considerable defensive structures. The round shape was also thought to be most convenient for defensive purposes; J. Lassner(87) suggests that Baghdad was found to be an ideal major urban centre and it reportedly developed not from inside out but rather from outside in. When completed the city had three major fortifications. Within the inner fortifications were residential areas on both sides of symmetrically arranged streets and a vast inner courtyard where the mosque and the Caliph's palace were situated. The city was on a completely pedestrian scale. In less than two decades the city

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(86) S. S. Shafi, Ibid., p.127.

(87) J. Lassner "The Caliph's Personal Domain, The City Plan of Baghdad re-examined" in "Islamic City" edited by A. H. Hourami and S. M. Stern, 1970, Oxford, Cassiers, pp. 103-118.

had expanded to the opposite side of the river. By the beginning of the tenth century Baghdad had expanded in development to around 7,000 hectares making it five times larger than tenth century Constantinople and thirteen times the size of Ctesiphone.(88) According to Poles Service (the Polish Planning Firm - the Capital Master Plan Consultants), the historic development of Baghadad's city size could be broken up into four stages covering the period between its foundation in 672, and 1965. The Author has added a further period, up to 1972, as a fifth stage using Poles Service's own survey of the city in 1972 as part of the study for the comprehensive development plan for the city.(89)

These stages are: (see Figure No. 13, following)

(1) The Town in the 6th-12th Century:
The period between its foundation and its peak growth during the Abbasid Dynasty Rule in Islamic Mesopotamia.

(2) Period between 1600-1900:
Covering the medieval stages of Baghdad growth up to the early nineteenth century.

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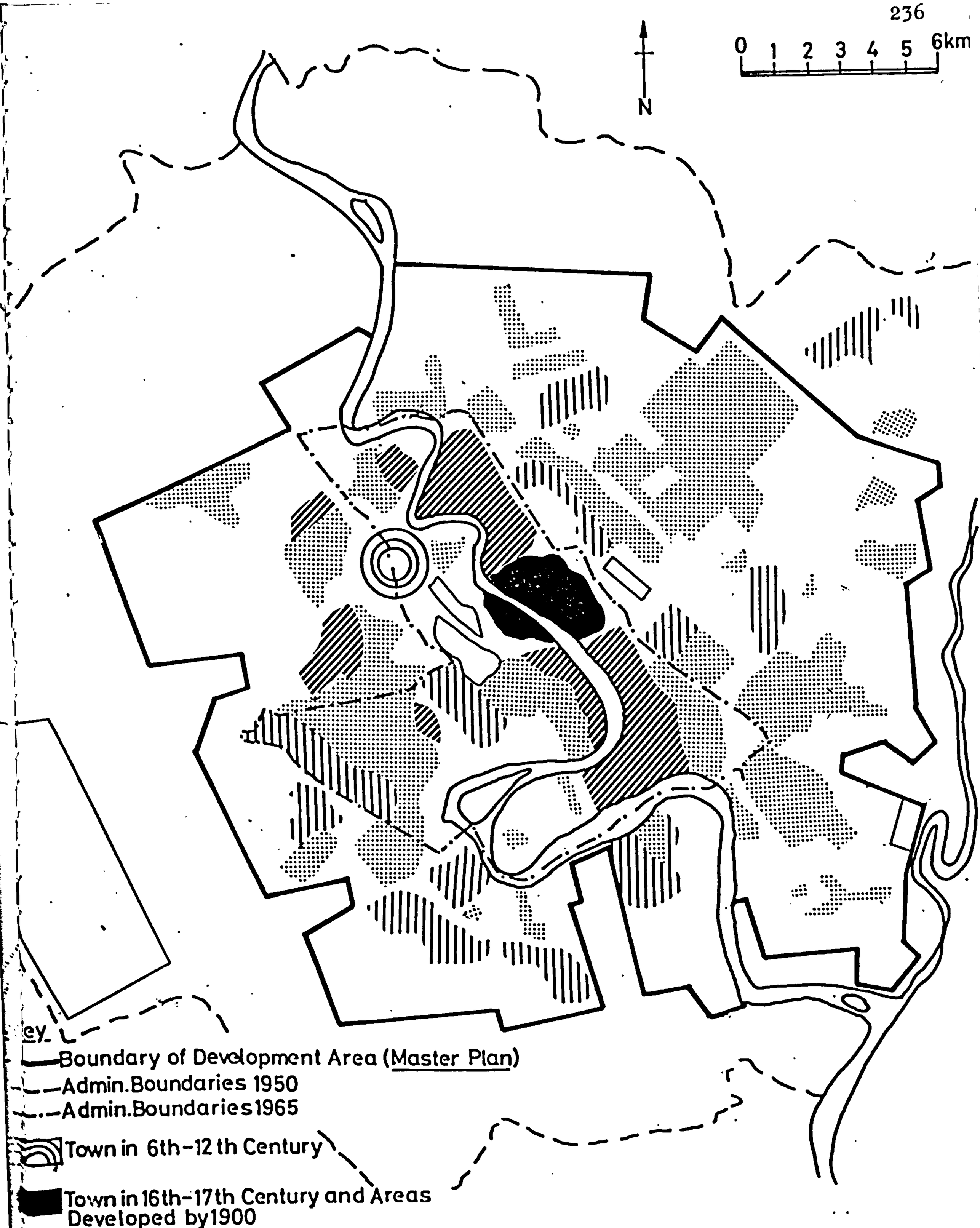
(88) J. Lassner - "The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages" Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970, p.158.

(89) S. S. Shafi - "Urban Planning in Iraq - Problems and Prospects", op. cit., Figure No. 6, p.33-34.



Key

Boundary of Development Area (Master Plan)

Admin. Boundaries 1950

Admin. Boundaries 1965

Town in 6th-12th Century

Town in 16th-17th Century and Areas Developed by 1900

Areas Developed by 1950

Areas Developed by 1965

Areas Developed up to 1972

Airfields and Special Areas

Fig No.13 BAGHDAD: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Source:- S.S. Shafi - "Urban Planning in Iraq - Problems and Prospects" - op. cit Fig No.6 p. 33-34.

The period between the 12th and 16th Century has been left out as during this period the city was virtually erased through deterioration following the Mogul invasion of Iraq in 1258 A.D. The city picked up again early in the 16th century with the formation of new Dynasties of either Persian or Turkish Empire supported regimes.

(3) Period between early 1900 and 1950:
The modern Iraq period following the formation of the national rule in Iraq after the First World War. This period involves the rural migration starting in Iraq as a main urbanisation trend concentrating on the Capital as the main target for rural migrants which does show significant expansion in the city structure.

(4) Period between 1950 and 1965:
This could be called the "Boom Period" of the city growth. Following the 1954 flood which drove thousands of rural migrants towards the Capital and the post-1958 Revolution period which showed the failure of the Agrarian Reform Law (see Part II, p. 166). This period is characterised with extensive spread of the capital city development and the creation of massive housing projects for the migrants in the Capital.

(5) Period between 1965 and 1972:

During the post-1968 Revolution period, the new Agrarian Reform Act of 1970 was brought in to deal with agricultural conditions in the rural areas, thus reducing the pressure of rural migration towards the Capital. The dispersal of industrial development centres in Iraq during this period helped to create new attractive pull centres especially in the Central Region (see Part II, p. 173), to compete with the Capital for a share of the migrants leaving the rural areas. The development of Baghdad in this period was mostly in the peripheries of the city and in terms of horizontal expansion considerably lower than the previous period of 1950-1965.

Compared to the 1972 city size as surveyed by the Capital Master Plan Consultants (Figure No. 13, p.236), the city grew by around 10% of its 1972 size in the period up to the 19th century, then to 35% in the 1900-1950 period, then to 85% in the 1950-1965 period (signifying a major growth period) and in the last period of 1965-1972 it grew by 15% to its full 1972 size. Although these figures are estimated by the Author based on the plan consultants' findings, it does show a significant growth period in the 1950-1965 period.

3.1.2 Baghdad Population Growth

The earlist estimate of Baghdad population was computed by some researchers to be around one million in the peak of its development during the Abbasid Dynasty Rule of Iraq in the latter part of the tenth century, (according to Abdul Aziz Al-Douri whoused the number of bath houses as an indicator).(90) S. Shafi (91) suggested the figure of two million as the population before the invasion of the Moguls led by Holaku in 1258, but this figure lacks the size of urban structure to back it up judging by the historic development map of the city as produced by Poles Service (Figure No. 13, p.236). After the Mogul invasion the city population was reduced to less than 50,000 inhabitants. In 1392 another Mogul invasion hit Baghdad, this time by Taimur, which resulted in the complete ruination of the country's irrigation system and destruction of towns. In the mid-16th century Baghdad is reported to have had only 14,000 inhabitants. During the next five hundred years Iraq could never establish an administration strong enough to restore its irrigation system and rebuild its urban centres. From the 16th to 18th centuries it became a battle-ground for Ottoman (Turkish) and Persian supremacy in turn.(92) The last estimate of Baghdad

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(90) Abdul Aziz Al Douri - "Baghdad" in "Encyclopedia of Islam", ed. Bernard Lewis, ch. Pekkert, and J. Schacht, Vol. I (London, Luzac, 1965) p.898. Source: J. Makzomi - "Some Aspects of the Urbanisation Process in Iraq", M.A. Thesis, Yale University, U.S.A., 1975, p.16.

(91) S. S. Shafi - "Urban Planning in Iraq, Problems and Prospects" (1972), op. cit., p.28.

(92) S. S. Shafi - Ibid., p.29.

population before the turn of the 19th century was given by the British Council General in Baghdad (Mr. Kemball) in 1867. In his report to the British Government he reported the following population estimates for some Iraqi towns at that time:(93)

Baghdad	90,000
Bussorah (Basrah)	9,000 (fluctuating)
Kirkuk	25,000
Hilla	24,000
Kerbela	30,000
Nejef	18,000

He also reported Iraq's total population at around 920,000 broken up as follows:

Pastoral Arabs and Nomads	480,000
Villages and Fixed Peasantry	160,000
Cities and Towns	280,000

During the last part of the First World War the British Army entered Baghdad in August 1918, and in 1920 a new national government was formed under the British Mandate Rule and Baghdad was again the Capital of a new Government and the modern era of Baghdad's growth started.

Although no specific figure for Baghdad's population could be found for the period between 1867 (last estimate for the city by the British Council General in Baghdad,

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(93) British Parliamentary Papers (1867) - No. LXVII, p.278.

Mr. Kemball) and the first National Census of 1932, growth rates estimated by M. S. Hassan(94) could be used for an approximate population figure for Baghdad for that period. He estimated the Central Region of Iraq to have the following growth rates for the period 1867 to 1935:

Period	Growth Rate (Annual Percentage)
1867-1890	0.70
1890-1915	3.70
1905-1919	0.90
1919-1935	3.00

The variations of these rates had not been fully explained by Dr. Hassan but he attributed them to under registration and poor statistical records. The 1905-1919 period and the 1867-1890 period were mainly war periods, namely, the Ottoman Empire Wars (1867-1890) and the First World War (1905-1919) which may explain some of the reasons for the drop of population growth. Using these suggested growth rates, Baghdad's population could be estimated using the British Council General's figures for 1867 as a base as follows:

Year	Baghdad City Population
1867	90,000
1890	106,000
1905	180,000
1919	207,000
1930	286,000

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(94) M. S. Hassan - op. cit., Table No. 1, p.41.

The figure of 286,000 population estimate for Baghdad in 1930, using Dr. Hassan's suggested growth rates, compares favourably with the 1932 official Census figure of 300,000 for the city of Baghdad and the 358,840 for the Mohafadat (Subregion) of Baghdad reported in the same Census.(95)

The more modern population data was obtained from the 1947 official Census and Baghdad City population was recorded at 535,000. In 1957 and 1965 two more official censuses were conducted. Together with the latest 1975 estimate by the C.S.O. the population of the Capital continued to grow at a much faster rate than the rest of the Nation and consequently acquired a larger share of the total population. A more meaningful comparison could be obtained from comparing the city population against the total population of the country and also against the total urban population. The following, Table No. 16, covers this comparison from 1867 till 1975, thus showing the growth of Baghdad City's population for over one hundred years.

Certainly the most striking fact to emerge from this Table is the rapid growth of the Capital City of Baghdad compared to the Nation's population as a whole. For while the country's population increased by less than 9 times over the 1867-1975 period, the country's urban population increased by about 22 times, the Capital growing

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(95) 1932 Census figures reported in: Hans H. Boesch - "El-Iraq", Economic Geography Journal, Vol.15, No.4, October 1939, pp. 342-344.

Table No. 16

BAGHDAD'S POPULATION GROWTH (1867-1970)

Year	(1) Baghdad City Pop. in 000	(2) Iraq Tot.Pop. in 000	(2) Iraq Urban Pop. in 000	% Baghdad of Iraq Urban	% Baghdad of Iraq Total	Baghdad Growth Index 1867=100
1867	90	1,280	310	29%	7%	100
1890	106	1,826	430	25%	6%	118
1905	180	2,250	533	34%	8%	200
1919	207	2,769	-	-	7.5%	230
1930	286	3,288	808	35%	9%	318
1947	535	4,799	1,635	33%	11%	594
1957	793	6,299	2,455	32%	13%	881
1965	1,631	8,041	4,112	40%	20%	1,812
1975	3,054	11,124	7,086	43%	27%	3,391

Sources:

(1) Baghdad Population:

1867 figures: British Parliamentary Papers, op.cit., p.278.

1890 to 1930: Estimates based on Annual Growth Rates suggested by Dr. M. S. Hassan (see p.241) using the 1867 figure as a base.

1947 to 1965: Census Data, Ministry of Interiors, D.G. of Civic Affairs.

1975 data: Author's estimate based on 1970 Baghdad's City proportion of 86.7% of the total Baghdad's Subregion population (1970 House Count Census - C.S.O. Unpublished).

(2) Iraq Population:

Part II, Table No. 13, p.136.

around 34 times. Over the last 45 years since 1930, the National population growth rate was about 2.7% per annum against the Capital's 5.4% per annum for the same period. The capital city which represents (1970 House Count Survey - C.S.O.) over 86% of the Capital's subregional total population and 95% of its urban population, is responsible for the phenomenal growth exhibited by both the Capital subregion and the Central Region as a whole (see Part II, p.165). The predominance of the Capital subregion actually is a direct result of the capital city's presence in the subregion, and data in Table No. 16, p.243, adds little to the predominant picture of the Capital drawn previously by the regional and subregional population growth and internal migration pattern in Part II of this Thesis. Claiming in excess of 43% of the Nation's urban population in the 1975 data, some demographers suggest an increase in the Capital's share of the Nation's urban population to over 54% by 1985.(96) The population growth of the capital city in the past, present and future suggests an extreme case of predominance over the entire national scene.

In comparison to some of the countries in the Middle East, the capital of Iraq shows more predominance over the national population situation in Iraq than any other capital in the selected countries over its national population, as shown in Table No. 17, following:(97)

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(96) M. E. Al-Attar - "Population of Mohafadats Centres and Selected Towns in Iraq - Projections to 1985", U.N. Demographic Expert to the Iraqi Government, Report No. 5, November, 1974, Table No. 3, p.7.

(97) U.N. "Studies of Selected Development Problems in Various Countries in the Middle East", 1971, U.N. Publication No. ST/UNESOB/8, Table No. 6, p.70.

Table No. 17

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF CAPITAL CITIES IN ARAB COUNTRIES IN RELATION TO TOTAL AND URBAN POPULATION

Country	Pop. of Capital Cities	Date of Latest Census or Estimate	Annual Growth Rate and Period	Capital Population as Percentage of Country's Total Population	Capital Population as Percentage of Country's Urban Population
Iraq	1,626,503	1965	8.3 (1957-1965)	20.2%	39.7%
Jordan	323,000	1966	6.1 (1961-1966)	15.4%	35.6%
Syria	835,000	1970	4.6 (1960-1970)	13.3%	32.0%
Saudi Arabia	300,000	1968	10.0 (1962-1968)	6.2%	20.3%
Yemen	120,800	1970		2.2%	20.3%

For Sources: See Footnote (95), p.242

Future population of the city of Baghdad is estimated by the Capital Plan Consultants at 3.8 (lower limit) to 4.5 million (upper limit) in the year 2000 and is based on strong Government measures to control inflow of migrants and a declining population growth rate of only 2.5% per annum for the period 1973-2000.(98) Over the last 28 years, 1947-1975, the city population growth, at around 6.1% per annum which is more than double the national population growth rate, is projected to be cut drastically by both policy measures to restrict movement to the Capital and spatial redistribution of population within the central zone of influence of the Capital, estimated at around 50 kilometres surrounding the Capital. Although the Consultants for the Master Plan of the Capital have not devised a Regional or Metropolitan Plan for the year 2000, not being part of their contract, their proposals and projections for the future and their apparent confidence in the effectiveness of Government growth control policies, seem to be grossly exaggerated. One indication of this exaggeration is that they estimated the 1973 city population of the Capital at 2.2 million, while the 1970 House Count Survey of the C.S.O. put the capital city population figure at around that figure. With the city population growing at an estimated 6.5% per annum (1965-1975), the 1973 population should be around 2.7 million. Another point that raises doubts on

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(98) S. S. Shafi - "Planned Development of Baghdad and its Environs - Some Policy Considerations" - A Report submitted to the Government of Iraq, January 1974, p.7.

the city plan Consultants' estimate is the Ministry of Planning - Regional Planning Unit estimate of migration to the Capital by 1990.(99) They predict around 30% increase in the current over 30,000 migrants per year to the Capital by 1990. With about half the growth rate of the capital population growth rate being attributed to internal migration, the Plan Consultants' assumption regarding a drastic reduction in the Capital's annual growth rate in this period becomes very doubtful. Thus it may be more logical to assume that a slight drop in the current capital population annual growth rate could be expected, under varying sets of measures and factors, but not to the extent suggested by the City Master Plan Consultants. A 4%-5% possible growth rate per annum will put the city population at around 9.5 million by the year 2000, making the already serious population concentration in the Capital even worse. Such an assumption is more in line with Dr. M.E. Al-Attar's prediction (see Footnote (96), p.244) of the Capital's share of the Nation's urban population being 54% by 1985, especially since the Master Plan Consultants are predicting between 16-20 million of the Nation's estimated 25 million population in the year 2000 will be urbanites.(100)

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(99) Ministry of Planning - "Regional Planning Unit Report", op.cit., p.33.

(100) S. S. Shafi - "Planned Development of Baghdad and its Environs", op.cit., p.7.

3.1.3 Concentration of Activities in Baghdad

The abnormal growth of the Capital's city population could easily be attributed to a collection of factors. Politically, it is the seat of the central government in the country where decentralised control has never been practised. Socially, the heterogenity of the Capital's population makes it an attractive place to all factions of the Iraqi population and, economically, the city's strong predominance over the entire spectrum of economical activities in the Nation - housing the majority of employment opportunities far in excess of its "fair" share of the national totals. Most probably the last factor, i.e. the economic factor, of supplying a huge employment market gave the city the huge attractiveness it exercises over the rest of the Nation's population. Together with a large share of public services, facilities and amenities, the Capital presents a really different picture from the other parts of the country which lag far behind the Capital in all categories of economic growth, supply of services and quality of life. What makes the Capital's position even more dominant is the fact that the trend in most cases is for more share of development, investments and activities to be located in the Capital as time progresses. Cast against a seemingly deteriorated situation in other subregions, the Capital assumes a strong imbalance in its favour projected in the foreseeable future. In the following observations a comparison is made on the relative share of the Capital subregion of different indices of activities and services to illustrate the privileged position of the Capital over the rest of the Nation:

(a) In terms of the industrial development, to which almost all previous Iraqi Governments had given the almost vital role in the development programmes (see Table No. 11, p.95), the capital share of both the number of industrial establishments (large and small) and its share of the national total industrial employment has shown a sizeable increase over the previous twenty year period, 1954-1974 (Table No. 1, Appendix No. III, p.X-108). Using the 1965 population data for subregions, being the middle point in the 1954-1974 period, the Capital, which represents around 25.4% of the Nation's 1965 population, picked up 71% of the national growth in the number of industrial establishments over the period and 59.4% of the industrial employment growth over the same period. The growth in the number of industrial establishments may not be the best way to assess industrial development of a given area in Iraq due to various administrative and legal changes in the country's industrial sector over the period, but the growth in the industrial sector's employment may be used. Other subregions which showed favourable internal migration characteristics (see Part II, p.148) such as Kerbela and Babylon in the Central Region showed a good condition of industrial employment growth receiving more than their fare share of the

period's growth. While the Southern subregions and the remainder of the Central Region showed a poor internal migration situation (negative) (see Part II, p.147 and p.155) also showed a poor condition of industrial employment growth.

(b) The capital share of other sectors of employment in the Nation also in most cases exceeds what its population (or fair) share of the national total population may suggest. In the latest survey published by the Iraqi Trade Union Council (called in Iraq: The General Federation of Workers Unions) in November 1975 (see Table No. 2, Appendix No.III, p.X-109) the capital share of the combined workers union membership (which is compulsory in Iraq) is shown at around 40.1%. It has 58.4% of the Post Office Union members, 55% of the Rail Roads Union, 55.6% of the Mechanics Union and 53.7% of Textile Union. Only three unions, the Building Construction Union, the Agricultural Union and the Oil Workers Union show slightly less than the capital fair share at 29.5%, 30.7% and 30.6%, (against the capital's fair share of 31.7%). Actually the relatively high share of both the Agricultural Union and the Oil Workers Union is a testimony to the strong attactiveness of the Capital which is not an oil producing subregion in Iraq, neither is it an important agricultural subregion in the

country (see Table No. 2, Appendix No. I, p.X-3) Oil fields are concentrated in Basrah (with 26.9% of the Oil Works Union membership), Kirkuk (with 22.8%) and Ninevah/Dhok (with 10%). The presence of the central oil industry administration in the Capital together with the largest oil refinery in the Nation, could be attributed to this large share of the oil industry union membership in the Capital. The large share in the Capital of the services orientated unions such as the Services Union, the Electricity Union, the Post Office Union and the Foods Union, is an indication that the level of services in the Capital is superior to that in most subregions in the country, the majority of which have less than their fair share of these unions' membership. Although it must be noted that while the union membership in Iraq is compulsory to all workers, some unions which have a large proportion of non-skilled members tend to have a lower membership of the total workers engaged in the trade. An outstanding example of such unions is the Building Construction Workers Union. The Capital which claims a large majority of the building construction trade in the country, as will be shown later, shows less than its fair share of this union's membership. This however is limited to a minority of the total labour force in Iraq and the concentration of activities related to these unions could be established through other means

(such as amount of investment or number of building permits).

(c) The intensity of development in the Capital both in the housing sector and the business sector (whether commercial or business) could be illustrated by examining Tables No. 3 and 4, Appendix No. III, p.X-110 and X-111). In 1973, the latest available data, the Capital spent 52.9% of the national total cost of buildings in the residential sector in the country and 43.5% of the business and commercial sector buildings. The Capital share of all buildings cost in the Nation (which includes also the industrial sector building, services building, cultural and health building) amounted to 52.2% of the national total for 47.5% of the total number of building permits issued in that year in Iraq. The amount of loans extended by the Real Estate Bank (which is mostly for residential housing purposes) also shows the Capital's strong position with a share of the national total in 1973 at 60% and in 1975 at 57.8% (Table No. 4, Appendix No. III, p.X-111). The Capital's share of the national growth in the amount of Real Estate Bank loans for the three year period, 1973, 1974 and 1975, is a staggering 54.4%. This suggests that over half of the national Real Estate Bank loans, this Bank being the only institution which offers loans for building purposes in the country, is concentrated in the Capital

which is over 70% of the Capital's fair share. Outside Babylon and Kerbela in the Central Region, no other subregion in the Nation shows a high share of the Real Estate Bank loans for this period.

On the industrial investment front, the State Industrial Bank gave to the Capital's industrialists around 80.4% of the growth in its loans for the period, 1973-1975. The Capital's share of 47.7% in 1973 and 75.2% in 1975 of the national total industrial loans made by the Bank are both excessively large compared to the Capital's fair share of the national total. The industrial bank loans mostly extended to the private sector industrialists has shown outside its favouritism to the Capital an erratic pattern with severe changes in the share for most subregions in the 1973-1975 period. But established subregions in the private sector of industrial development such as Ninevah/Dhok in the north and Kerbela and Babylon in the Central Region showed comparatively large shares of the bank loans. Yet it is the Capital share which assumes the absolute dominance suggesting a severe imbalance in inducing industrial growth in its favour. This incidentally is contrary to policies of development in the public sector of the industrial field, which suggests a decentralization policy yet to show a strong influence towards reducing the Capital's predominance in the country's development.

(d) In terms of public services and amenities the Capital's position is no different from the position of dominance it showed in the previous criteria. Its electricity power consumption (for lighting) is an indication of the extent this service has covered the Capital's subregion, representing 53.2% of the national total electricity consumed in the Nation in 1973. Since 1947 its per capita consumption of electricity has been higher by several times than any other subregion in the country and in 1973 it showed almost double the national average of 96 (1000 kwh) per 1000 population at 160 (1000 kwh) per 1000 population (Table No. 5, Appendix No. III, p.X-112). The Government policy in the early seventies regarding the establishment of central purchasing and distributing agencies in the Capital for the whole Nation for major goods and appliances gave the Capital's population a privileged status in acquiring electrical appliances in contrast to the rest of the Nation's subregions' population.

The situation is similar in the conditions of utilization of other public services with the Capital share far in excess of its fair share with most of the other subregions receiving less than their fair share and showing an inferior services supply situation. Domestic pure water quantities consumed by the Capital population in 1975

(Table No. 6, Appendix No. III, p.X-113) represents 40% of the national total on its per capita consumption (at 43 cubic metres), 30% higher than the national average of 34 cubic metres per annum. Data shows the domestic pure water consumption for the Capital is the highest of all subregions, an indication of the availability of this service in the Capital area in contrast to the rest of the Nation. The urban proportion of the various subregions is a major determinant of the amount of electricity and water supplied (or consumed) by subregions. This is mainly because of the almost complete absence of both facilities in the rural areas of the country. With the Capital's urban population approaching 50% of the Nation's urban population (Table No. 16, p.243) the Capital's high share of these two services can be understood. Yet on a per capita basis the Capital still has the best situation of public services in the Nation. One must also keep in mind that at a given point in time, around the 1920's, in the early stages of the establishment of the National Rule in Iraq, following the First World War, the Capital's share was by far the largest of the national total of all facilities and services in the Nation. Although in more recent years it showed a remarkable increase in the services supplied to other subregions, the Capital remains

the prime target for any development in the services network and still commands a privileged position in the services supplied for citizens in the country.

Communication facilities and public transport network and facilities are all much more superior in the Capital compared to the rest of the Nation. Between 1973 and 1975 the Capital received 80.1% of the national increase in the number of telephone lines in the country. Its share of the total number of existing telephone lines in 1973 at 65.8% increased to 70% by 1975 while most other subregions showed a drop in their share of the national total. In real terms only Kerbela matched the Capital in the increased proportion of its 1973 number of telephone lines by 1975. On a per 1000 population supply of number of telephones the Capital's figure of 37 in 1975 was more than double the national average of 17 and almost three times the figure of 14 of its nearest rival, Kerbela. (Table No. 7, Appendix No. III, p.X-114). The Capital's share of the number of public transport buses was 45.9% in 1973 and 43.7% in 1975, which are both considerably higher than its fair share (Table No. 8, Appendix No. III, p.X-115). Only Kerbela and Anbar subregions show similar positions in the Nation. Kerbela, the growing Central Region subregion, is the site of

some of the most important religious shrines in the Moslem world. Its Governorate operates a large fleet of the inter-subregional transport buses for visitors to these shrines. While Anbar's proximity to the Capital has induced a considerable commuter type movement to the Capital, its low population size, together with the sizable number of commuter buses, accounts for the high proportion of public buses in the subregion compared to the subregion's population. These facts support the assertion that while both these subregions show a high number of public buses, these are utilised for services oriented to outside the subregion itself and are consequently of limited benefit in terms of internal population movement for the subregion's population. This leaves the Capital's high figure of 16.6 public buses per 100,000 population as an indication of still another superiority over the rest of the Nation's subregions in the field of public transport. In terms of the number of vehicles (private ownership) the Capital's share of 51.9% of the total number of privately-owned vehicles in 1973 climbed to 56.8% in 1975 (Table No. 9, Appendix No. III, p.X-116). The Capital also claimed around 73.4% of the national total increase in the number of vehicles between 1973 and 1975. Its 39 people per vehicle, which is by far the lowest in the

Nation and is almost half the national average of 69, together with its 64.1% of the Nation's total saloon cars in 1973 (an indication of the economic level of the Capital population compared to the rest of the Nation) and a similar proportion of 64.1% of the Nation's total number of taxis, shows that the Capital's position in the availability of private transport is far superior to the rest of the Nation's subregions.

In terms of health facilities (Table No. 10, Appendix No. III, p.X-117) and educational facilities (Table No. 12, Appendix No. III, p.X-119) the Capital continued to lead the Nation in almost all categories in levels of health and education services. With 54% of the Nation's total number of physicians and 42.9% of the Nation's total number of hospital beds in 1975, it shows the lowest number of population per physician at 1594 (almost one half the nation's average at 2717) and the lowest number of population per hospital bed at 400 (Nation's average is 515) of all the Nation's subregions. If one adds the availability of private hospitals and highly specialised consultants in various branches of medicine which are only in existence in the Capital, the numerical superiority of the Capital in the health service field becomes even more prominent. Compared to some countries in the Middle East (Egypt and Turkey) and some

developed countries in the west (Yugoslavia, Sweden and U.S.A.) only Baghdad's figures compare favourably with these countries' levels (Table No. 11, Appendix No. III, p.X-118). Actually, its 1965 figure of 2184 people per physician is far better than Egypt's 2365 and Turkey's 2860, but closer to Yugoslavia's, Sweden's and U.S.A.'s than the figures of the two countries above.

On the educational services side the Capital, up to 1960, had the only university education facilities in the country and still accounts for 74.2% of the higher education enrolment in 1975 (Table No. 12, Appendix No. III, p.119). Vocational training which until the late fifties was confined to the Capital, still has about 40.2% of its total enrolment in 1975 in the Capital area. On the lowest level of school facilities, the kindergarten, a relatively new arrival on the Iraqi scene, the Capital has 87 kindergartens against the Nation's 1975 total of 202, a 43% ratio. The only aspects of educational facilities in which the Capital seems to lag slightly behind most of the Nation's subregions are the primary and secondary schools. The Capital's number of 41 primary schools per 100,000 population in 1975 and the same year's figure of 11 secondary schools for the same size of population is the lowest in the Nation for primary schools and among the lowest ones for

the secondary schools. While it is true that the Capital schools are much more crowded than any other part of the Nation, it is also true that it offers the highest standards of education on that level, of any other part of the country. A sizable number of the subregions' (outside the Capital) schools are under staffed, ill equipped and have less classes than they are supposed to have, especially if located in a rural area. One indication of the efficiency of the primary and secondary schools system in the Capital against the rest of the country is that in 1975 the Capital enrolment in secondary schools accounted for 45.2% of the Nation's total and 35.1% of the primary schools national total enrolment.

(e) While (a) to (d) above seem to suggest a superior Capital position in terms of development, growth, level of services and availability of public services and amenities, the issue of the economic level of the Capital's population against the rest of the Nation has not been discussed. Although indicators like the growth in the number of industrial establishments, growth in the buildings for business and commercial sectors and car ownership ratios suggest a higher economic level for the Capital's population, actual income figures were not shown. Income figures on

subregional levels in Iraq are hard to get, sporadic and in most cases lack accuracy. This becomes even harder in the private sector of employment. Data on income tax is much more dependable as it is considered to be highly punishable to submit untrue or false income returns, as is the case in most countries. The latest data on income tax in Iraq by subregions for 1972/73 (Table No. 13, Appendix No. III, p.X-120), gave the Capital an overall share of the Nation's total income tax revenue of about 52%, which may indicate a highly prosperous population compared to the rest of the Nation. Its private sector income tax returns account for 57% of the Nation's total and its government employer tax return accounted for 67.3% of the Nation's total. Both these sets of figures are expected since the Capital is the commercial and business centre of the whole nation with no other subregion in the country coming close to its predominance in this respect. Business, commercial and industrial establishments are concentrated in the Capital as is indicated by the industrial employment, industrial bank loans and the real estate loans. What makes the economic situation even more in favour of the capital's superiority is the fact that prices of commodities and foodstuffs are not particularly different to those of other parts of the country. One would expect that less densely populated subregions

outside the Capital could offer goods and foodstuffs at much lower prices than the Capital's huge highly competitive market. But the Government policy of central purchasing and distributing system of goods, commodities, foodstuffs, appliances, etc., together with the stiff penalties for selling above the Government price structure, makes the price of almost all items a more or less constant figure all over the country. Only perishable goods produced locally, such as vegetables, vary but the overall price average seems to be the same in most parts of the country (Table No. 14, Appendix No. III, p.X-121). One could only exclude property rents which due to the high population density in the Capital may be hard to control but the rest of the family budget is almost identical in most parts of the country. Thus the higher income level in the Capital would suggest a more affluent society in the Capital with a much higher standard of living than the rest of the country. With such an overall superiority of the Capital in the different aspects of the individual's life, as illustrated in this section, together with the deterioration of the rural sectors' major source of livelihood, the agricultural occupation, one should not be surprised if the internal migration pattern in the country suggests a huge preference for the Capital, as is strongly indicated by the analysis of the population growth and migration pattern in Part II of this Thesis.

3.2 SETTLEMENTS OF MIGRANTS IN BAGHDAD

3.2.1 Historical Aspects

As we have discussed in the previous section, the real turn in the trend of rural-urban migration in Iraq was in the early 30's when a sharp decline in the rural population component of the Nation's population seems to have started. Baghdad was the main recipient area for migrants. Data available on the history of migrant settlements in the Capital is both scarce and sketchy, but it all seems to suggest the following three periods of history in the formation of the migrant settlements. (The historical periods from the formation of the migrant settlements up to the present time are plotted by the Author on the 1972 Baghdad City existing land use map which serves to show a comparison between the most recent size of the city and the sizes of these settlements, see Figure No. 15, p. 268.)

(1) The Early Formation Period (between the First World War and the early 1940's):

The map of the City just before the First World War (Figure No. 14, following) in Eugen Wirth's article shows no mud huts or reed hut settlements in the city.(101) The enormous growth of the migrant volumes in the early 1930's seemed also to be absorbed within the city fabric. No historic reference shows the presence of

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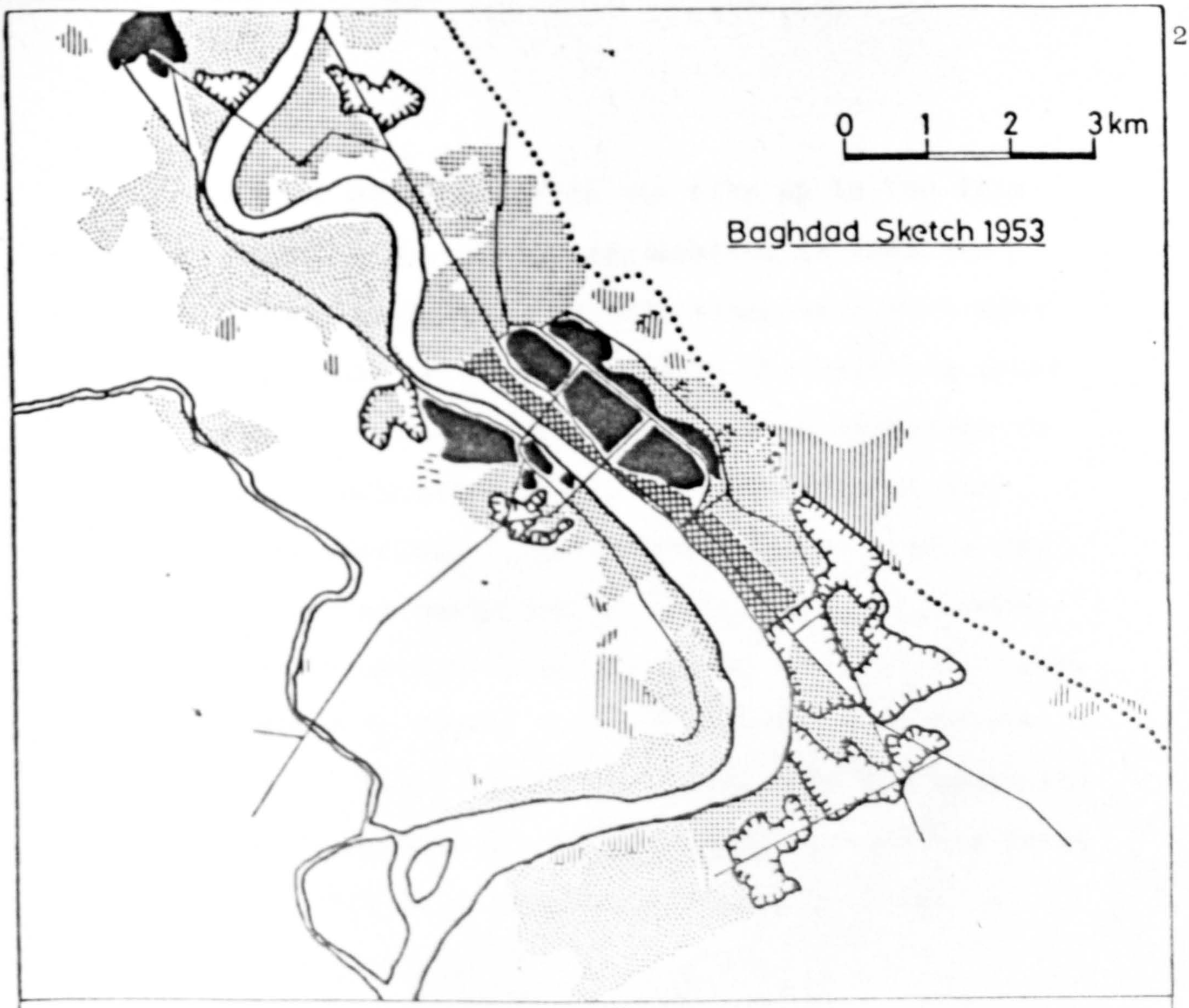
(101) Eugen Wirth - "Die Lehmhuttensie dlungen der Stadt Baghdad", Erdkunde, Band VIII, pp.309-316.



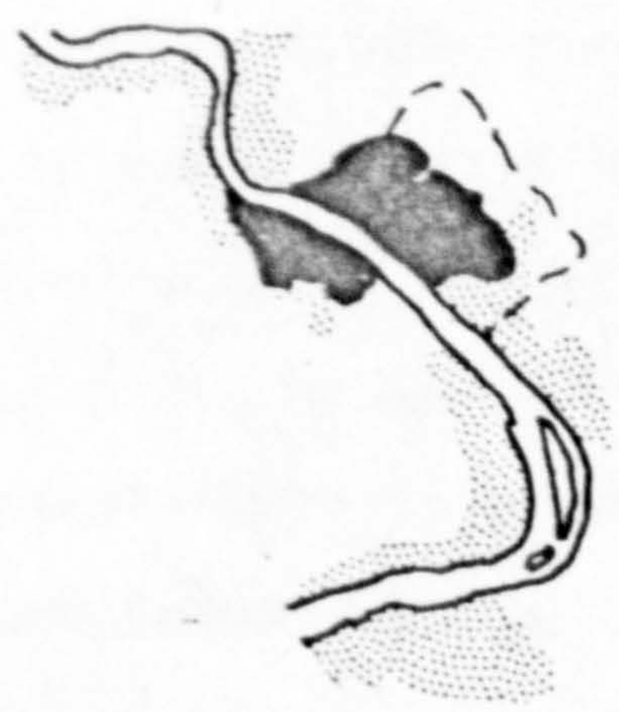


Fig No14 EUGEN WIRTH'S MAP

migrant settlements in the city up to the late 1930's. A possible explanation is that the number of migrants at this stage were of a size that could be accommodated in the existing urban fabric. The capacity of the city structure to absorb migrants without the formation of the outer periphery settlements seems to have run out by the early 1940's. In 1940 settlements, mostly small agglomerations of reed and mud huts, started to appear predominantly on the eastern side of the city.(102) These small and scattered settlements later became the nucleus of the large 1950-1963 settlements on both sides (east and west) of the city.

(2) The period of rapid growth in the settlements' size and the formation in the late fifties of large migrant settlements up to their demolition by the Government around 1963 (period mainly between 1950 and 1963):

By the early 1950's the migrant settlements in the city which were small and scattered had grown into much larger settlements mainly on the eastern side of the city. Eugen Wirth's map of the city structure in 1953 shows migrant settlements of sizes of over 30 families covering areas on the outside of the City's eastern bund. This bund was built by the Turkish Government in Iraq in the mid-1880's to protect Baghdad city from the flood water sweeping downwards from the

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(102) M. M. Aziz - op.cit., Figure No. 41, p.247.

upper Tigris. The presence of large tracts of government-owned land east of this bund was the main reason for these settlements being located there. The proximity to the commercial centre of the city, the settlements' location with reference to the Southern Region's main road to Baghdad and the railway line connecting the North Central Region of Iraq to Baghdad are the other major reasons for the settlements being located in this area of the capital. In the boom migration period of 1950 to 1965 the migrant settlements covered around one third of the urban land use in the city concentrated in the eastern part of the city behind the eastern bund.

Although it is hard to get an accurate estimate of the number of units or sizes of the migrant settlements in the 1950-1963 period (before demolition), the 1958 Doxiadis Report(103) put the total number of sarifas at 24,000 and the total number of single room mud huts at 9,000, housing a total of 184,000 inhabitants, almost a quarter of the city's 1957 population (Table No. 16, p.243). After the 1958 Revolution the new Government considered the presence of the large migrant settlements a serious setback to the reputation of the new revolutionary regime and

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(103) Doxiadis Associates - "The Sarifa Dwellers of Baghdad" Document Dox-QBE 1 (July 1958) - Prepared for the Government of the Republic of Iraq - Development Board and Ministry of Development - Technical Section 5 - Baghdad, July, 1958, p.4.

embarked on a gradual demolition process which reached the peak of its effectiveness around 1963 when it became illegal to erect a sarifa within the Capital's Municipal Boundaries. By late 1963 all the large settlements were removed and migrants were offered housing opportunities in the huge migrants' housing projects in Thawra and Shula Towns (see Figure No. 15, p.268).

(3) The Modern Period between the demolition of the large settlements of the late fifties to early sixties and the establishment of the Thawra and Shula housing project for the migrants, and up to the present time (between 1965 and 1975):

By 1965 the large migrant settlements on the eastern side of the city disappeared and were replaced by the large-scale government housing schemes established on both eastern and western sides of the city between 1960 and 1965 to house migrants. The disappearance of these large sarifa settlements was due to the housing scheme and to legal sanctions forbidding the erection of sarifas (reed hut) and mud huts within the municipal limits of the Capital. The present day (June 1975) settlements - although denied in all official reports - are scattered mostly in the boundary areas of the capital municipal limits with larger agglomerations on the regional road links leading into the Capital. Some of the largest current settlements are within the Thawra

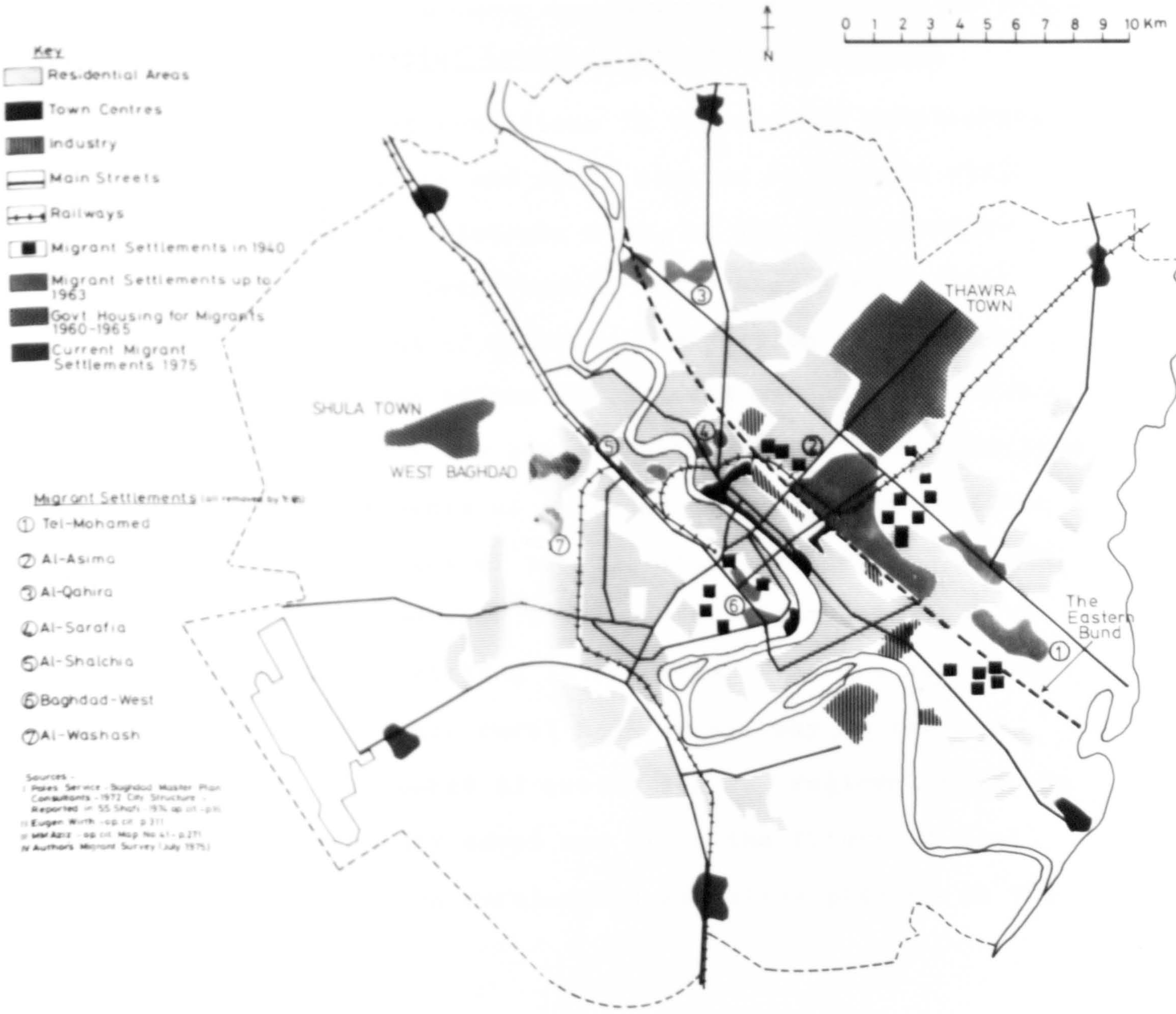

Fig No.15 BAGHDAD MIGRANTS SETTLEMENTS 1940-1975

Town migrants' housing areas built in the 1960's as the main migrants' housing scheme in the Capital (see Figures No. 21 to 27, pp.288 to 291).

3.2.2 Migrant Settlements' Location and Characteristics

The study of conditions in the migrant settlements of the late fifties and early sixties in Baghdad city is not merely for historic aims, as all these settlements have since been removed and disappeared. The current day trend of continuous migration to the city and the emergence of new settlements around and within the capital calls for close examination of the conditions in these settlements as recorded by various researchers at different stages of the migration history to Baghdad. The comparison between the life and accomplishments of these migrants settling in the city, with the repelling conditions of their rural home lands, may in the end point out the course of action for any regional strategy the Government may adopt now or in the future to deal with the worsening rural-urban migration problem in the country.

In analysing the locational aspects of these settlements in Baghdad it seems that they are located in one of four different "services supply" area categories as follows:

(1) Located in a "no-services available" area:

Usually settlements in these locations are the large type, self-sustained settlements.

Settlements of this category are located in concentrated forms within the city but isolated from the closest city neighbourhood by broad road networks as physical barriers. These settlements include:

(a) Al-Asima Settlement:
(No. 2 in Figure No. 15, p.268)

This was the largest in the city, reported to have had around 15,000 to 20,000 huts at the time of its demolition in 1963.(104) It was separated from the city by the old eastern bund and the main uncovered drain of Baghdad (locally referred to as "Shateyit"). The settlers used the drain water for many domestic uses. The drain water by virtue of its very nature is a main source of endemic diseases, such as bilhariziasis, malaria and numerous other health hazards. This settlement seems to have been the very first large-scale settlement in the city, dating back to the early 1940's. It reached its peak volume shortly before its demolition in 1963. It extended some 10 kilometres connecting Tel-Mohamed settlement at the southern end of Baghdad to Al-Sarafia and Al-Kahra settlements in the north. A description of the settlement's inner structure will be given later in this section. Dr. M.M. Aziz's study pointed out that the Asima settlement had virtually no government services inside the neighbourhoods of the

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(104) M. M. Aziz - op. cit., p.272

settlement. Yet as is the condition in almost all the migrant settlements. in Baghdad the inhabitants depended on the closest city neighbourhood services to meet their needs. The only signs of Government services in Al-Asima, according to Dr. Aziz's study, was a few safe water taps along the eastern flank of the eastern bund.

(b) Al-Qahra Settlement:
(No. 3 in Figure No. 15, p.268)

and

(c) Tel-Mohamed Settlement:
(No. 1 in Figure No. 15, p.268)

Both these are isolated settlements with the physical separation of the eastern bund forming a natural barrier (and to some extent a social barrier) from the rest of the city of Baghdad. These two settlements form the external limits of the huge Al-Asima settlement which lies between them.

(2) <u>Settlements located in a "low services available" area</u>:
Such settlements are located in close proximity to or adjoining the middle class and upper class of Baghdad's residential sectors. They also may be adjoining large industrial or commercial centres in the city. They differ from the isolated settlements in (1) above in being smaller in size, not separated from city neighbourhoods by significant physical barriers and in some cases occupying private land or tree orchards set for

future development. These settlements include:

(a) Al-Shalchia Settlement:
(No. 5 in Figure No. 15, p.268)
This adjoined the large rail depots and customs warehouses in the Shalchia area. It was also located close to the large-scale railway employees housing scheme and close to a mixed upper income/middle income neighbourhood spanning the Tigris West Bank from the centre of the city up to the Kadima Sector at the north of the city.

(b) Baghdad West Settlement:
(No. 7 in Figure No. 15, p.268)
The settlement was in the middle of the upper income class suburban neighbourhood of Al Mansor and Al Dawdi (the latter has middle income class composition). Later this settlement became a site for a large-scale migrants' housing scheme carrying the same name.

(c) Al-Washash Settlement:
(No. 7 in Figure No. 15, p.268)
This lies adjoining the army barracks at Washash Camp where a sizable percentage of the settlement inhabitants work. Most of the area containing the settlement is privately owned orchards. Again this settlement, due to its adjoining the wealthy sectors of Al-Harthia and Mansor uses the facilities offered at these sectors and also finds vast employment opportunities for domestic help as house servants, gardeners, guards, etc. The Washash settlement was about the second largest of migrant settlements

in the early 60's in the city, with over 1700 units.

These three settlements i.e. Al-Shalchia, Baghdad West and Al-Washash represent relatively recent settlements on the west side of the city compared to the "old" migrant settlements on the east side which included the largest settlement of migrants at Al-Asima. According to Dr. Aziz(105) study, the migrants found the west side of the city much better for settlement, because of rare flooding and the availability of water from the Tigris, than the arid eastern side with its frequent inundations. (Two of these settlements are on the river bank and the third, Al-Washash, is close to the main Washash Canal which branches off the Tigris). Furthermore, the western side, which is the oldest part of the city, was for long periods the industrial and commercial sector of the city. The inhabitants of Al-Shalchia settlement, which is closest to the river extension of Baghdad West settlement, are living near to one of the wealthiest sectors of the city which includes the Presidential Palace and the high class residential sector around it. This location offers a vast variety of services and employment opportunities in this sector. The presence of the diplomatic quarters and offices of various large government ministries adds more

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(105) Dr. M. M. Aziz - Ibid., p.274

to the wealth of the migrant settlement inhabitants. Although Dr. Aziz's findings suggested that the economic factor has more influence on the selection of place of residence to the migrant than tribal ties, the statistical data quoted by him(106) (also the data in this Thesis survey) does not support that assertion. Dr. Aziz's research suggested that 60.7% of the sample settled in their sector to be close to friends and relatives against 21.7% settling because of proximity to the place of their work.

(3) Settlements located in "High Services Available" areas: These settlements are, by virtue of their location, considered part of the neighbourhood they settled within. There are no physical barriers between them and the city neighbourhood that they are part of and are physically well enclosed and surrounded by the housing sector they are located within. These settlements are usually small in comparison to other categories of settlements in the city and also include some brick-mud combinations in the settlement units. The inhabitants of these types of settlements are not entirely migrant. Some low income class Baghdad families live in these settlements and some of them even legally own their unit. The most outstanding example of this type of settlement is the Sarafia Settlement (No. 4 in Figure No. 15, p. 268). In this category two types of settlement appear:

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(106) Dr. M. M. Aziz - Ibid., Table 8.1, p.264

(i) The relatively large settlements (compared to the rest in this category) which usually occupy privately owned tracts of open land or tree orchards in the centre of the city. Such settlements are largely composed of mud huts, reed huts, mud-brick units and some whole brick units. The population of these settlements does include some low income Baghdadi families who find cheap housing in these settlements and who, in some instances, own their brick built units. An example of this is the Sarafia settlement above. This settlement is located almost in the central area of the city surrounded by one of the wealthiest and most regarded social elite in the city. In the Royal Monarchyera, before the 1958 Revolution, this settlement was less than a street-width away from the Royal "Pilat", which is the office of the country's King. The external parts of this settlement are brick houses which are knitted quite well with the rest of the housing fabric of the central Baghdad area. Close to the largest medical centre in the city and within walking distance of the banking, commercial and business centre of the city, the Sarafia settlement enjoys the best location of all the settlements in the city. Schools, public facilities and markets are within the settlement or in walking distance from most parts of it. Dr. Aziz's study contrasted the 43% illiteracy in this settlement against 65% of that in Baghdad West and 74% in Al-Asima.(107) This signifies a higher

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(107) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.278

stage of the social ladder as far as the inhabitants of this settlement are concerned in comparison to inhabitants of other settlements in the Capital. It was reported by Miss S. Farman(108) to have the smallest population of the four major settlements in the city. In view of its prime location, this settlement was among the first to be removed when the housing programme for the migrants was started by the Government after the 1958 Revolution.

(ii) The other type of settlements are those of small sized hutments and sarifa agglomerations scattered all over the city within empty building plots or small orchards. They vary in size from the single unit in which the occupants act as building site guards to those of a few scores of units occupying small open spaces within various neighbourhoods in the city. Historically these settlements are in many cases the nucleus of the later larger settlements discussed in this section. For this reason, residents of various neighbourhoods in Baghdad, where these small scattered agglomerations start to appear, are quick to raise objections to the authorities over the existence of these settlements. These settlements have been the last to go when the Government outlawed the erection of sarifas and mud huts at various stages since 1958. But to the

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(108) Miss S. Farman - "Migrants Settlement Survey" Report submitted to the Iraqi Government, Ministry of Social Affairs, Baghdad, August 1957, Annex No. 1, p.44

present time (see Figure No. 23, p.289 and Figure No. 25, p.290), these small agglomerations of huts still find space within the city in which to infiltrate and become established. Protection from adjoining Baghdad families is exchanged for domestic help and services extended by the settlement's inhabitants.

3.2.3 The Migrant Settlements' Anatomy

3.2.3.1 Pre-1963 Settlements:

These settlements are mostly in the form of blocks of dwellings, consisting of groups of common courtyards enclosed by high mud boundary walls, in which are usually situated 3-5 one room huts, each occupied by one family at least. No family has its own house and yard. In Al-Washash (No. 7 on Figure No. 15, p.268) Settlement an average of 15.5 persons (or 3 families) share one courtyard, with a common oven, w.c., and a pit for rain water drainage. No water or kitchen, etc., are provided. Each room, with an average size of $20m^2$ - without windows or a watertight roof, is shared by an average of 5.2 persons who live and sleep together, men, women and children of every age cooking and sharing their fuel in the same place.

The physical layout of a typical unit of three huts is as follows:(109)

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(109) Doxiadis Associates - Ibid., p.26.

Plot per courtyard unit	$145.9m^2$
Plot per family	$48.6m^2$
Plot per person	$9.4m^2$
Average plot covering	47.5%
Per courtyard unit -	
plot	$145.9m^2$
built-up area	$69.5m^2$
courtyard	$76.4m^2$

(See Figure No. 16, p. 279)

Buffalo owners usually occupy much larger units but as these are only around 2% of the total migrant population, their situation is not very relevant.

The sarifas are mostly made of reeds, mats and mud. The method of construction does not vary very much and they mostly have mud walls (for mud huts) or straw bundles strengthened by mud (for sarifas). Flat and inclined (or curved semi-circular) roofs are made of straw mats, mud, palm tree trunks and similar materials. *Doxiadis estimated the approximate cost of mud-built sarifas of $20m^2$ at about 20 I.D. (1958 prices).(110)

In describing the physical conditions in the large migrant settlement of Al-Asima, the Doxiadis Report

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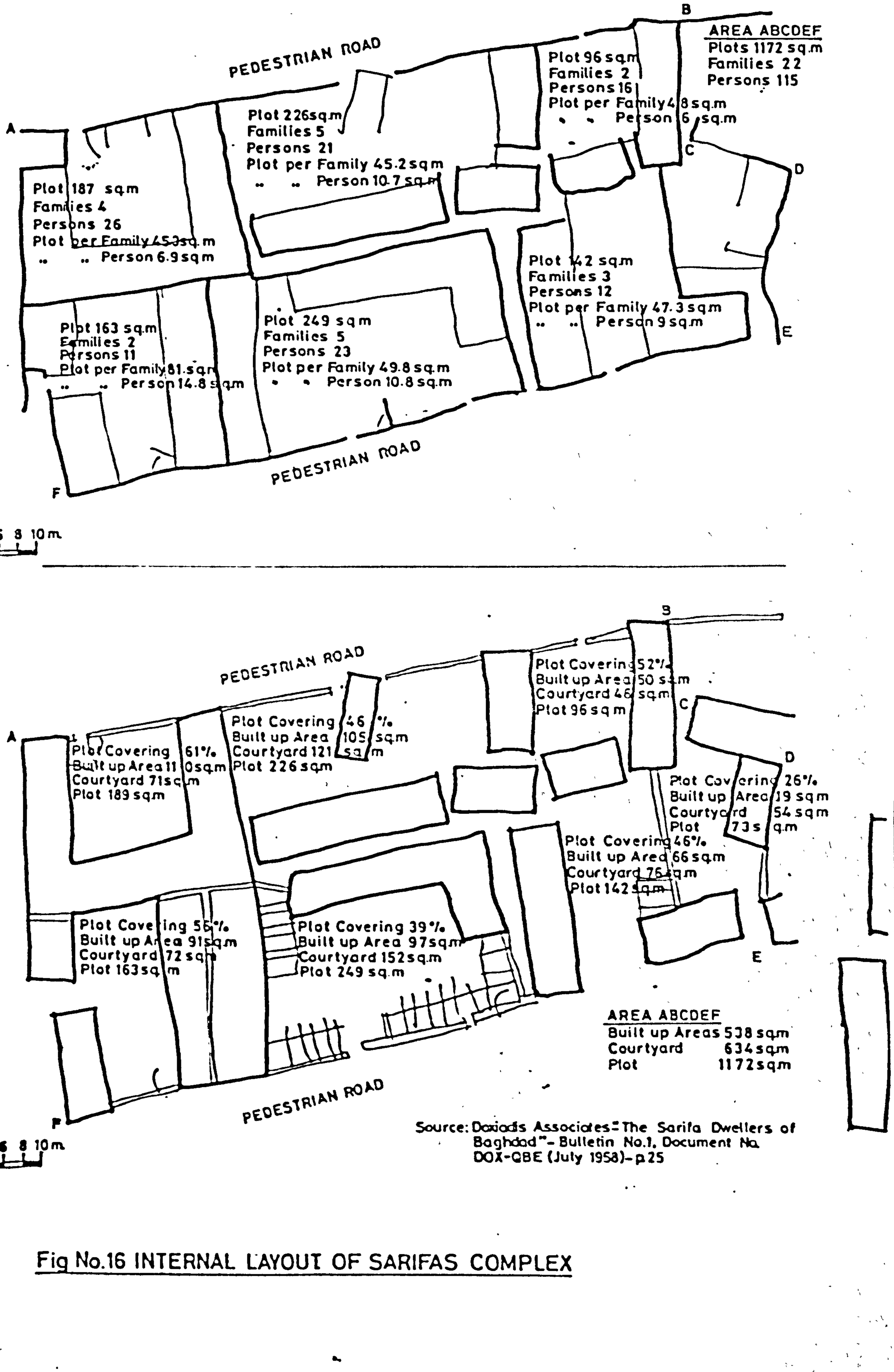
* Doxiadis Report findings will be discussed, together with two other previous major studies on Baghdad migrants, in the next section (3.2.4). In the present section only the physical characteristics of the settlements as reported by Doxiadis are discussed.

(110) Doxiadis Associates - Ibid., p.32.



Source: Doxiads Associates "The Sarifa Dwellers of Baghdad" - Bulletin No.1, Document No. DOX-QBE (July 1958) - p.25

Fig No.16 INTERNAL LAYOUT OF SARIFAS COMPLEX

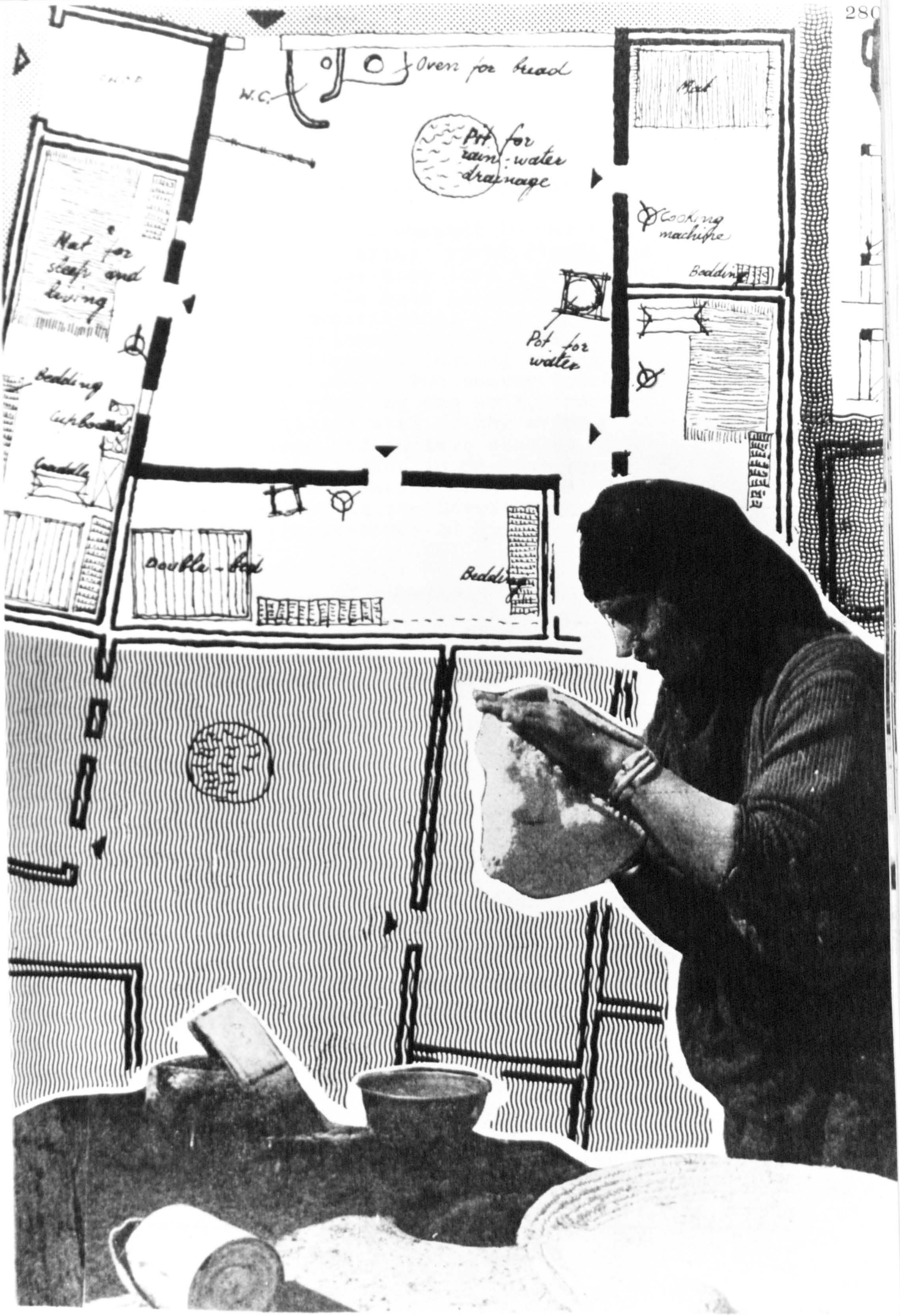


FIG. NO. 17 INSIDE A MIGRANT HUT (SARIFA)
(DOXIADIS REPORT DOX QBE 1, P.5)

pointed out the deplorable inhuman environment of the settlement. The Report pointed out that:

> "...the only drainage channel in the city flows through the area; river floods and rain water turn the area into a bog, causing many of the huts to collapse and disrupting communications. During the 1954 flood, practically all the sarifas of Al-Asima collapsed, leaving thousands of people homeless. The nearby brick factories, by removing the soil, create large wells filled with filthy water. Livestock trade and buffalo stables of cattle breeders living in Baghdad have been moved to the sarifa areas of Al-Asima. People thus live in the horrible conditions created by the presence of buffalos".(111)

The complete absence of community facilities such as water supply systems, drainage systems, electricity network, streets and garbage collection, combined with the poor environment make life unbearable for the migrants in these settlements. One might argue here that these conditions are not different from the rural areas from which these migrants have fled. Although this statement is true nevertheless the differential between conditions in migrant settlements in Baghdad and the rest of the original city neighbourhoods create, socially, feelings of frustration and hatred which could be the breeding ground of social disorder and crime waves. Schools, mosques, medical centres and markets are also lacking in the settlements.

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(111) Doxiadis Associates - ibid., p.18

FIG. NO. 18 MIGRANTS HUTMENT SETTLEMENT - 1957
(DOXIADIS REPORT DOX QBE 1, P.13)

> "...epidemic and endemic diseases (smallpox, trachoma, dysentary, billarzia, etc.) play havoc with the population, especially among the children and the old".(112)

In another account given about the living conditions in the Al-Asima Settlement, Dr. Critchley, Professor of Public Health and Social Medicine in the University of Baghdad Medical College, reported that:(113)

> "This area was the waste-land to the east of the bund which surrounds Baghdad, and it was a desert site studded with pits of varying sizes, which have been produced by the excavation of mud and clay for building purposes. The area was also used by the municipality as well as private individuals as a dumping ground for human and animal excreta, and rubbish. In addition the few surface water drains in the east of the city are pumped over the bund into this area, just after receiving the washings from the city abattoirs. The polluted and foul smelling liquid, which formed a sizable stream, found its way through the conglomeration of mud buildings. There were no sanitary arrangements in the houses or in the district, hence inhabitants simply defecated indiscriminately, adding their small contribution to an already polluted ground."

Miss Doris G. Phillips reported Dr. Critchley's statement above in her article "Rural to Urban Migration in Iraq" (114) and gave her own evaluation

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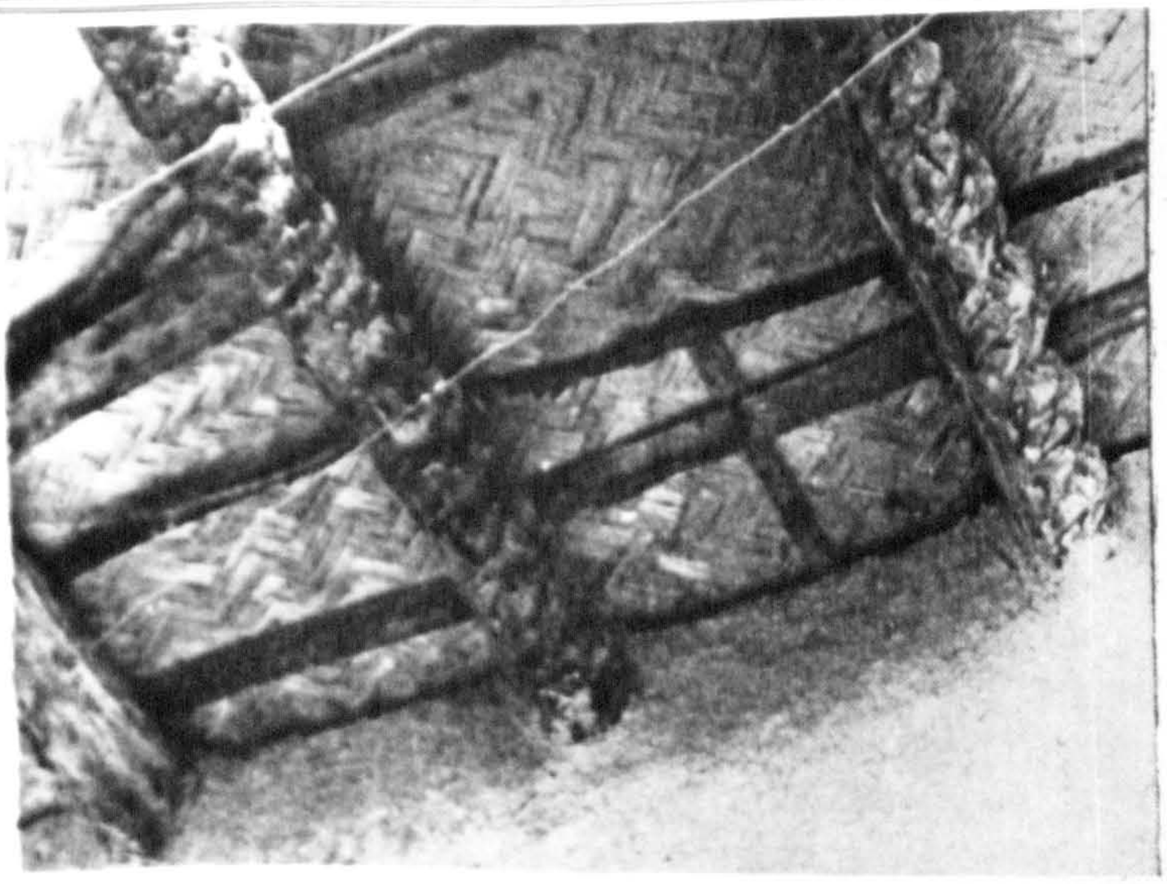
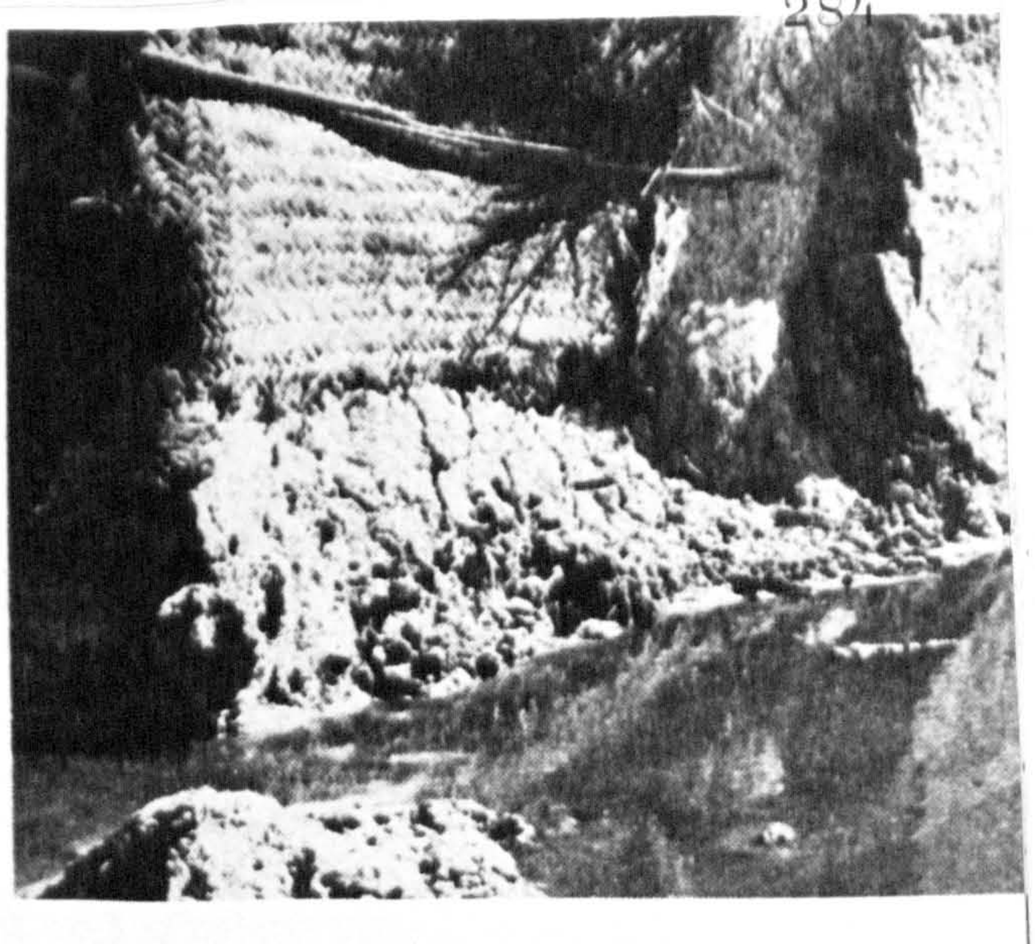
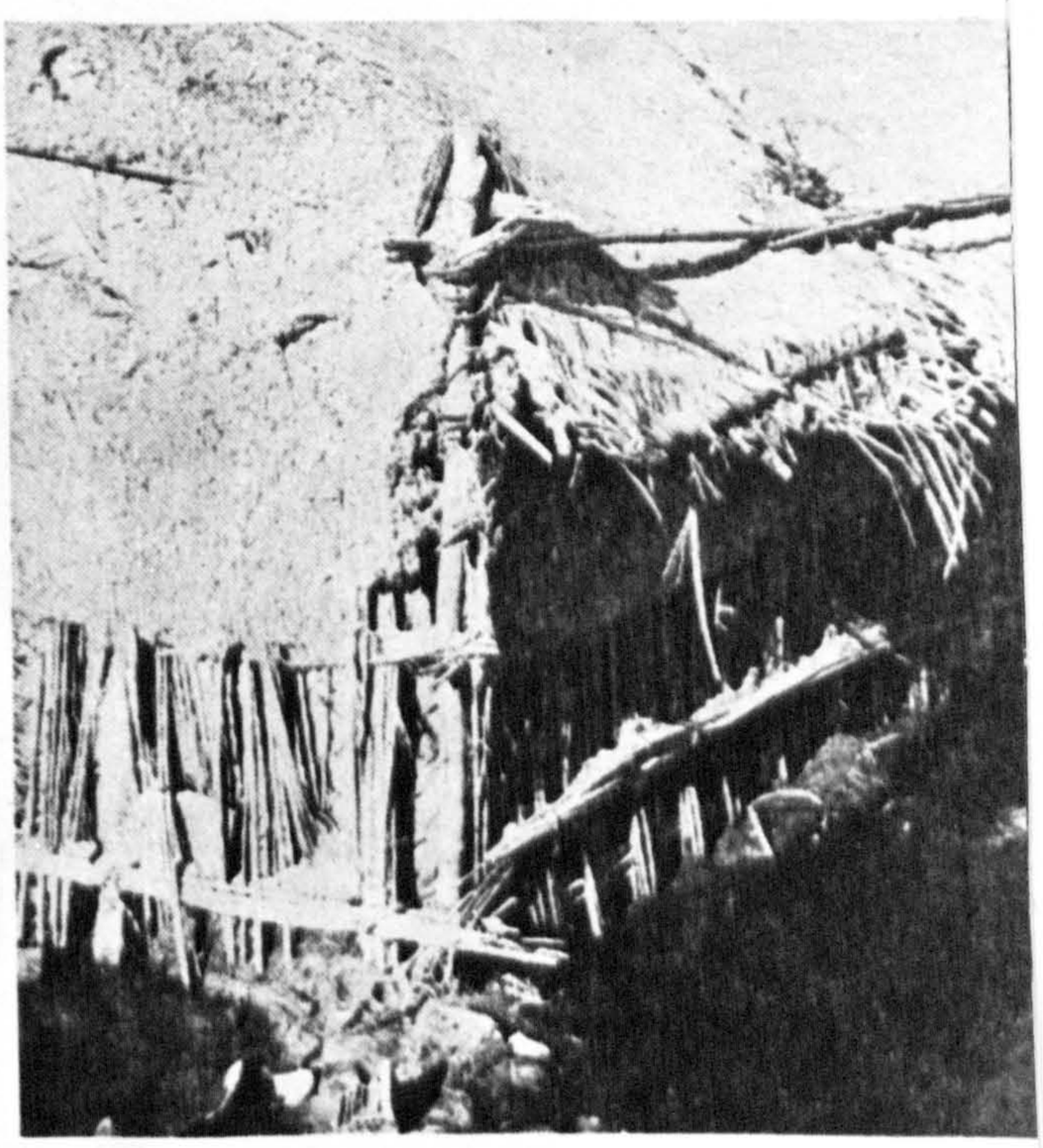
(112) Doxiadis Associates - ibid., p.18

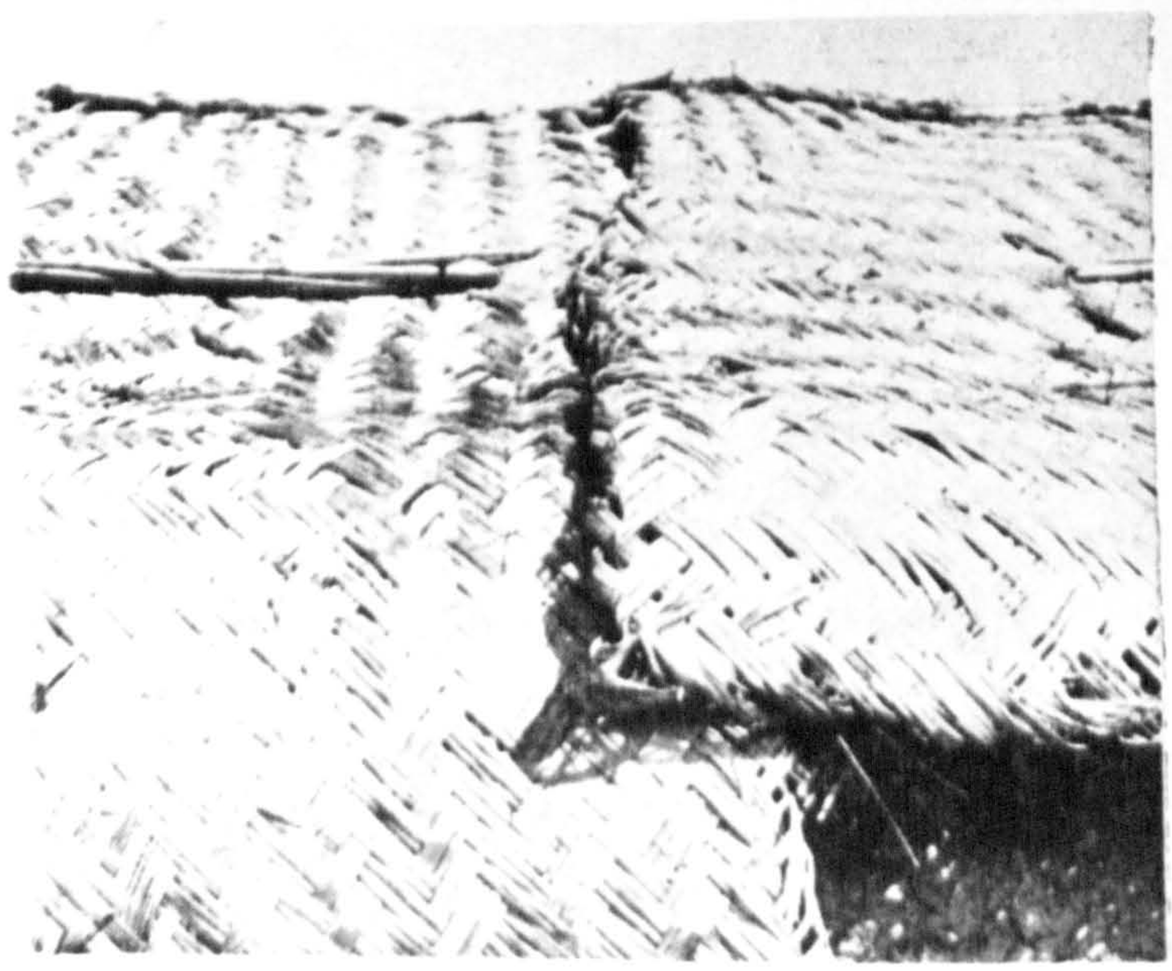
(113) A. Michael Critchley - "Observations on a Socio-Medical Survey in Iraq", Journal of the Iraqi Medical Profession Vol.4, June 1956, pp.71-72.

(114) D. G. Phillips - "Rural to Urban Migration in Iraq" Economic Development and Cultural Change Journal, Vol.VII, 1959, p.410.









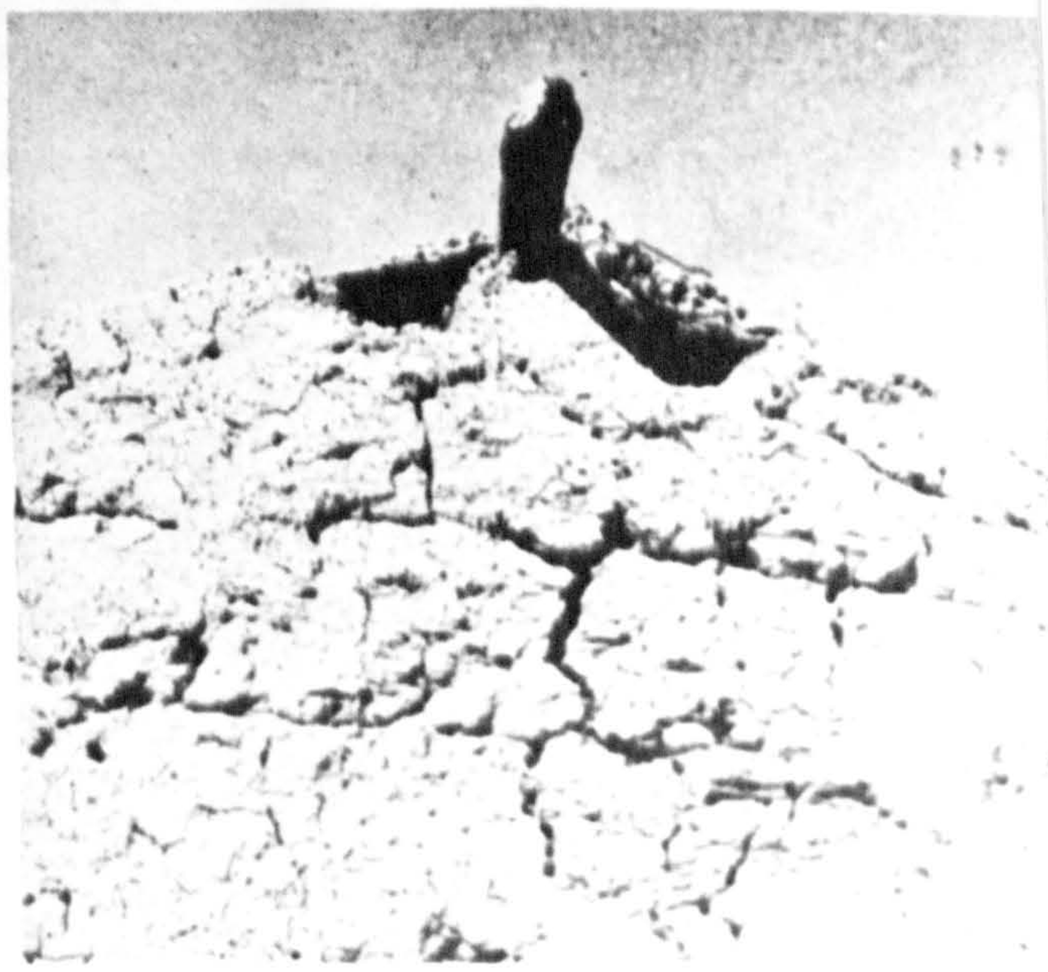


FIG. NO. 19 WALLS AND ROOFS CONSTRUCTION OF MIGRANTS HUTMENTS - 1957
(DOXIADIS REPORT DOX QBE 1, P.33)

of the separate world of the Al-Asima Settlement.

She described the settlement as:

> "Physically isolated by the dyke which protects Baghdad from flood waters, the Al-Asima is a world in itself, its major ties with the city being through the labour market. It has its own bazaar, composed of tiny mud and reed stalls, where lengthy bargaining takes place over food rejected by the down town markets. It is more noticably tribal in culture than are slums which are in closer contact with urban influences. Most young girls are put in black cape and headdress, to shield their charms from male eyes, and much of the dowry is spent on gold jewellery, as in the marshlands from which many of them came. *Our sample rendered 259 families with 1560 people from an estimated 34,000 for the Asima as a whole. The Asima means 'the capital' and has two possible derivations. It may be a shortening of the full name of the settlement, 'Arsat al-Asima", meaning public land belonging to the municipality of Baghdad; or, because many migrants to Baghdad settled here first, it may be derived from their stated destination."

The photographs of the migrant huts, which were taken from the Doxiadis Report and are reproduced on pages 282, 284 and 286, show a remarkable resemblance to the photographs taken by the Author in June 1975 (see pp.288-291) of some of the units of the new settlements of migrants in the Capital. Basically the later units are identical to those built in the pre-1963 period before the mass removal of these settlements from the Capital, with one exception in that some of those of 1975 are built using empty

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* The survey which was conducted by Miss S. Farman in association with Miss D. G. Phillips will be referred to in this research as the Farman study, Miss Farman being the originator of the survey and the one reporting to the Government of Iraq on the survey findings. In the next section there will be further elaboration on the findings of this survey (in the Al-Asima Settlement) and the Doxiadis and Dr. Aziz surveys.

FIG. NO. 20 INSIDE A MIGRANT HUT (SARIFA)
(DOXIADIS REPORT DOX QBE 1, P.5)

petroleum cans and metal sheets (Figure No. 21, p.288) for the unit walls. The present day settlements are identical to the pre-1963 settlement units in terms of their structural layout, community form and circulation network. Thus the photographs taken by the Author may be used as an indication of the old settlement form of units which are shown in the Doxiadis Report. Scarcity of photographs of the old settlements makes this proposition necessary. Like the old settlements, the new migrant settlement units may be part of construction sites of more modern housing units (Figure No. 23, p.289), partially built with brick and mortar (Figure No.22, p.288) and sometimes occupying empty parcels of land subdivided for future development (Figure No.24,p.290). The inhabitants of the migrant settlements of the late fifties who were reported by Miss Farman and Doxiadis to be using animal dung as a means of fuel are very similar in this respect to today's migrant settlement households (as in Figure No. 26, p.291), with the household animals being within the middle yard of the unit. The interior of a hut unit in the 1975 settlements is also built with mud and reed mat roofs as was the pre-1963 type (Figure No.25, p.290). As was mentioned previously (p.267), the modern day settlements are discounted by the municipality officials in the Capital as being either too minute in number or too scattered to be of any real threat to the capital city's urban fabric, or

FIG. NO. 21 MIGRANT HUT BUILT WITH PETROLEUM EMPTY CANS AND METAL SHEET WALLS (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

FIG. NO. 22 MIGRANT HUT MAY BE PARTIALLY BUILT WITH BRICKS AND MORTAR (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

FIG. NO. 23 SARIFA INSIDE A CONSTRUCTION SITE. ALL THE SARIFA HOUSEHOLD WORK IN THE CONSTRUCTION (NOTE THE LEFT-HAND CORNER OF THE PICTURE) (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

FIG. NO. 24 MIGRANT HUT MAY OCCUPY EMPTY DEVELOPMENT PARCELS (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

FIG. NO. 25 TYPICAL CONSTRUCTION OF MIGRANT HUT WITH MUD WALLS AND REED MAT ROOFS (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

FIG. NO. 26 ANIMAL DUNG DRYING TO BE USED FOR FUEL BY MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

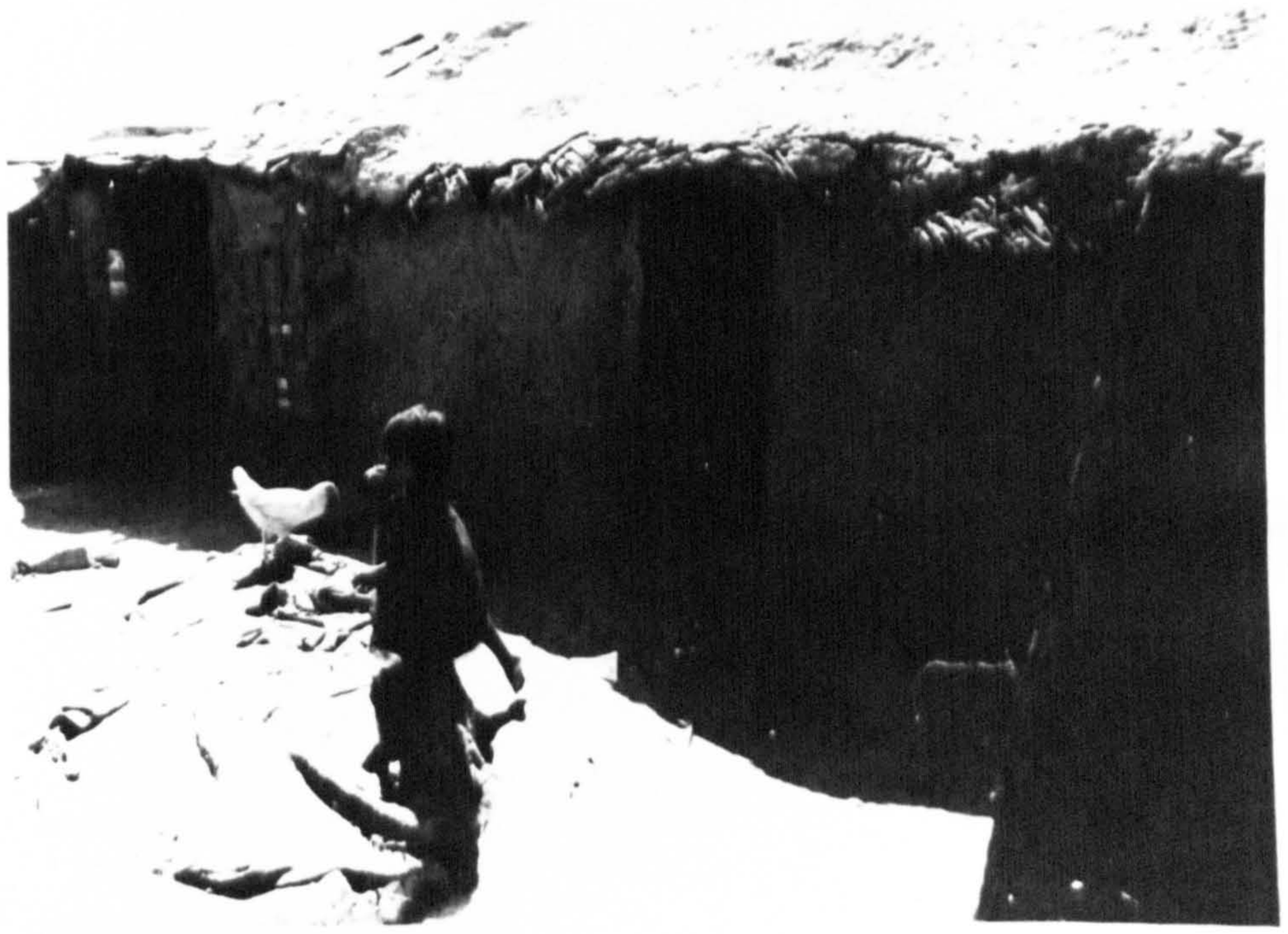

FIG. NO. 27 INTERIORS OF A MIGRANT HUT (BAGHDAD, JUNE 1975)

their existence being ignored altogether. The data in Part II of this Thesis suggests a continuation of the migration pattern to the Capital and the migrants' survey data to be discussed in Part III all points to the contrary. The Municipal Engineer of the Thawra Town's main migrant housing area, estimates the number of hutments in his municipal precinct alone to be around 20,000, a figure which he emphasizes is a count he undertook as part of his municipal duty.(115) The Thawra town migrants' hutment areas are just a small part of the current volume of migrant hutments noted by the Author and plotted in an approximate size on the map (Figure No. 15, p.268). This certainly supports the data analysis results of Part II which point clearly to a worsening situation in the Capital as far as the migrant population totals are concerned. The Ministry of Planning prediction (see p.226) of a significant increase in the annual migrant volume to the Capital makes the study of previous conditions of the migrant settlements of vital importance to the Capital's future and any possible policy to be undertaken by the Government in this respect.

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(115) Baghdad Municipality - Thawra Town Municipal Precinct; Municipal Engineer - Interview - June 12, 1975

3.2.3.2 The New Migrant Housing Settlements of Thawra Town and Shula Town (see Figure No. 15, p.268)

These two large housing projects for the Capital's migrants started in the 1959-1960 period with the Government embarking on a concentrated campaign to remove all the migrant hutments in the Capital which were estimated in 1958 at around 33,000 sarifas and single room huts (see p.266). These projects, located on both sides of the city (Thawra in the east and Shula in the west), mainly occupied government land which made the project initiation much simpler and cheaper. Originally it was intended to build 20,000 units (16,000 in Thawra Town and 4,000 in Shula Town) and supply the removed migrant households with ready built units. But the cost was too prohibitive for the 1958 Revolution Government so instead only 1,000 units were built in Thawra Town and the remaining 15,000 plots in Thawra and 4,000 plots in Shula were distributed free of charge to migrant households upon application to the Ministry of Housing. All the migrant had to prove was that he had been residing in one of the migrant settlements before the time they were removed by the Government. The 19,000 plots were distributed within a few weeks of the announced distribution and the Government, eager to prove its intentions and its sincerity (especially having come into power just over a year before), extended loans, technical supervision,

and ready made plans for the houses to be built by migrants and gave the project inhabitants top priority in the supply of construction materials and equipment. The Ministry of Housing supplied the migrants with housing unit plans of one and two bedroom sizes. The long term cash loans (which originally were to be repaid before legal ownership was transferred to occupants) were later (in 1962) cancelled as outstanding debts with the Government rendering the cost of the whole housing units as free gifts to the migrants from the Government. The whole planned 20,000 unit nucleus of the Thawra and Shula towns was completed by the middle of 1962 and started a phenomenal growth which by 1975 was estimated would house around 1,000,000 population (800,000 in Thawra and 200,000 in Shula).(116) The growth of these two migrant areas was even faster than the Capital city's growth. Although between 1962 and 1975 the Capital may have tripled its population (Table No. 16, p.243), the migrant areas increased by around 10 times. Their establishment as accepted legalised migrant areas in the most attractive city in the country gave the migration movement to the Capital a sort of legalisation and the encouragement it needed. While the removal of

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(116) Ibid., June 12, 1975

the large migrant hutments settlements in the Capital by the post-1958 Revolution Government was thought of as being a strong deterrent for future migrants, the free housing in Shula and Thawra towns was certainly a complete contradiction to the Government intention. The tremendous pace at which Thawra and Shula towns grew since their creation has outstripped the pace at which the municipality of Baghdad supply services to the city in general and to these areas in particular. The overcrowding of the neighbourhoods, the shortage of public facilities and the inability of the various public departments to keep pace with the growth in the population and expansion has led to the turning of these migrant towns into a tremendous physical and social slum. Poles Service study of the Master Plan of Baghdad termed both areas as "special housing problem areas", especially with the expansion of the large hutment settlements in both areas in recent years.(117)

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(117) Poles Service - Baghdad City Master Plan Consultants "Comprehensive Development Plan for Baghdad 2000" - Report submitted to the Municipality of Baghdad, August 1973, Map No.1, p.8 - the Inner City Structure in 1972.

3.2.4 Past Surveys of Migrants in Baghdad

Before the creation of the National Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research in Iraq in the early 1970's very little had been done in terms of surveys purpose-built to study the migration phenomena in Iraq. Since the establishment of the National Government in Iraq in 1920 and up to 1970, only two official surveys were conducted with the main purpose of studying the migrant settlements in various parts of the capital city. The first was by the U.N. Adviser, Miss S. Farman in 1957[118] and the other by Doxiadis Associates in 1958.[119] Unofficial surveys were mostly done by academics studying for research degrees both inside and outside the country. Outstanding among the latter type was Dr. M. M. Aziz's study[120] of the migrant settlements in Baghdad, published in 1968, as part of his work at Durham University. This apparent lack of real interest by the Government in the implications of the existence of migrant settlements in Baghdad is one of the key reasons for the continuous deterioration of the internal migration problem in the country as a whole and in the Capital in particular.

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(118) Miss S. Farman - op.cit., see footnote 108, p.276 of this Thesis

(119) Doxiadis Associates - op.cit., see footnote 103, p. 266 of this Thesis

(120) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., see footnote 51, p.73 of this Thesis

Before summarising the findings of these three surveys, it might be useful to have a run down on the Government efforts in studying the migration to Baghdad problem between 1920 and 1975. One major characteristic of the Government's efforts to study this migration is that until the 1956 International Labour Conference in Geneva and the Iraqi Government's preparation to participate in that Conference, there is no trace of government concern about the migration to Baghdad problem. In searching through Government files on migration in the Ministry of Social Affairs in Baghdad, the Author's first finding was that the earliest correspondence on a government level could be traced back to 3rd August, 1955.(121) On that date the Ministry of Social Affairs issued a memorandum to all Government Ministries informing them of the intention to participate in the 1956 International Labour Organisation Conference in Geneva under the theme "Rural Migration to Urban Areas". The Ministry requested all interested Government Departments to express their views on "migration waves, influences and suggested remedies". The reaction of different Government Departments, especially the Baghdad Governorate (the major recipient of migrants) and of the Mysan Governorate (the major source of migrants), was so overwhelming that the Ministry of Social Affairs asked for the technical aid of the U.N.D.P. to help in setting up a programme to

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(121) Ministry of Social Affairs - Department of International Affairs, letter No. 6441, dated 3rd August, 1955, entitled "Rural Migrants to Towns".

study the migration problem. The U.N.D.P. authorities sent in Miss S. Farman, the U.N. Adviser on migration problems, who in turn conducted her study and submitted her report to the Iraqi Government in August, 1957. The Doxiadis Report, about a year later (July 1958), was only a by-product of their contract with the Government of Iraq to set up a housing programme and a housing policy for the Nation. One must differentiate between the two reports, for Miss Farman's Report was the result of a purpose-built study to investigate the conditions in the migrant settlements in the Capital and to throw some light on the migration problem in Iraq as a whole through the case study of Baghdad, while the Doxiadis Report was an off-shoot of their major effort in studying the housing situation in the country and might be valued as a consultant effort to get the Government interested in the field of housing for the squatters in the major urban areas in the Nation. Academically, the Farman Report carries more weight and may be used as a solid base for analyses. The Farman study also distinguished itself from Dr. Aziz's study in 1964-1966 in being a study of existing hutments and sarifa settlements as opposed to Dr. Aziz's study which was conducted in the new housing areas for the migrants in Thawra Town. Since, at the time Dr. Aziz ran his research, there were no settlements standing in the city of Baghdad, Dr. Aziz's research in this sense is similar to the one done in this Thesis in conjunction

Table No. 18

MIGRANT SURVEYS IN BAGHDAD - A COMPARATIVE TABLE

	S. Farman Survey	Doxiadis Survey	Dr. M. M. Aziz Survey
Nature of Survey	Official Government Work	Official Consultancy Work	Personal Research
Approximate Date of Survey	February-April, 1957	July, 1958	1964
Areas surveyed and % of sample in each area	* Migrant Settlements(+) Al-Asima (51%) Al-Sarafia (10%) Al-Washash (17%) Tel-Mohamed (22%)	* Migrant Settlements Al-Asima Al-Shakria (Baghdad West) Al-Washash Tel-Mohamed	Thawra Town Migrants' Housing Project Original settlements of those interviewed Al-Asima (37%) Al-Shakria (14%) Al-Washash (3%) Tel-Mohamed (4%) Others (42%)
Total number of families interviewed	505	Around 1,000	295
Method of Survey	Random sampling Personal interviews	Random sampling Personal interviews	Selected controlled random sampling Personal Interview (Mysan migrants only)

* For settlement locations (See Figure No. 15, p.268)

(+) See Footnote on p.300

with the Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research but with the one difference that the research of this Thesis was under the official sponsorship of the centre. Some of the main characteristics of these three surveys are shown in Table No. 18, p.299 (see also Footnote (+) below).

Lets consider the major findings of these surveys concentrating on the following main items of data obtained:

(A) Behavioural Aspects (Sociological)

(B) Family Structure

(C) Employment and Income

(D) General Aspects of Migrants' Life (Before and After Analysis)

(A) <u>Behavioural Aspects (Sociological)</u>

All three surveys stressed the fact that the tribal links are still strong and are exhibited in the daily life of migrants in Baghdad. Miss Farman's survey reported only one family of the Al-Asima sample (0.5%), having returned to their home village since arriving in Baghdad, the strong tribal customs and norms having been maintained

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(+) While the original survey of Miss Farman was conducted in these four settlements, the discussion in this section will be limited to the part covered by Miss D. G. Phillips (see Footnote (114),p.283 and Footnote (*), p. 285), that is, the Al-Asima Settlement which is the largest Migrant Settlement and has the largest proportion of the survey sample.

in their Baghdad settlement.(122) Dr. Aziz's survey reported(123) stepped migration for some of the migrants where the family migrating to Baghdad had made a stop in Kut (Wasit's subregional centre) for a few years, as a middle stage between the main source of migrants, i.e., Mysan, and Baghdad, while the Farman survey noted that in the Asima sample 94% of those migrants interviewed moved direct to Baghdad without making an intermediate stop.(124)

In comparing their urban life in Baghdad to their rural home land, all surveys reported that migrant families favour their current urban settlements to their rural home villages. The Farman survey reported 80% of families interviewed believe their total income in cash and kind to be higher in Baghdad than in their home villages and, almost 90% believe their present diet to be better and 75% believe their present housing to be better.(125) Dr. Aziz concluded in his comments on the research survey that

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(122) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.413

(123) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.263

(124) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.413

(125) Ibid. - p.419

> "...while in the rural areas agriculture is the only source of income, income in Baghdad has become cash and is regular for each month or week, in contrast to their consumptive and uncertain agricultural income in the rural areas. Another significant difference is that in the city they can choose the kind of work they like; the influence of sheikhs and their agents does not exist in Baghdad nor do the migrant incomes belong to the money lenders or the land holders as in the rural society."(126)

Their needs in their new environment in Baghdad were reported (according to Miss Farman's survey) mainly to be better housing (70%), readily available water (50%), better clothing (11%), household equipment (8%), electricity (70%), toilets (6%) better food (5%), and public baths, medical facilities and schools each receiving 1%.(127)

These findings of the Farman survey were upheld by Dr. Aziz's survey which confirmed

> "...the majority of migrants were interested only a little in the educational and social opportunities in the city at least in their earlier days. They were in fact seeking something else which is essential for social and economic improvement but which is often impossible to find in their rural society. More opportunity for employment or better incomes were what they were looking for and were of equal or even greater importance than social advancement."(128)

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(126) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.287

(127) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.419

(128) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.301

(B) Family Structure

All three surveys talked about complete migration of the family, not selective where the able and the intelligent are the first to go. The breakdown of family structure in the settlements (Miss Farman's and Doxiadis Surveys) and in the housing project for migrants (Dr. Aziz's survey) seem to be identical. Table No. 19, following, shows the age/sex distribution of the three surveys.

The Doxiadis Survey gives 20% for the under fives (total male and female), 23% for 6 to 13 (male and female) and 57% for the over 13 age group.(129) Dr. Aziz's study quoted the 1957 Census data for the migrant settlements of 20.5% for the under fives (total male and female) and around 15.5% for the 6 to 10 age group.(130) As can be seen from the data given, although slightly different in categories of age, the surveys suggest similar characteristics and show a rather large percentage of children under school age when compared with the Nation's 1957 figure of 19.3% for the under fives and Baghdad's 1957 figure of 17.7% for the same age group.(131)

Dr. Aziz reported the household size as 7.1 while both the Doxiadis and Farman surveys reported figures slightly in excess of 6.5.

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(129) Doxiadis Associates - op.cit., p.9

(130) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.279

(131) Ministry of the Interior - Directorate General of Civic Affairs - 1957 Census Data, Baghdad City, Table No. 5, p.10 and Iraq Totals, Table No.21, p.13.

Table No. 19

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTION FOR MIGRANTS ACCORDING TO THE SURVEYS OF MISS FARMAN, DOXIADIS AND DR. AZIZ

	(1) Miss Farman Survey				(2)Doxiadis Survey		(3)Dr. Aziz Survey	
Age/sex category	Age	Male	Female	Total	Age	Male and Female	Age	Male and Female
	Under 6	13%	13%	26%	Under 5	20%	Under 5	20.5%
	6 - 13	8.5%	9%	17.5	6 - 13	23%	6 - 10	15.5%
	Over 13	26.5%	30%	56.5	Over 13	57%	Over 10	64%
Total		48%	52%	100%		100%		100%

Sources:

(1) S. Farman - op. cit., - Annex No. 1, p.46

(2) See Footnote 129, p.303

(3) See Footnote 130, p.303

(C) Employment and Income

In her article on Miss Farman's survey, Miss D. G. Phillips gave a very interesting description of the employment situation of the migrants to Baghdad. After attributing the main reason for the migration trend to the Capital to "differentials between rural and urban levels of living", Miss Phillips commented that:(132)

> "Migrants from rural areas readily find positions in the unskilled labour market, although with great insecurity. Because of the shortage of technical training facilities and the handicraft background of the majority of semi-skilled and skilled labourers, some of Iraq's rapidly developing industries are dependent upon labour which not only lacks specific industrial skills but, because of its almost complete illiteracy and traditional background has had little experience in learning anything new. One unskilled worker is an almost perfect substitute for another, with the result that they lack bargaining power and experience much frictional unemployment."

All three surveys gave "landless peasants" as the main occupation of the migrants before coming to the city. Miss Farman's survey reported 88.5% of those interviewed were landless peasants and a further 2.4% as agricultural farmers, bringing the total who had been employed in agriculture to over 90%. Yet, once in Baghdad, only 0.9% were engaged in agriculture (mostly gardeners and municipality green areas and park attendants) and livestock breeders. Miss D. G. Phillips commented that this showed how "completely the the migrants have broken ties with the land."(133)

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(132) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.414
(133) Ibid. - p.413.

The Doxiadis Report suggested 1.25 wage earners per family against a close 1.30 suggested by Miss Farman's study.(134) The following gives the employment structure in Baghdad as suggested the surveys of Miss Farman and Dr. Aziz, respectively:

Occupation	(135) Miss Farman Survey	(136) Dr. Aziz Survey
Unskilled labour	55.3%	*63.7%
Skilled labour	9.9%	-
Military personnel	8.0%	11.5%
Commerce (Sales and Shopkeepers)	19.9%	15.6%
Unemployed	7.0%	2.4%
Others	-	6.8%

* Dr. Aziz's survey did not distinguish between skilled and unskilled in the above but it is safe to assume it includes both.

Daily wages reported by Miss Farman's survey were around 0.250 Iraqi Dinar; Dr. Aziz's survey reported 0.500 dinar per day for 58% of the sample and around 0.800 dinar per day for 25% of the sample. The variance in the figures between the two surveys is probably attributed to the time difference of seven years separating the two surveys.

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(134) Doxiadis Associates - op. cit., p.14.

(135) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.415

(136) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op. cit., Table No. 8.5, p.285

The Doxiadis Survey on the other hand, which was about a year later than Miss Farman's survey reported an average of slightly over 0.260 dinar per day. An interesting comparison is given by Dr. Aziz's survey of incomes of migrants in their home land of Mysan against their new income in Baghdad. He maintained that

> "...about 90% of migrants interviewed earned 144 I.D. per annum*, an average of 0.400 I.D. per day in Baghdad, while in Amara (Mysan subregional centre) 42% of these families made less than 12 I.D. per annum and 32% of them made between 12 and 36 I.D. per annum."(137)

This represents an increase of around 6 to 12 times their income in their rural areas. The following categorial breakdown of incomes in Baghdad (see p.308), as reported by Miss Farman's survey (1957) and Dr. Aziz's survey (1964), shows a considerable change for the better in the migrants' economic situation. In 1957, according to Miss Farman's survey, around 65% of migrants made less than 10 I.D. per month, while in 1964 Dr. Aziz's research showed less than 10% in this category. The income category of over 25 I.D. per month showed a tremendous improvement from 4.6% in 1957 to 24.7% in 1964. The following shows the full range of income categories in both surveys.

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(137) Ibid., p.288

* I.D. The Iraqi Dinar in 1958 equalled £2.4

Income Category	Miss Farman Survey (138)	Dr. Aziz Survey (139)
Less than 5 I.D. per month	24.7%	1.7%
5 - 10	40.2%	8.1%
10 - 15	17.4%	32.2%
15 - 20	9.3%	24.1%
20 - 25	2.7%	10.2%
Over 25 I.D. per month	4.6%	24.7%
Average monthly income	9.367	17.807

Both surveys stated that the major item in the family budget was foodstuffs, which consumed over 56% of the family budget (Dr. Aziz's survey); Miss Farman's survey did not quote a figure for food consumption but maintained it was the largest item.

(D) General Aspects of Migrant Life

(1) Reasons for Migration:

All three surveys suggested that the push factors were the main reasons for migration, and not the pull factors. The typical answers of -

"We did not have enough to eat,"
"Our sheikhs did not give us enough to eat",
"Hunger",
"Oppression by the Sheikh",
"We could not get enough water for our crops",

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(138) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.416

(139) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., Table No. 8.6, p.289.

appears in all three survey conclusions.

Miss D. G. Phillips commented on the Farman Survey that

> "... it is evident that the interviews were not the best way of ascertaining causes of migration. Even if the answers are precise enough to be tabulated, they do not necessarily reflect underlying causes of which the peasants may not be aware, such as declining soil fertility, reduction in crop acreage, or population pressure."(140)

It seems to be the general consensus of all three surveys that the unbearable living conditions in the rural areas, whatever they may be, are the major reason for migration. The point is further supported by the findings of Miss Farman who reported that 98% of those interviewed expressed their refusal to return to their rural homeland. In the conclusion section of Miss D. G. Phillips's article on the Farman Survey, she seems to subscribe to the idea that

> "because rural-urban differentials in levels of living cause the migration, rural reform is necessary if the Iraqi Government should wish to reduce its impact. Such reform, which to be effective, should include greater security of tenure, supervised credit, and agricultural extension."(141)

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(140) D. G. Phillips - op. cit., p.413

(141) Ibid., p.421.

Attraction to Baghdad's life has not been a major factor according to both the Farman survey and the Doxiadis study.* But Dr. Aziz's research seems to indicate that it has been amongst the deciding factors in, say, choosing Baghdad over other places to which to migrate, such as Basrah. His comments indicate that his research seems to show that

> "before leaving Amara (Mysan) the migrant has some idea about his future in Baghdad either through his primary contacts with a relative or close friend from his village, or by his personal observation, perhaps during his frequent visits to urban areas." (142)

The origin of rural migrants was almost identical in all three surveys as is shown in the table following (p.311). Mysan (Amara) claimed the majority of settlers in all three surveys with Wasit (Kut) as a poor second. Other southern subregions and some of the central subregions

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* According to Miss Farman's study, the attraction of Baghdad being on the basis of availability of public services is not a valid assumption. Miss D. G. Phillips commented in her article on the Farman Survey that

> "The failure of migrants to utilize the available free services disproves the hypothesis that their presence in cities is an inducement to migration. A partial explanation is their very dearth in rural areas. The migrants have little knowledge of the existence of social services or of their value; illness and illiteracy are accepted as normal circumstances. Even if they do desire help of some kind, ignorance as to how to obtain it acts as a bar, as do the excessively bureaucratic procedures often involved."

Source: D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.418

(142) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.262

such as Babylon (Hilla)* or Dyala are also shown as minor contributors to the migrant volume in the Capital:

Subregion of Migrant's Origin	Farman Survey	Doxiadis (143) Survey	Aziz (144) Survey
Mysan	78%	73%	100%*
Wasit (Kut)	14%	10.5%	-
Diala	5%	-	-
Babylon (Hilla)	-	4%	-
Thiqar (Nasirya)	-	4%	-
Other Subregions	3%	8.5%	-

* Dr. Aziz's survey was oriented towards the Mysan migrants only, but being the majority origin of migrants it is comparable to the other two surveys.

As can be seen from the above, the three studies all suggested that the main origin of migrants in Baghdad were the southern and central regions of the country with Mysan, the southern subregion, as the major single contributor. This statement is largle correct but applies only to the migrant hutments or squatter settlements made of mud and reeds. The southern and central region migrants, as is shown in Part II (Section 2.4, Table No.15, p.137) in this Thesis, represent over 80% of the total migration volume to the Capital. The other northern migrants - mostly Kurds and other

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(143) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.413.

(144) Doxiadis Associates - op.cit., p.10.

* Pre-1968 names of subregions.

ethnic minorities - do not settle in semi-rural villages such as the migrant settlements in the Capital. According to Miss Farman's Survey they

> "choose to double-up in sub-standard tenements in the old sections of the city."(145)

The major reasons for the northern migrants' isolation from the rest of the migrant volume to the Capital are those of language and culture. The northerners speak either a completely different language such as Kurdish or the Assyrian language, or a completely different dialect of the Arabic language. Their culture is different either by virtue of being of a different sect of the Islamic religion - mostly the Sinni Sect in contrast to the Shiya Sect of the southern or central region - or being Christians. But this type of migrant is in the minority if compared to the larger part of the southern and central rural migrants. Miss D. G. Phillips commented on the value of the survey findings since it excluded the northern migrants -

> "...however, the survey is relevant to the largest volume of internal migration: that of farmer peasants from the irrigated farming areas and marshes of central and southern Iraq to the major cities, where they construct villages in hitherto empty lots and seek urban employment."(146)

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(145) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.410

(146) Ibid., p.410.

(2) The Housing Situation:

Both Miss Farman's Survey and the Doxiadis Survey gave considerable attention to the description of the housing conditions in the various migrant settlements which were surveyed. Dr. Aziz's study, on the other hand, being the result of a survey run entirely on the new housing project for the migrants, "Thawra Town", and at a time when there were no migrant hutment settlements left in Baghdad, made little or no reference to the present housing situation for the migrants. Naturally, being the newly designed one and two bedroom housing units project, the conditions were a considerable improvement over the pre-1963 squatter settlements era. The Doxiadis contribution to the housing situation of the settlements has already been described (p.277-278). Miss Farman's survey estimated that the percentage of families living in huts built of reeds and mud was 94%, with 89% of the huts being single room structures. The occupancy ratio was 4.7 persons to a room or 1.1 rooms per family. Those huts which were not of mixed reeds and mud structure were built of either mud or reeds alone, the latter being in most cases the temporary shelter of a new arrival. A typical unit is built over a wood frame, with walls of reed matting and a roof of the same material plastered over with mud. None of the households

had a special room for cooking. The diet consisted of round flat loaves of bread, baked in outdoor mud ovens fired by twigs or dung*, cooked dishes such as stews and rice which were prepared outdoors on a kerosene burner, and sweetened tea. None of the houses had any kind of plumbing but it was estimated that around 70% of the sample had access to a latrine, consisting of a shallow hole surrounded by a piece of reed matting or a mud wall, the object being clearly privacy rather than sanitation.(147) There were no bathing facilities of any description in the entire settlement.

One of the most important aspects of the settlements' existence is the way the migrant seems to choose his place of residence in the capital's city area. In the late fifties there were over a dozen settlements spread around the city offering proximity to a variety of employment centre locations and commercial centres and others which were characteristic of the housing type and services. All three surveys reported homogenous settlements, socially and physically, and suggested that social homogenity was a main factor in the migrant's selection of the area of his residence.

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* Up to the present time migrants still use animal dung for fuel (See Figure No.26, p.291).

(147) Ibid. - p.416

According to Dr. Aziz's survey, migrants selected their first area of residence based on the following criteria:(148)

	% of sample
To be near relatives and friends	60.7%
To be near place of employment	21.7%
To be near both the relatives and place of employment	6.1%
Availability of cheap land/cheap rent	10.5%

The main reason why a migrant selects a particular settlement as the location for his place of residence may, in the majority of cases, be a combination of a number of factors rather than just one in particular. The way all three surveys directed this important question to the interviewees was to request one reason should be selected as the main one for choice of residence, but in most cases this did not give the true agglomeration of factors which led the migrant to select his place of residence. In this Thesis research survey, the migrant was asked to enumerate the two major factors in the order of their importance for his selction of his place of residence location.

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(148) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., Table No. 8.1, p.264

(3) Utilization of Recreation and Social Facilities:

Both Miss Farman's survey of the settlements and Dr. Aziz's survey of the housing projects, suggested similar ways in which the migrants spend leisure time. Miss Farman's survey suggests the following order for leisure time activities for the migrants:(149)

(a)	Staying home or visiting	(All sample)
(b)	Visiting religious shrines	(64% male, 66% female, population over 13)
(c)	Visiting coffee houses regularly	(53% male adults)
(d)	Listening to the radio	(17% adults)
(e)	Going to the cinema	(10% adults)

Dr. Aziz's survey, although quoting no figures with regard to the migrants preference in leisure time activities, singled out two social institutions as the main leisure time activities, namely, the Tribe Guest house, locally called the "mudhifs", and the religious houses in the settlement. Dr. Aziz's comments on the matter were interesting in the sense of throwing some light on the tribal traditions which in 1964 were still very strong in the migrant settlements. Dr. Aziz commented that

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(149) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.417.

> "...the sheikhs who contributed greatly to the economic and social deterioration of Amara (Mysan) subregion and lost their economic and political powers in rural districts, retained their full tribal leadership in the shanty towns. They were again dealing with the different affairs of their tribesmen in the shanty towns. The member of each tribe in Baghdad collected money to build the splendid Mudhifs of their sheikhs and even supplied them with pocket money. This strong relationship between the sheikhs and the rural migrant in Baghdad has tightened, in fact, the tribal relationship between the migrants."(150)

It is interesting that the two case studies conducted for the purpose of this Thesis in 1975 both point out clearly the deterioration of the position of the tribal chiefs, which may be due to the political atmosphere prevailing in the current life in the country, though tribal traditions and norms are still very strong. Dr. Aziz's research also suggested that coffee houses were another "popular" place in the settlements where "men usually meet and discuss different affairs".

3.2.5 The Need for a New Survey of Migrants in Baghdad

In the previous section the three most prominent surveys on the subject of migrant settlements and migrants in Baghdad were discussed. The need for a new survey stems from the following apparent deficiencies in these surveys:

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(150) Dr. M. M. Aziz - op.cit., p.282

(1) All the three surveys lack a subregional linkage correlating the characteristics of migrants to their subregional origin. Although one may argue that since the majority of them come from one subregion which is Mysan, this deficiency is not so important but in recent years, Mysan migrants are losing ground to migrants from other subregions, and to try to identify subregional differences in the characteristics of the migratory trend is of the utmost importance in formulating any sound regional development policy and this is the major theme of this Thesis. This deficiency is clearly pointed out by Miss D. G. Phillips' article on the Farman Survey when she commented that

> "the origins of rural-to-urban migration in Iraq appears in regional differences",

that

> "data do not exist for making regional comparisons",

and that

> "we would suggest that as additional variables the average share of the crop received by the peasant (income on regional bases), and the average size of agricultural holding, (land tenure on regional bases), but such analysis must await more reliable and detailed data".(151)

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(151) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.420 and p.414

Another possible correlation of considerable relevancy is the one of time of migration to volume of migration, again on a regional basis. It would be unfair to request such a multiple correlation from the 1957 and 1958 surveys, with the limitations of technical knowledge of survey analysis at that time but during Dr. Aziz's research period, 1964-1968, this would be possible. This latter correlation will show the relationship between changes in land tenure, legislation for agriculture and various administrative measures with the migration pattern on subregional bases. These deficiencies suggest that the emphasis of these surveys was by far non-regionally oriented and in their basic objectives were more interested in the situation at the settlements rather than in the regional deficiencies which drove the migrants out to the big city to create them. Although Dr. Aziz's survey, by virtue of being particular to Mysan migrants, may in this sense be of some subregional value, the absence of comparison that takes conditions in other subregions as a base for investigating the migration factors renders that study to be of less regional value than it may suggest.

(2) Changes in legislation affecting the agricultural sector, notably the enactment of the 1970 new

Agrarian Reform Act, and the basic changes in the economic development strategies, particularly in the agricultural sector, which were initiated after the 1968 Revolution, resulted in far reaching effects on the migration trends in the country as a whole. The newly introduced government strategy of reverse migration, which will be the subject of the second case study of this Thesis, also requires a fresh look at the migrants in the Capital to examine their readiness and suitability for such a strategy implementation. A more recent consideration of the migration to Baghdad phenomena is necessary since both the Doxiadis and Farman studies are about 20 years old and Dr. Aziz's survey is over ten years old. The survey conducted for this research in April-June, 1975, is the most recent data available for this purpose. The analysis of this survey will be

(a) regionally oriented in the sense that it concentrates on investigating subregional differences in causes of migration and migrant characteristics,

and

(b) using time linked analysis to give the complete picture covering changes in the migration pattern to the Capital and migrant characteristics over the past twenty years.

(3) It must be emphasized that the main restriction for a more effective statistical analysis of the three surveys, namely, Doxiadis, Miss Farman and Dr. Aziz, was the limited capacity or availability of sophisticated means of statistical analysis. The presence nowadays of much more advanced computer statistical packages, such as the one which was used for analysis in this Thesis, namely, S.P.S.S.*, makes it possible to increase the number of variables and obtain far more meaningful analytical values from sample surveys. Tables of per capita income, averages and computations of variables, cross-tabulation and percentage breakdowns are much easier to produce and thus the researcher has more time for the analysis than was previously possible. Such means make it possible to increase the size of the sample questionnaires and also to produce tables which before were extremely difficult and time-consuming.

(4) Another factor that necessitated a more recent migrant survey was to compare the statistical analysis of data from the 1947, 1957 and 1965 Censuses and the 1974-1975 C.S.O. Vital Rates Survey data which was made available to the Author by the C.S.O. administration (see Part II, p.149).

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* S.P.S.S. = Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

The correlation between data obtained by the actual survey process in this Thesis' case study on Baghdad migrants and the evidence or pattern suggested by census data and the C.S.O. survey proves or disproves various characteristics of the migration pattern, both in terms of historic characteristics of migration patterns and the migrant population characteristics. Time linked analysis, one of the two main types of analysis to be employed in the case study analysis of this Thesis' migrants' survey in Baghdad (the other one being the subregional origin type), will be used in this correlation with the census data and the C.S.O. 1975 data analysis discussed in Part II of this Thesis.

Thus between April 1975 and early July 1975 the Author, in collaboration with and under the supervision of the National Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research in Baghdad, was able to obtain coverage of 400 families of migrants to the Capital in both the "Thawra Town" and 'Shula Town" migrants housing projects (see Figure No. 15, p.268). The survey was run by the Centre using trained social workers (females) supervised by trained social researchers. The Author was able to participate in this survey and later analysed the data collected for the purpose of this Thesis.

3.3 THE BAGHDAD MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS SURVEY

3.3.1 Objectives of the Survey

(1) To investigate the subregional differences for the reasons for migration, characteristics of migrants and the historical reasons on a subregional basis for various migration waves to the Capital.

(2) To establish a time linked analysis for changes in the characteristics and life style of migrants in Baghdad over the last twenty years using the previous surveys and census data as comparative bases.

(3) To investigate characteristics of migrants in Baghdad and to examine their life style in view of Government efforts to curb rural migration and revitalise the agricultural sector with the implementation of drastic measures such as the reverse migration strategy.

As the survey process covers the migrants' housing project of migrants removed from the settlements of hutments within the city in the period 1960-1965, the data obtained does not represent a check of the volume of migrants in the Capital for periods beyond that date. It will, however, give an indication of migration peak periods for migration prior to 1962 and will also indicate if migrants after 1965 had landed

within the study area. Data analyses in Part II of this Thesis serve as an adequate base for migrant volumes to the Capital up to 1975. As there is an equal chance of migrants of any subregion coming to the Capital to settle into the study area (Thawra and Shula Towns), the data of the survey may also be used as an indication of the migrant composition in the Capital. This characteristic of the survey data could be considered as a limitation in a few specific analyses to be discussed in this case study, but such a limitation is beyond the control of the Author.

3.3.2 Survey Methodology

The original survey forms were prepared by the National Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research. The Author modified that form into a new form, with less variables, to fit the needs of this research. One alteration was introduced in the Centre's form to investigate the migrant's reaction to the reverse migration strategy of the Government. Both forms can be seen in Appendix No. III, p. X-122 to p.X-143. The alterations to the Centre's form were introduced after the form was completed through the interview with the sample. The data in the original form was then transferred to the Author's form which was precoded for the processing stage. This step ensured two objectives: first, it eliminated around 22 questions which were irrelevant to the objectives of the Author's research and, second, it facilitated

the processing stage through producing coded sample forms ready for the computer punching stage.

The original survey of the Centre was to cover, by random selection in the housing areas of the migrants, around 600 samples or 3% of the estimated 20,000 housing units in both the Thawra Town and Shula Town migrant housing settlements. Of these 600 samples the Author selected 400 samples at random which were to be the volume of this Thesis' case study research sample. A pilot survey of 40 families was carried out by the Centre to test the sample form and to adjust the questionnaire. According to the survey superintendent, minor changes were carried out on the form and the main survey was started at the beginning of April 1975. The Author joined the survey team late April 1975 until the early part of July but, due to the fact that the Author was running the 'Shihamya Project" case study (Part IV of this Thesis) at almost the same time, his involvement was sporadic and intermittent. The method of survey was direct interview, run by female social workers, (trained at the Centre), during the afternoon period in most cases in order to meet the household head. The female social workers were preferred to male social workers due to social habits which restrict the entrance of male individuals to the migrant houses, whatever the justification. The only male social worker, the supervisor, had considerable experience of working in the migrant sectors and had established considerable

personal contacts. Due to the fact that "Thawra Town" currently (1975) constituted in excess of 100,000 housing units, only the part which is known to be the housing area built or subdivided and distributed to the migrants, in accordance with the Ministry of Housing plans, in the early 1960's was covered by the survey. (According to the Ministry of Public Works and Housing records this amounted to close on 16,000 plots including around 1,000 ready-built units). (See p.293) These amounted to around 180 blocks of 80-100 parcels each. The enumerators preselected units on maps supplied by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing and the selection was done at a 3% to 4% rate, covering in the Thawra sector between 480-640 units of which 480 were finally reported on as being the survey sample. The excess in the selection was due to the fact that a considerable number of the originally distributed housing units or parcels of land in the early 60's were transferred through various means to non-migrant families from Baghdad's poor population sector. The enumerator checked first with the inhabitants of the unit whether their origin (birth place) was from outside Baghdad. If the selected sample family turned out to be a non-migrant household, the enumerator dropped that one and picked up the next sample until, in this way, the estimated 600 samples both in the Thawra and Shula

towns were reached. The Shula sample, taken from the 4,000 housing units (built in the establishment stage of Shula in 1960-1962) was between 120 and 160, from which 120 were finally selected and interviewed for the survey in the same way. The data analysis of the survey makes no distinction between the sample taken from either area as no relevant differences exist between them.

3.3.3 Survey Data Processing

The 400 samples selected by the Author from the Centre's 600 samples completed for the Baghdad migrants' survey were coded and processed by the Author at the computer centre of the University of Sheffield, using the statistical package for the social sciences, "S.P.S.S. version 5.5 - S.P.S.S. 100 - October 15, 1973".(152) The questionnaire form originally used by the centre was transformed to a smaller coded research form (Appendix No. III, p.X-122 to X-131, Centre's form; and p. X-132 to X-143, coded research form). These codes were then transferred to a punching sheet (Appendix No. III, p. X-145) through which the data was punched on standard computer punching cards for the computer processing stage.

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(152) N. H. Nie, D. H. Bent, C. H. Hull, "SPSS Manual - Version 5.5", McGraw Hill Co., 1970.

The output of the computer processing (the SPSS programme) was:

(a) The totals and percentage breakdown of components of the 55 variables coded in the survey forms (VAR.01 to VAR.55).

(b) A further four variables were created, using income and family size characteristics. These four variables are coded Z1 to Z4 and are as follows:

Z1 Per capita income using household head. Baghdad income only (last income in the Capital)

Z2 Same as Z1, but using total household members income (including the head)

Z3 Same as Z1, but in home village

Z4 Ratio of household head's income in Baghdad (last income) to his income in home village.

(c) Statistical indices for all variables which include:

mean, mode, medium, variance, range, standard error, Kurtosis, minimum, maximum, standard deviation and skewness.

Of course these indices are meaningful in numerical value variables but have little or no value in variables involving statements, replies or subjective answers.

(d) Cross tabulations of any group of variables requested by the Author for the purpose of analysis.

The computer list of variables for the survey can be seen in Appendix No. III, pp. X-147 to X-152.

3.3.4 Analysis of Survey Data

As the survey was a means to attain its objectives, the three objectives stated on page 323 will be the base for the analysis of data obtained from the survey. The following outlines the theoretical base for analysis to test the survey objectives suggested above:

Objectives	*Variables to be tested or cross-tabulated
1. To investigate subregional differences in:	
(a) Reasons for migration	** VAR.01 vs. VAR.27 VAR.01 vs. VAR.28
(b) Historical migration pattern	VAR.01 vs. VAR.27 vs. VAR.03
(c) Characteristics of migrant	
(i) Income at village	VAR.01 vs. Z3
(ii) Size of household	VAR.01 vs. VAR.19
(iii) Age of household head when migrated	VAR.01 vs. VAR.02
(iv) Sector settled in first time in Baghdad	VAR.01 vs. VAR.05
(v) Reason for settling in sector	VAR.01 vs. VAR.06
(vi) Contacts with old village	VAR.01 vs. VAR.54
(vii) Type of contact with old village	VAR.01 vs. VAR.55
(viii) Type of occupation of household head in home village	VAR.01 vs. VAR.46
(ix) Type of occupation of household head in Baghdad	VAR.01 vs. VAR.47

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* See Appendix No. III, pp. X-133 to X-143 for variables text

** VAR. = VARIABLE

2. To establish time linked analyses for characteristics and life-style of migrants in Baghdad over the last twenty years:

(using other surveys, census data and the C.S.O. Vital Rates Survey for comparison)

	*Variables to be tested or cross-tabulated
To examine time changes in:	
(i) First reason for migrating to Baghdad	VAR.03 vs. VAR.27
(ii) Second reason for migrating to Baghdad	VAR.03 vs. VAR.28
(iii) Sector settled in Baghdad	VAR.03 vs. VAR.05
(iv) Reasons for settling in sector	VAR.03 vs. VAR.06
(v) First order reason for moving out of first residence	VAR.03 vs. VAR.10
(vi) Type of first residence in Baghdad	VAR.03 vs. VAR.08
(vii) First job in Baghdad	VAR.03 vs. VAR.47
(viii) Ratio of Baghdad current income to home village income	VAR.03 vs. Z4
(ix) Head's difficulties in Baghdad upon arrival	VAR.03 vs. VAR.51
(x) Contacts with home village	VAR.03 vs. VAR.54
(xi) Form of contacts	VAR.03 vs. VAR.55

3. To investigate characteristics of migrants in Baghdad and to examine their life-style in view of the Government's efforts to curb rural migration and revitalise the agricultural sector with drastic measures such as the reverse migration strategy. Data analysis for this objective includes:

(a) Description of sample by	Totals analysis (to analyse the totals of each variable separately)

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* See Appendix No. III, pp. X-133 to X-143 for variables text.

	*Variables to be tested or cross-tabulated
(b) General cross-tabulations:	
(i) First reason for settling in sector by Sector first settled in in Baghdad	VAR.06 vs. VAR.05
(ii) First reason for migration by Head's occupation before migration	VAR.27 vs. VAR.46
(iii) Head's occupation at home village by Per capita income (head's income only at village)	VAR.46 vs. Z3
(iv) First reason for migration by Per capita monthly income (head's income only at village)	VAR.27 vs. Z3
(v) First reason for migration If head visited Baghdad before migration	VAR.27 vs. VAR.48

For the purpose of a more systematic approach to the analysis of the survey data the sequence of the analysis is to be as follows:

Item of Analysis	Section No.
(1) Totals Analysis	3.3.4.1
(2) Subregional differences cross-tabulations	3.3.4.2
(3) Time-linked cross-tabulations	3.3.4.3
(4) General purpose cross-tabulations	3.3.4.4

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* See Appendix No. III, pp. X-133 to X-143 for variables text.

3.3.4.1 Totals Analysis - Description of Sample:

To facilitate the analysis procedure the totals were broken into the five categories listed here together with the variables in each category:

3.3.4.1.1 Migration Conditions and Migration Reasons:

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.1.1	VAR.01 - Place of birth of household head - Origin
3.3.4.1.1.2	VAR.02 - Age of household head when migrated
	VAR.12 - Household head's companions when migrated
3.3.4.1.1.3	VAR.03 - Date household head migrated to Baghdad
3.3.4.1.1.4	VAR.04 - Migration route from village to Baghdad
3.3.4.1.1.5	VAR.27 - First reason for migrating to Baghdad
	VAR.28 - Second reason for migration
	VAR.29 - Third reason for migration
	VAR.30 - Household head's opinion to return to rural areas
	VAR.48 - If household head had visited Baghdad before migration
	VAR.49 - Purpose of household head's visit to Baghdad before migration
	VAR.50 - If household head advises others in village to migrate to Baghdad
	VAR.51 - Household head's difficulties on arrival in Baghdad
	VAR.52 - Household head's personal feelings on migration to Baghdad

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.1.5	VAR.53 - Household head's personal feelings now
	VAR.54 - If household head keeps in contact with population in home village
	VAR.55 - Type of contact with population in home village

3.3.4.1.2 Family Composition:

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.2.1	VAR.13 to VAR.18 - Age/sex breakdown of the household
	VAR.19 - Total number of household members
	VAR.20 - Number of basic families per household
	VAR.21 - Relation of household head to members
	VAR.22 - Age of household head

3.3.4.1.3 Housing Conditions:

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.3.1 At village	VAR.31 - Residence type of household head at home village
	VAR.32 to VAR.36 - Facilities at home village residence

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.3.2 lst time in Baghdad	VAR.08 - Type of first residence in Baghdad
	VAR.05 - Sector in Baghdad head first settled in
	VAR.06/ VAR.07 First and second reasons for settling in sector
	VAR.09 - If household head moved from first residence
	VAR.10/ VAR.11 First and second reasons for moving from first residence
3.3.4.1.3.3 Current Residence	VAR.37 - Type of current residence
	VAR.38 - Number of rooms in current residence
	VAR.39 - Conditions of tenure of present residence

3.3.4.1.4 Employment and Income:

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:
3.3.4.1.4.1 At Village	VAR.46 - Household head's occupation in village
	VAR.40 - Household head's income at village (monthly average)
	VAR.41 - If household head's income at village sufficient
	Z3 - Per Capita Income of household per month using head's monthly income only
3.3.4.1.4.2 lst time in Baghdad	VAR.47 - lst job in Baghdad for the household head

Total Analysis No.:		
3.3.4.1.4.3 Current Employment and Income	VAR.23	- Current household head's job
	VAR.24	- Household head's income at present job (monthly average)
	Z1	- Per Capita Income of household using present head's monthly income
	VAR.25	- Average number of wage earners per household
	VAR.26	- Total monthly income using all incomes of household members
	Z2	- Per capita monthly income of household members using household members total income
	Z4	- Ratio between household head's income in Baghdad (now) and household head's income in village
	VAR.42	- If household head's income in town is sufficient

3.3.4.1.5 Leisure Time Activities:

Total Analysis No.:	Variables:	
3.3.4.1.5.1	VAR.44	- Leisure time places for household head in village
	VAR.45	- Leisure time places for household head in Baghdad
	VAR.43	- Origin of household head's friends in Baghdad

3.3.4.1 Totals Analysis - Description of Sample

3.3.4.1.1 Migration Conditions and Migration Reasons:

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.1.1 VAR.01 - Place of birth of household head:

As might be expected, Mysan subregion, the major outmigrants' source of the Southern Region (see Part II, p. 183), was the origin of the majority of household heads with 53.5% of the total sample. Wasit came second with 11%, Thiqar third with 7.8%, Qadisya/Muthna with 7.5%, Diala with 4.5%, Babylon with 1.5%, Baghdad rural with 3.7% and other* central subregions (mostly Anbar) being the remaining 10.5%. Although the southern subregions were responsible for about 70% of the 1975 survey figures of migrants in Baghdad, Mysan's share seems to be deteriorating from its 70% - 80% share in the late fifties and early sixties shown in Miss Farman's and Doxiadis' surveys (see p. 311). The central subregions are making a strong showing here with over 20% of the total migrants' sample. In comparison with Miss Farman's and the Doxiadis surveys discussed in the previous section, the following table will emerge:

Subregions origin of migrants	Percentage of Sample: Thesis Research Survey(1975)	Miss Farman's Survey(1957)	Doxiadis Survey (1958)
Mysan	53.5%	78.0%	73.0%
Wasit	11.0%	14.0%	10.5%
Thiqar	7.8%	-	4.0%
Qadisya/Muthna	7.5%	-	-
Diala	4.5%	5.0%	-
Babylon	1.5%	-	4.0%
Other central regions (inc.Baghdad)	14.2%	3.0%	8.5%

* Some of the migrants were unable to give their birth place by its subregional location, which were noted as "central, Southern or Northern subregion)

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AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
BAGHDAD	1.	15	3.7	3.7	3.7
WASIT	2.	44	11.0	11.0	14.7
QADISYA MUTHNA	3.	30	7.5	7.5	22.2
THIQAR	4.	31	7.8	7.8	30.0
DIALA	5.	18	4.5	4.5	34.5
BABYLON	6.	6	1.5	1.5	36.0
MYSAN	7.	214	53.5	53.5	89.5
OTHERS RURAL	8.	42	10.5	10.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	5.693	STD ERROR	0.107	MEDIAN	6.762
MODE	7.000	STD DEV	2.145	VARIANCE	4.599
KURTOSIS	-0.731	SKEWNESS	-0.897	RANGE	7.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	8.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

It is interesting to note in this comparison table that both Mysan and Wasit still are leaders in supplying the Capital with migrants but Mysan's absolute predominance has notably shrunk over the period between 1957 and 1975 with the emergence of new sources of migrants to the Capital, principally the Southern and Central regions which is similar to the pattern shown in Table No. 15, p.220 of the subregional share of the capital migrants for the period 1947-1975. It may be interpreted not as an improvement in the situation in the rural areas in the southern subregions of Mysan, but rather as a deterioration in recent years in the rural areas of the other southern and central regions subregions and the increase in Baghdad's relative attractiveness in the nation as a whole. This will be more clearly investigated when cross-tabulating the date of migration against subregions and reasons for migration. The southern subregions, which claimed the majority of the sample household heads origin, are also the worst (or among the worst) in their negative migration characteristics shown in Section 2.3.2, Part II of this Thesis, and are also the top contributors of migrants to the Capital as shown in Table No. 15, p.220. This finding suggests statistical support for the survey of Baghdad migrants results and in a way upholds the further analysis to follow in this Part.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.1.2 VAR.02 - Age of household head when migrated:
VAR.12 - Household head's companions when migrated:

The largest single percentage of age group of household heads when migrating to Baghdad is at the highest productive age of 20-30 (recorded on the attached print-out as 25 which is the middle point of this age group). The percentage of migrant household heads in this group is 54.5%. The over 50 years age groups account for only 7.7% of the total migrants household heads. This suggests that, considering the fact that the less than 20 age group is also low at 5.7%, the 20-50 age groups, the core of the labour force in the rural areas, constitute 86.5% of the total number of household heads migrated. This suggests a strong blow to the productive manpower at the rural areas and will significantly hinder the development efforts in these areas. The average ages of migrant household heads is close to 31 (30.913 years). One must point out here that although, as suggested by Miss Farman's study and Dr. Aziz's research, the migration movement is not selective and that the whole family moved together, (see p. 303), the assertion is supported by this Thesis' research when 96.5% of the sample reported the movement of the whole family together; the fact remains that household heads migrated

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR02 AGE OF HHOLD HEAD WHEN MIGRATED

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	10.	23	5.7	5.7	5.7
	25.	218	54.5	54.5	60.2
	35.	80	20.0	20.0	80.2
	45.	48	12.0	12.0	92.2
	55.	29	7.2	7.2	99.5
	65.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	30.913	STD ERROR	0.547	MEDIAN	27.649
MODE	25.000	STD DEV	10.933	VARIANCE	119.529
KURTOSIS	0.349	SKEWNESS	0.711	RANGE	55.000
MINIMUM	10.000	MAXIMUM	65.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR12 HHOLD HEAD COMPANIONS WHEN MIGRATED

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
ALONE FMLY FLOWD	1.	12	3.0	3.0	3.0
ALON FAMLY STAYD	2.	2	0.5	0.5	3.5
WITH FAMILY	3.	386	96.5	96.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.935	STD ERROR	0.017	MEDIAN	2.741
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	0.348	VARIANCE	0.121
KURTOSIS	26.096	SKEWNESS	-5.289	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

predominantly when they were at the peak of their productive capacity as far as age is concerned. An interesting hypothesis might be formulated here, <u>whether having a household head at this age is an inducement for migration for the whole household</u>. What supports this last hypothesis is the fact that if economic reasons are the main migration factor, (as has been suggested by previous surveys, see p. 308), and that young productive age is a solid pre-requisite to obtain jobs in the highly competitive urban areas job market where most migrants have no skills of any trade, the only positive characteristics they could offer is their youthfulness suitable for non-skilled manual work.

In examining the totals of VAR.12 (household head's companions when migrated), the whole family seems to have migrated together with the head, this being shown in 96.5% of the cases. Only 0.5% (2 cases only out of the 400 surveyed) reported leaving the family behind and 12 cases (3% of the sample) reported the family as following later. This huge majority of complete family migration suggests a condition of absolute despair on the part of the migrant households, giving up hope of any possibility of improvement in their rural homes that would warrant a temporary movement and a possible return in the future. Their reaction to

VAR.30 (Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5, p. 356), where 99.5% of the sample reported a 'NO' answer for their opinion regarding their return to the rural areas, is a further indication of their intention to leave the rural home once and for all. These indications in the survey data suggest severe problems for the Government strategy of "reverse migration", especially if one considers the fact that this complete migration condition is evident in all the sample taken despite the fact that the period of migration extends from the present time to the earliest stages of migration movements in the country.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.1.3 VAR.03 - Date household head migrated to Baghdad

According to the attached survey data printout showing the date of migration of the household head, the period 1958-1959 is the dividing line where 50% of migrants came into Baghdad in the periods both before and after (median value = 1958.530). The maximum percentage of migrants seems to be in 1958 with 16.7% of the total sample reported as having migrated to Baghdad in that year. Another peak year is 1965 with 9.5%; 1955 and 1956 (the two years after the 1954 flood) reported high figures of 9% and 7.8%. Between the years of

BAGHDAD MIGRANTS SETTLEMENTS SURVEY 08/03/78 PAGE 13

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE V0003 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1933.	2	0.5	0.5	0.5
	1935.	4	1.0	1.0	1.5
	1940.	4	1.0	1.0	2.5
	1944.	4	1.0	1.0	3.5
	1945.	6	1.5	1.5	5.0
	1949.	2	0.5	0.5	5.5
	1950.	24	6.0	6.0	11.5
	1952.	4	1.0	1.0	12.5
	1954.	1	0.3	0.3	12.7
	1955.	36	9.0	9.0	21.7
	1956.	31	7.8	7.8	29.5
	1957.	14	3.5	3.5	33.0
	1958.	67	16.7	16.7	49.7
	1959.	33	8.2	8.2	58.0
	1960.	32	8.0	8.0	66.0
	1961.	6	1.5	1.5	67.5
	1963.	17	4.2	4.2	71.7
	1964.	6	1.5	1.5	73.2
	1965.	38	9.5	9.5	82.7
	1966.	14	3.5	3.5	86.2
	1967.	6	1.5	1.5	87.8
	1968.	10	2.5	2.5	90.2
	1969.	17	4.2	4.2	94.5
	1970.	4	1.0	1.0	95.5
	1971.	4	1.0	1.0	96.5
	1972.	6	1.5	1.5	98.0
	1973.	4	1.0	1.0	99.0
	1974.	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1959.233	STD ERROR	0.351	MEDIAN	1958.530
MODE	1958.000	STD DEV	7.023	VARIANCE	49.327
KURTOSIS	1.663	SKEWNESS	-0.681	RANGE	41.000
MINIMUM	1933.000	MAXIMUM	1974.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

1950 and 1970 the printout shows that during that span of twenty years 90% of the migrant sample in Baghdad seems to have come into the city. The heaviest concentration of migrants to the city seems to be in the middle of this period between the years of 1955 and 1965. The total percentage of migrants coming into the city in this ten year period amounts to about 70% of the total migrants in the city. This finding is identical to the findings in Part II (p. 141)of this Thesis dealing with the population growth and migration pattern where the 1957-1965 period is considered to be the peak migration period. The peak population growth period for the Capital is also noted as being at that period (see Table No. 16, p.243). The flood of 1954, the 1958 Revolution and the failure of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Act (as discussed in Part I, p.37) have been shown to have had their direct effect on the migration trend to the Capital.

Another interesting observation on this printout is the fact that since 1963, when the Government demolished all the city's known migrant hutments, a further 32.5% of the sample migrants came into the city. So about one-third of the migrants came into Thawra and Shula housing settlements after their completion around 1962. These housing projects, which were thought of at the time of their establishment as being a deterrent

for the migrants coming into the city, have provided a strong incentive for further migrant waves, equal to half the all-time migrants coming into Baghdad up to 1963. The objective of this analysis of the period in which the migrants in the survey sample had come into the Capital is not intended to show the volume of the migration to the Capital at any given period, since this has adequately been shown in Part II of this Thesis. This is especially so after the demolition of the migrant settlements when the migrants coming into the Capital seemed to settle on the periphery of the city and some managed to settle within Thawra and Shula Towns, the site of the survey. This explains the apparent discrepancy between the small proportion of the migrant sample reporting as having come into the Capital in the last few years (after 1970) and the continued migration trend to the Capital suggested by the statistical analyses of Census data and the 1975 C.S.O. data in Part II of this Thesis. This sample survey, by virtue of its being conducted in the housing areas for Baghdad migrants built in the early sixties, concentrates on those migrants rehoused from the migrant settlements which were removed from the city in the 1958-1962 period. This may introduce a limitation on the value of the survey findings if the change in volumes of migrants after the

creation of the migrants' housing areas in Thawra and Shula Towns is to be examined. But as this part of the analysis could be covered by examining the statistical data available for this Thesis (in Part II) from other sources, this limitation has less effect on the validity of the survey objectives outlined in this section (p.323).

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.1.4 VAR.04 - Migration Route from Village to Baghdad

This is an interesting aspect of the internal migration to the capital city, Baghdad, as it represents a point on which researchers seem to differ in its characteristics. Dr. Aziz's research concluded that migration towards the Capital may be of a "stepping" type where the migrant settles for a few years in an area close to the Capital before making his final move to enter (see p.300). Miss Farman's survey suggested that it was a one-step movement from the migrant's rural village direct to the Capital. The Doxiadis Report does not mention the presence of a middle stage stoppage for the migrants to the Capital. Mr. A. B. Al-Hilali supports the one-step on-stage migration to the Capital.(153)

(153) A. B. Al-Hilali - op.cit., p.24.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR04 MIGRATION ROUTE FROM VILAGE TO BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DIRECT	1.	377	94.2	94.2	94.2
ANTHR RUR THNBAG	2.	2	0.5	0.5	94.7
ANTHR TWN THNBAG	3.	11	2.7	2.7	97.5
RUR RUR THNBAG	4.	2	0.5	0.5	98.0
RUTWN RUTWN THBAG	5.	8	2.0	2.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.155	STD ERROR	0.034	MEDIAN	1.265
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.676	VARIANCE	0.457
KURTOSIS	21.148	SKEWNESS	4.643	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

This Thesis' research survey seems to support the hypothesis that the migration to Baghdad is in fact a one-step one-stage migration movement. Of the 400 samples interviewed, 377 (or 94.2%) reported a direct non-stop movement to the Capital. This is supported by the predominance of the City of Baghdad shown in Part II (p. 165) and also in this Part (p. 248) which leaves very few choices for the migrant to turn to once he has decided on migrating to the Capital. Of the 23 samples (5.7%) who had reported a more than one-stage migration, eleven samples (2.7%) reported settling in another town before coming to Baghdad, and eight samples (2%) reported two stage movement involving another rural area or town centre before finally coming to Baghdad.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.1.5 VAR.27, 28, 29, 30, 48, 49, 50, 54, 55, 51, 52, and 53

This total analysis section deals with the migration factors and migrants' behavioural aspects before, during and after the migration stage. It involves two sets of variables. The first set includes VAR.27, 28 and 29 which investigated the first, second and third order migration factors. The second set includes VAR.30 (testing for validity of the reverse migration strategy) regarding the opinion of migrants of the possibility of returning to their rural homes, and VAR.48 and 49 which

investigate if the migrant had visited Baghdad before migrating there and the purpose of these visits. The objective of the last two variables is to test if the pull factors are relevant in the migration factors in addition to the totals of VAR.27, 28 and 29 which enumerate the frequencies of these factors as mentioned by the sample.

Also part of the second set of variables in this total analysis are variables checking the feeling of the household head towards leaving his home village at the migration period (VAR.52) and his feelings now (VAR.53); also if the household head advises other members of his village to migrate (VAR.50) and if he encountered any difficulties upon arrival in Baghdad and the type of these difficulties (VAR.51). Migrants were also asked if they keep in contact with the population in their home villages (VAR.54) and the type of contact (VAR.55). It is hoped that these two sets of variables will give a complete picture of the factors and characteristics of the migrating movement.

On the subject of reasons for migration the repelling (or push) factors are the major reasons for the migration of the majority of the sample interviewed. Deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas collected close to 50% of the sample's first order reasons for migration. Together with tribal chief injustice (or landlord

oppression)(30.7%) and rural unemployment (2.2%), these three push factors were mentioned as first order reasons for migration and accounted for around 82% of the first order reasons for migration. When asked about their second order reasons for migrating, only 86% reported a second order reason and the percentage dropped to just over 49% for those who thought of a third order reason for migrating. Attraction factors (pull factors) began to show an appreciable existence in the second order reasons for migration and in the third order reasons for migration where over 28.7% of the sample (around 58.1% of those who reported a third reason) suggested better living conditions in Baghdad as their third rate order reasons for migration. It is the conclusion of this total analysis, which has been reached by all researchers on migrants to Baghdad, that push factors are the main reason for migration with very little effect given to the pull factors of Baghdad's influence. The influence of life in Baghdad did not seem to be very effective compared to the deteriorating conditions in the rural areas especially if one noticed that 64.5% of the sample had previously visited Baghdad (totals of VAR.48) against 35.5% who had not. So the majority of migrants do have an idea about living in Baghdad but it is the push factors of impossible living in the rural areas which drove them to the urban centre.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DETR STD LIVIG	1.	196	49.0	49.0	49.0
HGH LBR PAY BAGD	2.	18	4.5	4.5	53.5
UNEMPLNT RURL	3.	9	2.2	2.2	55.7
TRR CHEFINJSTCE	4.	123	30.7	30.7	86.5
BTER HOSG BAGD	5.	2	0.5	0.5	87.0
OWN MEMB MIGRTD	6.	13	3.2	3.2	90.2
BTR HTHSVCE BAGD	8.	2	0.5	0.5	90.8
OTHERS	10.	37	9.2	9.2	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.062	STD ERROR	0.135	MEDIAN	1.722
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	2.701	VARIANCE	7.297
KURTOSIS	1.320	SKEWNESS	1.444	RANGE	9.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	10.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR28 SECOND REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DETR STD LIVNG	1.	128	32.0	37.2	37.2
HGH LBR PAY BAGD	2.	6	1.5	1.7	39.0
UNEMPLNT RURL	3.	70	17.5	20.3	59.3
TRB CHEFINJSTCE	4.	24	6.0	7.0	66.3
OWN MEMB MIGRTD	6.	16	4.0	4.7	70.9
BTER LVNG BAGD	7.	86	21.5	25.0	95.9
OTHERS	10.	14	3.5	4.1	100.0
	0.	56	14.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.733	STD ERROR	0.147	MEDIAN	3.043
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	2.734	VARIANCE	7.473
KURTOSIS	-0.956	SKEWNESS	0.560	RANGE	9.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	10.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 344
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 56

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR29 THIRD REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DETR STD LIVNG	1.	25	6.2	12.6	12.6
UNEMPLMNT RURL	3.	24	6.0	12.1	24.7
TRB CHEFINJSTCE	4.	6	1.5	3.0	27.8
BTER HOSG BAGD	5.	6	1.5	3.0	30.8
OWN HEMB MIGRTD	6.	6	1.5	3.0	33.8
BTER LVNG BAGD	7.	115	28.7	58.1	91.9
OTHERS	10.	16	4.0	8.1	100.0
	0.	202	50.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	5.818	STD ERROR	0.178	MEDIAN	7.057
MODE	7.000	STD DEV	2.504	VARIANCE	6.271
KURTOSIS	-0.383	SKEWNESS	-0.657	RANGE	9.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	10.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 198
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 202

This finding strongly supports the assertion made by the Author in Part I of this Thesis (p.35) regarding the linkage between the deterioration in the agricultural sector (especially in the flow irrigation regions - Central and Southern) and the migration to towns of rural population. The top three reasons for migration in the three categories of first order, second order and third order reasons are given below:

	% of sample responding
(a) 1st order reasons for migration:	
Deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas	49.0%
Tribal chief injustice	30.7%
Other mixed factors	9.2%
(b) 2nd order reasons for migration:	
Deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas	37.2%
Better living in Baghdad	25.0%
Unemployment in the rural areas	20.3%
(c) 3rd order reasons for migration:	
Better living in Baghdad	58.1%
Deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas	12.6%
Unemployment in the rural areas	12.1%

These results were identical to the findings of Miss Farman and Dr. Aziz' research (see p.308). Better living in Baghdad seems to be relevant in the stage after the migrant decided to leave his rural village and migrate under the impact of the

first and second order reasons for migration. It is where he decides to go when the third order reasons become relevant and Baghdad represents the obvious choice if compared against other possibilities in the Nation.

The opinion of migrants regarding a possible return movement to the rural areas (VAR.30) received a large rejection with almost total rejection of all the sample interviewed. Only two samples did not give an answer, with the remaining 398 (99.5%) saying they preferred to stay in Baghdad. This result, also indicated to a slightly lower degree in Miss Farman's survey which reported 98% saying 'no' to the return to rural areas proposal, points out the fact that the reverse migration strategy is a doubtful prospect unless things change radically in the rural areas. In the twenty year period separating Miss Farman's survey (see p.309) from this research survey, the opinion of the migrants in refusing to consider returning to their home villages (or indeed to any rural area for that matter) has not changed and in fact migrants have become more opposed to the idea. This suggests the absence of drastic changes in the rural areas and seems to indicate the continuous traditional sceptical feeling between the migrants - and indeed the rural population - and Government efforts to improve conditions in the rural areas.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR30 HEAD OPENION TO RETURN TO RURAL AREAS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
STAY	3.	398	99.5	100.0	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.000	STD ERROR	0.000	MEDIAN	3.000
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	0.000	VARIANCE	0.000
KURTOSIS	0.000	SKEWNESS	0.000	RANGE	0.000
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

3576

This research survey finding suggests severe difficulties for the possibility of success of the newly adopted Government strategy of reverse migration. It points out that unless proven to the urban residing rural migrants that things are changing for the better in the rural sector, such a strategy will face considerable difficulties.

On the subject of migrants visiting Baghdad before migrating there (VAR.48) about two-thirds of those interviewed (258 samples) reported that they had visited Baghdad previously, with the other third (142 samples) reporting that they had not. The main reasons for these visits (VAR.49) concentrated on the social aspects of visiting relatives or friends (103 out of the 258 who reported visiting Baghdad, or about 40%). Religious aspects received a slightly larger share (with 117 of the 258, or about 45.3%). Business reasons received 22 samples from the 258 (or about 8.5%). Both shopping and other reasons each received 6 out of the 258 (or about 2.3% for each). The visiting of religious shrines is a significant part of the rural society traditions. Shopping in Baghdad is rather weak due to the fact that the goods in the big city are not the style of goods to which the rural people are accustomed, and they are mostly accommodated in their rural town shopping centres.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR48 IF HEAD HAVE VISITED BAGD BEFOR MIGRAT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
YES	1.	258	64.5	64.5	64.5
NO	2.	142	35.5	35.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.355	STD ERROR	0.024	MEDIAN	1.388
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.479	VARIANCE	0.230
KURTOSIS	-1.633	SKEWNESS	0.608	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR49 PURPOSE OF HEAD VISIT TO BAGD BEFOR MIG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
VSTNG RLTVS+FRND	1.	103	25.7	25.9	25.9
VSTNG RELG SHRNS	2.	117	29.2	29.4	55.3
SHOPPING	4.	6	1.5	1.5	56.8
BUSINESS	5.	22	5.5	5.5	62.3
OTHERS	7.	6	1.5	1.5	63.8
UNAPPLICABLE	8.	144	36.0	36.2	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	4.183	STD ERROR	0.154	MEDIAN	2.731
MODE	8.000	STD DEV	3.078	VARIANCE	9.475
KURTOSIS	-1.757	SKEWNESS	0.313	RANGE	7.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	8.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

When asking the migrant sample if they advise other members of their tribe, who stayed behind in their rural village, to migrate (VAR.50), 39.5% said that they did, 42.7% said that they did not and around 17.7% gave no opinion. Looking at this result in view of the fact that almost unanimously they had expressed their feelings of not being interested in returning to their rural homes, one can only assume that this result represented a cautious reaction which was given to the enumerators of the survey. The announced policy of the current Government is to discourage migration and naturally the sample household heads do not want to contradict this by declaring their support for the rural migration to the city. Their contacts with their home village (VAR.54 and VAR.55) received a split reaction with around 54.3% who reported keeping in contact with their own home village, either through visiting (89% of those keeping in contact), or visiting and helping (7%) or helping only (3%); of the total sample 45.7% reported no contact after migration. These figures could suggest two interesting observations:

(1) That migration seems to be total in terms of having nobody left behind in the old village to warrant further contact. This is apparent in 45.7% of the sample. Of those who reported that they still had contact (54.3%) with those left behind, it transpired that the contacts were only friends and distant

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR50 IF HEAD ADVICE OTHERS AT VILAGE TO MIGR

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
YES	1.	158	39.5	39.5	39.5
NO	2.	171	42.7	42.7	82.2
NO OPENION	3.	71	17.7	17.7	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.783	STD ERROR	0.036	MEDIAN	1.746
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.726	VARIANCE	0.527
KURTOSIS	-1.046	SKEWNESS	0.357	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR54 IF HEAD KEEPS CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ. (PERCENT)
YES	1.	217	54.3	54.3	54.3
NO	2.	183	45.7	45.7	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.458	STD ERROR	0.025	MEDIAN	1.461
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.499	VARIANCE	0.249
KURTOSIS	-1.971	SKEWNESS	0.171	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR55 FOCI OF HEAD CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
VISITING	1.	189	47.2	47.7	47.7
VISITING+HELPING	2.	15	3.7	3.8	51.5
HELPING ONLY	3.	7	1.7	1.8	53.3
UNAPLICABLE	4.	183	45.7	46.2	99.5
RECIEVING HELP	6.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	4	1.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.485	STD ERROR	0.074	MEDIAN	2.100
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.481	VARIANCE	2.195
KURTOSIS	-1.846	SKEWNESS	0.081	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 396
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 4

relatives, which explains the low percentage of help extended to them (only 3%) and that of visiting and helping (7%).

(2) The ties with their rural homes does show some strength for, despite the total movement of the household (VAR.12), still over half of those interviewed visit their old home village (54.3%).

Financial difficulties accounted for 51.5% of the complaints of the migrants upon arrival in the city (VAR.51). Interestingly enough, housing - which has become a major problem for urbanites in Baghdad in recent years - represents the least of the migrants' problems once they arrived in the city. Only 12% of those interviewed suggested housing as a problem, signifying a definite abundance of housing opportunities for the migrants once they reached the city. Getting a job was the second in the list of difficulties and that is understandable in view of the lack of skills the rural migrant usually exhibits. Both the financial difficulties and getting a job are two facets of one problem, the economic condition of the migrant upon arrival. But these do not seem to persist as there was no indication of the migrants giving up and starting to think of returning to their rural homes. It also seems that whatever the difficulties were in severity and extent they do represent an improvement over their economic conditions in the rural areas.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR51 HEAD DIFICULTIES AT ARRIVAL IN BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DFCLTS GETG RESD	1.	48	12.0	12.0	12.0
DFCLTS GETG JOB	2.	92	23.0	23.0	35.0
FINCIAL DFCLTS	3.	206	51.5	51.5	86.5
NO DIFICULTIES	5.	54	13.5	13.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.800	STD ERROR	0.055	MEDIAN	2.937
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.101	VARIANCE	1.213
KURTOSIS	0.085	SKEWNESS	0.471	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR52 HEAD PERSONAL FEELINGS UPON MIGR TO BAGD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAPPINESS	1.	388	97.0	97.0	97.0
SADNESS	2.	6	1.5	1.5	98.5
REGRETNESS	3.	2	0.5	0.5	99.0
INDIFFRENCE	4.	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.055	STD ERROR	0.017	MEDIAN	1.258
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.350	VARIANCE	0.122
KURTOSIS	53.173	SKEWNESS	7.180	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

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FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR53 HEAD PRESENT FEELINGS ON LIVING IN BAGD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAPPINESS	1.	392	98.0	98.0	98.0
SADNESS	2.	4	1.0	1.0	99.0
REGRETNESS	3.	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.030	STD ERROR	0.011	MEDIAN	1.255
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.222	VARIANCE	0.049
KURTOSIS	63.147	SKEWNESS	7.893	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

One final point, regarding the way the migrant felt upon leaving his home village (VAR.52) and the way he is now feeling about living in Baghdad (VAR.53), is that it is shown that the migrants do not regret leaving their home villages and have found living in Baghdad to be an enjoyable experience. There were 97% who reported that they were happy to leave their rural homes (VAR.52) and 98% who reported that they are happy living in Baghdad now (VAR.53). Only a very small minority expressed regret at leaving their rural homes (0.5%) and a further 1.5% said they were sorry to leave their rural homes. There was a similar small minority in Baghdad of those feeling sorry (1%) or regret (1%). This seems to be in line with the assumption that conditions in the rural areas were so bad that the overwhelming majority of migrants have no regrets at leaving these conditions and indeed are quite happy to do so.

3.3.4.1.2 <u>Family Composition</u>:

Total Analysis No.	
3.3.4.1.2.1	VAR.13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22

If the age/sex data of the survey of this research of the Baghdad migrants is to be contrasted against Miss Farman's data (1957), the Doxiadis survey (1958) and the 1965 Census Data of Rural Population, the following indicators may be examined:

Table No. 20

AGE/SEX COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS' HOUSEHOLDS
(1957 - MISS FARMAN'S SURVEY AND 1975 DATA - THESIS RESEARCH SURVEY)
RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION FOR IRAQ
(1965 CENSUS AND 1975 MINISTRY OF PLANNING DATA)

(1975) Thesis Research Survey		(1957) Miss Farman's Survey		(1965) 1965 Census			(1975) Ministry of Planning Data		
* VAR.		(see p. 302)		(1)			(2)		
Age in Years/ Sex Group	%	Age in Years/ Sex Group	%	Age in Years/ Sex Group	% Rural	% Urban	Age in Years/ Sex Group	% Rural	% Urban
Females		Females		Females			Females		
0 - 5	10.0	Under 6	13.0	0 - 4	10.0	9.3	0 - 4	9.7	9.3
6 - 15	13.7	6 - 12	9.0	5 - 15	13.2	13.4	5 - 15	12.9	14.8
Over 15	23.4	Over 13	30.0	Over 15	26.3	25.6	Over 15	27.6	25.1
Total Females	47.1	Total Females	52.0	Total Females	49.5	48.3	Total Females	50.2	49.3
Males		Males		Males			Males		
0 - 5	9.8	Under 6	13.0	0 - 4	10.4	9.8	0 - 4	9.9	9.7
6 - 15	19.4	6 - 12	8.5	5 - 15	14.8	14.9	5 - 15	14.3	14.8
Over 15	23.5	Over 13	26.5	over 15	25.3	27.0	Over 15	25.6	26.3
Total Males	52.7	Total Males	48.0	Total Males	50.5	51.7	Total Males	49.8	50.7
Household Average Size	7.68	Household Average Size	6.5	Household Average Size	5.8	6.2	Household Average Size	No Data	No Data

* Var.
(1) See following page
(2)

(a) If over the 20 year period (1957-1975) there has been an appreciable change in the age/sex characteristics of the migrant household.

(b) If according to recent data (1975 estimate of the Ministry of Planning, published in 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics), there has been more resemblance between the national urban sector or the rural sector age/sex composition and the age/sex composition of today's migrant households in the Capital.

To obtain (a) and (b) above Table No. 20, p.370, has been constructed.

Observations:

(1) Miss Farman's survey of 1957 shows that the migrant settlement inhabitants are more in resemblance to the rural society with high proportion of children (below the age of 6) both in males and females with 13% of the population in each category of both sexes,

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See Table No. 20, p.370:

*VAR. = VAR.13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19

Sources:

(1) Computed from: Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, 1965 Census Data, Table No. 5.

(2) Computed from: Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, 1975 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Table No. 2/3, p.36.

and (due to a high child mortality rate) a severe drop in the 6-12 years age ratio. Due to the migration characteristic of predominant movement for the labour force age groups (over 13), there is a tendency to have a high percentage of over 13's in both the male and female sexes with 26.5% and 30% respectively; also there is the tendency of the rural population to over-report the female sex to evade the National Army Draft.

(2) The Thesis research survey showed closer characteristics to the urban society in the percentage of the children's category equal for both sexes (10% for females and 9.8% for males). The improvement of the health conditions in the new housing projects at Thawra Town and Shula Town have increased the 6 - 15 years category to their 'natural' sizes of more than that of the children's group and less than that of the over 15 group. Also the figures obtained in the survey for the Thesis research show more resemblance to the characteristics of urban population both in the 1965 Census data and in the 1975 estimates. The following shows the variations of the thesis survey data from the 1965 Census data and the 1975

estimate (ignoring the slight difference in the children's category age limits):

	Age Group	Thesis Research Variance of 1965 Data		Thesis Research Variance of 1975 Data	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Female	0 - 5 yrs.	+0.7%	0	+0.7%	+0.3%
	5 - 15 yrs.	+0.3%	+0.5%	+1.1%	+0.8%
	Over 15 yrs.	-2.2%	-2.9%	-1.7%	-4.2%
	Total Female	-1.2%	-2.4%	-2.2%	-3.1%
Male	0 - 5 yrs.	0	-0.6%	+0.1%	-0.1%
	5 - 15 yrs.	+4.5%	+4.6%	+4.6%	+5.1%
	Over 15 yrs.	-1.8%	-3.5%	-2.8%	-2.1%
	Total Male	+1.0%	+2.2%	+2.0%	+2.9%

The Thesis survey data showed a mixed characteristic if the variance is considered on different age/sex categories, as follows:

(a) It resembles the 1965 and 1975 figures for the 0 - 5 categories in the rural sector more than in the urban. This suggests that the migrants' rural tradition of the religiously based opinion regarding having as many children "as God blesses", is still rather strong in their ideology. It resulted in relatively larger households than in urban sectors and the improvement in the health conditions in their new urban environment brought their household size to a large figure unmatched in both the urban and rural sectors. (see Table No. 20, p.370).

(b) The 5 - 15 category was slightly in favour of resemblance to the rural areas again, but the male figures were closer to the urban area figures. This category seems to be a transitional stage between resembling the rural society figures of the 0 - 5 age groups and resembling the urban society figures of the over 15 group.

(c) The over 15 groups resemble the urban sector figures more in almost all the 1965 and 1975 categories of age/sex with a slight exception in the males over 15 category in the 1975 estimates. The labour force's large migration waves could be the reason for the resemblance to the urban area figures where the rural areas are depopulated mostly in the labour force age group (over 13 or 15) which particularly explains the large variance of the male 1965 Census figures for the over 15's in the rural sector compared to the Thesis research sample figures for the same category.

To summarize the above observations, it seems that since 1957 when Miss Farman's survey of the migration to Baghdad found them to be closer to the rural society characteristics, the migrants under better health facilities, improved standards of living and changes in their traditions and culture, over the last twenty years have gradually become closer to

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR13 NOS FEMALES AGE 0 TO 5 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	112	28.0	58.0	58.0
	2.	48	12.0	24.9	82.9
	3.	31	7.8	16.1	99.0
	4.	2	0.5	1.0	100.0
	0.	207	51.7	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.601	STD ERROR	0.057	MEDIAN	1.431
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.791	VARIANCE	0.626
KURTOSIS	-0.321	SKEWNESS	0.968	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 193
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 207

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR14 NOS FEMALES AGE 6 TO 15 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	93	23.2	42.5	42.5
	2.	71	17.7	32.4	74.9
	3.	40	10.0	18.3	93.2
	4.	8	2.0	3.7	96.8
	5.	7	1.7	3.2	100.0
	0.	181	45.2	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.927	STD ERROR	0.069	MEDIAN	1.732
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.020	VARIANCE	1.041
KURTOSIS	0.804	SKEWNESS	1.090	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 219
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 181

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR15 NOS FEMALES AGE OVER 15 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	189	47.2	47.5	47.5
	2.	142	35.5	35.7	83.2
	3.	36	9.0	9.0	92.2
	4.	20	5.0	5.0	97.2
	5.	9	2.2	2.3	99.5
	6.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.804	STD ERROR	0.050	MEDIAN	1.570
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.007	VARIANCE	1.014
KURTOSIS	2.342	SKEWNESS	1.531	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR16 NOS MALES AGE 0 TO 5 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	108	27.0	55.1	55.1
	2.	70	17.5	35.7	90.8
	3.	18	4.5	9.2	100.0
	0.	204	51.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.541	STD ERROR	0.047	MEDIAN	1.454
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.659	VARIANCE	0.434
KURTOSIS	-0.431	SKEWNESS	0.826	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 196
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 204

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR17 NOS MALES AGE 6 TO 15 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	80	20.0	28.6	28.6
	2.	114	28.5	40.7	69.3
	3.	60	15.0	21.4	90.7
	4.	22	5.5	7.9	98.6
	5.	4	1.0	1.4	100.0
	0.	120	30.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.129	STD ERROR	0.058	MEDIAN	2.026
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.964	VARIANCE	0.930
KURTOSIS	-0.061	SKEWNESS	0.658	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 280
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 120

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR18 NOS MALES AGE OVER 15 YRS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	211	52.7	52.7	52.7
	2.	104	26.0	26.0	78.7
	3.	54	13.5	13.5	92.2
	4.	19	4.7	4.7	97.0
	5.	8	2.0	2.0	99.0
	6.	2	0.5	0.5	99.5
	7.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.807	STD ERROR	0.055	MEDIAN	1.474
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.097	VARIANCE	1.203
KURTOSIS	3.143	SKEWNESS	1.658	RANGE	6.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	7.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

the urban society characteristics in terms of the age/sex composition of the household. One possible factor that accelerated this transformation is the fact that the Thawra and Shula migrant housing projects are no longer exclusively inhabited by migrants. In recent years more and more low income Baghdad families and low income housing associations have found in these two areas suitable living quarters for their families.

On the household average size, the Thesis sample survey showed 7.68 as the number per household and 1.13 families per household (VAR.19 and VAR.20), suggesting a family size of 6.75 members per family. Miss Farman's survey suggested that

> "...most of the migration is in family groups, a husband, wife and their children composing the typical family of five to six persons".(154)

Although Miss Farman's survey suggested 6.5 members per household, the fact that an average of over one family per household will bring the size of the family down to less than six. One important observation has to be made here and that is in Iraq the rural family (and even the household) is smaller than its urban counterpart (as shown in the 1965 Census data in Table No. 20, p.370), though it has more in the children's category and less in the labour force male group than the urban household.

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(154) D. G. Phillips, op.cit., p.412

The high fertility noted by Dr. Aziz's research (p.130) and rural illiteracy and migration are partially responsible for this fact. It is probable that in the beginning of the migrant's settling period in the Capital the rural migrant family retained its traditional high fertility in its urban environment which, together with the improved health facilities, caused a larger size of family to emerge; maybe over a time of being an urban-residing household the number of children in the household will be reduced as changes in their rural culture take place. Thus the increase in the size of the migrants' household, as shown in the 1975 Thesis research, together with the drop in the 0 - 5 years category, in comparison with Miss Farman's 1957 figures could suggest a more urbanised transformation for migrants over the last twenty years.

The findings of Miss Farman regarding the typical migrant's family structure of a father, mother and children is also confirmed by the Thesis research where 96.5% of households surveyed reported that the head was a father (VAR.21). The average age of the household head is 46.025 years (VAR.22) which, together with the average number of years spent in Baghdad (VAR.03), being around 16 years, would substantiate the hypothesis regarding the "migration age preference" of household heads to be around 30 years.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR19 NOS TOTAL HHOLD MEMBERS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	2.	21	5.2	5.2	5.2
	3.	20	5.0	5.0	10.2
	4.	34	8.5	8.5	18.7
	5.	29	7.2	7.2	26.0
	6.	37	9.2	9.2	35.2
	7.	60	15.0	15.0	50.2
	8.	35	8.7	8.7	59.0
	9.	63	15.7	15.7	74.7
	10.	36	9.0	9.0	83.7
	11.	26	6.5	6.5	90.2
	12.	20	5.0	5.0	95.2
	13.	6	1.5	1.5	96.8
	14.	2	0.5	0.5	97.2
	17.	4	1.0	1.0	98.2
	18.	3	0.8	0.8	99.0
	20.	2	0.5	0.5	99.5
	23.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	7.680	STD ERROR	0.169	MEDIAN	7.483
MODE	9.000	STD DEV	3.385	VARIANCE	11.461
KURTOSIS	2.342	SKEWNESS	0.889	RANGE	21.000
MINIMUM	2.000	MAXIMUM	23.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR20 NOS BASIC FAMILIES PER HHOLD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.	360	90.0	90.0	90.0
	2.	29	7.2	7.2	97.2
	3.	7	1.7	1.7	99.0
	4.	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.137	STD ERROR	0.023	MEDIAN	1.278
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.463	VARIANCE	0.214
KURTOSIS	17.219	SKEWNESS	3.984	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR21 RELATION OF HHOLD HEAD TO MEMBERS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
FATHER	1.	386	96.5	96.5	96.5
MOTHER	2.	2	0.5	0.5	97.0
BROTHER	3.	8	2.0	2.0	99.0
RELATIVE	5.	2	0.5	0.5	99.5
NON RELATIVE	6.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.090	STD ERROR	0.027	MEDIAN	1.259
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.532	VARIANCE	0.283
KURTOSIS	51.668	SKEWNESS	6.929	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR22 AGE OF HHOLD HEAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	25.	20	5.0	5.0	5.0
	35.	141	35.2	35.2	40.3
	45.	91	22.7	22.7	63.0
	55.	74	18.5	18.5	81.5
	65.	74	18.5	18.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	46.025	STD ERROR	0.606	MEDIAN	44.286
MODE	35.000	STD DEV	12.127	VARIANCE	147.067
KURTOSIS	-1.134	SKEWNESS	0.260	RANGE	40.000
MINIMUM	25.000	MAXIMUM	65.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

3.3.4.1.3 Housing Conditions:

This group of Totals Analyses investigates the housing of the migrants in their home village, the first time that they arrived in Baghdad, and their present housing conditions. This method of analysis will give a complete description of the housing conditions for the migrant households, starting in the home village and until now in the housing units in Thawra or Shula. The housing condition is probably the least relevant of the migrant's reasons for leaving his home village (VAR.27, 28 and 29, pp.352-355) but certainly the improvement in the conditions in housing is an effective factor for keeping the migrants in towns. In the early sixties when these large housing projects were established by the Government, the free housing for hutment dwellers accelerated to a large extent the migration movement to the Capital.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.3.1 VAR. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36 - The Home Village Housing Conditions:

Totals of the above variables gave a very dismal and indeed catastrophic picture of the housing conditions in the rural villages. With 97% sarifas, mud houses and mud huts, 98.5% of which were without tap water, electricity, and a kitchen, 98% were without a W.C. and 99.5% were without a bathroom; conditions in the rural area villages could only be described as inhuman and very close to

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR31 RESIDENCE TYPE OF HEAD AT HOME VILAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
SARIFA OR MUDHUT	1.	384	96.0	96.0	96.0
MUD HOUSE	2.	4	1.0	1.0	97.0
BRICK+MUD	3.	6	1.5	1.5	98.5
BRICK HOUSE	4.	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.085	STD ERROR	0.022	MEDIAN	1.260
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.445	VARIANCE	0.198
KURTOSIS	30.027	SKEWNESS	5.523	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR32 TAP WATER SUPPLY AT HOME VILAGE RESIDCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAVE TAP WATER	1.	6	1.5	1"5	1.5
HAVING TAP WATER	2.	394	98.5	98"5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100"0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.985	STD ERROR	0"006	MEDIAN	1.746
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0"122	VARIANCE	0.015
KURTOSIS	61.682	SKEWNESS	-8"010	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2"000		
VALID OBSERVATIONS -	400				
MISSING OBSERVATIONS -	0				

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR33 ELECTRICITY SUPPLY AT HOME VILGE RESDCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAVE ELECTRICTY	1.	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
HAVNO ELCTRCITY	2.	394	98.5	98.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.985	STD ERROR	0.006	MEDIAN	1.746
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.122	VARIANCE	0.015
KURTOSIS	61.682	SKEWNESS	-8.010	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR34 W.C. AT HOME VILAGE RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAVE W.C.	1.	8	2.0	2.0	2.0
HAVE NO W.C.	2.	392	98.0	98.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.980	STD ERROR	0.007	MEDIAN	1.745
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.140	VARIANCE	0.020
KURTOSIS	45.020	SKEWNESS	-6.883	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR35 BATH ROOM AT HOME VILLAGE RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAVE BATHROOM	1.	2	0.5	0.5	0.5
HAVING BATH ROOM	2.	398	99.5	99.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.995	STD ERROR	0.004	MEDIAN	1.749
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.071	VARIANCE	0.005
KURTOSIS	195.005	SKEWNESS	-14.089	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400

MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR36 KITCHEN AT HOME VILLAGE RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
HAVE KITCHEN	1.	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
HAVNO KITCHEN	2.	394	98.5	98.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.985	STD ERROR	0.006	MEDIAN	1.746
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.122	VARIANCE	0.015
KURTOSIS	61.682	SKEWNESS	-8.010	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

to prehistoric cave living of the early settlements in Old Mesopotamia. The Doxiadis Report described housing conditions in the southern subregions and in most of the central subregions as having the majority of their housing stock (which includes their urban centres) in sarifas, mud huts and mud houses.(155) What makes the figures of this Thesis research rather alarming is the fact that it describes the situation in the rural villages up to the current year of 1975, since over one-third of the sample migrated after 1960 and around 5% of them actually migrated in the 1970's (VAR.03). Although the housing conditions * are not being cited as a major reason for migrating to the Capital, the fact that the conditions in the rural areas now have not improved from the conditions of the late fifties, when the bulk of migration occurred, the continuation of these conditions will only create further waves of migration to the Capital and other centres.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.3.2 VAR.08, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10 and 11 - Housing Conditions First time in Baghdad

Although only 63.2% (VAR.08) of the sample interviewed in this Thesis research reported living in a sarifa

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(155) Doxiadis Associates - op.cit., p.2.

* Only 0.5% of sample gave better housing in Baghdad as first reason for migration (VAR.27, p.352).

or mud hut the first time in Baghdad, this is only due to the fact that about 30% of the sample actually migrated to the Capital after 1963 when the last large hutment or sarifa settlements were demolished by the Government. Brick housing units (27.7%), mud and brick houses (4%) and rooms in brick houses (4%) are mostly used by the more recent (post 1963) migrants coming into Thawra and Shula settlements straight from their rural villages. A clearer correlation between the migration data and the first type of housing unit in Baghdad will be discussed in the cross-tabulation section.
This relatively high percentage of migrants coming straight to live in brick houses will be more understood if reasons for settling in the sector selected once in Baghdad (VAR.06) and the first sector settled in (VAR.05) are considered in the cross-tabulation (see cross-tabulation No. 3.3.4.4.1, p.549).

The first sector in which the migrants settled (VAR.05) is more or less distributed according to the size of the settlements in the city prior to their demolition in the early 1960's. The huge Al-Asima settlement (No. 2 in Figure No. 15, p.268) had the second largest single share of settlers at 17% next to the Thawra Town share of 19.2% which mostly received settlers after the old hutments were removed. Both Thawra and Shula showed around 30% of the total sample as the first sector selection

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR08 TYPE OF 1ST RESIDENCE IN BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
SARIFA-MUDHUT	1.	253	63.2	63.6	63.6
GOVMNT HOUSNG	4.	111	27.7	27.9	91.5
RNT AT BRICK HOUS	6.	16	4.0	4.0	95.5
MUD-BRICK HOUSE	7.	16	4.0	4.0	99.5
OTHERS	8.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.314	STD ERROR	0.094	MEDIAN	2.180
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.868	VARIANCE	3.491
KURTOSIS	-0.014	SKEWNESS	1.076	RANGE	7.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	8.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR05 SECTOR HEAD SETTLED IN 1ST TIME IN BAGD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
BAG SKRTS BRKELN	1.	77	19.2	19.2	19.2
THAWRA TOWN	2.	77	19.2	19.2	38.5
SHULA TOWN	3.	40	10.0	10.0	48.5
BAGCTR NIGSTMNT	4.	68	17.0	17.0	65.5
BAGCTR DETRAREAS	5.	18	4.5	4.5	70.0
OTHER BAG SECT	6.	120	30.0	30.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.582	STD ERROR	0.096	MEDIAN	3.588
MODE	6.000	STD DEV	1.919	VARIANCE	3.682
KURTOSIS	-1.502	SKEWNESS	0.040	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

(that may explain the figure of around 36% living in brick units above). The Baghdad outskirts settlements and scattered small brick Kelns labourers settlements which surround the Capital accounted jointly for 30% of the sample. Considering the Doxiadis estimate of about 33,000 huts and sarifas (p.266) in the city of Baghdad and Miss Farman's 1957 survey estimate of around 4,625 in the Al-Asima settlement,(156) (about 15% of the Doxiadis total estimate above), the sample of the Thesis seems to be reasonably accurate in terms of representation of migrant settlements in the city at the time of their existence. The rural migrants, who are predominantly Arabic central and southern subregions rural population, have little interest in settling in the old housing sections of the city which migrants from the north seem to prefer (p.312) and that is clearly shown in the low percentage of only 4.5% who reported living in the old sectors of the city. But one must point out here that even those who reported living in the central deteriorated neighbourhoods of the Capital did not actually live in the tenements or rooming houses but rather in their own huts or sarifas erected on available open plots created by the Municipality of Baghdad central renewal projects which in most cases took a long period to complete.

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(156) S. Farman - op.cit., p.44.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR06 1ST ORDER REASON FOR SETING IN 1ST SECT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
RELATVS STLD BFR	1.	164	41.0	41.6	41.6
FRNDS STLD BFR	2.	22	5.5	5.6	47.2
CHEAP ACCOMDN	3.	44	11.0	11.2	58.4
LOW LVNG COST	4.	61	15.2	15.5	73.9
CLOSE WORK PLACE	5.	62	15.5	15.7	89.6
GOVMNT HOUSNG	6.	29	7.2	7.4	97.0
OTHERS	7.	12	3.0	3.0	100.0
	0.	6	1.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.924	STD ERROR	0.096	MEDIAN	2.750
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.913	VARIANCE	3.658
KURTOSIS	-1.207	SKEWNESS	0.403	RANGE	6.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	7.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 394
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 6

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR07 2ND ORDER REASON FOR SETING IN 1ST SECT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
FRNDS STLD BFR	2.	10	2.5	3.4	3.4
CHEAP ACCOMDN	3.	173	43.3	59.0	62.5
LOW LVNG COST	4.	84	21.0	28.7	91.1
CLOSE WORK PLACE	5.	10	2.5	3.4	94.5
GOVTNT HOUSNG	6.	2	0.5	0.7	95.2
OTHERS	7.	14	3.5	4.8	100.0
	0.	107	26.8	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.532	STD ERROR	0.059	MEDIAN	3.289
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.002	VARIANCE	1.003
KURTOSIS	4.572	SKEWNESS	2.031	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	2.000	MAXIMUM	7.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 293
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 107

The first order and second order reasons (VAR.06 and VAR.07) for settling in the sector which the migrants had chosen once they reached Baghdad, are similar to the results obtained in the 1964 study of Dr. Aziz (p.315). The following is a summary of the findings of the Thesis survey together with Dr. Aziz's findings for comparison:

First reason for settling in sector (VAR.06)	% of sample: Thesis Research Survey (1975)*	% of sample: Dr. Aziz's Survey (1964)
Relatives and friends settled there before	46.5%	60.7%
Cheap accommodation and low cost of living	26.2%	10.5%
Close to place of work	15.5%	21.7%
Government housing	7.2%	-
Other reasons	3.0%	6.1%

* First Order Reason

In the Thesis research survey the second order reason (VAR.07) for settling in the sector first selected once the migrant reached Baghdad, is the economic factor (cheap land, cheap accommodation, cheap cost of living, etc.) which accounted for 91.1% of those giving a second reason for settling in the sector. Of the total sample 26.8% did not give a second reason for settling in the selected sector. It is obvious that the social factor, of being close to friends and relatives, (who in most

cases extend help and shelter to the newly-arrived migrant) is the main reason for settling in their selected sector with the economic reasons as the second factor. The predominance of the social factor is an important indicator often neglected in the allocation of housing projects for the migrants in the early 60's, and could be very useful in any future government measure to deal with accommodating the migrants in any urban centre.

Leaving their first residence in Baghdad (VAR.09), the migrants gave Government housing as the reason for movement in 62.2% of the cases, with 59.5% moving to Government housing outside their original sector and 2.7% moving to government housing in the same sector of their residence. Outside the 6% of the sample who bought their units or land from another recipient of the housing project units or land, the remaining 94% of the sample received it from the Government. The 2.7% referred to earlier actually were either living together with relatives in the government housing project and got their own unit later on or their sarifas were in the Thawra or Shula housing project areas and they simply moved into their new housing unit once it was finished. Of the sample 25.7% did not move from the first residence (VAR.09) which may suggest recent migration to the city (as will be discussed in the cross-tabulation section). Some of them

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR09 IF HEAD MOVED FROM 1ST RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
DIDNOT MOVE	1.	103	25.7	25.7	25.7
WTHN SEC GOVHOS	2.	11	2.7	2.7	28.5
OTSD SEC GOVHOS	3.	238	59.5	59.5	88.0
WTHN SECT	4.	4	1.0	1.0	89.0
OSTD SECT	5.	44	11.0	11.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.687	STD ERROR	0.059	MEDIAN	2.861
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.189	VARIANCE	1.413
KURTOSIS	-0.346	SKEWNESS	0.093	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

applied for the unit (or the parcel) while still outside Baghdad through friends, relatives or personally to the housing authorities giving false information regarding place of residence. For the remaining 12% of the sample the first order reason for movement (VAR.10) was buying the unit (6%), moved due to proximity of place of work (4.5%), not knowing the old sector's people (1%) and because the old sector had poor public facilities (0.5%). In summary, the percentage of the sample movement from the first residence was accorded to:

(1)	Did not move:		25.7%
(2)	Moved to government housing unit:		62.2%
	outside the sector of residence (VAR.09)	59.5%	
	within first sector of residence (VAR.09)	2.7%	
(3)	Moved for various reasons:		12.0%
	bought the unit (VAR.10)	6.0%	
	old sector was far away from place of work	4.5%	
	not knowing old sector's people	1.0%	
	old sector had poor public facilities	0.5%	

Interestingly enough only 5.2% of those who moved gave second reasons for movement (VAR.11), suggesting that only the first order reasons were effective in making the migrants leave the first chosen place of residence.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR10 1ST ORDER REASON FOR MOVING FRM 1ST RESD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
POOR PUB FACL	1.	2	0.5	0.5	0.5
NO KNLGE OF POP	3.	4	1.0	1.0	1.5
FAR FRM WORK PL	4.	18	4.5	4.5	6.0
GOT GOV HOUSE	5.	240	62.2	62.2	68.2
BOUGHT PROPRTY	6.	24	6.0	6.0	74.2
UNAPLICABLE	7.	103	25.7	25.7	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	5.490	STD ERROR	0.050	MEDIAN	5.207
MODE	5.000	STD DEV	1.009	VARIANCE	1.017
KURTOSIS	0.900	SKEWNESS	0.064	RANGE	6.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	7.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR11 2ND ORDER REASON FOR MOVING FRM 1ST RESD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
NO KNLGE OF POP	3.	2	0.5	1.6	1.6
FAR FRM WORK PL	4.	13	3.2	10.7	12.3
GOT GOV HOUSE	5.	4	1.0	3.3	15.6
BOUGHT PROPRTY	6.	2	0.5	1.6	17.2
UNAPLICABLE	7.	101	25.2	82.8	100.0
	0.	278	69.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	6.533	STD ERROR	0.098	MEDIAN	6.698
MODE	7.000	STD DEV	1.077	VARIANCE	1.160
KURTOSIS	2.409	SKEWNESS	-2.043	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	7.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 122
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 278

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.3.3 VAR.37, 38 and 39 - Housing Conditions Currently

As this Thesis survey was conducted in the Government housing project for the migrants, the majority of the households surveyed lived in brick houses (93.5% of them) (VAR.37),but 6.5% of the housing units were built with bricks and mud. The latter type were mainly part of around 1,000 ready-built units distributed by the Government as part of the housing projects in Thawra and Shula Towns. These original ready-built housing units were extended by the household head to accommodate his family needs. The plans supplied to the migrants were of one and two room units, similar to the ready-built units for the migrant households, which were built on the parcels in the housing project. Family size of the type exhibited by the Thesis sample (41% with over eight members - see VAR.19 and Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.2 p.369) found the unit sizes of both those built by the migrants based on the housing authorities plans or those supplied ready-built by the Government housing authorities to be insufficient. The indication of this discrepancy between the household size and the size of the housing unit is further exhibited in the total of VAR.38 which shows the number of rooms per current residence of the household to average 2.687 rooms per unit with around 56% of the housing units

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR37 TYPE OF CURRENT RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
BRICK+MUD	3.	26	6.5	6.5	6.5
BRICK HOUSE	4.	374	93.5	93.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.935	STD ERROR	0.012	MEDIAN	3.733
MODE	4.000	STD DEV	0.247	VARIANCE	0.061
KURTOSIS	10.454	SKEWNESS	-3.542	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

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FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR38 NO OF ROOMS IN CURRENT RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
ONE	1.	24	6.0	6.0	6.0
TWO	2.	149	37.3	37.3	43.3
THREE	3.	163	40.7	40.7	84.0
FOUR	4.	56	14.0	14.0	98.0
>FOUR	5.	8	2.0	2.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.687	STD ERROR	0.043	MEDIAN	2.666.
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	0.858	VARIANCE	0.737
KURTOSIS	-0.109	SKEWNESS	0.266	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 03/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR39 CONDITION OF TENURE OF CURRENT RESIDENCE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
OWN	1.	346	86.5	86.5	86.5
RENT	2.	18	4.5	4.5	91.0
OWN GOV HOUSNG	3.	34	8.5	8.5	99.5
GOVT HOUSNG	4.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.230	STD ERROR	0.031	MEDIAN	1.289
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	0.615	VARIANCE	0.378
KURTOSIS	5.065	SKEWNESS	2.547	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS = 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

surveyed having more than two rooms. This again put the wisdom of the original plan of the housing project under severe criticism since the direct result would be overcrowding of the housing project, the very factor with which the original hutment settlements were plagued and triggered off the the Government's action for its removal. The current situation in Thawra and Shula is what Poles Services, the Baghdad Plan Consultants, term as a "housing problem area" with overcrowding and low standards of occupancy and service networks below the bare minimum (see p. 295). With an average household of 7.680 (Table No. 20, p.370), the average number of persons per room is about 3, not a considerable difference from the 4.7 persons per hut or sarifa reported by the 1957 study of Miss Farman (see p. 313) and both figures suggest a bad condition of overcrowding. The present condition in Thawra and Shula is really that of an urban slum which is ready for the bulldozer in most of its deteriorated and overcrowded neighbourhoods. Massive amounts of government expenditure goes into these two major migrant settlement housing areas every year by the Baghdad municipality and other central government offices. The majority of the condition of tenure (VAR.39) of the sample surveyed is owner-occupied with 86.5% owned units, 8.5% owner-occupied Government units where the ownership is still not transferred legally to the occupier and

0.5% government owned units given for free occupancy but with the ownership retained by the Government. The remaining 4.5% are rented units (rented from the original allocated owners who have moved to a more suitable unit usually within the project).

3.3.4.1.4 Employment and Income:

The totals analysis in this sector is broken down in the same way as the previous totals analysis sections (i.e. housing conditions), namely:

(a) Employment and income in the village

(b) Employment first time in Baghdad

(c) Employment and income at the current time.

Income first time in Baghdad was eliminated after the pilot survey stage due to two factors, namely:

(1) The high percentage of interviewees repeating numerous changes in their income over a short period of time during their first arrival in Baghdad.

(2) The relevance of the income issue as a factor to keep migrants in Baghdad is based more on the current income situation rather than on previous incomes.

In addition there is the availability of income data from Dr. Aziz's survey (1964) and Miss Farman's survey (1957) and the Doxiadis survey (1958).

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.4.1 VAR.46, VAR.40, Z3, VAR.41 and VAR.42 - Employment and Income in the village

As expected the majority of migrants' occupation in the village (VAR.46) was that of peasants without land (66%). An interesting finding was that of having a sizable section of the migrants who were part of the sales and services sector in the rural village (13.2%), an indicator that the deteriorated economic conditions in the rural areas did not limit its impact on the peasant sector of the rural society. Other occupations such as animal raising (3.2%), farmers who owned some land (2.7%), skilled labour (2.7% - another interesting category in support of the overwhelming far reaching deterioration of the rural areas' economy), mechanical labour (2%) and others (2.5%). Unemployment is rather low in the rural areas as far as the sample taken is concerned with 1%, but it could be argued that categories such as unskilled labour and landless peasants could be at one time or another classed as unemployed.

Miss Farman's survey reported close to over 90% engaged in agriculture before migrating to Baghdad (88.5% being landless peasants). The figures of the Thesis survey, if one excludes the sales and services occupations at 13.2% (which most probably is related to the agricultural sector's economic condition), show the remaining occupations (including the unemployed and mechanical labour) are

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR46 HEAD OCCUPATION BEFOR MIGRATION TO BAGD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
FRMR OWN LAND	1.	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
LANDLESS PESANT	2.	264	66.0	66.0	68.7
UNEMPLOYED	3.	4	1.0	1.0	69.7
SALES + SERVICES	4.	54	13.2	13.2	83.0
ANIMAL RAISING	5.	13	3.2	3.2	86.2
MECHANICAL	6.	8	2.0	2.0	88.2
LABOR UNSKLD	7.	26	6.5	6.5	94.7
LABOR SKLD	8.	11	2.7	2.7	97.5
OTHERS	9.	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
TOTAL		400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.090	STD ERROR	0.098	MEDIAN	2.216
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	1.960	VARIANCE	3.842
KURTOSIS	1.433	SKEWNESS	1.608	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	9.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR40 HEAD AVG MONTHLY INCOME BEFOR MIGRATING

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	2.	182	45.5	46.2	46.2
	8.	90	22.5	22.8	69.0
	15.	106	26.5	26.9	95.9
	25.	8	2.0	2.0	98.0
	35.	4	1.0	1.0	99.0
	45.	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	0.	6	1.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	8.338	STD ERROR	0.371	MEDIAN	6.292
MODE	2.500	STD DEV	7.372	VARIANCE	54.348
KURTOSIS	5.883	SKEWNESS	1.947	RANGE	42.500
MINIMUM	2.500	MAXIMUM	45.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 394
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 6

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 23 PER CAPTA MONTH HOINCOM VILAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
UP TO .50 I.D	1.00	159	39.7	39.7	39.7
.51 TO 1.0 I.D	2.00	46	11.5	11.5	51.2
1.1 TO 1.5 I.D	3.00	83	20.7	20.7	72.0
1.51 TO 2.0 I.D	4.00	46	11.5	11.5	83.5
2.1 TO 7.5 I.D	5.00	66	16.5	16.5	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.535	STD ERROR	0.075	MEDIAN	2.391
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.506	VARIANCE	2.269
KURTOSIS	-1.274	SKEWNESS	0.412	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 23 PER CAPTA MONTH HDINCOM VILAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	0.00	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	0.11	2	0.5	0.5	2.0
	0.13	2	0.5	0.5	2.5
	0.21	12	3.0	3.0	5.5
	0.23	10	2.5	2.5	8.0
	0.25	18	4.5	4.5	12.5
	0.28	36	9.0	9.0	21.5
	0.31	16	4.0	4.0	25.5
	0.36	19	4.7	4.7	30.2
	0.42	16	4.0	4.0	34.3
	0.44	3	0.8	0.8	35.0
	0.47	4	1.0	1.0	36.0
	0.50	15	3.7	3.7	39.7
	0.62	4	1.0	1.0	40.7
	0.63	10	2.5	2.5	43.3
	0.67	4	1.0	1.0	44.2
	0.73	2	0.5	0.5	44.8
	0.80	6	1.5	1.5	46.3
	0.83	10	2.5	2.5	48.7
	0.89	10	2.5	2.5	51.2
	1.14	24	6.0	6.0	57.2
	1.15	2	0.5	0.5	57.7
	1.25	20	5.0	5.0	62.7
	1.33	13	3.2	3.2	66.0
	1.36	14	3.5	3.5	69.5
	1.50	10	2.5	2.5	72.0

1.67	9	2.2	2"2	75.7
1.87	19	4.7	4"7	80.5
2.00	12	3.0	3"0	83.5
2.14	13	3.2	3"2	86.7
2.50	10	2.5	2"5	89.2
2.67	2	0.5	0"5	89.7
2.73	2	0.5	0"5	90.2
3.00	6	1.5	1"5	91.7
3.21	2	0.5	0"5	92.2
3.57	2	0.5	0"5	92.7
3.75	10	2.5	2"5	95.2
3.89	2	0.5	0"5	95.7
5.00	8	2.0	2"0	97.7
6.25	2	0.5	0"5	98.2
6.43	2	0.5	0"5	98.7
7.00	2	0.5	0"5	99.2
7.50	3	0.8	0"8	100.0
TOTAL	400	100.0	100"0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.292	STD ERROR	0"067	MEDIAN	0.938
MODE	0.278	STD DEV	1"343	VARIANCE	1.803
KURTOSIS	5.893	SKEWNESS	2"233	RANGE	7.500
MINIMUM	0.000	MAXIMUM	7"500		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

all working in the agricultural sector with a high percentage of 72.1% agricultural occupations (including 66% landless peasants). This suggests more or less similar findings in this 1975 Thesis survey data to those reported twenty years ago by Miss Farman's survey which further indicates the continuation of the deterioration of the agricultural sector with a wider effect than before. In the home village before migrating the average monthly income of the household head was 8.338 Iraqi dinars (VAR.40), with an average per capita monthly income of 1.292 I.D. (Z3). In the village around 72% of the migrant household members were earning an average of less than 1.5 I.D. per month (Z3).

The figures given by Dr. Aziz's survey (p.306) for income in the village are much lower than is suggested by this research survey which is most probably due to the time difference between the two surveys and the effect of the usual inflation on wages. But also since Dr. Aziz's survey was limited to the Mysan migrants, the subregion which represents around 53.5% of this research sample's origins, it could be argued that other subregions may have pushed up the average. A cross-tabulation between subregional origin of migrant and his village income later in the analysis section will clarify these points. Finally on the village income issue, almost two-thirds of the sample (64.5%)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR41 IF HEAD MONTHLY INCOME AT VILAGE SUPPNT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
YES	1.	140	35.0	35.2	35.2
NO	2.	258	64.5	64.8	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.648	STD ERROR	0.024	MEDIAN	1.614
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.473	VARIANCE	0.229
KURTOSIS	-1.615	SKEWNESS	-0.623	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR42 IF HEAD MONTHLY INCOME AT BAGD NOW SMENT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
YES	1.	147	36.7	37.1	37.1
NO	2.	249	62.2	62.9	100.0
	0.	4	1.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.629	STD ERROR	0.024	MEDIAN	1.602
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.484	VARIANCE	0.234
KURTOSIS	-1.716	SKEWNESS	-0.535	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 396
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 4

expressed dissatisfaction with their income in the village as being insufficient for their needs with only 35% reporting that it was sufficient (VAR.41). It is interesting to note that the percentages regarding current income were almost identical to those for village income with 36.7% reporting that current income was sufficient for their needs and 62.2% of the migrants expressing dissatisfaction with their current income in Baghdad (VAR.42), despite the fact (as will be discussed later - Z4) that it is around three and a half times their village income. Actually these two variables are not very significant in terms of analysis and they do express more or less a subjective judgment, but originally it was thought to be a measure of stability which later may be used to formulate incentive programmes for the reverse migration movement.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.4.2 VAR.47 - Employment first year in Baghdad

Due to the highly unstable type of jobs reported by the migrants for their initial period in Baghdad it was decided to use the predominant job taken by the migrant for his first year in Baghdad. The following shows the findings of types of jobs taken by the migrant household head for most of

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR47 1ST YEAR AT BAGHDAD JOB FOR HHOLD HEAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
CONSTRN NONSKLD	1.	30	7.5	7.5	7.5
CONSTRN SKILD	2.	7	1.7	1.7	9.2
SALES+SERVICES	3.	144	36.0	36.0	45.2
MECHNCL NONSKLD	4.	16	4.0	4.0	49.3
MECHNCL SKILD	5.	10	2.5	2.5	51.7
GNRL NONSKLD	6.	185	46.3	46.3	98.0
ANIMAL RAISING	7.	2	0.5	0.5	98.5
OTHERS	8.	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	4.405	STD ERROR	0.088	MEDIAN	4.800
MODE	6.000	STD DEV	1.763	VARIANCE	3.109
KURTOSIS	-1.149	SKEWNESS	-0.283	RANGE	7.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	8.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

of the first year in Baghdad (VAR.47) listed in order of percentage of sample reported:

General non-skilled	46.3%
Sales and services	36.0%
Construction non-skilled	7.5%
Mechanical non-skilled	4.0%
Construction skilled	1.7%
Mechanical skilled	2.5%
Animal raising	0.5%
Others	1.5%

To compare it with the findings of Miss Farman's survey and Dr. Aziz's research regarding jobs usually held by migrants, the categories of the research survey have to be rearranged as follows:

Occupation	Thesis Research (1975)	Miss Farman's Survey (1957)	Dr.Aziz's Research (1964)
Unskilled labour	58.0%	55.3%	63.7%
Skilled labour	4.2%	9.9%	-
Sales and services	36.0%	27.9%	27.1%
Unemployed	-	7.0%	8.4%
Others (including animal raising)	2.0%	-	6.8%

It is evident that all three surveys point to the same fact that unskilled labour is the main category of migrants' occupation once they are in the city. Sales and services (which include the military and police personnel) is the second category in terms of importance for occupation of the migrants. It will

be interesting to compare the current jobs of the migrants according to the Thesis research and to identify the subregional differentials (if any) for jobs taken by migrants once they are in the city, also to compare the time of migration (to identify time changes of the job types offered to migrants), which will be done in the cross-tabulation part of this analysis section.

Total Analysis No.
3.3.4.1.4.3 VAR.23, 25 and 24, Z1, VAR.26, Z2 and Z4 - Current Employment and Income in Baghdad

In view of the occupational structure of the migrant household head currently in Baghdad (VAR.23), the research survey showed an interesting set of changes over their original jobs which they took when first settling in Baghdad, as the following comparison will show:

	% of sample	
Occupation Type	First time in Baghdad (VAR.47)	Current job held by household head (VAR.23)
General non-skilled	46.3%	31.3%
Sales and Services	36.0%	40.3%
Construction non-skilled	7.5%	2.7%
Mechanical non-skilled	4.0%	0
Mechanical skilled	2.5%	8.0%
Construction skilled	1.7%	5.0%
Animal raising	0.5%	0.5%
Others	1.5%	6.5%
Unemployed	0	5.7%

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR23 CURRENT JOB FOR HHOLD HEAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
CONSTRN NONSKLD	1.	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
CONSTRN SKILD	2.	20	5.0	5.0	7.7
SALES+SERVICES	3.	161	40.3	40.3	48.0
MECHNCL SKILD	5.	32	8.0	8.0	56.0
GNRL NONSKLD	6.	125	31.3	31.3	87.2
ANIMAL RAISING	7.	2	0.5	0.5	87.8
OTHERS	8.	26	6.5	6.5	94.2
UNEMPLOYED	9.	23	5.7	5.7	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	4.682	STD ERROR	0.103	MEDIAN	4.375
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	2.061	VARIANCE	4.247
KURTOSIS	-0.782	SKEWNESS	0.406	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	9.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

In comparing the changes indicated above, the following observations could be made:

(a) There is a considerable drop in the category of the general non-skilled occupation which fell by one-third from 46.3% to 31.3%. There were similar drops in the other non-skilled occupations such as the mechanical non-skilled which fell from 4% in the first time in Baghdad jobs to non-existence in the current time and the construction non-skilled from 7.5% to 2.7%. If one also considers the increase in the skilled categories of both the mechanical occupation (increased from 2.5% to 8%) and the construction occupation (increased from 1.7% to 5%), it would appear they both had increased approximately three fold. These changes suggest that in time migrants obtain skills in their chosen occupations, and this changes their classification from non-skilled to skilled workers.

(b) The drop in the non-skilled categories could also be linked to the increase in the sales and services sector job holders from 36% to 40.3%, although a meagre change if compared to the drop in the general non-skilled occupation but may still be attributed to that sector recruiting household heads who have dropped out of the non-skilled categories.

(c) Migrants have also sought new fields of jobs such as private business in the industrial sector, gardeners, and also some of them are retired Government employees* now, which accounts for the four fold increase in the other occupations category.

(d) Animal raising seems to be the only unchanged category which migrant households seem to have stuck to since their arrival in town. The obvious justification of this might be that the cost of switching over to other categories is a discouraging factor as it involves selling their livestock and it also works the other way round in that new people who wished to get into this category would need considerable capital to invest, far beyond the financial ability of most migrant households.

(e) Unemployment in this Thesis research sample at 5.7% seems to be rather high in comparison with the national figures, estimated in 1973 to be around 6.8%,(157) which includes the whole nation - both urban and rural, and certainly is much higher than Baghdad city which had a meagre unemployment figure of around 2% in 1972.(158)

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* The retired category is either with a pension (when it will be consider with 'others' employment which includes only retired Government employees) or without a pension (private sector) which is considered unemployed.

(157) Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, U.N.Adviser Nils Strom Estimate, 1973 Annual Abstract of Statistics, Table 208, p.358.

(158) Poles Service, op.cit., p.85.

The increase of unemployed migrant household heads from nil to 5.7% over the sample's average stay in Baghdad of around 16 years (VAR.03) could be attributed mostly to migrant household heads reaching the retiring age more than the prospect of less job availability for migrants. This is supported by the increase of number of wage earners per household from the 1957 reported figure of 1.3 workers per family (Miss Farman's survey, p.306) to the 1975 Thesis research data (VAR.25) of 1.850 workers per household or 1.6 workers per family, which may also suggest early retirement for the household head having more members engaged in employment to support the household. The significant increase in the number of migrant household heads over the age of 60, from the very low proportion of 0.5% at the time of migration to the Capital (VAR.02) to around 18.5% at the current time, 1975 (VAR.22), supports the explanation above for the unemployment condition in the migrant areas.

The Thesis research sample data seems to agree with Dr. Aziz's figures of 2.4% unemployed in 1964 more than Miss Farman's 1957 figure of 7%. As is reported by Miss Farman's survey, the 7% figure represents only temporary unemployment of those reported unemployed,

while the 2.4% 1964 figure reported by Dr.Aziz was of unemployed migrants unable to find jobs for a considerable period. The Thesis research figure of nil unemployment on the average in 1959 (corresponding to around 16 years' average stay in Baghdad reported by the total of VAR.03) makes more logical interpretations, if matched with the 2.4% in 1964 (Dr. Aziz's survey) and the 5.7% in 1975 (VAR.23), than the 1957 figure of 7% unemployed reported by Miss Farman's research. One more reason that could be a possible explanation for this different finding is, while both this Thesis survey and Dr. Aziz's survey were in the housing project sector for the migrants which included migrants of all the removed hutments in the Capital, Miss Farman's 7% unemployment was reported for a sample selection from one settlement, Al-Asima.

On the issue of current income of migrant households in Baghdad (VAR.24 and Z1), it might be advantageous to compare this against the income figures reported by Miss Farman's survey and Dr. Aziz's research, as in the following: (see p.436)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR25 NOS WAGE EARNERS PER HHOLD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
ONE HHOLD HD	1.	265	66.2	66.2	66.2
ONE HHOLD MEMB	2.	9	2.2	2.2	68.5
TWO	3.	63	15.7	15.7	84.2
THREE	4.	47	11.7	11.7	96.0
MORE THAN THREE	5.	16	4.0	4.0	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.850	STD ERROR	0.064	MEDIAN	1.377
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.277	VARIANCE	1.632
KURTOSIS	0.331	SKEWNESS	1.088	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS = 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR24 AVG MONTHLY INCOME CURRENTLY FOR HEAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	8.	10	2.5	2.6	2.6
	15.	77	19.2	20.3	23.0
	25.	174	43.5	45.9	68.9
	35.	35	8.7	9.2	78.1
	45.	43	10.7	11.3	89.4
	55.	21	5.2	5.5	95.0
	65.	19	4.7	5.0	100.0
	0.	21	5.2	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	29.380	STD ERROR	0.715	MEDIAN	25.891
MODE	25.000	STD DEV	13.927	VARIANCE	193.966
KURTOSIS	0.361	SKEWNESS	1.024	RANGE	57.000
MINIMUM	8.000	MAXIMUM	65.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS = 379
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 21 PER CAPTA MONTH HDINCOM BAG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
UP TO 2.0I.D	1.00	67	16.7	16.7	16.7
2.01 TO 4.0 I.D	2.00	150	39.7	39.7	56.5
4.01 TO 6.0I.D	3.00	85	21.2	21.2	77.7
OVER 6.0 I.D	4.00	80	22.2	22.2	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.490	STD ERROR	0.051	MEDIAN	2.336
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	1.016	VARIANCE	1.032
KURTOSIS	-1.096	SKEWNESS	0.186	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 21 PER CAPTA MONTH HDINCOM RAS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	0.00	21	5.2	5.2	5.2
	0.75	2	0.5	0.5	5.7
	0.80	2	0.5	0.5	6.2
	1.09	2	0.5	0.5	6.7
	1.25	2	0.5	0.5	7.2
	1.36	2	0.5	0.5	7.7
	1.47	4	1.0	1.0	8.7
	1.50	2	0.5	0.5	9.2
	1.60	2	0.5	0.5	9.7
	1.67	14	3.5	3.5	13.2
	1.87	10	2.5	2.5	15.7
	1.92	4	1.0	1.0	16.7
	2.08	10	2.5	2.5	19.2
	2.14	10	2.5	2.5	21.7
	2.27	8	2.0	2.0	23.7
	2.50	25	6.2	6.2	30.0
	2.67	6	1.5	1.5	31.5
	2.78	35	8.7	8.7	40.3
	2.92	2	0.5	0.5	40.7
	3.12	14	3.5	3.5	44.2
	3.18	2	0.5	0.5	44.8
	3.50	2	0.5	0.5	45.2
	3.57	23	5.7	5.7	51.0
	3.75	20	5.0	5.0	56.0
	3.89	2	0.5	0.5	56.5
	4.09	2	0.5	0.5	57.0
	4.17	18	4.5	4.5	61.5

4.23	2	0.5	0"5	62.0
4.37	9	2.2	2"2	64.2
4.50	4	1.0	1"0	65.2
5.00	34	8.5	8"5	73.7
5.50	6	1.5	1"5	75.2
5.62	2	0.5	0"5	75.7
5.83	2	0.5	0"5	76.2
5.91	6	1.5	1"5	77.7
6.25	12	3.0	3"0	80.7
6.43	10	2.5	2"5	83.2
6.50	4	1.0	1"0	84.2
7.00	4	1.0	1"0	85.2
7.50	8	2.0	2"0	87.2
7.86	4	1.0	1"0	88.2
8.33	10	2.5	2"5	90.8
8.75	4	1.0	1"0	91.7
9.00	7	1.7	1"7	93.5
9.17	2	0.5	0"5	94.0
9.29	5	1.2	1"2	95.2
12.50	8	2.0	2"0	97.2
13.00	2	0.5	0"5	97.7
13.75	2	0.5	0"5	98.2
22.50	2	0.5	0"5	98.7
27.50	2	0.8	0"8	99.5
32.50	2	0.5	0"5	100.0
TOTAL	400	100.0	100"0	100.0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

STATISTICS..

MEAN	4.559	STD ERROR	0"205	MEDIAN	3.639
MODE	2.778	STD DEV	4"094	VARIANCE	16.757
KURTOSIS	17.931	SKEWNESS	3"552	RANGE	32.500

Monthly Income (I.D.) for household head	% of sample: Thesis Research Survey(1975) (VAR.24)	Miss Farman's Survey(1957)	Dr..Aziz's Research (1964)
Under 5 I.D	5.2%	24.7%	1.7%
5 - 10 I.D.	2.5%	40.2%	8.1%
10 - 20 I.D.	19.2%	26.7%	54.3%
20 - 30 I.D.	43.5%	7.3%	34.9%
Over 30 I.D.	29.3%	-	-
Average monthly income (I.D.)	29.380 I.D.	9.367 I.D.	17.807 I.D.
Household size	7.68	6.5	5.8
Per Capita Monthly Income (I.D.)	4.559 (Z1 totals)	1.441	3.070

It is quite evident from the above that the average monthly income of the migrant households has more than tripled over the past twenty years. The figures of the three surveys have shown a relative slowing down of the increment over the second period, 1964-1975, with the first period, 1957-1964, showing a doubling of the monthly income, while the second period showed an increase of just over 64% over the first years' period. If the per capita income is taken instead of the total household head's income, a similar pattern will emerge. If we consider the change in the income of the rural household over the periods,

1956-1964 and 1964-1969, according to the Ministry of Planning figures,(159) we will find that the rural household annual income has increased from 175.8 I.D. in 1957 (14.65 I.D. per month) to 209.60 I.D. in 1964 (17.467 I.D. per month) an increase of around 19%, while in the same period the rural migrant household in Baghdad managed to double their income. In the same manner the 1964-1969 period showed an increase of around 24.5% (from 209.60 to 261.00 in 1969) in the rural houshold annual income while the migrant's income managed to increase to just over 64% between 1964 and 1975, which suggests around 38% increase for the 1964-1969 period. One must be clear of the value of the Ministry of Planning figures since they represent the value of the agricultural product in a given year divided by the rural population engaged in agriculture. The feudal system predominance in the rural areas until the early sixties, and in some areas even until the late sixties, makes the division of income accrued from the agricultural output more of the order of 6 : 1 rather than 1 : 1 suggested by the Ministry's figures (see Part I, p. 27). This may explain why the incomes reported by the migrants in their rural villages (VAR.40) were an average of 8.333 LD. per month, less than half the monthly income of 1964 or about half the 1957 monthly income both reported by the Ministry of Planning (above).

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(159) Ministry of Planning, Economics Department, Baghdad, "Economic Indicators for the Development of the Iraqi Economy", May 1972, Table No. 25, p.73.

The average given in the totals of VAR.40 involve periods up to 1975 at which time (especially after the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law) the rural households were more in a position to expect complete fairness in distribution of the agricultural income in their rural villages with the almost complete abolishment of the feudal system and the tribal chiefs' class control. The cross-tabulation of Variable Z4 (the ratio between Baghdad's current income and village income) against the time of migration will throw considerable light on this issue. Migrants in the Capital, making in 1957 (according to Miss Farman's survey) significantly less than the national figure for rural household income, surpassed the national figure in 1964 by earning 17.807 monthly (according to Dr. Aziz's figures - Table p.313) against 17.46 I.D. monthly suggested by the Ministry of Planning figures. The migrant household head's income in 1975 was an average of 29.380 I.D. monthly (VAR.24) which comes to an annual income of 352.60 I.D. which is so much higher than the projected rural family income in 1975 (assuming similar 1964-1969 income growth pattern until 1975). Before leaving the issue of the migrants' income in Baghdad the following shows an interesting comparison between the change in 1957-1971 of the per capita income national

figures for all Iraq,(160) in the 1957-1975 per capita income of the migrants in Baghdad and in the 1957-1969 per capita income for the rural household. Although the figures refer to slightly different lengths of periods, they cover, more or less, the same particular years, which may give some indication in support of the wisdom of the rural migrants leaving their rural villages in search of a better economic future in the city. (Data used for this table are plotted in Figure No. 28, p.441).

Period and Source	Value of	Change over Period	Change per year
1957-1971 Ministry of Planning	Per Capita Income All Iraq	+ 77%	+ 5.5%
1957-1969 Ministry of Planning	Per Capita Income Rural Household (using Thesis survey household size average of 7.68 - VAR.19)	+ 48%	+4.0%
1957-1975 Thesis Research	Per Capita Income Migrant Household in Baghdad (using Miss Farman's survey as 1957 base)	+216%	+12%

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(160) 1957-1969 National and Rural Income figures from: Ministry of Planning - Economics Department, Baghdad, Ibid., May 1972, Table No. 20, p.63.
1971 National per capita Income figure from: Ministry of Planning - C.S.O., Dept. of National Accounts, Baghdad, "National Income in Iraq, 1964-1971", December 1973, Table No. 5, p.43

Thus, according to the above table (and Figure No.28), the migrants in Baghdad tripled their income in under twenty years in the Capital at more than double the national per capita income annual increase and around three times the annual rate of increase of income of the rural household. In real money terms the migrants' income in the Capital, while showing less than the national average for the income of a rural family in 1957, bearing in mind the reservations on the actual income division in the rural area (see p.437), exceeded in 1964 that national figure and in the 1975 Thesis research survey was significantly higher than the estimated rural household income. In comparison to the national per capita income figures the gap between the migrant income in the Capital and the national per capita income narrowed over the period of 1957-1975, as shown in the following: (See also Figure No. 28, p.441)

Year	Migrant per Capita Income in Baghdad	Rural per capita Income	National per Capita Income (all Iraq)
1957	1.441 (Miss Farman)	1.907 (Min.Plan.)	5.067 (Min.Plan.)
1964	3.070 (Dr. Aziz)	2.274 (Min.Plan.)	6.325 (Min.Plan.)
1975	4.559 (Thesis Survey)	2.962*	8.793**

* Estimate by Author using 1957-1964 rates of change

** Estimate by Author using 1957-1964 rates of change

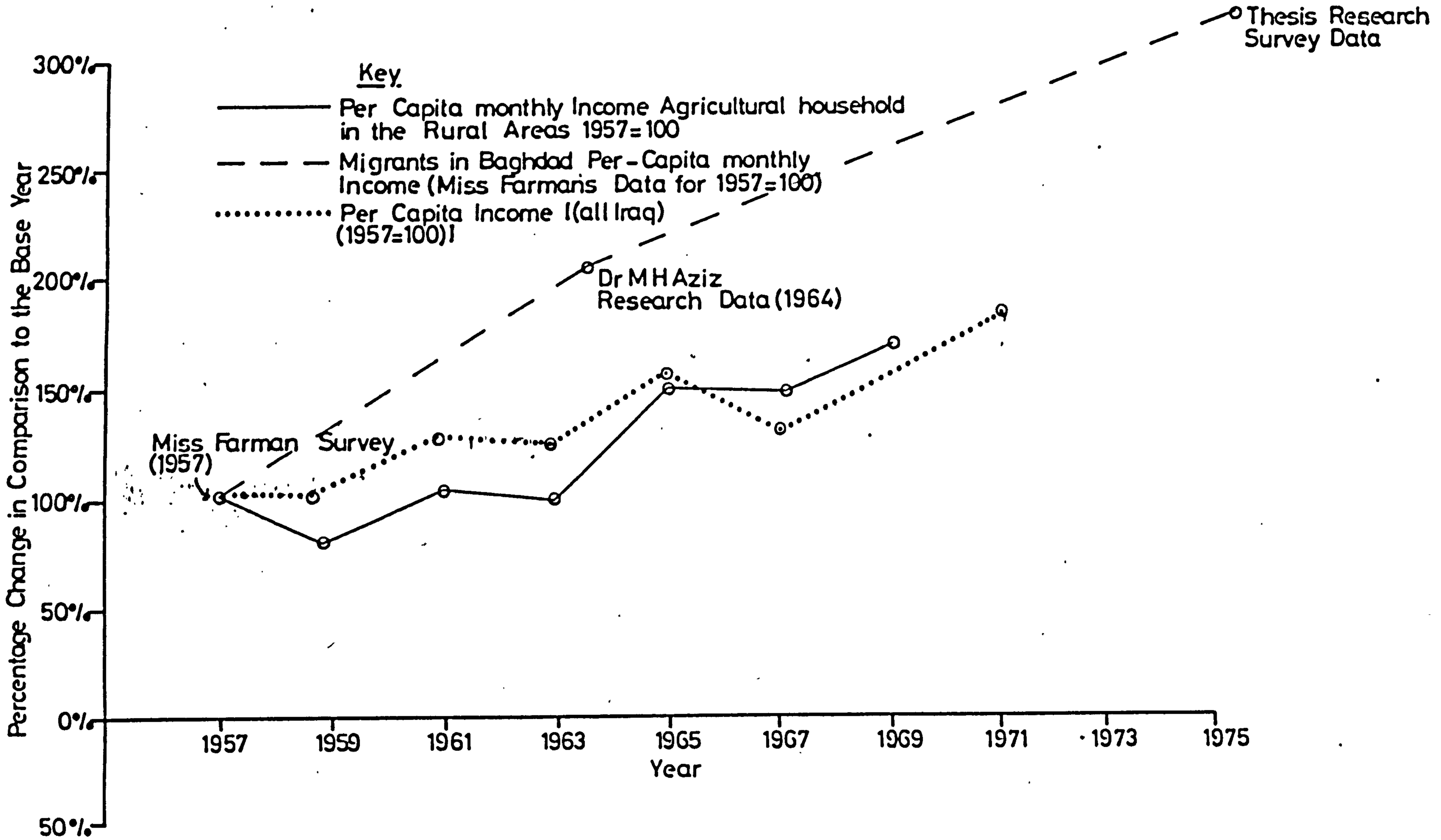

Fig No. 28 MIGRANTS HOUSEHOLD PER CAPITA INCOME CHANGE IN THE CAPITAL (1957-1975) IN COMPARISON TO RURAL HOUSEHOLD AND TOTAL IRAQ INCOME CHANGE (Based on sources used for Table on p 439)

Data on the differentials between urban and rural household expenditures released in 1972 shows no significant difference in the amount spent monthly on household expenditure.(161) It even showed a slight (less than 10%) increase in the southern and northern regions for rural household foodstuffs* expenditure against their urban counterparts. For overall Iraq the figures were 25.419 I.D. (for urban household) against 22.433 I.D. (for the rural household).

The figures seem more in favour of an extreme economic superiority of the income disparity between the migrant household in Baghdad and the rural household in the home village, when the total household income is considered rather than the household head's income alone (as in the above discussions). In the urban areas the characteristics of the rural traditions of having to consider the head's income as the only "acceptable" source of living for the whole of the household is no longer a valid assumption and the prosperity of the household is more a function of the total members' income than solely that of the household head. Thus, if the totals of VAR.26, which is the total income of the household, are considered when all the members' incomes included average 41.670 I.D.

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(161) Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., Baghdad, "Household Budget Survey 1971/72," Jan. 1972, Table 1/10, p.24.

* Foodstuffs account for 60-75% of most households' monthly expenditure. (Source: Footnote 161).

(over 41.8% in excess of the household head's income only, VAR.24), then the above economic argument for the migration of the household will be greatly strengthened. The average per capita income of the household when considering all the household members' incomes (Variable Z2) will jump from the per capita income figure of 4.559 I.D., which considers only the household head's income (Variable Z1), to 6.339 I.D. and this is over 39% higher.

Finally on the income issue, Variable Z4 shows the ratio of the per capita income of the migrant household (head's income only) currently in the Capital to the per capita income in the home village before migration. The totals of Variable Z4 show 9.4% of the sample making over ten times their rural village income, 21.6% making eight times, 18% making five times and 25.4% making three times their rural village income with 4.1% making only equal to their income in the village. The average for this ratio is 5.892 meaning that on the average the migrant currently in the Capital makes around six times his income in the village. If one adds to this obvious huge numerical difference between migrants' incomes in the Capital and their incomes in the village, other factors in favour of city life, such as job security, diversity of job opportunities, the possibility of all able household members (females and males) getting employment, coupled with the

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR26 TOTAL AVG MONTHLY INCOME CURENTLY HHOLD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	8.	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	15.	51	12.7	12.7	14.2
	25.	110	29.8	29.8	44.0
	35.	47	11.7	11.7	55.7
	45.	51	12.7	12.7	68.5
	55.	29	7.2	7.2	75.7
	65.	36	9.0	9.0	84.7
	75.	18	4.5	4.5	89.2
	85.	43	10.7	10.7	100.0
	0.	0	0.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	41.670	STD ERROR	1.131
MODE	25.000	STD DEV	22.627
KURTOSIS	-0.813	SKEWNESS	0.637
MINIMUM	8.000	MAXIMUM	85.000
		MEDIAN	35.106
		VARIANCE	511.976
		RANGE	77.000

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE Z2 PER CAPTA MONTH INCOME ALLMEMB BAG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
UP TO 2.01.D	1.00	28	7.0	7.0	7.0
2.01 TO 4.0 I.D	2.00	119	29.8	29.8	36.7
4.01 TO 6.0 I.D	3.00	79	19.7	19.7	56.5
6.01 TO 8.0 I.D	4.00	54	13.5	13.5	70.0
OVER 8.0 I.D	5.00	120	30.0	30.0	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.298	STD ERROR	0.068	MEDIAN	3.171
MODE	5.000	STD DEV	1.352	VARIANCE	1.829
KURTOSIS	-1.392	SKEWNESS	0.009	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 22 PER CAPTA MONTH INCOME AILMEMB RAG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	1.36	2	0.5	0.5	0.5
	1.50	2	0.5	0.5	1.0
	1.60	2	0.5	0.5	1.5
	1.67	10	2.5	2.5	4.0
	1.87	10	2.5	2.5	6.5
	1.92	2	0.5	0.5	7.0
	2.08	10	2.5	2.5	9.5
	2.14	4	1.0	1.0	10.5
	2.27	4	1.0	1.0	11.5
	2.50	19	4.7	4.7	16.2
	2.67	4	1.0	1.0	17.2
	2.78	17	4.2	4.2	21.5
	2.92	2	0.5	0.5	22.0
	3.12	12	3.0	3.0	25.0
	3.18	2	0.5	0.5	25.5
	3.50	2	0.5	0.5	26.0
	3.57	20	5.0	5.0	31.0
	3.61	3	0.8	0.8	31.7
	3.70	2	0.5	0.5	32.2
	3.75	10	2.5	2.5	34.7
	3.89	8	2.0	2.0	36.7
	4.09	4	1.0	1.0	37.7
	4.17	14	3.5	3.5	41.2
	4.23	2	0.5	0.5	41.8
	4.25	2	0.5	0.5	42.2
	4.37	9	2.2	2.2	44.5
	4.50	4	1.0	1.0	45.5

5.00	26	6.5	6"5	52.0
5.42	2	0.5	0"5	52.5
5.50	4	1.0	1"0	53.5
5.62	2	0.5	0"5	54.0
5.77	2	0.5	0"5	54.5
5.83	2	0.5	0"5	55.0
5.91	6	1.5	1"5	56.5
6.25	8	2.0	2"0	58.5
6.43	12	3.0	3"0	61.5
6.50	2	0.5	0"5	62.0
6.82	2	0.5	0"5	62.5
7.00	4	1.0	1"0	63.5
7.08	2	0.5	0"5	64.0
7.22	6	1.5	1"5	65.5
7.50	10	2.5	2"5	68.0
7.73	4	1.0	1"0	69.0
7.86	4	1.0	1"0	70.0
8.33	16	4.0	4"0	74.0
8.50	14	3.5	3"5	77.5
8.75	12	3.0	3"0	80.5
9.00	7	1.7	1"7	82.2
9.17	6	1.5	1"5	83.7
9.29	7	1.7	1"7	85.5
9.44	8	2.0	2"0	87.5
10.62	2	0.5	0"5	88.0
10.71	4	1.0	1"0	89.0
10.83	2	0.5	0"5	89.5
11.00	6	1.5	1"5	91.0
11.25	2	0.5	0"5	91.5
12.14	5	1.2	1"2	92.7

12.50	8	2.0	2.0	94.7
13.00	2	0.5	0.5	95.2
13.75	2	0.5	0.5	95.7
15.00	4	1.0	1.0	96.8
16.25	2	0.5	0.5	97.2
18.75	2	0.5	0.5	97.7
21.67	2	0.5	0.5	98.2
22.50	2	0.5	0.5	98.7
27.50	3	0.8	0.8	99.5
32.50	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	6.339	STD ERROR	0.226	MEDIAN	5.067
MODE	5.000	STD DEV	4.518	VARIANCE	20.412
KURTOSIS	8.713	SKEWNESS	2.383	RANGE	31.136
MINIMUM	1.364	MAXIMUM	32.500		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 0

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE Z4 RATIO BAG TO VILAGE MONTH HDINCOM

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
UNEMPLOYED	0.00	21	5.2	5.3	5.3
EQUAL INCOMES	1.00	16	4.0	4.1	9.4
1.5 TIMES	2.00	64	16.0	16.2	25.6
THREE TIMES	3.00	100	25.0	25.4	51.0
FIVE TIMES	4.00	71	17.7	18.0	69.0
EIGHT TIMES	5.00	85	21.2	21.6	90.6
OVER TEN TIMES	6.00	37	9.2	9.4	100.0
	-99.00	6	1.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	3.490	STD ERROR	0.079	MEDIAN	3.460
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.568	VARIANCE	2.459
KURTOSIS	-0.483	SKEWNESS	-0.315	RANGE	6.000
MINIMUM	0.000	MAXIMUM	6.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 394
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 6

FILE NOHAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE 24 RATIO BAG TO VILAGE MONTH NOINCOM

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
	0.00	21	5.2	5.3	5.3
	0.78	2	0.5	0.5	5.8
	1.00	14	3.5	3.6	9.4
	1.29	2	0.5	0.5	9.9
	1.40	2	0.5	0.5	10.4
	1.67	37	9.2	9.4	19.8
	1.86	2	0.5	0.5	20.3
	1.87	21	5.2	5.3	25.6
	2.33	13	3.2	3.3	28.9
	2.60	2	0.5	0.5	29.4
	3.00	12	3.0	3.0	32.5
	3.12	44	11.5	11.7	44.2
	3.20	10	2.5	2.5	46.7
	3.67	17	4.2	4.3	51.0
	4.33	13	3.2	3.3	54.3
	4.57	4	1.0	1.0	55.3
	5.42	10	2.5	2.5	57.9
	6.00	44	11.0	11.2	69.0
	10.00	85	21.2	21.4	90.6
	14.00	14	3.5	3.6	94.2
	18.00	17	4.2	4.3	98.5
	22.00	4	1.0	1.0	99.5
	26.00	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	-99.00	6	1.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

FILE NOHAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

STATISTICS..

MEAN	5.892	STD ERROR	0.251	MEDIAN	3.867
MODE	10.000	STD DEV	4.984	VARIANCE	24.840
KURTOSIS	-1.579	SKEWNESS	1.307	RANGE	26.000

continuous deterioration of the economic conditions in the rural areas, the picture of why the rural population are continually leaving their home villages will not be too difficult to understand. The huge income differential in favour of city employment adds more difficulties to the realization of the reverse migration policy adopted by the Government. It makes both the convincing of potential participants to go and the convincing of acutal participants on the projects of reverse migration to stay that much more difficult.

3.3.4.1.5 Leisure Time Activities:

Total Analysis No.

3.3.4.1.5.1 VAR.44, 45 and 43 - Leisure time activities of the migrant household head

Migrants, when they were in their home village, seemed to spend their leisure time in a similar fashion to the way they do in the city. In both cases the main place for spending leisure time was in the migrants' own home where 54.5% of the sample when in the village (VAR.44) and 63.2% of the sample when in Baghdad (VAR.45) reported spending most of their leisure time. The café (coffee house) in Baghdad, which seems to have replaced the tribal chief's guest house in the village, is where 28% of the sample reported spending most of their leisure time in the city, whereas 39.7% spent their leisure time in the village in the tribal chief's guest house, there being

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR44 LIESURE TIME PLACES FOR HEAD AT VILAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
TRIB GUEST HOME	1.	150	39.7	40.2	40.2
AT HOME	2.	218	54.5	55.1	95.2
AT MOSQUE	4.	17	4.2	4.3	99.5
AT OTHER PLACES	5.	2	0.5	0.5	100.0
	0.	4	1.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.699	STD ERROR	0.037	MEDIAN	1.768
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.728	VARIANCE	0.530
KURTOSIS	3.814	SKEWNESS	1.520	RANGE	4.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	5.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 396
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 4

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR45 LIESURE TIME PLACES FOR HEAD AT BAGHDAD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
AT CAFE	1.	112	28.0	28.1	28.1
AT HOME	2.	253	63.2	63.6	91.7
AT MOSQUE	3.	23	5.7	5.8	97.5
AT OTHER PLACES	4.	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	0.	2	0.5	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	1.827	STD ERROR	0.032	MEDIAN	1.844
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	0.641	VARIANCE	0.411
KURTOSIS	1.780	SKEWNESS	0.749	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 398
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 2

no café as such in the village. The tribal chief's guest house actually acted as a café in the rural areas up until recently when cafés started to appear in the relatively large rural villages - mostly the ones being an administrative centre of some kind. The Mosque came third in terms of priority of the leisure time places of the household head, both in the village (4.2%) and in the Capital (5.7%). An interesting comparison between the two leisure time activity centres, i.e. in the rural village and in Baghdad, is the five fold ratio of "other places" in Baghdad compared to the village. Naturally the diversity of leisure time places in the Capital is the obvious reason for this variance. Miss Farman's survey came up with similar findings where 53% of adults in her sample reported regular visits to the coffee houses in the Capital (i.e. cafés), and 10% reported going to the Mosque regularly. It is also interesting to note the drop in Mosque attendance over the last twenty years for the migrant households by about 50% (from 10% in Miss Farman's survey - 1957, to 5.7% in the Thesis research survey - 1975). Visiting between households of migrant origin is a very common thing and it explains the high proportion of those spending their leisure time at home. Miss D. G. Phillips commented in her Article that,

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

VARIABLE VAR43 ORGIN OF HEAD PERSONAL FRIENDS AT BAGD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	CUMULATIVE ADJ FREQ (PERCENT)
FRM RURL AREAS	1.	23	5.7	5.9	5.9
FRM BAGHDAD	2.	40	10.0	10.2	16.1
FROM BOTH	3.	329	82.2	83.9	100.0
	0.	8	2.0	MISSING	100.0
	TOTAL	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

STATISTICS..

MEAN	2.781	STD ERROR	0.027	MEDIAN	2.702
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	0.538	VARIANCE	0.289
KURTOSIS	4.560	SKEWNESS	-2.402	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000		

VALID OBSERVATIONS - 392
MISSING OBSERVATIONS - 8

> "Arabs are a social people and have little understanding of or opportunity for privacy. The universal form of segregation is sitting and talking for women, in their homes or in the homes of their relatives and neighbours, for the older boys and men, when they have the cash, in coffee houses." (162)

The sociability of the migrants and the proof of their rapid acceptance of the urban society in the Capital is clearly shown in the percentage of their friends who are of urban origin being 10% against those reported as having friends only from the rural areas, 5.7%, with the majority of the migrants' sample, who reported having friends from both rural and urban origin, being 82.2% (VAR.43). The rather weak relation of migrants with their home village population, shown in Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5 (p.361) and VAR.55 (p.364), supports this.

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(162) D. G. Phillips - op.cit., p.417.

Cross-Tabulation Analysis

3.3.4.2 Subregional differences Cross-tabulations:

Place of birth of household head - Migrant's origin VAR.01

versus: vs.

Cross-tabulation No.		
3.3.4.2.1	Reasons for Migration	VAR.27/ VAR.28
3.3.4.2.2	Historical Reasons for Migration by Subregion	VAR.27 vs. VAR.03
3.3.4.2.3	Characteristics of Migrants	
3.3.4.2.3.1	Income in village	Z3
3.3.4.2.3.2	Size of household	VAR.19
3.3.4.2.3.3	Age of household head when migrated	VAR.02
3.3.4.2.3.4	Sector settled in first time in Baghdad	VAR.05
	Reason for settling in sector	VAR.06
3.3.4.2.3.5	Contacts with old village	VAR.54
	Type of contacts with old village	VAR.55
3.3.4.2.3.6	Type of occupation of household head in home village	VAR.46
	Type of occupation of household head in Baghdad	VAR.47

3.3.4.3 Time-linked Cross-tabulations:

	Date household head migrated to Baghdad	VAR.03
	versus:	vs.
Cross-tabulation No.		
3.3.4.3.1	First reason for migrating to Baghdad	VAR.27
	Second reason for migrating to Baghdad	VAR.28
3.3.4.3.2	First sector settled in Baghdad	VAR.05
	First order reason for settling in sector	VAR.06
	First order reason for moving from first sector	VAR.10
	Type of first residence in Baghdad	VAR.08
3.3.4.3.3	First job in Baghdad	VAR.47
	Ratio of Baghdad current income to home village income	Z4
3.3.4.3.4	Head difficulties upon first arrival	VAR.51
3.3.4.3.5	Contacts with home village	VAR.54
	Form of contacts	VAR.55

3.3.4.4 General Purpose Cross-tabulations:

Cross-tabulation No.

3.3.4.4.1 Reasons for settling in first sector — VAR.06

versus — vs.

Sector settled in first time in Baghdad — VAR.05

3.3.4.4.2 First reason for migrating to Baghdad — VAR.27

versus — vs.

Household head's occupation in village — VAR.46

Household head's occupation in village — VAR.46

versus — vs.

Per capita income in village — Z3

First reason for migrating to Baghdad — VAR.27

versus — vs.

Per capita income in village — Z3

3.3.4.4.3 First order reason for migrating to Baghdad — VAR. 27

versus — vs.

If household head visited Baghdad before migration — VAR..48

Cross-Tabulation Analysis

3.3.4.2 Subregional differences Cross-tabulations:

This investigation in the subregional differences in the migration pattern and the characteristics of the migrants represents a major contribution to the existing research in Iraq about internal migration. It marks the first attempt by research to investigate the variances which may exist between subregions in terms of local factors to induce migration and the characteristics of those subregions' rural population pushed to migrate. Such an approach is vital if the outcome of this Thesis in establishing the need for a regional policy is to be accomplished. Previous research, as has been pointed out (p.318) tends to concentrate on totals of variables of the questionnaires used to investigate the migrant settlements without correlating any variables, due to shortage in time and in most cases the lack of statistical technology which is available now that facilitates such a process.

Cross-Tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.1

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Reasons for migration: (VAR.27/28)

First order reasons (VAR.27)

Second order reasons (VAR.28)

As discussed in Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5 (p.351) the push factors account for around 82% of the migrants' choice for first order reasons for migration. In this cross-tabulation two hypothesis are put to the test:

(a) The subregions with a strong tribal and feudal rural society have the tribal factors as the main reasons for migration. The southern subregion of Mysan (see Figure No. 29, following) and the central subregion of Wasit (Kut) are examples of application of this hypothesis. (See Part I, p. 22)

(b) Subregions with weak feudal systems have the economic factors such as deteriorated rural standards of living and rural unemployment as the main reasons for migration; these should be in the central subregions such as Babylon, Diala and Baghdad rural.

Observations:

The attached cross-tabulation of Household head's origin (VAR.01) versus First reason for Migration (VAR.27) shows the following:

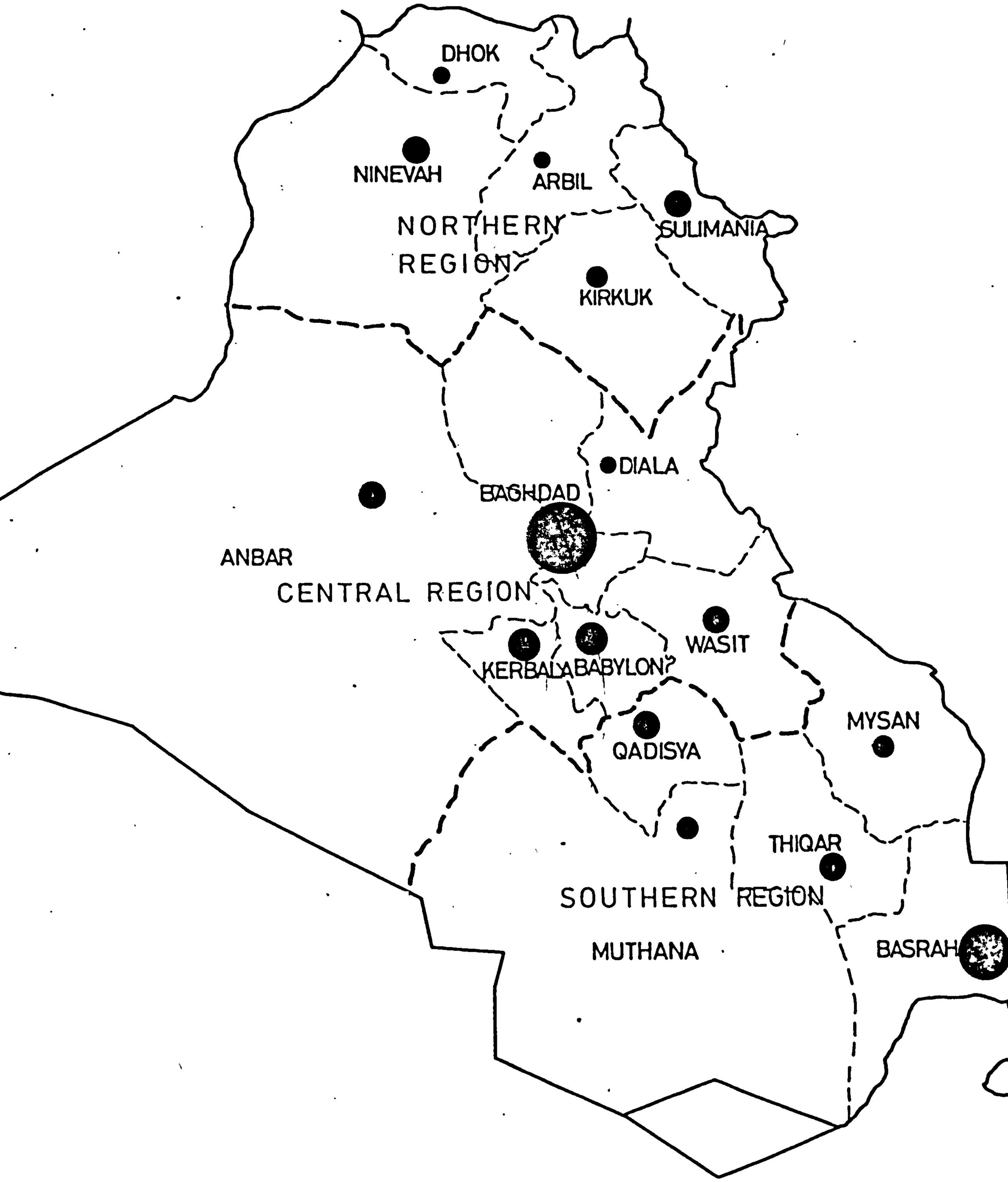

FIG No.29 IRAQ REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS
(pre 1976 Subdivisions)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD
*

VAR01	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR27 1.0 DETR LIVIG	2.0 STD HGH PAY	3.0 LBR BAGD	4.0 UNEMPMNT RURL	5.0 TRB CHEF INJSTCE	6.0 BTER HOS G BAGD	8.0 OWN MEMB MIGRTD	10.0 BTR HTHS VCE BAGD	OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD		11	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	15	
		73.3	13.3	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	
		5.6	11.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
		2.7	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
2. WASIT		26	2	0	14	0	0	0	2	44	
		59.1	4.5	0.0	31.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	11.0	
		13.3	11.1	0.0	11.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.4		
		6.5	0.5	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5		
3. QADISYA MUTHNA		22	0	0	4	0	0	2	2	30	
		73.3	0.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	6.7	6.7	7.5	
		11.2	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	5.4		
		5.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5		
4. THIQAR		17	2	0	4	0	0	0	8	31	
		54.8	6.5	0.0	12.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.8	7.7	
		8.7	11.1	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.6		
		4.2	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0		
5. DIALA		10	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	18	
		55.6	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	4.5	
		5.1	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.4		
		2.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5		
6. BABYLON		6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	
		100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	
		3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
		1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
7. MYSAN		83	6	4	89	0	9	0	23	214	
		38.8	2.8	1.9	41.6	0.0	4.2	0.0	10.7	53.5	
		42.3	33.3	44.4	72.4	0.0	69.2	0.0	62.2		
		20.7	1.5	1.0	22.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	5.7		
8. OTHERS RURAL		21	6	5	4	2	4	0	0	42	
		50.0	14.3	11.9	9.5	4.8	9.5	0.0	0.0	10.5	
		10.7	33.3	55.6	3.3	100.0	30.8	0.0	0.0		
		5.2	1.5	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0		
COLUMN TOTAL		196	18	9	123	2	13	2	37	400	
		49.0	4.5	2.2	30.7	0.5	3.2	0.5	9.2	100.0	

CHI SQUARE = 143.68567 WITH 49 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.22653
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.51408
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.11325 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03976 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR23 SECOND REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR23 1.1 DETR STD LIVNG	2.1 HGH LBR PAY BAGD	3.1 UNEMPMNT RUPT	4.1 TRB CHFF INJSTCE	6.1 OWN MEMB MIGRTD	7.1 ENTER G BAGD	10 LVN OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD		4	0	2	0	0	2	0	8
		50.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	2.3
		3.1	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	
		1.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	
2. WASIT		3	0	12	4	6	8	0	38
		21.1	0.0	31.6	10.5	15.8	21.1	0.0	11.0
		6.2	0.0	17.1	16.7	37.5	9.3	0.0	
		2.3	0.0	3.5	1.2	1.7	2.3	0.0	
3. QADISYA MUTHNA		4	4	4	4	0	8	0	24
		16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	7.0
		3.1	66.7	5.7	16.7	0.0	9.3	0.0	
		1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.0	2.3	0.0	
4. THIQAR		4	0	0	5	2	8	4	23
		17.4	0.0	0.0	21.7	8.7	34.8	17.4	6.7
		3.1	0.0	0.0	20.8	12.5	9.3	28.6	
		1.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.6	2.3	1.2	
5. DIALA		6	0	4	2	2	4	0	18
		33.3	0.0	22.2	11.1	11.1	22.2	0.0	5.2
		4.7	0.0	5.7	8.3	12.5	4.7	0.0	
		1.7	0.0	1.2	0.6	0.6	1.2	0.0	
6. BABYLON		0	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
		0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	1.2
		0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	
		0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	
7. MYSAN		83	0	42	9	4	38	10	191
		46.1	0.0	22.0	4.7	2.1	19.9	5.2	55.5
		68.0	0.0	60.0	37.5	25.0	44.2	71.4	
		25.6	0.0	12.2	2.6	1.2	11.0	2.9	
8. OTHERS RURAL		14	2	4	0	2	16	0	38
		36.8	5.3	10.5	0.0	5.3	42.1	0.0	11.0
		10.9	33.3	5.7	0.0	12.5	18.6	0.0	
		4.1	0.6	1.2	0.0	0.6	4.7	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		128	6	70	24	16	86	14	344
		37.2	1.7	20.3	7.0	4.7	25.0	4.1	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 121.73314 WITH 42 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.24286
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.51125
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.03317 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0073
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07201 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0231

(a) For hypothesis (a) above:

(1) Mysan, the southern subregional origin of the majority of the migrants sample (53.5%), shows complete support for the first hypothesis, (a) above, with its strong feudal system pushing the peasants out, with the majority of its migrants (41.6%) giving tribal chief injustice as the main reason for migration. The Mysan migrants who reported this factor constitute 72.4% of the total number of migrants in the sample reporting tribal chief injustice as the prime reason for migration.

(2) Wasit, despite its strong feudal system, showed the feudal system injustice as its second rate factor giving the deterioration of standards of living as the main reason. Wasit landlords who were not as cruel as the Mysan subregion tribal chiefs could be a possible explanation. Yet if compared to the sample total that reported tribal chief's injustice as the main reason for migration, Wasit, which is second in total of migrants origin, comes in second only to Mysan with 11.4% of the total.

(3) Tribal landlords in the central region (Baghdad, Babylon and other rural areas) and the west of the southern region (Qadisya/Muthna and Thiqar)

despite the latter having a strong feudal system* showed little influence on the tribal chief's injustice. Diala, despite the fact that it does not have the feudal large land estate lords, showed tribal chief's injustice as one-third of its migrants' reason for migration of this subregion's small proportion of migrants of the total sample (only 4.5% of the total sample) which makes the drawing of reverse conclusions rather unacceptable if compared against Mysan's 72.4% and Kut's 11.4% in support of the hypothesis. One must point out here that the deterioration of standards of living is in a way a manifestation of the influence of the tribal chief's injustice and in almost all cases a direct result of this injustice.

(b) For hypothesis (b) above:

The second hypothesis seems more proven statistically than the first, with all the participants from subregions which are known to have weak feudal systems showing the economic factor, deteriorated rural standards of living, as the major reason for their migration. Babylon, the central subregion with very little feudal system influence, reported 100% for the economic factor. Baghdad rural areas reported 73.3%, Qadisya/ Muthna reported 73.3%, and Diala 55.6%.

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* Thiqar's special pattern of migration will be further examined in Cross-tabulation No.3.3.4.2.2, p.482

Wasit reported 59.1% and Thiqar 54.8% for the economic reason as the two departures from this hypothesis.

The factors attributed to Baghdad's attraction (only 5.5% of the total response) did not show any bias towards subregions closer to the Capital. The rural Baghdad migrants reported a mere 11.1% from the total migrants reporting Baghdad's attraction as the main factor compared to 11.1% of Thiqar (the furthest away from the Capital) migrants, 11.1% to Wasit migrants and to 14.3% of other rural subregions. Diala and Babylon, the two subregions adjoining the Capital and much closer to the character of the Capital subregion, both socially and geographically, did not show any preference to the attraction of the Capital. These observations may suggest a lack of support for the hypothesis of linking distance to attraction and certainly fortifies the repulsion (or push) factors' predominance over the rest of the migration causes.

The proximity of Baghdad, as a factor in suggesting the Capital's attraction to the migrants, could be better clarified if the second reason for migration cross-tabulation against subregional origin is taken into

consideration. With Baghdad's attraction factors going up from its first reason for migration level of only 5.5% to 26.7% as the second reason for migration (with 1.7% for better pay of labour in Baghdad and 25% for better living in Baghdad) the proximity to Baghdad influence in creating attraction still is a rather doubtful assumption. Mysan recorded the highest percentage of those suggesting better living in Baghdad as their second rate reason for migration with 18.6%, followed by other subregions of Thiqar, Qadisya/Muthna and Wasit each with 9.3%, Diala with 4.7% and the last being Babylon and Baghdad rural each with only 2.3%. Even if each subregion's response is to be taken individually (to eliminate the influence of the large sample size for some subregions) still Babghdad rural, Babylon, and Diala, the closest to the Capital, do not show higher percentages for the Baghdad attraction factors against other migration causes. Baghdad rural migrants reported 25% for Baghdad's attraction against 75% for other factors. Diala showed 22.2% against 77.8% and Babylon showed 50% against 50%. Other more remote subregions, such as Qadisya/Muthna (50% against 50%), Thiqar (34.8% against 65.2%), Wasit (21.1% against

78.9%) and other rural subregions (47.4% against 52.6%), showed in some instances the effect of the attraction of Baghdad more than the three closest to the Capital. But the improvement in the frequency of Baghdad's attraction when the second priority reason is taken suggests that Baghdad's attraction is relevant in deciding where to go once the decision to migrate has been taken. (See Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1 1.5, p.356).

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.2

First order reason for migration (VAR.27) vs. Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)

vs. Subregional Origin of Household Head (VAR.01)

Factors of migration discussed in Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5, (p.349) and correlated to the subregional origin in the previous cross-tabulation (No. 3.3.4.2.1) will be discussed now with a two dimensional approach incorporating both time of migration and place of origin of the migrant. Discussed in order of size of their migrants represented in the Thesis' research survey, the subregional origin of household heads is as follows:

(1) Mysan: 214 Migrants = 53.5% of the Sample: This is the highest subregion in terms of sending migrants to the Capital. The alarming fact in the Mysan migrants trend is that it has continued till the present time in sending relatively large volumes of migrants to the Capital (see Part II, Section 2.4). In terms of absolute figures in the survey data Mysan sent around three times the volume sent by all other subregions in the survey in the latest period, 1970-75. Outside the peak migration period of 1955-59, this being part of the national peak migration period see p.141), which had 50% of Mysan migrants reaching the Capital (which is similar to the pattern shown by this subregion in the Statistical Analyses - see Appendix No.II - Subregional Analysis Form No. III-2, pp.X-101 to X-102), Mysan seems to span its migrants across the other five periods (i.e. between the before 1950 period and the 1970-75 period) in a more or less even fashion with a maximum of 17.8% in 1965-1969 and a minimum of 6.5% for before 1950. In the attached cross-tabulation printout for Mysan (p.471) the following observations could be noted:

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD
CONTROLLING FOR..
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 7. MYSAN
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

(a) Mysan migrants seem to give little importance to the better living in Baghdad attraction factor with only 2.8% of them reporting it to be their first reason for migration (see also previous cross-tabulation). Even this seemingly low percentage is concentrated in the peak period of 1955-1959, thus representing an even less significant part of the total migrant volume.

(b) The deteriorated standards of living seem to be a constant feature in this subregion's rural areas. In all the six periods of the migration history of Mysan the deteriorated standard of living is reported. Even as recent as the last period of 1970-1975, which shows 62.5% of its migrants reporting the deterioration of standards of living as the main factor for their migration. Actually migrants at the last period gave no other single reason for their migration other than the deterioration of standard of living.

(c) As is expected, the period before 1959 has the main reason for migration of tribal chief's injustice, as a direct result of the feudal system predominant in the subregion (prior to the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law (see Part I, p. 22), with around 91% of this subregion's migrants reporting this factor who had

migrated in that period. But the interesting fact of having migrants from this subregion leaving their rural homes under pressure of the feudal landlords in periods as recent as 1965 to 1969 (when 4.5% of the subregion migrants seemed to do so), this being almost ten years after the assumed abolition of the feudal system, leaves a lot of doubts about the effectiveness of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Act, in this region (see Part I, p. 40). Actually of all subregions Mysan is the last one to report the absence of this factor as a main reason of migration of the migrants of 1970-1975, the only period free from its effect. This finding supports those in Part I (above), regarding the ineffectiveness of the first Agrarian Reform of 1958 application and the incompetence of the Government agencies in charge of its administration and the strength of the feudal lords in the rural areas of the south.

(2) Wasit: 44 Migrants = 11% of the Sample:
Observations on the attached printout:

(a) Like Mysan, Wasit migrants again span more or less evenly over the periods before 1950 till 1969, with the exception that there does not seem to be any migrants in the most recent period, 1970-75.

While this is not in agreement with the statistical analysis of migrants of this subregion (Part II, p. 170), it is mostly due to the limitation expressed in Part III, (p.324) regarding the survey area, which covers mostly migrants removed from the Capital migrants' settlements before 1965. Migrants coming in the 1970-1975 period mostly settled around the Capital Municipal limits and only subregions with an extraordinary size of migration (like Mysan) manage to send into Thawra and Shula Towns a small proportion. Thiqar and Qadisya/ Muthna sent very limited numbers in the 1970-75 period to Thawra and Shula Towns. Like the national trend of migration (shown in Part II, p.141), the 1955-1959 period accounts for the largest share of the volume of Wasit's migrants, (suggesting similar pattern to that shown in this subregion - see Appendix No. II, Subregional Analysis Form No. II-3, pp.X-90 to X-91).

(b) Wasit migrants, due to a strong feudal system in the subregion show a sizeable amount of the subregion's migrants leaving their home villages under pressure of the landlords. The influence of this factor, although

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 2. WASIT

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

rather strong in the 1955-1959 period, extended past the 1958 Agrarian Reform Law enactment date and the 1960-1964 period still shows about 14.3% of the subregion's migrants in this period migrating from the subregion due to this factor.

(3)*Other Central Subregions: (Rural) — 42 Migrants = 10.5% of the Sample

These include migrants mostly from the subregions of Anbar and Kerbala. The following observations are noted on the attached printout of the cross-tabulation:

(a) Attraction to Baghdad is more clear in the most recent period of migration from these subregions (i.e. 1965-1969) where 60% of those migrants leaving for Baghdad in that period from these subregions gave Baghdad attraction factors as the main reason for migration. Yet on the overall pattern the capital attraction is not predominant.

(b) The peak migration from these subregions is similar to the national trend in the 1955-1959 period with 47.6% of migrants reaching the Capital in that period. Absence of migrants from these subregions in the most recent period (1970-75) can be attributed to improvement of living conditions in subregions like Kerbela.

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* See footnote p.336

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 8. OTHERS RURAL

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

(c) Relatively these subregions have little or no influence of feudal systems with only 9.5% of migrants reporting tribal chief's injustice as the major reason for migration. The feudal system in these subregions is rather weak compared to the southern and other central subregions (see Table No. 2, p.23).

(d) The main reason for migration in these subregions is the deteriorated conditions of the rural areas which accounts for about 50% of the migrants' main reason for migration extending over the four periods reported by migrants from these subregions.

(e) It is interesting to note the absence of the 1950-1954 period of migration in these subregions' migration, which was one of the main migration periods in the subregions of Wasit (Central) and Mysan (Southern) Possibly because in this period migration was mainly due to either the feudal system (which is weak in these subregions) or to the 1954 flood (which did not influence these subregions).

(4) Thiqar: 31 Migrants = 7.7% of the Sample

This is another subregion showing the characteristics of the 1970-1975 migrants settling in the Thawra and Shula areas. The 6.5% of the subregion's migrants coming into the Capital in this period were all due to deteriorated standards of living. Other observations on the printout are as follows:

(a) Deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas is the main reason for migration, being 54.8% of the subregion migrants' main reason for migration. Yet it exhibits more concentration in the post 1960 period. This subregion was shown to be among the low interest subregions in sending migrants to the Capital despite its very poor negative migration pattern (Part II, p.184). The Capital's attraction gained momentum in the 1965-1975 period. Basrah, the major southern region attraction pole, was the main recipient of this subregion's migrants until the 1965-1975 period when it started to show significant losses of its attractiveness in favour of the Capital's attraction. This may explain the characteristic of Thiqar's migration pattern in this cross-tabulation which shows the main migration period to the

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 4. THIQAR

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

Capital as being 1965-1969, rather than 1955-1959, as in the national migration trends to the Capital and the migration trends in other subregions, notably Mysan and Wasit. Its weak pre-1960 migration movement to the Capital may be linked to the fact that only in the early 1960's a paved road linking the Capital to this subregion was completed. The strong attraction exerted by neighbouring Basrah (Part II, p. 185) may be more related to physical proximity rather than preferences of individual migrants. Also the fact that the majority of this sub-region's rural lands (and its subregional centre "Nasirya") are located on the Euphrates has reduced the impact of the 1954 flood on the subregion, which is shown in the relatively low percentage of migrants from the sub-region in the nationally known peak period of 1955-1959.

(b) The feudal factor is rather weak in the subregion and only accounts for 12.5% of the migration's most important factors. This point is interesting since this subregion is the seat of some of the strongest feudal lords in the nation, as is evident from the high figure of average agricultural holding in this subregion

(see Table No. 2, p.23). The fact that the majority of migrants from this subregion to the capital came after 1965 (in annual terms), when technically the feudal system had been abolished, this low occurrence of the feudal system injustice as a factor of migration could be understood, especially as this factor is almost entirely in the period, 1955-59, before the Agrarian Reform Act implementation, which is not the peak migration to capital period of this subregion. This behaviour of the migrant pattern of Thiqar may require a special further study, but for the purpose of this Thesis the emphasis is on the capital migration of which Thiqar has a smaller role to play compared to the rest of the southern and central subregions.

(5) Qadisya/Muthna: 30 Migrants = 7.5% of the sample

This subregion resembles the national migration pattern in having deteriorated standards of living as a major contributor to the migration causes, with 73.3% of the subregion's migrants reporting this factor, and in having its peak migration in the 1955-1959 period. Other observations on the attached printout are as follows:

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 3. QADISYA MUTHNA

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

(a) The subregion shows a considerable migration in the recent period of 1970-1975 with 13.3% of the subregion's migrants coming into the Thawra and Shula areas, half of them due to deterioration of standards of living in their rural home villages. The effect of the 1972/73 Euphrates river water shortage (Part II, p.187) may be a major factor in this respect.

(b) The tribal chief's injustice, which represents the main characteristic of the feudal system, lies a weak second with only 13.3% of the total migrants of the subregion reporting it but it is also carried through until the 1960-1964 period, signifying the apparent slowness and ineffectiveness of the Agrarian Reform Act of 1958 in this subregion.

(6) The Central Subregions of

Diala:	18 Migrants = 4.5% of Sample
Baghdad Rural:	15 Migrants = 3.7% of Sample
Babylon:	6 Migrants = 1.5% of Sample

(a) These represent the three closest subregions to the Capital, and the migrants from these subregions are socially very similar to the population of the outskirts of the capital. They all exhibited a

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD
CONTROLLING FOR..
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 5. DIALA
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 1. BAGHDAD

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD

CONTROLLING FOR..

VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD VALUE = 6. BARVION

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high percentage of having the deteriorated standards of living as the main reason for migration of their migrants with Diala showing 55.6%, Baghdad (rural) 73.3%, and Babylon a full 100%.

(b) Tribal chief injustice (feudal system) was only shown with some strength in Diala in which 33.3% of its migrants reported this as the main reason for migration, and Baghdad rural reported 13.3%. With the Baghdad sample showing this factor in the 1960-1964 period, in a way this suggests the strength of the capital subregion feudal lords to exert pressure on the peasants in the post Agrarian Reform Law period. But these subregions are not known for the predominance of the feudal system.

(c) Diala migration, according to the printout, is similar to the national pattern with 1955-1959 as the peak period.

(d) The capital rural areas seem to have more migrants to the capital as the period becomes more recent which is the national trend in most subregions in the country (Part II, Section 2.4). The Babylon movement pattern shows no preference to any period and its absence in the most recent 1970-1975 period suggests a stabilised subregion and, together with its low share of the sample total (at 1.5%), upholds the findings in Part II, p.173 regarding the potentials of this subregion as a future growth pole.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3

The characteristics of migrants by subregions involves the following cross-tabulations:

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.1

Household head's origin (VAR.01)	vs.	Per capita monthly income for household at home village (Z3)

If one is to adopt that one of the findings of this research is that the economic deterioration in the rural areas was the most important reason for migration (Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.5, p.355), then it follows that a hypothesis may be tested that:

> the lower the per capita income in a subregion then the higher the percentage of migrants from this subregion to the Capital,
> also:
> the higher the percentage of migrants in the upper income category

(assumed here to be 2.1 I.D. to 7 I.D. per capita per month, on the basis of the per capita income in 1957 computed from the Ministry of Planning estimate of the rural household income of 175.8 I.D. per annum, see p.437), which comes to around 2 I.D. per capita per month. The 1957 income is taken for comparison since official data on income is available for that year, and the year after that, 1958, showed (according to the survey data) the middle point of the capital in migrants (see Totals Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.3 (VAR.03), p.343). Computing the average per capita income for each subregion from the cross-tabulation printout, the following will emerge: (p.491)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY Z3 PER CAPTA MONTH HHINCOM VILAGE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

		Z3					
	COUNT	UP TO .5	.51 TO 1	1.1 TO 1	1.51 TO 2	2.1 TO 7	ROW
	ROW PCT	.0 I.D	.5 I.D	.5 I.D	2.0 I.D	.5 I.D	TOTAL
	COL PCT	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	
	TOT PCT						
VAR01							
1.		5	2	4	0	4	15
BAGHDAD		33.3	13.3	26.7	0.0	26.7	3.7
		3.1	4.3	4.8	0.0	6.1	
		1.2	0.5	1.0	0.0	1.0	
2.		12	10	12	2	8	44
WASIT		27.3	22.7	27.3	4.5	18.2	11.0
		7.5	21.7	14.5	4.3	12.1	
		3.0	2.5	3.0	0.5	2.0	
3.		10	6	6	2	6	30
QADISYA MUTHNA		33.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	20.0	7.5
		6.3	13.0	7.2	4.3	9.1	
		2.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	1.5	
4.		7	4	8	4	8	31
THIQAR		22.6	12.9	25.8	12.9	25.8	7.7
		4.4	8.7	9.6	8.7	12.1	
		1.7	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	
5.		4	2	8	4	0	18
DIALA		22.2	11.1	44.4	22.2	0.0	4.5
		2.5	4.3	9.6	8.7	0.0	
		1.0	0.5	2.0	1.0	0.0	
6.		2	0	2	0	2	6
BABYLON		33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	1.5
		1.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	3.0	
		0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	
7.		132	20	39	25	28	214
MYSAN		47.7	9.3	18.2	11.7	13.1	53.5
		64.2	43.5	47.0	54.3	42.4	
		25.5	5.0	9.7	6.2	7.0	
8.		17	2	4	9	10	42
OTHERS RURAL		40.5	4.8	9.5	21.4	23.8	10.5
		10.7	4.3	4.8	19.6	15.2	
		4.2	0.5	1.0	2.2	2.5	
COLUMN		159	46	83	46	66	400
TOTAL		39.7	11.5	20.7	11.5	16.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 49.49223 WITH 28 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0074
CRAMER'S V = 0.17588
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.33182
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.05358 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0401
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05195 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0404

* Subregion	% Migrants in sample	Average per capita income (monthly)	% Migrants Earning over 2 I.D. per capita monthly
Mysan	53.5%	1.210	13.1%
Wasit	11.0%	1.478	18.2%
Other rural (Central)	10.5%	1.702	23.8%
Thiqar	7.7%	1.879	25.8%
Qadisya/ Muthna	7.5%	1.500	20.0%
Diala	4.5%	1.167	0%
Baghdad	3.7%	1.717	26.7%
Babylon	1.5%	2.000	33.3%

* Subregions in order of percentage of total migrants to the Capital according to Thesis research.

Observations:

Both parts of the tested hypothesis seems to be upheld by most of the data obtained from the cross-tabulation. Mysan, the highest in the percentage of migrants in the sample, showed both the lowest average monthly per capita income of all subregions and the lowest percentage of its migrants in the upper income category, while Babylon having the least percentage of migrants to the capital in the research sample showed the highest average per capita income and the highest percentage of its migrants in the upper income group. With the exception of Qadisya/ Muthna and Diala, all other subregions seem to to follow the the text of the hypothesis tested.

But these later subregions represent only 12% of the total sample leaving around 88% of the sample in compliance with the hypothesis.

Cross-Tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.2

Household head's origin vs. (VAR.01) Size of household (VAR.19)

Based on the fact that the economic conditions in the rural areas' villages is rather in a state of depression, one may tend to assume that the large households are in a worse condition than smaller ones, as the peasant will have more mouths to feed. But the traditional agriculture, which makes manual work the major production means, will tend to reverse the previous assertion, as the larger the household the more labour the peasant will have at his disposal, hence be better in terms of agricultural production. These two factors seem to balance each other leaving the size of the household as a non-correlatable variable with migration possibilities for the household. The cross-tabulation attached seems to support this assumption with values of household size varying without the possibility of linking this variation to subregional rural population mobility (judged by the size of the migration from the subregion in the Thesis sample survey). The following (p.495) (computed from the attached printout) showing the average size of household by

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR19 NOS TOTAL HHOLD MEMBERS BY VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD
* PAGE 1 OF 2

VAR19	VAR01	1. BAGHDAD	2. WASIT	3. QADISYA MUTHNA	4. THIQAR	5. DIALA	6. BABYLON	7. MYSAN	8. OTHERS R URAI	ROW TOTAL
2.	COUNT	2	4	0	2	2	0	0	2	21
	ROW PCT	9.5	19.0	0.0	9.5	9.5	0.0	42.9	9.5	5.2
	COL PCT	13.3	9.1	0.0	6.5	11.1	0.0	4.2	4.8	
	TOT PCT	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	2.2	0.5	
3.	COUNT	0	8	2	0	2	0	4	4	20
	ROW PCT	0.0	40.0	10.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	5.0
	COL PCT	0.0	18.2	6.7	0.0	11.1	0.0	1.9	9.5	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	1.0	
4.	COUNT	0	4	6	6	0	0	18	0	34
	ROW PCT	0.0	11.8	17.6	17.6	0.0	0.0	52.9	0.0	8.5
	COL PCT	0.0	9.1	20.0	19.4	0.0	0.0	8.4	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	
5.	COUNT	2	2	2	3	0	0	20	0	29
	ROW PCT	6.9	6.9	6.9	10.3	0.0	0.0	69.0	0.0	7.2
	COL PCT	13.3	4.5	4.7	9.7	0.0	0.0	9.3	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	
6.	COUNT	0	4	6	2	0	0	25	0	37
	ROW PCT	0.0	10.8	16.2	5.4	0.0	0.0	67.6	0.0	9.2
	COL PCT	0.0	9.1	20.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	11.7	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	6.2	0.0	
7.	COUNT	4	4	4	10	2	2	21	13	60
	ROW PCT	6.7	6.7	6.7	16.7	3.3	3.3	35.0	21.7	15.0
	COL PCT	26.7	9.1	13.3	32.3	11.1	33.3	9.8	31.0	
	TOT PCT	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.5	0.5	5.2	3.2	
8.	COUNT	0	0	2	4	4	0	20	5	35
	ROW PCT	0.0	0.0	5.7	11.4	11.4	0.0	57.1	14.3	8.7
	COL PCT	0.0	0.0	6.7	12.9	22.2	0.0	9.3	11.9	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.0	5.0	1.2	
9.	COUNT	0	8	4	2	2	0	35	12	63
	ROW PCT	0.0	12.7	6.3	3.2	3.2	0.0	55.6	19.0	15.7
	COL PCT	0.0	18.2	13.3	6.5	11.1	0.0	16.4	28.6	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	8.7	3.0	
10.	COUNT	0	6	4	0	2	2	20	2	36
	ROW PCT	0.0	16.7	11.1	0.0	5.6	5.6	55.6	5.6	9.0
	COL PCT	0.0	13.6	13.3	0.0	11.1	33.3	9.3	4.8	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	5.0	0.5	
11.	COUNT	2	2	0	2	4	0	14	2	26
	ROW PCT	7.7	7.7	0.0	7.7	15.4	0.0	53.8	7.7	6.5
	COL PCT	13.3	4.5	0.0	6.5	22.2	0.0	6.5	4.8	
	TOT PCT	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	3.5	0.5	

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR19 NOS TOTAL HHOLD MEMBERS BY VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD
* PAGE 2 OF 2

VAR19	VAR01 BAGHDAD 1.	WASIT 2.	QADISYA MUTHNA 3.	THIQAR 4.	DIALA 5.	BABYLON 6.	MYSAN 7.	OTHERS & URAI 8.	ROW TOTAL
12.	2	2	0	0	0	2	12	2	20
	10.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	60.0	10.0	5.0
	13.3	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	5.6	4.8	
	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	3.0	0.5	
13.	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	1.5
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	
14.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.5
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	
17.	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	1.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	
18.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
20.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.5
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	
23.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.5
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL	15 3.7	44 11.0	30 7.5	31 7.7	18 4.5	6 1.5	214 53.5	42 10.5	400 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 238.32431 WITH 112 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.29175
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.61103
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.09430 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0023
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08463 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0057
GAMMA = 0.12096
SOMER'S D = 0.10964

subregion is tabulated against the percentage of migrants in the Thesis research from the subregion. Also tabulated is the percentage of subregion's households in the Thesis sample with a size of over eight (average size of household in the Thesis research = 7.68 - Var.19).

Subregion	* % Migrants from Subregion	Average size of household	** % of over 8.00 in size
Mysan	53.5%	8.093	45.4%
Wasit	11.0%	6.545	40.9%
Other Central subregions (rural)	10.5%	7.642	42.9%
Thiqar	7.7%	6.354	12.7%
Qadisya/ Muthna	7.5%	6.533	26.6
Diala	4.5%	7.667	45.5%
Baghdad	3.7%	9.467	46.7%
Babylon	1.5%	9.667	66.7%

* Migrants in Thesis research from subregions

** Percentage of subregion household in sample over 8.00 in size

Observations:

There seems to be no clear correlation between the mobility of the rural household and the size of the household by subregions. Although the least mobile subregions of Baghdad rural and Babylon exhibited the largest household average sizes, their percentage of the total sample (only 5.2%) and the fact that the highest subregion in household mobility (Mysan) also showed a high size of household will reduce the possibility of linking subregional mobility to household size.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.3

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Age of household head when migrated (VAR.02)

In Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.2 (p.342) we did find enough to support the hypothesis that having a household head of the age of 20 - 30 years (which represents, according to that Total Analysis, 54.5% of the total sample) is a possible inducement to migrate. Whether there are enough subregional differences to suggest that the more mobile rural populations in the subregions with a higher capital migrants share are actually in that age group is to be tested in this cross tabulation. It must be pointed out that the Census figures of Iraq does not show a marked difference in the age/sex structure of households in different subregions of the southern and central part of the Nation, the home of the majority of migrants to the Capital.

The following table, computed from the attached cross-tabulations printout, shows the percentage of the household heads per subregion in the age group of 20-50 years (the favourite age for migration of household heads - see Total Analysis above), which represents 86.5% of the total sample, the over 50 age group percentage of household heads in each subregion, and the percentage in the Thesis research survey sample of migrants from the subregions. (The age groups in the printout are shown by their middle points, e.g. group 20-30 is shown as 25).

FILE NOHAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR02 AGE OF HHOLD HEAD WHEN MIGRATED
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	VAR02	10.	25.	35.	45.	55.	65.	ROW TOTAL
	1.	2	6	2	2	3	0	15
		13.3	40.0	13.3	13.3	20.0	0.0	3.7
BAGHDAD		8.7	2.8	2.5	4.2	10.3	0.0	
		0.5	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.0	
	2.	8	26	8	2	0	0	44
		18.2	59.1	18.2	4.5	0.0	0.0	11.0
WASIT		34.8	11.9	10.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	
		2.0	6.5	2.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	
	3.	2	12	6	6	4	0	30
		6.7	40.0	20.0	20.0	13.3	0.0	7.5
QADISYA MUTHNA		8.7	5.5	7.5	12.5	13.8	0.0	
		0.5	3.0	1.5	1.5	1.0	0.0	
	4.	0	17	6	8	0	0	31
		0.0	54.8	19.4	25.8	0.0	0.0	7.7
THIQAR		0.0	7.8	7.5	16.7	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	4.2	1.5	2.0	0.0	0.0	
	5.	0	8	6	4	0	0	18
		0.0	44.4	33.3	22.2	0.0	0.0	4.5
DIALA		0.0	3.7	7.5	8.3	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	
	6.	0	4	2	0	0	0	6
		0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
BABYLON		0.0	1.8	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	7.	7	123	42	18	22	2	214
		3.3	57.5	19.6	8.4	10.3	0.9	53.5
MYSAN		30.4	56.4	52.5	37.5	75.9	100.0	
		1.7	30.7	10.5	4.5	5.5	0.5	
	8.	4	22	8	8	0	0	42
		9.5	52.4	19.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	10.5
OTHERS RURAL		17.4	10.1	10.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	
		1.0	5.5	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		23	218	80	48	29	2	400
		5.7	54.5	20.0	12.0	7.2	0.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 59.69931 WITH 35 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0057
CRAMER'S V = 0.17277
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.36037
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.01977 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2774
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01560 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3206

Subregion	% of Thesis sample from subregion	% of Subregion's household heads in the age group: 20 - 50	Over 50
Mysan	53.5%	85.5%	11.2%
Wasit	11.0%	81.8%	0%
Other central subregions, rural	10.5%	90.4%	0%
Thiqar	7.7%	100.0%	0%
Qadisya/Muthna	7.5%	80.0%	13.3%
Diala	4.5%	100.0%	0%
Baghdad	3.7%	66.6%	20.0%
Babylon	1.5%	100.0%	0%

Observations:

According to the data above and the data in the attached cross-tabulation printout, there is little to suggest the presence of subregional differences in the age of the household head when migrated. This finding is in line with the Census data lack of subregional differences of age/sex groups in the rural society in the southern and central part of the Nation.

Yet that finding does not reduce the importance of the fact that the thesis research does indicate that the predominant age of the household head when migrating is in the important labour force category of 20-50 years and this this characteristic of the household head may facilitate the process of the household migration.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.4

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Sector settled in first time in Baghdad (VAR.05)

also

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Reasons for settling in sector (VAR.06)

This cross-tabulation is to test the validity of the long established hypothesis that migrants tend to settle in sectors in which their relatives and friends settled before, and they tend to form ghettos of tribal or ethnic nature in their chosen sector. In Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.3.2, (p.401), 46.5% reported settling in their chosen sector to be close to friends and relatives, 26.3% reported cheap accommodation and low cost of living in sector as reason to settle in the sector, 15.5% settled there to be close to work and 7.2% gave Government housing as the reason for settling in the sector. In the same Total Analysis, Thawra and Shula housing settlements received around 30% of the total sample's first choice, outskirts of Baghdad 19.3%, Baghdad central settlement 17% and other hutments in the city received 30%.

The hypothesis to test here is that:

> subregion's migrants tend to settle in one settlement (or at least the majority of them do)

and this is more apparent in the tribal originated southern migrants rather than the central subregion's

migrants. This hypothesis is of vital importance in planning future housing schemes both in migrants' housing in urban areas and in resettlement schemes in the rural areas.

According to the first cross-tabulation (VAR.01 vs. VAR.05), of the migrants settling in the large central (Al-Asima) settlement, 97.1% came from Mysan only with the rest (2.9%) coming from the central subregion of Wasit (Kut). The Thawra sector has 75.3% of its settlers from Mysan, 16.9% from another southern subregion of Thiqar, and the remaining just over 7% from other subregions. The Baghdad outskirts settlements near the brick kelns have again a more southern subregion atmosphere for their scattered hutments with Mysan, Thiqar and Qadisya/Muthna subregions accounting for around 61% of migrants settled there. If subregions are taken separately, one will notice that there is a tendency for large clusters settling in one or two settlements rather than in a more evenly distributed pattern. Mysan for example has 30.8% of its migrants settling into the large central Baghdad hutments of Al-Asima and a further 27.1% of its migrants settling into the Thawra sector (both before and after the establishment of the housing scheme in the early 1960's).

Thiqar has 41.9% of its migrants settling in the Thawra area and a further 32.3% of them in the outskirts' brick kelns settlements. Qadisya/Muthna

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR05 SECTOR HEAD SETTLED IN 1ST TIME IN BAGD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR05 1. BAG SKRT IS BRKELN	2. THAWRA T OWN	3. SHULA TO WN	4. BAGCTR M IGSTMNT	5. BAGCTR D ETRAREAS	6. OTHER HA G SECT	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD		9	0	2	0	0	4	15
		60.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	26.7	3.7
		11.7	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	
		2.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	
2. WASIT		8	0	8	2	4	22	44
		18.2	0.0	18.2	4.5	9.1	50.0	11.0
		10.4	0.0	20.0	2.9	22.2	18.3	
		2.0	0.0	2.0	0.5	1.0	5.5	
3. QADISYA MUTHNA		12	0	6	0	0	12	30
		40.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	7.5
		15.6	0.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	
		3.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	3.0	
4. THIQAR		10	13	4	0	0	4	31
		32.3	41.9	12.9	0.0	0.0	12.9	7.7
		13.0	16.9	10.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	
		2.5	3.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	
5. DIALA		2	2	0	0	2	12	18
		11.1	11.1	0.0	0.0	11.1	66.7	4.5
		2.6	2.6	0.0	0.0	11.1	10.0	
		0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	3.0	
6. BABYLON		0	2	2	0	0	2	6
		0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	1.5
		0.0	2.6	5.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	
		0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	
7. MYSAN		25	58	10	66	12	43	214
		11.7	27.1	4.7	30.8	5.6	20.1	53.5
		32.5	75.3	25.0	97.1	66.7	35.8	
		6.2	14.5	2.5	16.5	3.0	10.7	
8. OTHERS RURAL		11	2	8	0	0	21	42
		26.2	4.8	19.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	10.5
		14.3	2.6	20.0	0.0	0.0	17.5	
		2.7	0.5	2.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		77 19.2	77 19.2	40 10.0	68 17.0	18 4.5	120 30.0	400 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 183.51194 WITH 35 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.30291
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.56080
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02375 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1953
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02527 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2251

migrants have 60% settling in the Baghdad outskirts' brick kelns settlement and the Shula sector which is very close to the brick kelns areas of the Capital.

The central subregions' migrants showed no particular favouritism for any given migrant settlement spreading more or less evenly among the sites of the migrant settlements in the Capital. Diala, Wasit, Babylon and other rural central subregions have distributed their migrants in the following seemingly even pattern:

Subregion	Baghdad outskirts brick keln hutments	Thawra Sector	Shula Sector	Baghdad Central hutments	Other Baghdad Sectors
Wasit	18.2%	-	18.2%	4.5%	*59.1%
Babylon	0	33.3%	33.3%	0	33.3%
Diala	11.1%	11.1%	0	11.1%	*66.7%
Other central subregions (rural)	26.2%	4.8%	19.0%	0	*50.0%

* This involves more than one sector in the city of Baghdad thus the large percentage reported actually is an agglomeration of migrants in more than one settlement.

Baghdad rural areas' migrants in the Capital seem to concentrate in the brick keln sector on the outskirts of the Capital which could be attributed to the fact that the outskirts of the capital is actually very similar to, and indeed could be considered as part of, the rural areas of the Baghdad subregion, from where these migrants had come. In a way this is more of a special case on its own.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR06 1ST ORDER REASON FOR SETLNG IN 1ST SECT
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR06 1. RELATVS STLD BFR	2. FRNDS ST LD BFR	3. CHEAP COMDN	4. AC LOW LVHG COST	5. CLOSE WO RK PLACE	6. GOVHNT H OUSNG	7. OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD		5	0	2	0	6	0	2	15
		33.3	0.0	13.3	0.0	40.0	0.0	13.3	3.8
		3.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	9.7	0.0	16.7	
		1.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.5	
2. WASIT		21	0	6	8	6	0	0	40
		50.0	0.0	15.0	20.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	10.2
		12.8	0.0	13.6	13.1	9.7	0.0	0.0	
		5.1	0.0	1.5	2.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	
3. QADISYA MUTHNA		12	4	4	0	10	0	0	30
		40.0	13.3	13.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	7.6
		7.3	18.2	9.1	0.0	16.1	0.0	0.0	
		3.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	
4. THIQAR		14	0	2	6	2	7	0	31
		45.2	0.0	6.5	19.4	6.5	22.6	0.0	7.9
		8.5	0.0	4.5	9.8	3.2	24.1	0.0	
		3.6	0.0	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.8	0.0	
5. DIALA		6	0	4	4	4	0	0	18
		33.3	0.0	22.2	22.2	22.2	0.0	0.0	4.6
		3.7	0.0	9.1	6.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	
		1.5	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	
6. BABYLON		2	0	0	0	2	2	0	6
		33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	1.5
		1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	6.9	0.0	
		0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	
7. MYSAN		92	18	24	32	20	18	10	214
		43.0	8.4	11.2	15.0	9.3	8.4	4.7	54.3
		56.1	81.8	54.5	52.5	32.3	62.1	83.3	
		23.4	4.6	6.1	8.1	5.1	4.6	2.5	
8. OTHERS RURAL		13	0	2	11	12	2	0	40
		32.5	0.0	5.0	27.5	30.0	5.0	0.0	10.2
		7.9	0.0	4.5	18.0	19.4	6.9	0.0	
		3.3	0.0	0.5	2.8	3.0	0.5	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		164	22	44	61	62	29	12	394
		41.6	5.6	11.2	15.5	15.7	7.4	3.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 96.52332 WITH 42 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.20207
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.44359
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02791 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2041
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02315 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2463

Based on the above findings, the southern subregions' migrants, living in large clusters, are more prone to prefer living with their own relatives and friends than their counterparts from the central subregions. There were 51.4% of Mysan migrants, 45.2% of Thiqar migrants and 53.3% of Qadisya/ Muthna migrants who reported settling in their first selected sector due to relatives and friends having settled there before, (second cross-tabulation VAR.01 vs. VAR.06), while the central subregions of Baghdad rural (33.3%), Diala (33.3%), Babylon (33.3%) and other central rural subregions (32.5%) reported a much lower percentage for this factor. Wasit's migrants, being more in resemblance to the southern migrants' nature (since geographically they are closer to the southern region) show similar results to the southern subregion's character with 50% of its migrants settling closer to friends and relatives. Proximity to place of work and low cost of living in the sector seems more the concern of the central subregions' migrants. It is possible that the physical proximity of the home villages of the migrants coming from the central subregions against the relatively remote home villages of the southern subregions' migrants might be responsible for this difference in attitude towards regions for settling in that selected sector.

In the General Purpose Cross-tabulation section the reason for settling in first sector (VAR.06) is cross-tabulation against sector settled in first time in Baghdad (VAR.06) (p.549) and will shed more light on the issue of migration attitudes towards settling in different sectors in the Capital.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.5

Household head's origin (VAR.01)	vs.	Contacts with old village (VAR.54)

also

Household head's origin (VAR.01)	vs.	Type of contacts with old village (VAR.55)

The effect of distance between Baghdad and the migrants' old rural village seems to be the determinant factor in whether he keeps contact with his old rural village. The hypothesis to be tested here is:

> the further from Baghdad the home subregion is the less the migrant seems to keep in contact with his old village.

There are two possible reasons that might support this hypothesis:

(a) The migration movement of the rural household is total, with migrants reporting the migration of the total household together (Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.2, p.342).

(b) The transport network in Iraq and especially in the rural section of the country is not very well developed, making contact rather difficult and costly. Also, based on the total migration of the household the form of these contacts is more likely to be that of visiting only as there are no relatives left behind in the old village to warrant helping or receiving help (see Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5, p.361). In the following (p.508) the distances from Baghdad city to the centre of the subregions under study are tabulated with the percentages of the migrants keeping or not keeping in contact with the old village. Also tabulated for the purpose of analysis are the percentages of those visiting only against other forms of contact (i.e. visiting and helping, helping only). These data are computed (with the exception of the distance column) from the attached printout.

Observations:

Five out of seven subregions (excluding Thiqar and Diala) show support to the distance influence on reducing contacts with the old village. Of those supporting the hypothesis, taking Mysan, (the further most), and Baghdad rural, (the closest to the capital city), they show a completely reverse picture, with Mysan having the least percentage of keeping in contact

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR54 IF HEAD KEEPS CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILGE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR54 YES (1.)	VAR54 NO (2.)	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD		11	4	15
		73.3	26.7	3.7
		5.1	2.2	
		2.7	1.0	
2. WASIT		24	20	44
		54.5	45.5	11.0
		11.1	10.9	
		6.0	5.0	
3. QADISYA MUTHNA		16	14	30
		53.3	46.7	7.5
		7.4	7.7	
		4.0	3.5	
4. THIQAR		21	10	31
		67.7	32.3	7.7
		9.7	5.5	
		5.2	2.5	
5. DIALA		8	10	18
		44.4	55.6	4.5
		3.7	5.5	
		2.0	2.5	
6. BABYLON		4	2	6
		66.7	33.3	1.5
		1.8	1.1	
		1.0	0.5	
7. MYSAN		107	107	214
		50.0	50.0	53.5
		49.3	58.5	
		26.8	26.8	
8. OTHERS RURAL		26	16	42
		61.9	38.1	10.5
		12.0	8.7	
		6.5	4.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		217	183	400
		54.2	45.7	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 8.10526 WITH 7 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3234
CRAMER'S V = 0.14235
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.14093
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.03212 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1686

Subregion's % of migrants of total sample		Distance to the Capital*	% keep contacts	% do not keep contacts	% visiting only (*)
Mysan	53.5%	400	50%	50%	86.9%
Thiqar	7.7%	320	67.7%	32.3%	85.7%
Qadisya/ Muthna	7.5%	250	53.3%	46.7%	75.0%
Wasit	11%	160	54.5%	45.5%	100%
Babylon	1.5%	98	66.7%	33.3%	50%
Diala	4.5%	50	44.4%	55.6%	100%
Baghdad	3.7%	-	73.3%	26.7%	100%
Other central rural	10.5%	**50	61.9%	38.1%	80.8%

* Distance from centre of subregion in kilometres

(*) % visiting only (of those keeping contacts)

** average distance

and Baghdad having the highest. The tested hypothesis seems to be valid for the majority of the sample. Also the contact seems to be that of the visiting only type giving support to the assertion that the contact is not that of the helping or receiving help (usually among relatives) type which could be expected in view of the total movement of the household.

On the whole the migrants seem to be keeping contacts with the old village, although with a slight majority of 54.3% keeping in contact against 45.8% not keeping in contact. This suggests that they still do have a

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR55 FORM OF HEAD CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILAGE
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

clear view of the conditions at the rural areas which in turn supports the huge 99.5% not accepting the return to the rural areas strategy (Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.1.5, p. 356), on which the central Government seems to be very keen.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.2.3.6

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Type of occupation of household head in home village before migrating (VAR.46)

also

Household head's origin (VAR.01) vs. Type of occupation of household head in Baghdad (VAR.47)

For the purpose of the anlaysis of this cross-tabulation a ratio is computed relating the percentage of the national service sector employment(163) per subregion to the percentage of the national population per subregion (Appendix No. I, Table No. 4, p.X-6). This ratio is, for the purpose of this analysis, supposed to classify the migrants' subregion according to the degree of urbanisation reached by each subregion. Babylon, for example, will show a ratio of 5% to 6% = 0.833 : 1 or 0.833 for simplicity. All subregions in the sample migrants origin will show the following ratios: (p.513)

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(163) Computed from: Ministry of Interiors, Directorate General of Civic Affairs, Baghdad, 1957 National Census Data, "Subregions Totals", Table No. 14A.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR46 HEAD OCCUPATION BEFOR MIGRATION TO BAGD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR01	VAR46	1. FRMR OWN LAND	2. LANDLESS PESANT	3. UNEMPLOYED	4. SALES + SERVICES	5. ANIMAL RAISING	6. MECHANICAL	7. LABOR SKLD	8. UN LABOR SKLD	9. OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. BAGHDAD	COUNT	3	13	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	15
	ROW PCT	0.0	86.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7
	COL PCT	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
2. WASIT	COUNT	0	32	0	0	4	4	0	4	0	44
	ROW PCT	0.0	72.7	0.0	0.0	9.1	9.1	0.0	9.1	0.0	11.0
	COL PCT	0.0	12.1	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	36.4	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	
3. QADISYA MUTHNA	COUNT	0	22	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	30
	ROW PCT	0.0	73.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	7.5
	COL PCT	0.0	8.3	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	5.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	
4. THIQAR	COUNT	3	10	0	10	2	0	6	0	0	31
	ROW PCT	9.7	32.3	0.0	32.3	6.5	0.0	19.4	0.0	0.0	7.7
	COL PCT	27.3	3.8	0.0	18.9	15.4	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.8	2.5	0.0	2.5	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	
5. DIALA	COUNT	2	8	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	18
	ROW PCT	11.1	44.4	0.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	4.5
	COL PCT	18.2	3.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.5	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	
6. BABYLON	COUNT	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6
	ROW PCT	0.0	33.3	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
	COL PCT	0.0	0.8	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
7. MYSAN	COUNT	6	148	4	29	2	2	8	7	8	214
	ROW PCT	2.8	69.2	1.9	13.6	0.9	0.9	3.7	3.3	3.7	53.5
	COL PCT	54.5	56.1	100.0	54.7	15.4	25.0	30.8	63.6	80.0	
	TOT PCT	1.5	37.0	1.0	7.2	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.7	2.0	
8. OTHERS RURAL	COUNT	0	29	0	4	5	0	2	0	2	42
	ROW PCT	0.0	69.0	0.0	9.5	11.9	0.0	4.8	0.0	4.8	10.5
	COL PCT	0.0	11.0	0.0	7.5	38.5	0.0	7.7	0.0	20.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	7.2	0.0	1.0	1.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		11 2.7	264 66.0	4 1.0	53 13.2	13 3.2	8 2.0	26 6.5	11 2.7	10 2.5	400 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 150.32685 WITH 56 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.23171
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.52265
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.02379 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2387
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01340 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3121

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR01 PLACE OF BIRTH OF HHOLD HEAD BY VAR47 1ST YEAR AT BAGHDAD JOB FOR HHOLD HEAD
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * \

Subregion	% of 1957 Iraq's Population	% of National total Service Sector Employment (1957)	Service to Population Ratio
Wasit	4.7%	1.5%	0.319
Qadisya/ Muthna	8.3%	5%	0.602
Babylon	5.6%	5%	0.893
Thiqar	7.3%	2.5%	0.342
Diala	5.2%	5%	0.962
Mysan	5.2%	2%	0.385
Other central subregions (Average for Anbar and Kerbela)	3.8%	3.5%	0.921

According to this ratio the subregions responsible for most migrants coming to the capital were the lowest in the "service to population" ratio. Mysan, the subregion with the highest percentage of migrants to the capital at 53.5%, has the second lowest ratio of 0.385, with the second migrants' origin percentage of Wasit at 11% of the migrants leading in the low ratio of 0.319.

The purpose of creating this ratio is to test the hypothesis put forth in this cross-tabulation which is

> Migrants coming from subregions with a higher urbanisation degree, or "service to population" ratio, usually have a lower percentage of those engaged in agriculture and tend to take on more skilled jobs in the capital than those coming from subregions lower in the urbanisation degree (or service to population ratio).

To test this hypothesis the following has been computed from the attached cross-tabulation printout, showing for each subregion:

(a) Percentage of migrants engaged in agriculture in the home village before migrating of the total migrants originated in the subregion.

(b) Percentage of migrants taking on skilled jobs (including sales and service) in their new settling place at the capital of the total migrants originating at subregion.

(c) The service to population ratio.

(d) Percentage of migrants in the Thesis survey data.

(For full headings of columns refer above)

Subregion	(c) Service to Pop. ratio	(a) % Engaged in Agriculture	(b) % Migrants taking skld.jobs	(d) % of Migrants
Wasit	0.319	72.7%	22.7%	11.0%
Mysan	0.385	72.0%	44.5%	53.5%
Thiqar	0.342	42.0%	61.3%	7.7%
Qadisya/ Muthna	0.602	73.3%	40.0%	7.5%
Babylon	0.893	33.3%	66.7%	1.5%
Other central subregions	0.921	69.0%	16.6%	10.5%
Diala	0.962	55.5%	44.4%	4.5%

The above shows that the hypothesis is valid in its first part regarding the fact that migrants coming from

subregions with a low service to population ratio are mostly engaged in agriculture. Ignoring the other central subregions (rural) category, which as pointed out before represent more than one subregion (and also has only 10.5% of the survey sample), Mysan, Wasit and Qadisya/Muthna, which have a low service to population ratio, do show the three highest percentages of agriculturally-engaged migrants before migrating to the Capital. Between them these three subregions account for about 72% of the survey sample. Both Babylon and Diala which show a high service to population ratio have a smaller proportion of their sample engaged in agriculture. Only Thiqar with a low service to population ratio did not reflect a high proportion of those engaged in agriculture with only 42%.

Referring to the second point of the hypothesis with regard to the type of jobs in which the migrants were engaged once they were in the Capital, the data of the table does not give clear support to this part of the hypothesis.

3.3.4.3 Time-linked Cross-tabulations:

Some of the analyses in this set of cross-tabulations have already been covered in the subregional differences cross-tabulation or in the Total Analysis in the previous sections of Part III of the research. However, time-linked analysis tends to give the national migration trend to the Capital City of Baghdad in time perspective neglecting the subregional variations which were the subject of the previous section (Cross-tabulation Section 3.3.4.2). The characteristics of the migration movement to the Capital is investigated through six historic stages spanning the last forty years of migration to the Capital, namely: before 1950, 1950-1954, 1955-1959, 1960-1964, 1965-1969 and 1970-1975. It has been mentioned in this research (Cross-tabulation No. 3.3.4.2.2., p. 469 and also in Part II of this Thesis), that certain dates stand out as peaks or change of trends in the migration to the Capital. The analysis in this section will try to link these dates with various characteristics of migration movement and migrants' characteristics. The subject of this Thesis, which focuses on the internal migration in the country as a whole with Baghdad as the main case study, is so wide that a certain amount of repitition cannot be avoided. The depth of the analysis reported may warrant looking at the same point from various angles to give a comprehensive view worthy of documentation.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.3.1

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	First reason for migration to Baghdad (VAR.27)
		Second reason for migration to Baghdad (VAR.28)

Three main observations emerge from the two cross-tabulations of reasons of migration against the date when the household migrated, namely:

(a) Deteriorated standard of living in the rural areas (the most important single factor of all migration causes, with 49% total migrants) is evident in all the six migration periods, extending into the recent period of 1970-1975 with 63.6% of those who migrated in this period reporting this factor as the major reason for their migration. This factor was maintained by around two-thirds' majority of migrants' major reason for migration in the last three periods, 1960-75. This indicates a rather gloomy prospect for all the government measures initiated in the past ten years to deal with the deterioration of the economic problems in the rural areas. Actually 57.6% of the migrants reporting this factor as the main factor of migration have migrated in the last three periods, 1960-1975.

(b) Tribal chief's injustice, the outcome of the feudal systems in the rural areas, ranking second in the total migrants leaving

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	VAR27	1.1 DETR STD LIVIG	2.1 HGH PAY BAGD	3.1 LBR UNEMPMNT RURL	4.1 TRA CHFF INJSTCE	5.1 RTER G BAGD	6.1 HOS OWN MIGRTD	8 HEMR VCE BAGD	10.1 RTR MTHS OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1970 TO 1975	1.	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	22
		63.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	36.4	5.5
		7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.6	
		3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	
1965 TO 1969	2.	58	8	0	4	2	0	0	13	85
		68.2	9.4	0.0	4.7	2.4	0.0	0.0	15.3	21.2
		29.6	44.4	0.0	3.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	35.1	
		14.5	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	3.2	
1960 TO 1964	3.	43	0	4	12	0	2	0	0	61
		70.5	0.0	6.6	19.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	15.2
		21.9	0.0	44.4	9.8	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	
		10.7	0.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	
1955 TO 1959	4.	57	10	5	87	0	10	0	12	181
		31.5	5.5	2.8	48.1	0.0	5.5	0.0	6.6	45.2
		29.1	55.6	55.6	70.7	0.0	76.9	0.0	32.4	
		14.2	2.5	1.2	21.7	0.0	2.5	0.0	3.0	
1950 TO 1954	5.	18	0	0	8	0	1	0	2	29
		62.1	0.0	0.0	27.6	0.0	3.4	0.0	6.9	7.2
		9.2	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	7.7	0.0	5.4	
		4.5	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.5	
BEFOR 1950	6.	6	0	0	12	0	0	2	2	22
		27.3	0.0	0.0	54.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	9.1	5.5
		3.1	0.0	0.0	9.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	5.4	
		1.5	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		196 49.0	18 4.5	9 2.2	123 30.7	2 0.5	13 3.2	2 0.5	37 9.2	400 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 173.98943 WITH 35 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.29495
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.55057
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.19318 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.15602 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.27140
SOMER'S D = 0.19905

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR28 SECOND REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR28 1.0 DETR STD LIVNG	2.0 HGH LBR PAY BAGD	3.0 UNEMPMNT RURL	4.0 TRB CHEF INJSTCE	6.0 OWN MEMB MIGRTD	7.0 NTER LVN G BAGD	10.0 OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		0	0	4	0	0	8	0	12
		0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	3.5
		0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	0.0	9.3	0.0	
		0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	
2. 1965 TO 1969		10	2	26	6	4	18	4	70
		14.3	2.9	37.1	8.6	5.7	25.7	5.7	20.3
		7.3	33.3	37.1	25.0	25.0	20.9	28.6	
		2.9	0.6	7.6	1.7	1.2	5.2	1.2	
3. 1960 TO 1964		16	2	10	4	4	16	0	52
		30.8	3.8	19.2	7.7	7.7	30.8	0.0	15.1
		12.5	33.3	14.3	16.7	25.0	18.6	0.0	
		4.7	0.6	2.9	1.2	1.2	4.7	0.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		81	2	24	12	8	38	8	173
		46.8	1.2	13.9	6.9	4.6	22.0	4.6	50.3
		63.3	33.3	34.3	50.0	50.0	44.2	57.1	
		23.5	0.6	7.0	3.5	2.3	11.0	2.3	
5. 1950 TO 1954		9	0	6	2	0	2	2	21
		42.9	0.0	28.6	9.5	0.0	9.5	9.5	6.1
		7.0	0.0	8.6	8.3	0.0	2.3	14.3	
		2.6	0.0	1.7	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.6	
6. BEFOR 1950		12	0	0	0	0	4	0	16
		75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	4.7
		9.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	
		3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		128	6	70	24	16	86	14	344
		37.2	1.7	20.3	7.0	4.7	25.0	4.1	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 69.80777 WITH 30 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
CRAMER'S V = 0.20146
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.41073
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.19998 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.17069 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.27475
SOMER'S D = -0.18999

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 56

under this influence, showed a relatively high percentage after the enactment of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Act which originally was designed to eliminate the influence of this factor. In the period 1960-1964, two to six years after the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958, migrants leaving under the influence of this factor represented 9.8% of the total migrants in the sample reporting this factor as the main reason for migration. This percentage is the second highest percentage for this factor of all periods including the pre-1955 periods where the feudal system was at its peak strength. It may be encouraging that the 1970-1975 period shows no influence of this factor, a good indicator of the effectiveness of the new Agrarian Reform Law of 1970 (see Part I, p.47), but the deterioration of the standard of living in the rural areas (the predominant migration factor in this period) is not entirely due to agricultural factors. The presence of feudal systems needs more concentrated effort to eliminate, and indications in the rural society still show residual of this factor.

(c) Baghdad's attraction according to the cross-tabulation shows significant effect only in the

second factor for migration (VAR.28). Also it is evident that as the periods under study become more recent the influence of this factor seems to be increasing. Better communication and improved mass media means could be responsible for this characteristic. The percentage of migrants of each period total leaving under the influence of Baghdad attraction (involving two factors - better living in Baghdad and high labour pay in Baghdad) is given below:

Period	% leaving due to Badghdad attraction (given as second priority factor VAR.28)
Before 1950	25.0%
1950-1954	9.5%
1955-1959	23.3%
1960-1964	34.6%
1965-1969	28.6%
1970-1975	66.7%

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.3.2

Housing conditions and area of migrants' residence in the Capital:

Date Household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03) vs. Sector settled in first time in Baghdad (VAR.05)

also

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03) vs. Reason for settling in sector (VAR.06)

Reason for moving from first residence (VAR.10)

also

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	Type of first residence in the Capital (VAR.08)

This cross-tabulation focuses on:

(1) The historic formations of migrant settlements and migrant housing schemes in the Capital.

(2) The types of housing unit the migrants of different migration periods reside in once they arrive in the Capital.

(3) Historic changes in the reasons for settling in different sectors in the capital and also to changes in the mobility factors of migrants in the capital.

(4) Present housing tenure for migrants of different periods of migration to the capital which tends to give an insight on pressures of the housing market on the migrants in the capital.

As the research survey is conducted in the currently main agglomeration of migrants in the Capital which is in Thawra Town and Shula Town migrants' housing projects, then the history of the formation of settlements will be limited to the settlements from from which the two housing projects' population were relocated. It follows also that the objective of the first cross-tabulation (VAR.03 vs. VAR.05) that links

the first sector migrants settled in to the date of the migration, is to test the reliability of the historic data obtained (p.263) in this Thesis regarding the history of formation of migrants' settlements in the city. Migrants coming after the time when Thawra and Shula were well established either settled in these two areas or in the scattered small settlements mainly outside the Capital municipal control limits. Although this fact represents a limitation (see p.324) on the representativeness of the research sample of the total migrants volume of the capital, the objective of this research survey is not to give a numerical (or volumetric) indication of the size of migrants in the capital, which is adequately covered in Part II of this Thesis but rather to examine the characteristics of migrants and migration pattern to the capital both on a subregional basis and time scale bases. Both Thawra and Shula towns, the site of the research survey, have received significant volumes of migrants long after they were supposed to have absorbed all the existing migrants' population living in hutments in the early sixties (32.5% of the survey sample came into the capital after 1963 - see p.345).

In examining the places of settlement of migrants in the six periods before 1950-1975, the following observations will result:

(a) Before 1950 migrants had over 72.7% settling in sectors outside the centre of the city which suggests the validity of the observations made in the earlier parts of this part of the Thesis (p.265) that migrants' settlements of that period tend to be on the outskirts of the relatively small size city built up area. The presence of 27.3% of the migrants of that period at the site of the area later to be the central migrant settlement of Al-Asima further upholds the historic data outlined in the section dealing with the history of migrants' settlements above.

(b) The main central migrants' settlement of Al-Asima seems to have started with the small portion of migrants settling there before 1950 (8.8% of the 68 migrants in the sample from this area). It really grew between 1955 and 1959 when 64.7% of its migrants settled there at this peak period of migration to the Capital. Actually in this period about a quarter of the total migrants coming into the Capital landed into the Al-Asima settlement. Although the settlement was, according to Government reports, completely abolished by 1963, yet 1.5% of the migrants in the research sample reported landing in the area of the settlement in the period 1965-1969. Most probably they

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR05 SECTOR HEAD SETTLED IN 1ST TIME IN BAGD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR05 1. BAG IS	2. SKRT BRKELN	3. THAWRA T OWN	4. SHULA TO WN	5. BAGCTR M IGSTHNT	6. BAGCTR D ETDARFAS	7. OTHER RA G SECT	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		0	16	6	0	0	0	22	
		0.0	72.7	27.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.5	
		0.0	20.8	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
		0.0	4.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0		
2. 1965 TO 1969		17	24	16	6	2	20	85	
		20.0	28.2	18.8	7.1	2.4	23.5	21.2	
		22.1	31.2	40.0	8.8	11.1	16.7		
		4.2	6.0	4.0	1.5	0.5	5.0		
3. 1960 TO 1964		11	16	4	8	2	20	61	
		18.0	26.2	6.6	13.1	3.3	32.8	15.2	
		14.3	20.8	10.0	11.8	11.1	16.7		
		2.7	4.0	1.0	2.0	0.5	5.0		
4. 1955 TO 1959		43	21	12	44	10	49	181	
		24.9	11.6	6.6	24.3	5.5	27.1	45.2	
		58.4	27.3	30.0	64.7	55.6	40.8		
		11.2	5.2	3.0	11.0	2.5	12.2		
5. 1950 TO 1954		2	0	2	4	4	17	29	
		6.9	0.0	6.9	13.8	13.8	58.6	7.2	
		2.6	0.0	5.0	5.9	22.2	14.2		
		0.5	0.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	4.2		
6. BEFOR 1950		2	0	0	6	0	14	22	
		9.1	0.0	0.0	27.3	0.0	63.6	5.5	
		2.6	0.0	0.0	8.8	0.0	11.7		
		0.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	3.5		
COLUMN TOTAL		77	77	40	68	18	120	400	
		19.2	19.2	10.0	17.0	4.5	30.0	100.0	

CHI SQUARE = 132.46539 WITH 25 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.25736
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.49878
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.20307 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.13331 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.27290
SOMER'S D = 0.19740

did at part of the open area created by Government bulldozers when demolishing the area. By the early 70's the area originally occupied by this settlement was completely redeveloped and no migrants reported landing there since.

(c) Thawra town area and Shula town area were originally selected by the Government to be the site of the main housing project for the migrants to be relocated from their hutments in the capital (see p.293). Yet the size of Thawra town being mostly on open government-owned land was the target of migrants settlements as early as 1955, according to the Thesis research survey where 27.3% of the total migrants first settled in Thawra town area had reported to have settled there at the 1955-1959 period. Naturally Thawra received its largest volume of migrants after it established itself as the main settlement where it was "permissible" to settle in governmentally free offered parcels of land with loans (free of interest) and technical aid. No wonder 52% of the migrants' sample in the survey coming into the Capital between 1960 and 1969 settled in Thawra. What makes the Thawra town migrants housing area an interesting case is the fact that it received around three-quarters of the most

recent period of 1970-1975 (72.7% settled in Thawra from the total capital migrants' survey sample of 1970-1975 period, the remaining 27.3% settled in Shula).

> Thus the Thawra and Shula town migrants' housing areas, devised originally to eliminate the settlements of migrants from the capital, became increasingly the receiving area for the migrants coming to the Capital.

This is also supported by the fact that both areas received an increasing proportion of each period migrants with higher the proportion as the period became more recent. Thawra's share of 1955-1959 period migrants of 11.6% increased to 72.7% in the 1970-1975 period. Shula's share increased from 6.6% to 27.3% in the same space of time. In a way these two projects became a sort of encourgagement to the rural migrants to migrate to the capital where they would find a rural community with their own kind of society very much in existence. Free (or nearly free) housing opportunities, guaranteed employment and all the facilities of the most urbanised centre of the country within practically walking distance of their residences. Thawra and Shula's share of the capital migrants' survey sample grew from 6.9% in 1950-1954 to 47% in the 1965-1969 period, and then to the 100% total of 1970-1975. Shula town, although smaller than Thawra town,

seems to have started receiving migrants as early as 1950-1954 period where 6.9% of this period's migrants settled in it. Built almost at the same period as Thawra it had a relatively smaller starting site of governmental housing projects of just over 4,000 parcels, to be built by the relocated migrants (see p. 293).

In looking at the reasons for settling in the sector selected by the migrants first time upon reaching Baghdad (VAR.03 vs. VAR.06), we will notice that the economic factors (low living cost, cheap accommodation, proximity to place of work) are mostly effective in the most recent period, i.e. 1970-1975, with 63.7% of the migrants of that period reporting settling in their selected sector under its influence. While the social factors (relatives settled there before, friends settled there before) were most significant in the peak period of 1955-1959 where 57.5% of migrants at that period reported settling under its influence. It is interesting to note that the social factor and the economic factor have shown a reverse relationship where if the economic factor is weak then the social factor is strong and vice versa. Also while the social factor deteriorates as migration becomes more recent, the economic factor on the other hand was increasing in importance as migration becomes more recent, as in the following: (p.531)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR06 1ST ORDER REASON FOR SETLNG IN 1ST SECT

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR06 1.0 IRELATVS 1STLD BFR	2.0 FRNDS ST LD BFR	3.0 CHEAP AC COMDN	4.0 LOW LVNG COST	5.0 CLOSE WO RK PLACE	6.0 GOVMNT H OUSNG	7.0 OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		6	2	0	10	4	0	0	22
		27.3	9.1	0.0	45.5	18.2	0.0	0.0	5.6
		3.7	9.1	0.0	16.4	6.5	0.0	0.0	
		1.5	0.5	0.0	2.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	
2. 1965 TO 1969		22	0	12	8	19	16	8	85
		25.9	0.0	14.1	9.4	22.4	18.8	9.4	21.6
		13.4	0.0	27.3	13.1	30.6	55.2	66.7	
		5.6	0.0	3.0	2.0	4.8	4.1	2.0	
3. 1960 TO 1964		29	2	2	14	10	2	0	59
		49.2	3.4	3.4	23.7	16.9	3.4	0.0	15.0
		17.7	9.1	4.5	23.0	16.1	6.9	0.0	
		7.4	0.5	0.5	3.6	2.5	0.5	0.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		89	14	24	21	18	11	2	179
		49.7	7.8	13.4	11.7	10.1	6.1	1.1	45.4
		54.3	63.6	54.5	34.4	29.0	37.9	16.7	
		22.6	3.6	4.1	5.3	4.6	2.8	0.5	
5. 1950 TO 1954		10	0	4	8	3	0	2	27
		37.0	0.0	14.8	29.6	11.1	0.0	7.4	6.9
		6.1	0.0	9.1	13.1	4.8	0.0	16.7	
		2.5	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.8	0.0	0.5	
6. BEFOR 1950		3	4	2	0	8	0	0	22
		36.4	18.2	9.1	0.0	36.4	0.0	0.0	5.6
		4.9	18.2	4.5	0.0	12.9	0.0	0.0	
		2.3	1.0	0.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		164	22	44	61	62	29	12	394
		41.6	5.6	11.2	15.5	15.7	7.4	3.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 111.42091 WITH 30 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.23782
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.46952
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.15322 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.13504 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.20428
SOMER'S D = -0.14886

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

BAGHDAD MIGRANTS SETTLEMENTS SURVEY

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR10 1ST ORDER REASON FOR MOVING FRM 1ST RESD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR10 1. POOR HUB FACL	2. NO KNLGE OF POP	3. FAR FRM WORK PL	4. GOT GOV HOUSE	5. BOUGHT P ROPRTY	6. UNAPLICA BLE	7.	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		0	0	0	0	2	20		22
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	90.9		5.5
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	19.4		
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	5.0		
2. 1965 TO 1969		0	0	8	39	4	34		85
		0.0	0.0	9.4	45.9	4.7	40.0		21.2
		0.0	0.0	44.4	15.7	16.7	33.0		
		0.0	0.0	2.0	9.7	1.0	8.5		
3. 1960 TO 1964		2	0	2	37	2	18		61
		3.3	0.0	3.3	60.7	3.3	29.5		15.2
		100.0	0.0	11.1	14.9	8.3	17.5		
		0.5	0.0	0.5	9.2	0.5	4.5		
4. 1955 TO 1959		0	0	2	141	9	29		181
		0.0	0.0	1.1	77.9	5.0	16.0		45.2
		0.0	0.0	11.1	56.6	37.5	28.2		
		0.0	0.0	0.5	35.2	2.2	7.2		
5. 1950 TO 1954		0	2	4	18	3	2		29
		0.0	6.9	13.8	62.1	10.3	6.9		7.2
		0.0	50.0	22.2	7.2	12.5	1.9		
		0.0	0.5	1.0	4.5	0.8	0.5		
6. BEFOR 1950		0	2	2	14	4	0		22
		0.0	9.1	9.1	63.6	18.2	0.0		5.5
		0.0	50.0	11.1	5.6	16.7	0.0		
		0.0	0.5	0.5	3.5	1.0	0.0		
COLUMN TOTAL		2 0.5	4 1.0	18 4.5	249 62.2	24 6.0	103 25.7		400 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 148.22203 WITH 25 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.27223
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.51997
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.20557 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.22056 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.43759
SOMER'S D = -0.34009

Period	% of period migrants reporting settling in their first sector under the factor influence:		
	Social factors	Economic factors	Other factors
before 1950	54.6%	45.5%	0%
1950-1954	37.0%	55.5%	7.4%
1955-1959	57.5%	35.2%	7.2%
1960-1964	52.6%	44.0%	3.4%
1965-1969	25.9%	45.9%	28.2%
1970-1975	36.4%	63.7%	0%

Migrants receiving Government housing (unit or land) on first arrival in the Capital are at a low percentage of 7.4%, mostly concentrated in the 1965-1969 period, and by and large getting this opportunity before arriving in the capital.

An interesting point to note while examining the first order reason for moving from the first residence (VAR.03 vs. VAR.10) is that migrants landing in the capital in the peak period of 1955-1959 are the main recipients of the Government housing in the projects surveyed, with 77.9% of those migrants moving into these projects from other settlements in the capital to receive the government housing opportunity. A further 16% received the housing opportunity without having to leave the sector since they were living in the hutments in the project area before the housing projects were established.

The type of first residence of the migrants' household (VAR.03 vs. VAR.08) was mostly sarifas (or hutments) before the creation of the housing projects in the early sixties due mostly to legal sanctions against the erection of sarifas or huts after that date. The percentage of migrants living in sarifas the first time in the capital dropped from 90.9% in the period before 1950 to 0% in the more recent period of 1970-1975. Yet sarifas and huts were predominant as late as the 1965-1969 period where 49.4% of the migrants in that period landed in huts when they first reached the capital. The migrants living in brick houses when they first arrived in the capital has risen from 0% in the pre 1950 period to 100% in the 1970-1975 period. It is also interesting to note that the rural migrants have shown little interest in tenements and rooming housing with only 4% living in single rooms at rooming houses over the entire period, most of them at the peak period of 1955-1959 when the volumes of migrants came at a relatively high rate making it difficult for those coming in to live in anything else but a rooming house. This lack of interest of the predominantly southern and central migrants in the inner city's deteriorated tenements has been pointed out in the Thesis before in discussing the regional migration pattern to the Capital.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR08 TYPE OF 1ST RESIDENCE IN BAGHDAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR08 1. SARIFA-H UDHUT	4. GOVHNT HOUSNG	6. RM AT BR ICK HOUS	7. MUD+BRIC K HOUSE	8. OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		0	22	0	0	0	22
		0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.5
		0.0	19.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
2. 1965 TO 1969		41	34	4	4	0	83
		49.4	41.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	20.9
		16.2	30.6	25.0	25.0	0.0	
		10.3	8.5	1.0	1.0	0.0	
3. 1960 TO 1964		35	18	4	4	0	61
		57.4	29.5	6.6	6.6	0.0	15.3
		13.8	16.2	25.0	25.0	0.0	
		8.8	4.5	1.0	1.0	0.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		138	29	8	6	0	181
		76.2	16.0	4.4	3.3	0.0	45.5
		54.5	26.1	50.0	37.5	0.0	
		34.7	7.3	2.0	1.5	0.0	
5. 1950 TO 1954		19	8	0	2	0	29
		65.5	27.6	0.0	6.9	0.0	7.3
		7.5	7.2	0.0	12.5	0.0	
		4.8	2.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	
6. BEFOR 1950		20	0	0	0	2	22
		90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	5.5
		7.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
		5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		253 63.5	111 27.9	16 4.0	16 4.0	2 0.5	398 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 127.58881 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.28310
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.49270
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.26409 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.20126 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.40847
SOMER'S D = -0.31117

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.3.3

	Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	First year job at Baghdad for household head (VAR.47)

also

	Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	Ratio between current income in Baghdad to village income for household head (Z4)

In looking at the kind of jobs migrants most probably will have upon arrival in the capital, one will notice that in the majority of cases these will be unskilled jobs (57.8% of the total number of the sample reported non-skilled jobs upon arrival in the capital, as already discussed in Total Analysis No. 3.3.4.1.4.2, p.424). To investigate the change - if any - of the kinds of jobs taken by migrants of various periods let us consider the following table computed from the attached cross-tabulation printout. The jobs are broken into two main categories representing over 98% of the sample.

(1) Skilled jobs and Sales and Services jobs:

These constitute 40.2% of the total jobs reported.

(2) Non-skilled jobs and General non-skilled labourers:

These constitute 57.8% of the total jobs reported.

Migration period	% skilled jobs*	% non-skilled jobs**	% of other jobs ***
Before 1950	27.3%	72.8%	0%
1950-1954	27.6%	65.5%	6.9%
1955-1959	39.3%	59.6%	1.1%
1960-1964	39.3%	60.7%	0%
1965-1969	44.8%	52.9%	2.4%
1970-1975	63.6%	27.3%	9.1%

* % skilled jobs plus Service and Sales of the period migrants

** % non-skilled jobs and general non-skilled of the period migrants

*** % of other jobs (including animal raising)

It is evident from the figures in the above table that the new migrants are engaged in skilled and sales jobs more than their old counterparts. The migrants of the older periods tend to be more engaged in non-skilled jobs than those who migrated in the more recent periods. This pattern may suggest a process of selection in the migration to the capital whereupon the availability of non-skilled jobs is diminishing in the recent years and thus only those fit to do the more demanding skilled jobs and sales and service jobs could be attracted to migrate.

To investigate the comparative economic success of migrants household heads in different periods to the capital, the ratio of their current income is divided by their income at their home village (Z4). This will, together with the above table, complete the

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR47 1ST YEAR AT BAGHDAD JOB FOR HHOLD HEAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR47 1. CONSTRN NONSKLD	2. CONSTRN SKILD	3. SALES+SE RVICES	4. MECHNCL NONSKLD	5. MECHNCL SKILD	6. GNRL NON SKLD	7. ANIMAL R AISING	8. OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		3	0	14	2	0	4	0	2	27
		0.8	0.0	63.6	9.1	0.0	18.2	0.0	9.1	5.5
		0.3	0.0	9.7	12.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	33.3	
		0.0	0.0	3.5	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5	
2. 1965 TO 1969		7	2	30	4	6	34	0	2	85
		8.2	2.4	35.3	4.7	7.1	40.0	0.0	2.4	21.2
		23.3	28.6	20.8	25.0	60.0	18.4	0.0	33.3	
		1.7	0.5	7.5	1.0	1.5	8.5	0.0	0.5	
3. 1960 TO 1964		4	0	24	2	0	31	0	0	61
		6.6	0.0	39.3	3.3	0.0	50.8	0.0	0.0	15.2
		13.3	0.0	16.7	12.5	0.0	16.8	0.0	0.0	
		1.0	0.0	6.0	0.5	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		12	5	64	4	2	92	0	2	181
		6.6	2.8	35.4	2.2	1.1	50.8	0.0	1.1	45.2
		40.0	71.4	44.4	25.0	20.0	49.7	0.0	33.3	
		3.0	1.2	16.0	1.0	0.5	23.0	0.0	0.5	
5. 1950 TO 1954		3	0	6	0	2	16	2	0	29
		10.3	0.0	20.7	0.0	6.9	55.2	6.9	0.0	7.2
		10.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	20.0	8.6	100.0	0.0	
		0.8	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.5	4.0	0.5	0.0	
6. BEFOR 1950		4	0	6	4	0	8	0	0	22
		18.2	0.0	27.3	18.2	0.0	36.4	0.0	0.0	5.5
		13.3	0.0	4.2	25.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	
		1.0	0.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		33 / 7.5	7 / 1.7	144 / 36.0	16 / 4.0	10 / 2.5	185 / 46.3	2 / 0.5	6 / 1.5	400 / 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 87.91921 WITH 35 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.20967
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.42449
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.04602 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0846
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03760 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1307
GAMMA = 0.06657
SOMER'S D = 0.04835

picture of the comparison of relative suitability of different periods of migration for economic or financial success. In considering the attached cross-tabulation printout of date of migration against urban income ratio to village income, a table could be drawn from the cross-tabulation to simplify the comparisons as follows:

Migration Period	Value of Z4 (1-1.5)	(3 - 5)	(8 - 10)	% Unemployed
Before 1950	18.2%	36.4%	36.4%	9.1%
1950-1954	0%	64.5%	20.7%	13.8%
1955-1959	14.1%	44.7%	36.8%	4.5%
1960-1964	9.8%	39.3%	39.3%	11.5%
1965-1969	41.2%	41.2%	17.6%	0%
1970-1975	50.0%	30.0%	20.0%	0%

Also computed is the following average values of the urban to rural income ratios (Z4) for the periods as follows:

Migration Period	Average Value of Z4
Before 1950	4.96
1950-1954	4.44
1955-1959	5.276
1960-1964	5.23
1965-1969	3.747
1970-1975	3.625

These last two tables give some interesting observations, namely:

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 09/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY Z4 RATIO BAG TO VILAGE MONTH HOINCOM
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	Z4 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	UNEMPLOYED 0.00	EQUAL IN COMES 1.00	1.5 TIMES 2.00	THREE TIMES 3.00	FIVE TIMES 4.00	EIGHT TIMES 5.00	OVER TEN TIMES 6.00	ROW TOTAL
1970 TO 1975	1.	0	4	6	4	2	2	2	20
		0.0	20.0	30.0	20.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	5.1
		0.0	25.0	9.4	4.0	2.8	2.4	5.4	
		0.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	
1965 TO 1969	2.	0	6	29	22	13	8	7	85
		0.0	7.1	34.1	25.9	15.3	9.4	8.2	21.6
		0.0	37.5	45.3	22.0	18.3	9.4	18.9	
		0.0	1.5	7.4	5.6	3.3	2.0	1.8	
1960 TO 1964	3.	3	0	6	18	6	16	8	61
		11.5	0.0	9.8	29.5	9.8	26.2	13.1	15.5
		33.3	0.0	9.4	18.0	8.5	18.8	21.6	
		1.3	0.0	1.5	4.6	1.5	4.1	2.0	
1955 TO 1959	4.	3	6	19	41	38	47	18	177
		4.3	3.4	10.7	23.2	21.5	26.6	10.2	44.9
		38.1	37.5	29.7	41.0	53.5	55.3	48.6	
		2.0	1.5	4.8	10.4	9.6	11.9	4.6	
1950 TO 1954	5.	3	0	0	11	8	6	0	29
		13.3	0.0	0.0	37.9	27.6	20.7	0.0	7.4
		19.0	0.0	0.0	11.0	11.3	7.1	0.0	
		1.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.0	1.5	0.0	
BEFOR 1950	6.	2	0	4	4	4	6	2	22
		9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	27.3	9.1	5.6
		9.5	0.0	6.2	4.0	5.6	7.1	5.4	
		0.5	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		21	16	64	100	71	85	37	394
		5.3	4.1	16.2	25.4	18.0	21.6	9.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 85.55269 WITH 30 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.20839
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.42238
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12404 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11388 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004
GAMMA = 0.16058
SOMER'S D = 0.11618

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

(a) As the migrant seems to settle longer in the Capital his financial status seems to improve which is evident from the average values of the income ratio between currently in Baghdad for migrants of different periods at the capital and his income at his home village. Although the last four periods, i.e. 1955-75, showed significant drop in the income ratio, the fact remains that those coming in the last two periods though apparently still showing financial improvement are slightly lagging behind the first four periods. This increase in the income ratios of the middle periods of 1955-1959 and 1960-1964 may be due to the devastating effect of the 1954 flood in the first period, and the failure of the 1958 Agrarian Reform Act in the second period. The rural incomes in these two periods deteriorated to a level never seen in the modern history of rural Iraq. (See Figure No. 28 for the 1957-59 pattern, p. 441). If the abnormal situation of the middle periods is overlooked, the trend is quite clear and it points out that the olderthe migrant period to the capital the more is the financial gain for migrating to the capital in comparison with rural village income.

(b) The unemployment of the migrants of different periods seems to relate to whether he owns any skills or not. The last two periods, which are the highest in skilled labour and sales and lowest in non-skilled jobs holders in the capital shows no unemployment percentage.

(c) It is evident also from the data above that migration to the capital is not as lucrative as it used to be, or at least as lucrative to the new migrants as it was to those who had been in the capital for longer periods. The last two periods, i.e. 1965-1969 and 1970-1975, showed no gains in income for 41.2% and 50% of their migrants respectively from migrating to the capital. Conditions in favour of migrating to the capital seem to have weaker supporting economic evidence as periods of migration become more recent.

One may argue that the early stage migrants have been in the capital long enough to move from lower to upper income groupings while the new migrants from the last two periods are still struggling and may show similar economic prosperity later on as years go by. Also the fact that pre Agrarian Reform practices of income sharing in the rural areas was considerably against the peasant and more recent migrants were having a

much fairer deal than their predecessors. Recent period migrants (post 1960-1965 migration period) suggesting the economic factor as the reason for their migration may be suggesting the deteriorating of agricultural conditions (land salinity, shortage of irrigation water, lack of drainage systems, etc.) more than the income sharing which was the predominant injustice of the feudal system.

> This finding is of great significance in formulating selection procedures for resettlement projects or reverse migration strategy projects for the future. As it points out very clearly in favour of selecting more recent migrants if the margin of the probably financial loss is to be reduced for the returnees to the rural areas.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.3.4

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	Head's difficulties on arrival in Baghdad (VAR.51)

This cross-tabulation is basically to identify the historic variation of the type of difficulties predominantly affecting migrants of different stages of migration to the capital. The table below shows the percentage of migrants in each period reporting a specific difficulty. (The table is computed from the attached cross-tabulation printout):

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR51 HEAD DIFICULTIES AT ARRIVAL IN BAGHDAD

VAR03	VAR51	1. DFCLTS GETG RESD	2. DFCLTS GETG JOB	3. FINCIAL DFCLTS	5. NO DIFICULTIES	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975	COUNT	4	2	14	2	22
	ROW PCT	18.2	9.1	63.6	9.1	5.5
	COL PCT	8.3	2.2	6.8	3.7	
	TOT PCT	1.0	0.5	3.5	0.5	
2. 1965 TO 1969	COUNT	6	10	50	19	85
	ROW PCT	7.1	11.8	58.8	22.4	21.2
	COL PCT	12.5	10.9	24.3	35.2	
	TOT PCT	1.5	2.5	12.5	4.7	
3. 1960 TO 1964	COUNT	8	19	22	12	61
	ROW PCT	13.1	31.1	36.1	19.7	15.2
	COL PCT	16.7	20.7	10.7	22.2	
	TOT PCT	2.0	4.7	5.5	3.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959	COUNT	28	40	96	17	181
	ROW PCT	15.5	22.1	53.0	9.4	45.2
	COL PCT	58.3	43.5	46.6	31.5	
	TOT PCT	7.0	10.0	24.0	4.2	
5. 1950 TO 1954	COUNT	2	13	12	2	29
	ROW PCT	6.9	44.8	41.4	6.9	7.2
	COL PCT	4.2	14.1	5.8	3.7	
	TOT PCT	0.5	3.2	3.0	0.5	
6. BEFOR 1950	COUNT	0	8	12	2	22
	ROW PCT	0.0	36.4	54.5	9.1	5.5
	COL PCT	0.0	8.7	5.8	3.7	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.0	3.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		48	92	206	54	400
		12.0	23.0	51.5	13.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 39.15827 WITH 15 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006
CRAMER'S V = 0.18064
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.29361
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12667 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.11330 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004
GAMMA = -0.18114
SOMER'S D = -0.13088

Migration period	Percentage of periods migrants reporting the difficulty: Difficulty finding residence	Difficulty finding a job	Financial difficulties	No difficulties encountered
Before 1950	0%	36.4%	54.5%	9.1%
1950-1954	6.9%	44.8%	41.4%	6.9%
1955-1959	15.5%	22.1%	53.0%	9.4%
1960-1964	13.1%	31.1%	36.1%	19.7%
1965-1969	7.1%	11.8%	58.8%	22.4%
1970-1975	18.2%	9.1%	63.6%	9.1%

Observations:

(a) Apparently the establishment of Thawra and Shula towns gave the incoming migrants a sort of legitimate status in the capital and in spite of the housing probelm of a growing capital, the migrants' difficulties of finding a residence, which had grown from 0% to 6.9% to 15.5% in the first three migration periods up to 1959, started to drop in the next two periods down to 13.1% and 7.1% by the end of the 1965-1969 period. The 1970-1975 period showed a renewed housing problem for the migrants when the apparent exhaustion of the Thawra and Shula towns stock of migrants' accommodation seemed to be reached at last. This may suggest a significant deterioration for migrants' opportunities to find housing in the future.

(b) With large percentage of the migrants of the last two periods reporting no change in their income after migrating to the capital (previous cross-tabulation) no wonder the financial difficulties of the migrants reached an all time high in the last period with 63.6% of that period migrants reporting financial difficulties. Together with the rising difficulties of finding a residence and the apparently increasing possibilities of no financial gain through migration, the financial difficulties represent a gloomy future for the migrant volumes to follow in the capital. But the continued increase of migration volumes to the capital (shown in Part II) seems to suggest that the deterioration of rural peasants' life is much worse than the effect of rising difficulties and diminishing financial gain of migrating to the capital and the argument in favour of rural-urban migration is still strong (see p.442).

(c) On the bright side, from the migrants' standpoint, the percentage of migrants having difficulties finding ajob is steadily dropping as the period of migrating to the capital becomes more recent. The economic growth of the capital apparently has given increasing

opportunities for migrants to get jobs. Job availability will encourage more migrants to come to the capital, thus further aggravate the housing and the financial situation for the migrants. in the capital.

The unfavourable position of recent migrants compared to older period migrants is an important element in formulating future selection criterias for resettlement projects and strategies such as the reverse migration projects (see also p.541).

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.3.5

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	If head keeps contacts with population at old village (VAR.54)

also

Date household head migrated to Baghdad (VAR.03)	vs.	Form of Contacts (VAR.55)

As we have already tested the keeping of contacts with old home village by subregion concentrating on the issue of distance, the objective of this cross-tabulation is to test the effect of time on these contacts and the form it takes as the migrant spends more time in the capital. The hypothesis we are testing here is

> As time elapses for migrants settling in the capital, the contacts with the old village seem to deteriorate.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR03 DATE HHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR54 IF HEAD KEEPS CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILGE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR54 YES (1.)	VAR54 NO (2.)	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		12	10	22
		54.5	45.5	5.5
		5.5	5.5	
		3.0	2.5	
2. 1965 TO 1969		53	32	85
		62.4	37.6	21.2
		24.4	17.5	
		13.2	8.0	
3. 1960 TO 1964		37	24	61
		60.7	39.3	15.2
		17.1	13.1	
		9.2	6.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		101	80	181
		55.8	44.2	45.2
		46.5	43.7	
		25.3	20.0	
5. 1950 TO 1954		6	23	29
		20.7	79.3	7.2
		2.1	12.6	
		1.5	5.7	
6. BEFOR 1950		8	14	22
		36.4	63.6	5.5
		3.7	7.7	
		2.0	3.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		217	183	400
		54.2	45.7	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 19.42927 WITH 5 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0016
CRAMER'S V = 0.22039
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21523
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.14097 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.16303 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.23437
SOMER'S D = 0.16925

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR03 DATE MHOLD HEAD MIGRATED TO BAGHDAD BY VAR55 FORM OF HEAD CONTACTS WITH POP AT VILAGE

VAR03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR55 1. VISITING	2. VISITING +HELPING	3. HELPING ONLY	4. UNAPLICABLE	6. RECIEVING HELP	ROW TOTAL
1. 1970 TO 1975		10	0	0	10	2	22
		45.5	0.0	0.0	45.5	9.1	5.6
		5.3	0.0	0.0	5.5	100.0	
		2.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.5	
2. 1965 TO 1969		51	0	3	32	0	85
		58.8	0.0	3.5	37.6	0.0	21.5
		26.5	0.0	42.9	17.5	0.0	
		12.6	0.0	0.8	8.1	0.0	
3. 1960 TO 1964		33	2	0	24	0	59
		55.9	3.4	0.0	40.7	0.0	14.9
		17.5	13.3	0.0	13.1	0.0	
		8.3	0.5	0.0	6.1	0.0	
4. 1955 TO 1959		82	13	4	80	0	179
		45.3	7.3	2.2	44.7	0.0	45.2
		43.4	86.7	57.1	43.7	0.0	
		20.7	3.3	1.0	20.2	0.0	
5. 1950 TO 1954		6	0	0	23	0	29
		20.7	0.0	0.0	79.3	0.0	7.3
		3.2	0.0	0.0	12.6	0.0	
		1.5	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	
6. BEFOR 1950		3	0	0	14	0	22
		36.4	0.0	0.0	63.6	0.0	5.6
		4.2	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	
		2.3	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		140	15	7	183	2	396
		47.7	3.8	1.8	46.2	0.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 68.13793 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.20740
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.38315
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12952 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10222 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
GAMMA = 0.20580
SOMER'S D = 0.14685

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

The data in the cross-tabulation printout attached seems to support this hypothesis, the oldest migrants in the capital who migrated before 1950 reported having no contacts with their old village by 63.6% against 36.4% while the more recent period (1970-1975) in the sample showed 54.5% to 45.5% who reported keeping contacts. The remaining periods showed a declining ratio of those keeping contacts with the old village population between the two periods above. On the issue of the form of contacts kept (VAR.55) the older migrants' periods have the least strength of contacts of the visiting only type, signifying the non-existence of intimate relations with the old village to warrant a closer type of contact, such as helping, for example. With the more recent migrants' contacts seem to be more diversified and certainly the 1970-75 migrants even receive help from their recently departed home village relatives.

> In summary the contacts seem to die out as time of settling in the capital progresses, which again favours the more recent migrants for projects to return to the rural areas, as they seem to have more contacts than the older ones.

3.3.4.4 General Purpose Cross-tabulations:

These involve cross-tabulations that are not designed to identify the subregional differences as in the 3.3.4.2 Cross-tabulation group or to trace the historic changes as in the 3.3.4.3 Cross-tabulation group but rather to act as a supplementary source of data on the characteristics of the migration pattern and the migrant households (see p.330).

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.4.1

First order reason for settling in first sector of residence upon arrival in the capital (VAR.06)	vs.	Sector settled in first time in Baghdad (VAR.05)

The factors involved in the selection are basically two types (see Cross-tabulation No. 3.3.4.3.2, p.531) namely, the social factors,(settling close to relatives and friends) which accounts for 47.1% of the first reasons' type reported, and the economic factor (cheap accommodation, low living cost and being close to place of work), which accounts for 42.4% of the first reasons' type reported. The following table lists the percentages for each of these two types of factors by settlements the migrants first settled in and is computed from the attached cross-tabulation printout: (p.551)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR06 1ST ORDER REASON FOR SETLNG IN 1ST SECT BY VAR05 SECTOR HEAD SETTLED IN 1ST TIME IN BAGD
*

VAR06	VAR05 1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	6.0	ROW TOTAL
1. RELATVS STLD BFR	42	22	16	36	8	40	164
	25.6	13.4	9.8	22.0	4.9	24.4	41.6
	54.3	28.6	40.0	52.9	50.0	34.5	
	10.7	5.6	4.1	9.1	2.0	10.2	
2. FRNDS STLD BFR	0	2	0	10	0	10	22
	0.0	9.1	0.0	45.5	0.0	45.5	5.6
	0.0	2.6	0.0	14.7	0.0	8.6	
	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	
3. CHEAP ACCOMDN	10	0	0	12	4	18	44
	22.7	0.0	0.0	27.3	9.1	40.9	11.2
	13.0	0.0	0.0	17.6	25.0	15.5	
	2.5	0.0	0.0	3.0	1.0	4.6	
4. LOW LVNG COST	6	18	0	8	4	25	61
	9.8	29.5	0.0	13.1	6.6	41.0	15.5
	7.8	23.4	0.0	11.8	25.0	21.6	
	1.5	4.6	0.0	2.0	1.0	6.3	
5. CLOSE WORK PLACE	19	2	18	2	0	21	62
	30.6	3.2	29.0	3.2	0.0	33.9	15.7
	24.7	2.6	45.0	2.9	0.0	18.1	
	4.8	0.5	4.6	0.5	0.0	5.3	
6. GOVMNT HOUSNG	0	27	2	0	0	0	29
	0.0	93.1	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.4
	0.0	35.1	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	6.9	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
7. OTHERS	0	6	4	0	0	2	12
	0.0	50.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	3.0
	0.0	7.8	10.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	
	0.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	77	77	40	68	16	116	394
	19.5	19.5	10.2	17.3	4.1	29.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 230.58274 WITH 30 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.34212
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.60760
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.03645 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1399
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.03392 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1573
GAMMA = -0.04628
SOMER'S D = -0.03555

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

Settlement migrant settled in first time in Capital	% of migrants in each settlement reporting: Social factors	Economic factors	Other factors (inc.Govt.housing and others)
Baghdad outskirts near brick kelns	54.5%	45.5%	0%
Thawra Town	31.2%	26.0%	42.9%
Shula Town	40.0%	45.0%	15.0%
Baghdad Central migrants settlement	67.6%	32.4%	0%
Other Baghdad sectors	43.1%	55.2%	1.7%

As has been suggested in the cross-tabulation linking time of migration to reasons for settling in the sector first settled in once the migrant reached the capital (Cross-tabulation No. 3.3.4.3.2, p.528), the older the settlements, like Baghdad central migrant settlement with 67.6% in favour of the social factors and the brick keln settlements with 54.5% for the social factors, the more the migrants settled in under the social factors' influence. The brick keln settlements are a mixture of old (mostly) and recent settlers, that is apparently why it shows slightly less enthusiasm for the social factor than that showed by the old settlement of Al-Asima (the central Baghdad migrant settlement). Other Baghdad sectors, most of them completely removed in the early 60's also have a mixture of old and new patterns of behaviour as far as the social factor is concerned with 43.1% in favour of the social factor.

Thawra and Shula towns, being basically housing projects, showed relatively high percentages in the "other factors" category which includes Government housing as a reason for settlement with 42.9% for Thawra and 15% for Shula. The social factor is low in both areas with Thawra recording the lowest percentage in favour of the social factor of all sectors with only 31.2%. Shula on the other hand showed a high percentage in favour of the economic factor, which is expected of a relatively new settlement, all of the Shula economic factor being due to the proximity of the large industrial area of the Northwest Baghdad quarter of the capital. It is interesting to note that in these relatively new settlements fewer percentage of total migrants in them seem to settle in due to cheap accommodation, which suggests a high cost for housing to migrants in recent times.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.4.2

First reason for migrating to Baghdad (VAR.27) vs. Household head's occupation before migrating to Baghdad (VAR.46)

also

Household head's occupation before migrating to Baghdad (VAR.46) vs. Per capita income at village (Z3)

also

First reason for migrating to Baghdad (VAR.27) vs. Per capita income at village (Z3)

This set of cross-tabulations aims to link reasons for migration of different occupations of migrants to their income at their home village. Since the economic reason is responsible for the majority of migrants' first order reasons for leaving their home villages and coming to the capital.

The first part of this set of cross-tabulations is to identify the correlation between the occupation at the village (VAR.46) and the reason for migration (VAR.27). Obvious hypothesis to be tested here is that:

> The feudal system factor is predominant in the peasantry type occupations while the economic factor is more predominant in the non-peasantry type occupations.

A summary table combining the peasantry occupations, i.e. landless peasants, farmers and animal raising, and the non-peasantry occupations, i.e. sales and service, mechanical and labour (skilled and unskilled)

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR46 HEAD OCCUPATION BEFOR MIGRATION TO BAGD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR27	VAR46	1. FRMR OWN LAND	2. LANDLESS PESANT	3. UNEMPLOY ED	4. SALES + SERVICES	5. ANIMAL RAISING	6. MECHANICAL	7. LABOR SKLD	8. LABOR UNSKLD	9. OTHERS	ROW TOTAL
1. DETR STD LIVIG	COUNT	3	123	2	26	7	4	18	9	4	196
	ROW PCT	1.5	62.8	1.0	13.3	3.6	2.0	9.2	4.6	2.0	49.0
	COL PCT	27.3	46.6	50.0	49.1	53.8	50.0	69.2	81.8	40.0	
	TOT PCT	0.8	30.7	0.5	6.5	1.7	1.0	4.5	2.2	1.0	
2. HGH LBR PAY BAGD	COUNT	0	8	0	6	0	2	0	2	0	18
	ROW PCT	0.0	44.4	0.0	33.3	0.0	11.1	0.0	11.1	0.0	4.5
	COL PCT	0.0	3.0	0.0	11.3	0.0	25.0	0.0	18.2	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	
3. UNEMPMNT RURL	COUNT	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
	ROW PCT	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2
	COL PCT	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
4. TRB CHEFINJSTCE	COUNT	8	105	0	2	6	0	4	0	0	123
	ROW PCT	4.9	85.4	0.0	1.6	4.9	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	30.7
	COL PCT	54.5	39.8	0.0	3.8	46.2	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	1.5	26.2	0.0	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	
5. BTER HOSG BAGD	COUNT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	ROW PCT	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.5
	COL PCT	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	
6. OWN MEMB MIGRTD	COUNT	0	11	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	13
	ROW PCT	0.0	84.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	3.2
	COL PCT	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	
8. BTR HTHSVCE BAGD	COUNT	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	ROW PCT	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
	COL PCT	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
10. OTHERS	COUNT	2	6	2	19	0	2	2	0	4	37
	ROW PCT	5.4	16.2	5.4	51.4	0.0	5.4	5.4	0.0	10.8	9.2
	COL PCT	18.2	2.3	50.0	35.8	0.0	25.0	7.7	0.0	40.0	
	TOT PCT	0.5	1.5	0.5	4.7	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		11 / 2.7	264 / 66.0	4 / 1.0	53 / 13.2	13 / 3.2	8 / 2.0	26 / 6.5	11 / 2.7	10 / 2.5	400 / 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 229.29117 WITH 56 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.28616
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.60363
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.04037 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1111
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.02771 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2039

against the three major factors of deteriorated rural conditions (including unemployment), tribal chief's injustice and attraction of the capital, as follows:

	No. and % of Sample in each category	
	Peasantry Occupation	Non-Peasantry Occupation
Deteriorated rural conditions	142 (49.3%)	57 (58.2%)
Tribal chief injustice	117 (40.6%)	6 (6.1%)
Capital attraction	10 (3.5%)	10 (10.2%)
Others and own members migrated	19 (6.6%)	25 (25.5%)
Total	288 (100%)	98 (100%)

With only 6.1% of the non-peasantry occupation sample reporting the feudal system and 58.2% for the economic reason, against 40.6% and 49.3% of the peasants, the hypothesis seems to hold true. Also in support of this hypothesis is the fact that of the 123 samples reporting the feudal system, 117 are of a peasantry occupation or 95.1% which is significantly higher than is suggested by the total sample composition having 72.1% in peasantry occupations. It is also interesting to note that the attraction of the capital is three times more effective in the non-peasantry occupations as its influence in the peasantry occupations, probably due to the fact that other factors such as feudal systems are more prominent in the peasantry occupations.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR46 HEAD OCCUPATION BEFOR MIGRATION TO BAGD BY Z3 PER CAPTA MONTH HOINCOM VILAGE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR46	Z3 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	UP TO .5 1.00	.51 TO 1.0 2.00	1.1 TO 1.5 3.00	1.51 TO 2.0 4.00	2.1 TO 2.5 5.00	ROW TOTAL
1. FRHR OWN LAND		9	0	0	0	2	11
		81.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	2.8
		5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	
		2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	
2. LANDLESS PESANT		124	42	46	21	31	264
		47.0	15.9	17.4	8.0	11.7	66.0
		78.0	91.3	55.4	45.7	47.0	
		31.0	10.5	11.5	5.2	7.7	
3. UNEMPLOYED		4	0	0	0	0	4
		100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
		2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
		1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
4. SALES + SERVICES		12	0	14	12	15	53
		22.6	0.0	26.4	22.6	28.3	13.2
		7.5	0.0	16.9	26.1	22.7	
		3.0	0.0	3.5	3.0	3.7	
5. ANIMAL RAISING		2	2	4	3	2	13
		15.4	15.4	30.8	23.1	15.4	3.2
		1.3	4.3	4.8	6.5	3.0	
		0.5	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.5	
6. MECHANICAL		0	0	0	2	6	8
		0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0	2.0
		0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	9.1	
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.5	
7. LABOR UNSKLD		6	2	6	6	6	26
		23.1	7.7	23.1	23.1	23.1	6.5
		3.8	4.3	7.2	13.0	9.1	
		1.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	
8. LABOR SKLD		0	0	9	0	2	11
		0.0	0.0	81.8	0.0	18.2	2.8
		0.0	0.0	10.8	0.0	3.0	
		0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.5	
9. OTHERS		2	0	4	2	2	10
		20.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	2.5
		1.3	0.0	4.8	4.3	3.0	
		0.5	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		159	46	83	46	66	400
		39.7	11.5	20.7	11.5	16.5	100.0

BAGHDAD MIGRANTS SETTLEMENTS SURVEY 08/03/78 PAGE 108

CHI SQUARE = 117.76406 WITH 32 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.27130
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.47692
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.23317 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.22323 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.43433
SOMER'S D = 0.24505

In the second part of this cross-tabulation the migrant's occupation at the home village (VAR.46) is correlated with the migrant household per capita income at the village (Z3). The hypothesis to be tested here stems from the nature of the migration pattern factors of which the economic factor seems to be the leading factor of migration and also from the composition of migrant's occupation at the home village which showed peasantry occupation as the main type of occupation. Thus the hypothesis to be tested may be that

> Peasantry occupations are at the lower income bracket in the rural home villages in comparison to the non-peasantry occupation.

If we compute the average per capita income of all occupational categories in the home village from the attached cross-tabulation printout, the following table (p.558) will emerge. (The percentage of each category of occupation in the lower income, less than 0.50 I.D., and the upper categories, 2.1-7.5 I.D., is also listed for comparison purposes).

The table shows clearly that the peasantry occupations are at the lowest end of the scale and in terms of income the home village are better only than the unemployed category which showed no income, which in a way gave some strength to the accuracy of the income data. The non-peasantry occupations of mechanical,

Occupation of migrant in home village*	Average per capita income(I.D)	% of the group in Lower income category	% of the group in Upper Income category
Mechanical	4.04	0%	75.0%
Sales and Service	2.16	22.6%	28.3%
Skilled labour	1.94	0%	18.2%
Unskilled labour	1.90	23.1%	23.1%
Animal raising	1.70	15.4%	15.4%
Landless peasant	1.10	47.0%	11.7%
Farmer own land	1.08	81.8%	18.2%
Unemployed	0	100.0%	0%

* (listed in descending order for per capita income)

sales and service and skilled labour tops the average per capita income list. The interesting observation is that whether the peasant owns land or is landless his income seems to be unaffected which testifies to the severe degree of deterioration in the rural economic situation.

Finally the third part of this cross-tabulation is to attempt to correlate income levels at the rural village (Z3) with factors of migration (VAR.27). Due to findings of the first two parts of this cross-tabulation, the following hypothesis may be suggested:

> lower incomes should be associated more with tribal chief's injustice but also show a high occurrence of the economical factor (i.e. deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas). Also upper income groups (being shown to be non-peasantry) should show less effect of the tribal chief's injustice and may also show more effect of the capital attraction.

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY Z3 PER CAPTA MONTH HOINCOM VILAGE

VAR27	Z3 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	UP TO .5 I.D 1.00	.51 TO 1 .0 I.D 2.00	1.1 TO 1 .5 I.D 3.00	1.51 TO 2.0 I.D 4.00	2.1 TO 7 .5 I.D 5.00	ROW TOTAL
1. DETR STD LIVIG		62	30	37	25	42	196
		31.6	15.3	18.9	12.8	21.4	49.0
		39.0	65.2	44.6	54.3	63.6	
		15.5	7.5	9.2	6.2	10.5	
2. HGH LBR PAY BAGD		4	0	8	2	4	18
		22.2	0.0	44.4	11.1	22.2	4.5
		2.5	0.0	9.6	4.3	6.1	
		1.0	0.0	2.0	0.5	1.0	
3. UNEMPMNT RURL		7	0	2	0	0	9
		77.8	0.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	2.2
		4.4	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	
		1.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	
4. TRB CHEFINJSTCE		72	14	24	9	4	123
		58.5	11.4	19.5	7.3	3.3	30.7
		45.3	30.4	28.9	19.6	6.1	
		18.0	3.5	6.0	2.2	1.0	
5. BTER HOSG BAGD		0	0	0	2	0	2
		0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.5
		0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	
6. OWN HEND MIGRTD		3	0	0	2	3	13
		61.5	0.0	0.0	15.4	23.1	3.2
		5.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.5	
		2.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.8	
8. BTR HTHSVCE BAGD		0	0	2	0	0	2
		0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
		0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	
10. OTHERS		6	2	10	6	13	37
		16.2	5.4	27.0	16.2	35.1	9.2
		3.8	4.3	12.0	13.0	19.7	
		1.5	0.5	2.5	1.5	3.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		159	46	83	46	66	400
		39.7	11.5	20.7	11.5	16.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 95.54290 WITH 28 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000.
CRAMER'S V = 0.24437
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.43010
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.07571 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0119
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.06603 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0243

The cross-tabulation in the attached printout seems to support the hypothesis suggested above. The tribal chief's injustice has 58.5% of the total 123 samples in the lower income category against only 3.3% in the upper income category. Looking at this from the income categories angle, the lower income category showed 45.5% for tribal chief's injustice, 39% for the deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas and only 2.5% for Baghdad attraction factors. While the upper income category (2.1 - 7.0 I.D.) showed 63.6% for the deteriorated standards of living in the rural areas and 6.1% for tribal chief's injustice (the feudal system effect), against 6.1% for Baghdad attraction factors. The middle income categories showed a middle situation with a higher occurrence of the capital attraction than the lower income group and less effect of the feudal system factor.

Cross-tabulation No.
3.3.4.4.3

First order reason for migration (VAR.27)	vs.	If household head visited Baghdad before migration (VAR.48)

As has been discussed before the survey data seems to strongly suggest that migration of the sample has been the result of push factors of the poor conditions

in the rural areas. Economically (deterioration of standards of living) or socio-politically (the feudal system); attraction of the capital was mostly suggested to give the migrant the choice to come to the capital as a preference over all other centres in the country once he decided to leave the rural areas. In the current cross-tabulation we are testing the correlation (if any) between migrants deciding to leave the rural areas and the capital attraction and whether visiting the capital before migration to it played any role in accelerating the decision to migrate.

If we summarise the reasons for migrating into two main groups, i.e. -

(1) Rural repulsion:

Deteriorated rural standards of living

Tribal chief's injustice

Unemployment rural

(2) Capital attraction:

High labour pay in Baghdad

Better housing in Baghdad

Better health services in Baghdad

Own members migrated

then a table can be constructed from the attached printout showing whether migrants reporting the above two broad categories have or have not visited the capital, as follows:

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 08/03/78)

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
VAR27 FIRST REASON FOR MIGRATING TO BAGHDAD BY VAR43 IF HEAD HAVE VISITED BAGD BEFOR MIGRAT
* PAGE 1 OF 1

VAR27	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VAR43 YES (1.)	VAR43 NO (2.)	ROW TOTAL
1. DETR STD LIVIG		113	83	196
		57.7	42.3	49.0
		43.8	58.5	
		28.3	20.7	
2. HGH LBR PAY BAGD		12	6	18
		66.7	33.3	4.5
		4.7	4.2	
		3.0	1.5	
3. UNEMPHNT RURL		2	7	9
		22.2	77.8	2.2
		0.8	4.9	
		0.5	1.7	
4. TRB CHEFINJSTCE		83	40	123
		67.5	32.5	30.7
		32.2	28.2	
		20.7	10.0	
5. RTER HOSG BAGD		2	0	2
		100.0	0.0	0.5
		0.8	0.0	
		0.5	0.0	
6. OWN MEMB MIGRTD		11	2	13
		84.6	15.4	3.2
		4.3	1.4	
		2.8	0.5	
8. RTR HTHSVCE BAGD		2	0	2
		100.0	0.0	0.5
		0.8	0.0	
		0.5	0.0	
10. OTHERS		33	4	37
		89.2	10.8	9.2
		12.8	2.8	
		8.2	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		258	142	400
		64.5	35.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 25.90090 WITH 7 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
CRAMER'S V = 0.25446
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24661
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.17789 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.19457 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

	Rural Repulsion	Capital attraction
Visited the Capital	82.5%	17.5%
Have not visited the capital	93.1%	6.9%

While it is true that both those who visited the Capital before and those who have not suggested a closely equal high percentage for the rural repulsion factors of migration, it is also true that those who have visited the capital listed a relatively high occurrence for the capital attraction. But the fact remains that the capital attraction factors represent a small proportion of the first order reasons for migration (only 8.8%) and with almost two-thirds of the survey sample having visited the Capital before migrating to it, the effect of visiting the capital still fails to shows a major influence on the migration decision. But one would still suggest that it does have a small effect on the migration decision, may be by making it that little more easier to take.

3.4 MIGRATION TO BAGHDAD - A CASE STUDY OF MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:

(1) Past surveys which had limited analysis with no (or little) regional emphasis and are now outdated warranted the Thesis research in the Capital migrants' settlements.

(2) The Southern Region and the Central Region are the principal contributors to migrant totals in the capital, with Mysan, a southern subregion, as the predominant origin of migrants.

(3) Survey data supports the hictorically linked pattern of migration suggested by Part II of this Thesis regarding the characteristics of the migration to the Capital, with the 1955-1965 peak period of migration in which 70% of the survey sample reported coming to the Capital.

(4) Total household migration is noted in around 97% of the sample. Migrant household heads are mostly in the labour force prime group of 20 - 30 years of age.

(5) Housing conditions in the rural villages are extremely poor with around 97% being sarifas or mud huts. No basic facilities, such as water or electricity supply, are available and there has been little change in the rural housing conditions over the years.

(6) One stage migration is indicated, straight to the Capital from rural villages. This is in line with earlier research (with the exception of that of Dr. Aziz) and by the subregional (and subadministrative) migration pattern described in Part II of this Thesis. The extreme predominance of the Southern and Central Regions migrants' origin may be the main reason for this characteristic.

(7) Severe rejection of the reverse migration proposals (over 99.5%).

(8) Survey data on first settlement areas for migrants upon arriving in the capital supports the historic data reported on these settlements. For the overall pattern the social similarity factor is the major reason for selection of settlement. The economic factor is getting stronger as the period of migration becomes more recent while the social factor is getting weaker.

(9) The Thawra and Shula towns migrant housing projects played an encouraging role for more migrants to come to the capital rather than the fulfilment of their originally conceived role as a final replacement of hutment settlements in the Capital to 'eradicate' the migrant settlements existence in the city. Hutment settlements in the Thawra town area are estimated to be around 20,000 units at the present time, which is close to some estimates made of the size of hutments before their removal in the early sixties.

(10) Housing units in Thawra and Shula are mostly below the acceptable requirements for migrant households. Poor services and lack of adequate facilities have fastly turned both housing projects into "housing problem areas".

(11) Including the 7.5% unskilled or unemployed proportion the survey sample was over 80% landless peasants and farmers (8%) in their rural villages. Once they got to the Capital their main occupations were unskilled jobs and service jobs. Migrants in the Capital acquire skills as their period of residence gets longer, their income increasing during their staying period much faster than the rural agricultural family income, or Iraqi family income as a whole.

(12) Data on migration reasons and period of migration by subregions relates the strength of feudal system to the predominance of the feudal landlords' oppression as a factor for migration. Also the period of migration by subregions mostly upheld the statistical analysis of Section II of this Thesis. The migration period/reason of migration/regional location data suggests:

(i) The worst migration period (most subregions) was 1955-1959.

(ii) The feudal landlords' influence extended up to 1965-1969 over ten years past the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958.

(iii) Deterioration of standards of living in the rural areas (the leading migration reason for the total sample) has continued to represent the major migration reason including the most recent periods.

(iv) Proximity to the Capital does not seem to affect the value of the Capital's attractiveness. The effect of the Capital attraction is lessened by the fact that around two-third of the survey sample did visit the Capital before migration and it still did not influence their attitude regarding reasons for migration. Itseems only relevant in determining where to go rather than in deciding to go.

(v) Stability of Babylon and Kerbela in recent years is shown in the data (supporting Part II findings in this respect).

(13) Migrant households in the capital make an average of around six times their per capita income in the village. Their income rate of increase over the time since they migrated is much higher than the national figures for per capita income for both the total population and the rural household, yet in financial terms the recent period migrants seem to make less gains due to their migration compared to the older ones.

(14) The economic level indicator of amount of per capita income for migrants from a subregion is

inversely proportional to the amount of the share subregion's migrants in the sample.

(15) Data suggests that migrants are mostly from low sector employment subregions. Also correlation is indicated between the size of migrants' volume and the predominance of rural or agriculturally engaged population size of subregions.

(16) The attractiveness of the Capital is increasing over the rural migration scene, with the most recent periods recording higher occurrence of Capital attrativeness as a major reason for migration.

(17) While in recent periods migrants are more equipped to take on skilled occupations in the Capital, which suggests more drastic negative impact on the origin place of these migrats, the income differential between the migrants home village and the Capital is getting lower in recent periods compared to older periods. The increase in volume of migrants in recent years despite that factor suggests the severe deterioration of standards of living of present day rural areas, and involves factors other than income differentials, such as level of services, housing and public facilities. Employment opportunities deterioration in the rural village is shown more in recent periods with possibilities of finding jobs in the Capital improved significantly for recent migrants.