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**Urbanization
and Urban Research
in the Arab World**

by

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Urbanisation and Urban Research in the Arab World

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I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this communication is to present the major trends of research on Arab towns, on the basis of an analysis of urban contexts in the Arab world. However, this retrospective on research must remain incomplete as the existing catalogues often give preference to subjects that result in interdisciplinary convergence, leaving more selective studies on one side. This synthesis is a continuation of reflection carried out within the GURI (1) programme which benefited from the participation of specialists of urban studies in North Africa and Egypt.

II. FEATURES OF URBANISATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The Arab world today is marked by the extraordinary expansion of the towns and by changes brought about by urbanisation. Of a population of 200 million, about half consists of town dwellers. Compared with other developing countries, this rate of urbanisation comes just after that of Latin America. The urban « explosion » that has occurred in several Arab countries is shown not only in the spectacular growth of the major cities and large regional centres (see Table in Annex), but also in the rapid development of small and medium-sized towns during the last twenty years.

While these changes indicate a sustained increase in the urban population of the Arab world (2) they give rise to a process of urbanisation that is far from uniform. The diversity of national conditions and the existence of urban traditions proper to each country (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Syria), explain the heterogeneity of the urban contexts.

This urbanisation, which is spatially differentiated, is a lasting phenomenon that will tend to intensify during the coming decades. Its development is linked to a high natural growth rate (a high birth rate of 4.25% a year, and a falling death rate of 3.12%) and heavy migratory pressure, all features that can be found in developing countries as a whole. In fact, in all the Arab countries, urban population is growing at a higher rate than the national population. However, two geographic groups should be distinguished, one where the rate of urbanisation is very high (above 700/0), and one, where urbanisation is taking place at a slower pace:

Firstly, there are the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia and Libya which have undergone spectacular urban transformations in just a few years, owing to petroleum revenues. The rates of urbanisation in Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates are among the highest in the world. In 1986, towns accounted for 90% of the total population.

Secondly, the Maghreb countries (Libya excepted) which have unequal resources and are engaged in a process of social change and the belatedly urbanised countries (Sudan, Yemen and Mauritania) where urban growth has been accelerated by the effect of a wide variety of climatic or political crises.

1. Imbalances in the urban infrastructures

In the Arab countries, the urban framework often appears to be in a state of imbalance due to geographical constraints. This common feature does not imply a similar pattern of development. Apart from the « City States » of the Gulf, where the presence of a single metropolis dominates the whole urban system, varying degrees of imbalance can be noted in the Arab countries.

In the case of the Maghreb, despite a beginning of a re-balancing of regional disparities as regards the concentration of city dwellers, the coastal regions still have the highest concentration of towns. One of the most significant features of the urban explosion that has marked the periphery of the major centres (Casablanca, Algiers, Tunis), is the intensification of relations between these centres and their peripheral regions.

Thus, in Morocco, where the number of towns has practically doubled in 16 years (from 128 in 1960-1966 to 240 in the 1982 census) and where the rate of urban growth is an average of 4.28% per year, the seaboard axis Casablanca-Rabat-Kénitra contains 40% of the country's urban population.

In Algeria, 95% of the inhabitants live in one-sixth of the national territory (350,000 km²). In 1994, 447 urban built-up areas (3) with half the country's population (4) were concentrated almost exclusively in a limited seaboard area 1,200 kms long by 100 kms wide.

In Tunisia, although the strong trend towards urbanisation (annual growth of 3.6%) is related partly to administrative realignments (5), town-dwellers make up 61% of the population as a whole (6). The urban framework exists mainly in the provinces of Tunis and the Sahel (centre-east of the country) which have the biggest economic facilities and contain more than 40% of the urban population. The Tunis district and the centre-east each represent more than a fifth of the country's population. These are the regions that have the highest growth rates (2.7% and 2.5% respectively) while the north-west has the lowest growth rate.

In Egypt, where the town dwellers make up approximately 50% of the total population, the main part of the urban network, lying in a patchwork arrangement along the length of the Nile, is densely populated and is set apart by Cairo's macrocephalous nature. Between 1976 and 1986, the last inter-census period, the urban population grew by 10% and the number of towns having more than 100,000 inhabitants rose from 20 to 24.

In Sudan, the highest densities are along the river system and the population remains 70% rural. The development of Khartoum, which has become the main pole of attraction for a substantial migratory movement, is the most important feature of the process of urbanisation in this country.

2. An urban system in the throes of change

The last census operations carried out in Egypt (1986), Algeria (1985), Morocco (1982 and 1994), and Tunisia (1994), show a relative stabilisation of the growth of the large metropolises and a steadier growth of the small and medium-sized towns.

Thus, in Tunisia, the urban system is now dominated by small-sized urban built-up areas. The extending of the urban perimeter of most of the large towns is accompanied by an increase in the size of the small and medium-sized towns, with urban communities of 10,000 to 40,000 inhabitants representing 40% of the urban population.

Like Tunisia, Morocco is experiencing a significant growth in its small and medium-sized towns (6.8%), along with a slowing down of the growth of the large metropolises (3.3% a year). In fact, the population of certain towns has risen from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, corresponding to a gain of 12 points: this amounts to a migratory gain much higher than that of the metropolis of Casablanca (Escallier 1995).

Mauritania, unlike the other Maghreb countries, is experiencing a relatively moderate population growth (2.08% per year) because of a continuing high death rate. Town dwellers represent about 32% of the population, in spite of factors (lack of rainfall and forced migration of populations after the conflict with Senegal in April 1989) that have accentuated the movement towards urbanisation. However, in the last 20 years the development of iron deposits leading to amenities for new centres, the trend towards the sedentarisation of nomads, and the tertiarisation of the economy have together contributed to the considerable growth of the towns, especially Nouakchott.

The case of Egypt is rather special because, although Cairo continues to dominate the national urban system (with approximately 12 million inhabitants, or 12.6% of the total population and 28.8% of the urban population), the small and medium-sized towns have seen growth in the last three decades. In fact, the results of the last census published by the CAPMAS* reveal a stabilisation in the growth of the big cities in Egypt: Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez (7). These provincial cities have seen their population go from 49% to 45.9% of the total population during the inter-census period (1976-1986) (8). The urban centres of the rural provinces have gained from this changing balance, mainly in Upper Egypt where the towns harbour 25.5% of the country's urban population against 24% in 1976, the centres of the Delta which have increased from 26% to 27.1% and the towns of the border provinces which have gained 6%. This trend is also illustrated by the example of several urban centres of the province of Minia, long left on the sidelines, that have experienced a major increase between the last two census operations (see Table 1, page 6).

* Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics

The small towns are therefore fulfilling an increasing number of functions due to the development of service activities including administration, education and health. Through decentralisation and the downward migration of civil servants and managerial personnel, they have acquired the position of administrative, business and even manufacturing centres

In contrast to Morocco, a country of large towns, and Tunisia, where the small towns are particularly great in number, Algeria has a fairly well-balanced urban system with a relatively dense network of small and medium-sized towns. Towns with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants represented two-thirds of the urban system at the time of the 1977 census.

Table 1

Growth rate in the province of Minia (Middle Egypt)

Town	Population in 1986	Annual growth rate 1960-1976 in %	Annual growth rate 1976-1986 in %
Minia	179 136	2.30	2.03
Mallawi	99 062	2.11	2.93
Maghagha	50 807	2.00	2.49
Bani Mazzar	47 964	1.54	2.00
Abu Qirqas	54 629	3.39	3.14
Matay	28 986	2.11	3.18
Dir Muas	25 518	1.72	2.43
Samallut	62 404	2.41	2.48

Source: Atteya Khadija, 1988, *Al-tahaddur wa al-tawzi' al-harami li mudun misr* (Urbanisation and hierarchy in Egyptian towns), 1976-1986, Symposium on urban expansion in Egypt, Cairo, pp. 34-36.

In Libya, the urban centres with 2,000 to 30,000 inhabitants are experiencing record levels of growth (in many cases more than 10% a year) and their size in relation to the country as a whole has risen from 15% in 1964 to 23.7% in 1984. At the same time, 36% of the urban population is concentrated in the medium-sized towns (from 30,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) (Chaline, 1990, pp. 29-30). The appearance of new urban centres and the development of existing small towns have taken place mostly in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica which are the two major economic regions. Despite a voluntarist policy during the last 30 years aimed at limiting large urban concentrations, the bipolar system around Tripoli and Benghazi has been considerably strengthened.

In the Maghreb and the Near East, the trend towards urbanisation is being accompanied by new forms of activity. The small town, which is a centre of the propagation of these new reference models, is having a very marked influence on the development of the rural world owing to the development of the means of transport that facilitates to-and-fro migrations between town and country.

The dynamism of the small and middle-sized urban centres is related in part to the changes in migration patterns during the last twenty years. These changes have modified the distribution of the population not only in the Maghreb but also in Egypt and Sudan.

3. The emergence of new migratory patterns

The appearance of new types of population mobility in the Arab countries during the 1980s is linked to the transformation of the relations between town and country. Whereas, in the 1960s, in the face of the rural exodus, the major urban centres such as Cairo, Casablanca, Tunis, Algiers, etc., offered migrants the possibility of integration, this is no longer the case since the end of the 1970s. In fact, these urban centres find it difficult to absorb the constantly increasing flow of migrants and a slowing down of emigration towards the major urban centres can be seen.

At the same time, small and medium-sized towns have engendered significant zones of spatial influence which are thus largely polarizing the burgeoning inter-urban migrations. For 20 years, various strategies have been worked out in this way in the rural zones: to-and-fro migrations, migrations abroad, development of intermediary towns as well as new urban centres. It is also possible to emphasise the major role of States in the development of these poles, both new and old, as well as their effects towards decentralisation, mainly through downward migrations by state employees.

In the petroleum-producing Arab countries, international migration has greatly contributed to urban expansion. The high growth rate that marks the towns of the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia is due basically to the influx of foreign workers from Arab countries (Palestinians, Egyptians, Yemenites, Syrians) and from Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, Philippines and Republic of Korea).

4. The growing importance of urban issues

For the last twenty years, the high growth rate of Arab towns has led to a revival of research centred on urban issues. This research seeks to grasp the physical, economic, social and cultural dimensions of urban issues. The recent development of urban research and a sub-division of its main trends into periods would indicate that, apart from Egypt where the accumulation of knowledge has a long history, the rise of urban preoccupations in Maghreb and Machrek is perceptible only since 1975 (Liauzu, 1987; Troin, 1988; Kharoufi, 1994). It would be a difficult

task to provide an exhaustive account because of the difficulty of gaining access to certain information. In addition, the study of the complex processes of urbanisation makes use of several disciplines (sociology, geography, political science, architecture, anthropology) that separately are unable to explain the problems related to urbanisation.

Table 2

Urban studies in the Arab world

Country/Region studied	Number of studies	Percentage
Middle East	135	24.32%
Egypt	120	21.62%
Syria	49	8.83%
Tunisia	46	8.29%
Morocco	38	6.85%
Lebanon	36	6.49%
Iraq	32	5.77%
Saudi Arabia	31	5.59%
Algeria	23	4.14%
Maghreb	14	2.52%
Yemen	11	1.98%
Jordan	6	1.08%
Kuwait	5	0.90%
Palestine	3	0.54%
Oman	2	0.36%
U. A. E.	2	0.36%
Bahrain	2	0.36%
Total	555	100.00%

Source: Claude Liauzu. *Sociétés urbaines contemporaine du Maghreb et Moyen-Orient, 1975-1985- Essai de bibliographie critique*, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, 1987.

The conventional themes concerned with population such as migration, growth or development are complemented by the analysis of the internal dynamics of urban societies. These questions have not always been taken into consideration

with the same intensity. The national institutions concerned with the development of towns have often geared their action to the satisfy housing needs.

It is often observed that there is an interaction between research and the economic, social and political context of the countries studied. In fact, university research and official concerns are often linked to the relationship between states and societies. Thus, in several Arab countries, the concerns of the state with regard to urban issues are heightened when socio-political problems occur, leading to the establishment of commissions where decision-makers, planners and experts have concentrated their attention on urban problems.

III. TRENDS IN SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH

Doctoral theses could constitute an indicator of trends in urban studies. In universities in France and in the English-speaking world, which have long accepted Arab doctoral students, the analysis of research programmes indicates a clear advance of the urban theme; thus, the number of theses completed in France on cities and towns in developing countries more than doubled between 1970 and 1980.

In France, the place of the Arab-Muslim world in doctoral research (North Africa and Middle East included) is a major one since this geographic zone accounts for more than 50% of theses (Thesam IV, 1992; Leimdorfer and Vidal, 1992). Over a period of twenty years (1971-1991) and based on a body of 6,500 titles, it is possible to note an increase in urban studies that can be explained as much by the diversification of choices as by the autonomy of the research units in France (Leimdorfer and Santo-Martino, 1992).

Monographic studies on towns, districts or parts of towns have a preponderant place. In fact, half of the theses listed have the town as their subject. The most studied urban areas however remain the big metropolises: Cairo, Beirut, Amman, Khartoum, Tunis, Casablanca, Fez, Marrakesh, Rabat, Algiers, Oran, Annaba, etc..

With regard to the countries of North Africa, geographic research relating to urban themes accounts for more than one in every two theses. This massive participation overshadows the other disciplines such as urbanism (15%), sociology (13.4%), economy (7%), history (7%), law (1.2%), literature and psychoanalysis (0.5%) (Leimdorfer and Vidal 1992, 13).

Egypt stands out with an urban research tradition that goes back to the second half of the last century. Thus, in a bibliographic repertory published in 1925 by the *Association des Géographes* (founded in 1875) and having 8753 titles, the theme of the town takes an important place (El-Kadi 1992). Architects, who were driven by the desire to safeguard historic monuments, were at the origin of discussions where the modernists and traditionalists confronted each other about the conservation of medieval buildings. However, the emergence of a specialisation in research on towns dates from the end of the 1960s and corresponds to the beginning of the teaching of urban geography as a discipline.

IV. A PROPOSAL FOR SOME LINES OF RESEARCH

When studying the different themes touched on in research in the Arab countries, it can be noted that several subjects are rarely dealt with, even absent, although they could bring about a better understanding of urban dynamics at a time when the cities and towns are facing head on the consequences of the disengagement of the state.

1. Social urban movements

A better knowledge of the dynamics of Arab towns can be obtained by the study of social urban movements that have continued to grow during the last two decades. In fact, various social groups (such as the middle classes or workers' movements) are being increasingly implicated in the process of historic change. Today, the role of these groups in the movement of democratisation is linked to the effects of the crisis of which they are the direct victims: these effects are unemployment among degree-holders, a drop in incomes and above all the freezing of social mobility.

Social movements based on various ideologies are developing at the present time. The creation of leagues for human rights in Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Kuwait and Morocco as well as the proliferation of cultural associations have inspired thinking that could help towards a better knowledge of the structure of Arab urban societies. In fact, the phenomenon of the association is an instrument of integration providing a space of freedom through which the civil society proves its existence and participates in the management of a country.

2. The management of the towns

During the last two decades, large-scale public planning policies have been developed, indicating a desire for decentralisation and the implication of the towns' populations in their management. From the middle of the 1970s onwards, the innovative movement noted by observers in Morocco and Algeria as well as in Tunisia and Egypt is that of decentralisation (al-lâmarkaziyya). This movement, which has been likened to a liberal principle of government, is deemed to be a source of inspiration for the re-ordering of relations between the State and the citizen.

The years 1974 for Egypt, 1975 for Tunisia and 1976 for Morocco stand out because of the proclamation of major reforms concerning the life of local administrative bodies at the economic and legislative levels. These reforms affect the whole of the political system and include the mode of electing the municipal administration and reappointing municipal councils. Research has not sufficiently clarified the relationship between the state structures and the urban civil society in the Arab world. The issue of the management of the towns, covering the optimisation of management of political and administrative structures as well as the

creation of institutions responsible for the promotion of democratic principles and election processes, is rarely dealt with.

3. Urban marginality and integration

Several research projects have concluded that there is an evident « urban pauperisation ». If a small proportion of the rural-dwellers who have moved to the towns have successfully achieved integration into the urban economy, thus improving their living conditions, the majority of the migrants live in precarious conditions: this fosters the phenomena of pauperisation and marginalisation in the towns. The implementation of plans for structural adjustment, accompanied by mechanisms to help disadvantaged people suggests that the fight against poverty is part of the social policy of public authorities. However, the gradual reduction of subsidies for essential commodities is aggravating the material difficulties of the most deprived sectors and reducing the purchasing power of the intermediate social strata.

The general economic recession seems to be creating a break between prosperity linked to income from oil and a relative national wealth that is shrinking and to which the consumption habits of town dwellers are adapting only with difficulty. The lack of social and spatial integration that results therefrom is creating contrasts between the forms of urban development. These differ in their aspect, their level of equipment, and the existence of public services and the social status of their inhabitants. A more detailed study of these constituent features remains to be done.

4. Urban crises

The notion of « urban crisis » covers complex and fragmentary situations which take shape, depending on the contexts concerned, in the form of the deficiency of a particular sector (housing, transport, etc.). « A disproportion » is observed « between the objectives of instruments of urban development (master plans, urban infrastructure plans) developed mainly for big cities, and the little effect that their proposals have on the crisis of the cities » (Naciri, 1992).

With regard to the failure of urban structures in the big metropolises, several studies have been published, but the consequences of the economic crisis on the small and medium-sized towns often remain unknown. Research more often reflects the urban development of Arab countries which takes the form of an as yet substantial relegation of small-sized towns to the sidelines. However, in Egypt and Morocco, the creation of provincial universities has recently contributed to the production of monographs (Master's theses) on secondary towns.

5. Issues related to the informal sector

The economic transition that has been underway for several decades in the Arab cities is distinguished by the ascendancy of the tertiary sector although industrial employment remains low. Apart from the rich oil-producing countries where the GNP still compensates for population growth, most of the Arab countries are experiencing an imbalance between supply and demand as regards jobs as well as a growth of the informal sector. In fact, in the urban environment, the informal sector has conquered vast spaces, in various forms, from the peripheries to the town centres. The informal sector has today become a full component of a hypertrophied urban economy.

Since the middle of the 1980s, informal activities have constituted one of the major subjects of research initiated by external demands and in the case of Egypt and Morocco supported by funds from the United Nations Development Programme. The informal sector has also been the subject of significant field work from the mid-1980s (CAPMAS 1985; Mahdi and Mashhûr 1990; Salahdine 1988 and 1991). The first field research undertaken in Egypt for example, was done through the CAPMAS which, in 1985, studied this sector of the economy. In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, studies have revealed the involvement of a growing section of the population of town-dwellers in the informal sector of the economy (Salahdine 1988, Charmes, 1983). Anthropological studies have proved to be interesting and are trying to define this hitherto little studied phenomenon.

It is through these field surveys that it is possible to grasp the process of integration of populations carrying out economic activities qualified as « marginal » or « unstructured ». The study of this aspect of urban life would enable us to understand how a population living on the fringe of the « structured » economy fits into its environment.

6. Unauthorised housing

In most of the Arab countries, urban extension is accompanied by a proliferation of unauthorised dwellings. For town planners, this sort of housing today constitutes an important form of the organisation of space and of production in built-up areas. In Cairo it shelters 1,600,000 inhabitants (20% of the capital's population) and in Morocco, 346,000 people. The present crisis, accentuated by the disengagement of the State as regards investment, the creation of jobs and town planning explains the development of unauthorised housing. The proportion of the population of urban origin in the statistics for unauthorised housing should therefore be studied.

7. The old town centres

The attention of researchers has not been brought to the situation of town centres and of their future, taking into account the deterioration of the buildings and

the living conditions of their inhabitants. In the Maghreb, the traditional prestige of the *medina* and the facilities for work and housing that it offers have led to an increase in its density, a change in the social composition of its districts and a deterioration of the living conditions of its inhabitants because of the dilapidation of the drainage system and utilities.

Also, at the cultural level, the consequences of the emergence, in the old town structures, of a service sector based on international models has hardly been studied.

8. Migration and urbanisation in the small and medium-sized towns

Research has often dealt with migratory movements in general and zones of attraction (such as the metropolises) in particular, whereas smaller centres have not enjoyed much attention. However, since the end of the 1980s, researchers have been interested in small and medium-sized towns and their sites of attraction. Migration towards the major cities in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt is being accompanied by the growing attraction exercised by the small and medium-sized towns whose local influences are being strengthened. In fact, in Egypt, we can see a « redistribution » of migratory flows towards the villages located around the towns, some of which are being urbanised.

As yet, there are few studies of these phenomena or of the seasonal migrations linked to certain urban activities such as tourism. Recent research has shown that, in Morocco, small towns have appeared in the urban network during the inter-census period of 1971-1982. In certain of these towns, substantial economic activity is resulting in rapid growth and bringing about demographic evolution that is far different from that of towns on the sidelines of economic development. These new economic centres are contributing to the diversification of the migratory fields and are heralding profound changes in the organisation of space.

Around the question of small and medium-sized towns, of their place in the spatial mechanism and the functions that they ensure, very few research results have been published. What remains to be done is to highlight the growing role of these towns in the process of urbanisation of the Arab world and in the transformation of urban and rural societies (sedentary and nomadic).

9. Crises, migration and town planning

Several countries in the Arab world are experiencing, or have experienced, forced migratory movements overwhelming their demographic landscape. This is the case in Sudan where, since 1983-1984, approximately 5 million people were obliged to change their place of residence; Mauritania, at the time of the conflict with Senegal in April 1989; or again the Gulf region in 1991. These examples illustrate a situation where ecological, food or political crises set off forced migrations often towards urban centres.

This demographic aspect is still very little dealt with in research on mobility. However, following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the Near East saw the biggest forced migration of populations of these last decades: 4 or 5 million people had to leave the Gulf region.

The scale of this migration completely upset the patterns of migration in the Near East placing the labour-supplying countries in a difficult economic and social situation. Thus, at the end of 1990, more than a million people (250,000 of whom were Jordanian and Palestinian) surged towards Jordan, while at the same time, Egypt accommodated 865,000 of its nationals.

Research undertaken in the 1990s in Jordan and Sudan has begun to study the role of crises in the modification of migratory fields and in exponential urban growth (Shami, 1994).

V. CONCLUSION

Migration, spatial redistribution of populations and urbanisation inevitably affect the population structure of Arab countries and are perceived by public authorities and researchers as major problems inasmuch as they have important consequences in terms of development. The study of these problems supposes a pluridisciplinary approach and analyses at two levels: the national level, to draw up the matrices and general trends and the regional level, to identify individual family strategies. Demographic surveys undertaken at the national level are useful but sometimes mask extremely diverse situations. They would gain in being complemented by more precise surveys, of an anthropological nature, carried out on more restricted geographic scale. Census operations on populations and dwellings provided precious quantitative information for researchers and decision-makers, even if the issues are often dealt with comprehensively.

Conscious of the limits of all-encompassing analyses, the statistical departments, which conduct frequent surveys on sample groups (this is the case in most of the countries of the Maghreb and in Egypt), seek to orient research towards new methods of measurement specific to urban problems, especially the practice of one-off surveys spread out in time. In fact, if the comprehensive approaches are necessary in order to grasp the general trends of the urban process, they sometimes make no mention of certain factors in the urbanisation process such as the migratory trajectories of individuals or urban activities known as « informal » activities.

The evaluation of urban research in the Arab world does however bring to light weaknesses as regards the means made available to researchers as well as the excessively rare field studies. Managers and planners are often confronted with phenomena that they have not been able to foresee. This is partly due to the tools of analysis, conception and realisation which do not allow them to apprehend often complex urban realities.

Notes

- (1) The Global Urban Research Initiative (GURI) is an international network bringing together thirteen research centres in developing countries, The project is co-ordinated by Richard Stren, Director of the Center for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto (Canada) and financed by the Ford Foundation. Three works have already been published within the framework of this program me: *Urban Research in the Developing World. Africa (1994); Asia (1994); and Latin America (1995)*.
- (2) The Arab world which had 25% of town-dwellers in 1950 and 30% in 1970, may have 66% at the end of the century; see CHALINE. *Les villes du monde arabe*. Paris, Masson, 1990, p.18.
- (3) As compared with 211 in 1977.
- (4) As compared with 31% in 1966.
- (5) Thus, at the time of the last inter-census period (1984-1 994), 86 new communes had been created.
- (6) As compared with 52.8% at the time of the census in 1984,
- (7) The growth rate for Cairo and Alexandria went respectively from 2.5% and 2.6% between 1960 and 1976 to 1.7% and 2.3% between 1976 and 1986.
- (8) This in spite of the growth of the towns of Port Said and Suez assessed respectively at 3.4% and 4.1% and related to the return of families who had left the Suez Canal zone as a result of the wars with Israel.

ANNEX

Growth rate of urban and rural populations and populations of the most densely populated towns

	Year	Rural %	Urban %	Rural Pop.	Urban Pop.	Year	No. in 000
Algeria	1980	56.6	43.3	2.1	4.6	1992	3.300
	1990	48.3	51.7	1.1	4.4		
Morocco	1980	59.0	41.0	1.2	4.0	1992	3.000
	1990	53.9	46.1	1.8	3.6		
Tunisia	1980	49.7	50.3	1.5	3.7	1992	1.900
	1990	44.0	56.0	0.8	3.2		
Libya	1980	30.4	69.6	-0.7	7.0	1992	2.900
	1990	17.6	82.4	-1.6	5.0		
Mauritania	1980	71.0	29.0	0.1	9.6	1990	760
	1990	53.2	46.8	-0.3	6.8		
Egypt	1980	56.2	43.8	2.2	2.6	1992	9.000
	1990	56.1	43.9	2.4	2.4		
Sudan	1980	80.0	20.0	2.8	4.1	1992	2.100
	1990	77.5	22.5	2.5	4.3		
Jordan	1980	40.1	59.9	0.2	4.0	1990	1.020
	1990	32.0	68.0	0.9	4.4		
Iraq	1980	34.5	65.5	1.1	4.6	1992	4.200
	1990	28.2	71.8	1.2	4.2		
Kuwait	1980	9.8	90.2	-3.7	7.7	1992	1.100
	1990	4.2	95.8	-3.6	4.8		
Saudi Arabia	1980	33.2	66.8	0.8	7.7	1992	2.200
	1990	22.7	77.3	0.2	4.8		
U. A. E.	1980	28.5	71.5	10.1	15.8	1990	260
	1990	19.1	80.9	-0.7	4.3		
Bahrain	1980	19.6	80.4	3.6	5.2	1992	130
	1990	17.1	82.9	1.8	3.5		
Qatar	1980	14.4	85.6	2.5	6.5	1990	329
	1990	10.1	89.9		4.0		
Oman	1980	92.4	7.6	4.8	8.9	1990	70
	1990	89.0	11.0	3.4	7.4		
Yemen	1980	79.8	20.2	2.3	7.4	1990	360
	1990	71.1	28.9	2.4	7.0		
Syria	1980	53.3	46.7	2.5	3.9	1992	1.900
	1990	49.8	50.2	2.9	4.3		
Lebanon	1980	26.6	73.4	-5.1	1.2	1992	1.600
	1990	16.2	83.8	-4.6	1.7		

Source : *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, Washington, 1993

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